

Stirring the Pot of State: The Sung Picture-Book *Mei-Hua Hsi-Shen P'u* and Its Implications for Yüan Scholar-Painting

Sung Po-*jen's* 宋伯仁 (fl. mid-thirteenth century) *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* 梅花喜神譜 (*Register of Plum-blossom Portraits*) is a book whose pages are more viewed than read: its fame derives from its pictures. It is considered to be the earliest art book in the history of Chinese woodblock printing. That is to say, scholars take it to be the earliest extant woodblock-printed book in which pictures emerge from their role as embellishment to words or as graphic elucidation of text and become the center of interest in their own right.¹ The book's pictorial

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¹ Unless otherwise specified, all references to *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (hereafter *MHHSP*) are to the Shanghai Museum copy of the only known Sung edn., the Shuang-kuei t'ang rpt. edn. of 1261 (see appendix); all figures are taken from the facsimile reproduction of the Museum's copy, Sung Po-*jen*, [Sung-k'o] *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* 宋刻梅花喜神譜 (rpt. Peking: Wen-wu 文物, 1981). The opinion about *MHHSP's* historical place among art books appears in the Museum's postface to the latter and in Wang Qingzheng 汪慶正, "The Arts of Ming Woodblock-printed Images and Decorated Paper Albums," trans. Maggie Bickford, in Chu-*tsing Li* and James C. Y. Watt, eds., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period, an Exhibition From The Shanghai Museum* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1987), p. 56. On my translation of *MHHSP's* title, see appendix. It is translated as *Album of the Joyful Spirit of Plum Blossoms* in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, comps. and eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1985), p. 244. Alfred Koehn calls it "An Anthology of the Enchanting Spirit of the Plum Flower" in the intro. (unpag.) to his abridged reprod. and trans. of the book, *The Flowering Plum* (Pei-p'ing: The Lotus Court, 1947). I have made use of his annot. translations.

program is the life-cycle of the flowering plum (*mei* 梅, tree; *mei-hua* 梅花, blossoms; *Prunus mume*). In 100 full-page plum-blossom illustrations it exhibits the plum's development progressively, from bud to flower to falling petals and the setting of fruit. A title surmounts each picture; and a five-character quatrain runs along its left side (figs. 1a-s).

Contrary to Sung Po-chen's own statements about the *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* genre, some scholars classify it as an illustrated painting manual or model-book.² In an earlier work, I treated it as a delightful manifestation of the craze for flowering plums that swept through Southern Sung (1127-1279) China.³ It is that, but it is other things too.

Sung's pictorial images are charming and inventive. More important is that they are effective: through them, he develops his thematic program as a lucid visual sequence, somewhat like a time-lapse montage.⁴ The hundred headings surmounting the prints are imaginative and ingeniously apt, using names such as "Snail Horns," "Helmet," and "The Raptor Swoops" (figs. 1c, 1j, 1m). His verses, in contrast,

² For instance, Wang Fang-yu, "Book Illustration in Late Ming and Early Qing China," in Soren Edgren et al., *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute in America, Inc., 1984), p. 34. Sung's statements are noted by Tanaka Toyozō 田中豊蔵, "(Sōhon) Baika kishin fu" 宋本梅花喜神譜 ("[Sung edition] *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*"), in *Gasetu* 畫説 32 (1939); rpt. in his *Chūgoku bijutsu no kenkyū* 中國美術の研究 (*Researches in Chinese Art*) (Tokyo, 1964), p. 209; Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956) 2, p. 156, n. 1; Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 244; and Maggie Bickford, *Bones of Jade Soul of Ice: The Flowering Plum in Chinese Art* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985), cat. no. 50, among others. Sung's preface is discussed below.

³ Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, p. 28.

⁴ The eight sections of the book bear developmental titles:

1. "Pei-lei" 蓓蕾 ("Unopened Buds," 4 branches; ch. 1, pp. 1a-2b);
2. "Hsiao jui" 小聚 ("Small Buds," 16 branches; ch. 1, pp. 3a-10b);
3. "Ta jui" 大聚 ("Large Buds," 8 branches; ch. 1, pp. 11a-14b);
4. "Yü k'ai" 欲開 ("About to Open," 8 branches; ch. 1, pp. 15a-18b);
5. "Ta-k'ai" 大開 ("Fully Opened," 14 branches; ch. 1, pp. 19a-25b);
6. "Lan-man" 爛熳 ("Full-blown," 28 branches; ch. 2, pp. 1a-14b);
7. "Yü hsieh" 欲謝 ("About to Fall," 16 branches; ch. 2, pp. 15a-22b);
8. "Chiu shih" 就實 ("About to Set Fruit," 6 branches; ch. 2, pp. 23a-25b). Here,

the number of branches is misrepresented as 4 instead of 6, an error probably due to the appearance of the number 4 in the title of the image at the top of p. 23a.

The time-lapse effect is most dramatic in the initial and final sequences; the large central sections ("Ta-k'ai" through "Yü hsieh") display variations in the form and position of mature blossoms.

are clumsy, forced, and dense. It is no wonder that nobody reads them.

So satisfying is this book as a Southern Sung cultural artifact — reproductions only hint at its real charm — that most traditional and modern scholars have taken it at face value, as divertimento not as document.⁵ If we think of this book as typically Southern Sung, then how is it so? Certainly the devotion to *mei-hua* is pervasive in Southern Sung literature and the arts.⁶ Hundred-part suites of *mei-hua chüeh-chü*, or plum-blossom quatrains, are not extremely rare; one poet even composed 800 plum poems matching 800 earlier verses.⁷ There also exist presentations of the plum's life-cycle in the form of pictorial-poetic programs.⁸

Yet, *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* is *ku-pen* 孤本, or a unique exemplar, in more ways than one. As an object, it exhibits a distinctive format. I know of no counterpart to Sung Po-chen's title-image-quatrain arrangement among surviving Sung woodblock-illustrated books. As plum poetry, his hundred *chüeh-chü* conspicuously avoid mainstream themes and conceits; few of his images and allusions can be found in the vast corpus of Southern Sung plum literature. If his poems share the Sung predilection for dense allusion, they consistently draw upon the classics and histories and only minimally employ the lyrical references that are typical of *mei-hua* verse. The eccentricity of both Sung's choices of referents and the plum dialectic that he develops in his preface would have been immediately apparent to his audience, the Southern Sung "plum-loving scholars" and "like-minded gentleman" to whom he addresses the book.⁹

Moreover, Sung Po-chen's method of coordinating image and text is unique among extant and recorded Sung pictorial-poetic se-

⁵ Bush and Shih (*Early Chinese Texts*, p. 244) raise the issue of context and meaning in their introduction to the translation of Sung Po-chen's preface.

⁶ See Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, pp. 30-43.

⁷ See Hans H. Frankel, "The Plum Tree in Chinese Poetry," *Asiatische Studien* 6 (1952), p. 112, n. 77.

⁸ For instance Yang Wu-chiu's 楊無咎 (1097-1169) "Four Views of Flowering Plum"; see fig. 4. Yang's work is discussed below.

⁹ *MHHSP*, untitled preface; standard-script text in *I-shu ts'ung-pien* 藝術叢編, Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱, comp. (pref. 1962; Taipei: Shih-chieh, series 1), vol. 10, text no. 71, p. 2. All *MHHSP* preface references are to this edition.

quences. Other plum programs present the life-cycle theme and its symbolic correlatives in parallel pictorial-poetic sequences: the stages of budding, blossoming, and falling are depicted graphically and are evoked in textual images that are allied to such themes as the course of a love affair or spiritual development. "Four Views of Flowering Plum" (fig. 4), an ink on paper handscroll by Yang Wu-chiu 楊無咎 (1097-1169), is a fine example of this integrated approach to plum appreciation through painting and poetry. Lyricist, calligrapher, and painter, Yang was the leading ink-plum master of his day. According to the postface that he inscribed on "Four Views," Yang made this work in response to a request that he paint four stages in the life of plum blossoms and compose a set of song lyrics on the same theme. The four pictorial sections of his scroll exhibit plum progressively through stages of budding, opening, blooming, and scattering. Yang then recycles this plum-blossom sequence through four erotic song lyrics that represent these growth stages and that also may be read as the stages of a seduction and its aftermath.¹⁰ In contrast to Yang Wu-chiu, Sung Po-chen develops pictures and poems independently of one another. The pictures trace the plum's life-cycle in a coherent and continuous line of development; the poems do not. Nor is text developed as orderly counterpoint to image; nor do the 100 titles and 100 poems exhibit systematic internal development. Thus, in making *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, Sung Po-chen fashions a pictorial plum-blossom chain from which he hangs his various ideas in words. Significantly, he synchronizes picture and poem only at the beginning and end of the cycle. The first illustrated page of his book presents tightly closed buds (fig. 1a) that are matched with a poem that evokes incipency; the last page presents a pictorial image of fruit (fig. 1s) and its matching poem evokes fruit. This stands in contrast to the remainder of the book, in which the illustrated stage of the plum's development is unrelated to the imagery or metaphors of the quatrain. This method

provides a clue to his intentions.

Despite *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*'s attraction as an admirable object, as a relic of Sung culture, and as an exemplar of the kind of cultish projects undertaken by *mei-hua* devotees, once one understands Sung Po-chen's word-and-image strategy, considers his preface, and reads his quatrains with care, the situation becomes complex. The question then becomes, what is he doing here and why is he doing it?

In this paper I account for the peculiar characteristics of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* by proposing the following:

1. *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* derives from an illustrated practical text on how to paint *mo-mei* 墨梅, or ink plums;
2. Sung Po-chen adapts the utilitarian prototype to make a literati artifact;
3. Sung systematically manipulates the word-and-image instructional strategy of the prototype in order to impose upon the familiar *mei-hua* motif new readings that are exogenous to its established traditions;
4. Many of the meanings so projected onto plum-blossom pictures are political ones, striking notes of protest and calls for dynastic restoration and renovation, military activism, and energetic governance assisted by strong ministers; and
5. Sung Po-chen's formal procedures and the symbolic language that he generates, imposes, and enforces are predictive for the Yüan-period (1279-1368) situation in scholar-amateur painting. The woodblock-printed schemata of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* expose the formal and expressive strategy through which Yüan scholars would redirect the course of later Chinese painting.

SUNG PO-CHEN'S WORD-AND-IMAGE STRATEGY AND A POSSIBLE PROTOTYPE

The woodblock-printed images in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* derive from painting. These woodcuts imitate brush strokes. They reproduce effects that arise from the use of the flexible-tip brush, not the chisel;

¹⁰ This work is reproduced in vol. 3 of *Chung-kuo li-tai hui-hua Ku-kung po-wu-yüan ts'ang-hua chi* 中國歷代繪畫故宮博物院藏畫集 (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu, 1982), pp. 23-35. For an extensive study of the work and the artist, see Bickford, *Ink Plum*, forthcoming, Cambridge U.P. For an ink-plum and *gatha* series by Chung-jen 仲仁 (d. ca. 1123) that joins plum's life-cycle to spiritual themes, see Shimada Shūjirō 島修二郎, "Kakō Chūjin no jo" 華光仲仁の序, part 2, *Hōun* 寶雲 30 (1943), p. 61.

and they observe the formal conventions of calligraphy as applied to the art of ink-plum painting current in Sung Po-*jen's* time. The images exhibit the plum as a linear structure built from discrete elements, whose separateness is emphasized by the clear display of the beginnings and termini of the "strokes" (for example, "P'in mei" 顰眉 ["Knit Brows"]; fig. 11). Continuous forms are subject to segmentation. In depicting criss-crossed branchwork, the painter stops his stroke at the point of intersection and resumes at the far side of the overlapping member. He does this to avoid the observable superimposition of strokes that would subvert the illusion of solid forms in space. The carver, who is not similarly constrained by his medium, follows the painter's procedures. Thus the diagonal branch in "O ch'eng feng" 鶚乘風 ("The Osprey Rides the Wind"; fig. 10) starts and stops three times as it passes behind twig and sucker. In painting, the artist interrupts his branch-forming brush strokes to reserve interstices into which he will insert plum blossoms. The carver, in images like "Ch'uan hua tieh" 穿花蝶 ("Butterfly Threading through Flowers"; fig. 12), segments the diagonal branch so as to form a gap to be filled by the overlapping petal of a blossom. Because the petal here fails to fill that gap, the depiction of the branch is organically implausible, and the formal pictorial device is clearly exposed.

Other ink-plum painting conventions include shredded stumps (as in "Hsien chung" 懸鐘 ["Suspended Bell"]; fig. 13) and knot holes ("Wu-chiang san-kao" 吳江三高 ["The Three Worthies of Wu-chiang"]; fig. 14). Most striking of these transpositions from painting to print are simulations of the flying-white (*fei-pai* 飛白) brush-strokes with which the painter produces, in one action, the form and the texture of scaly old trees. In images like "Ping-t'ao" 並桃 ("Double-peach [Cap]"; fig. 15), sets of parallel incisions carved in the block result in striations that stand for those produced in painting by the dry brush, pressed and quickly dragged over the painting surface. These conceptual habits and formal conventions — linear structure, systematic segmentation, flying-white bark and circled petals — all may be seen in Yang Wu-chiu's "Four Views" (fig. 4) and all are typical of Yang's approach to plum painting as recorded in the critical literature of the Song and later periods.

Sung Po-*jen's* preface states that the printed illustrations come from sketches that he made in his garden; therefore, it is not surprising that the prints reflect the techniques and conventions of painting. Yet they consistently display characteristics that are not necessarily encouraged by the process of xylography, as the flattening of curves into angles would be. The insistent clarity of their display of constituent elements ("Shuang li" 雙荔 ["Twin Lichee"; fig. 11] seems almost an exploded view) cannot be accounted for adequately by the graphic properties of print or the incidental reduction of nuance in moving from painting to woodcut. Instead, it seems to come from a systematic simplification at the source: not paintings, but painting schemata. In this regard, it probably is not accidental that we can observe significant correspondences between Sung Po-*jen's* wood-block prints and Yang Wu-chiu's painted plum blossoms. Because Yang's art achieved the status of orthodox model for *mo-mei* painting during Sung Po-*jen's* time, it is likely that the shared characteristics of Yang's painting and Sung's prints represent the reduction and standardization of Yang's style, disseminated through printed illustrated manuals.

Each of Sung's titles characterizes imaginatively the graphic configuration below it: for instance, "The Raptor Swoops," "The Mantis Flies in a Rage," and "Helmet" (figs. 16, 17, 18, respectively). In doing so, he employs a traditional convention of critical writing about calligraphy and painting in which animals, natural phenomena, and implements frequently are used to name stroke-types and form-types, or are used as similes for the formal qualities of brushwork or for the execution of the strokes. Many centuries earlier, the calligrapher So Ching 索靖 (239–303) described brushwork as fluttering "like a startled pheonix, wings spread, but not yet aloft," or "a powerful steed furiously pulling at the reins."¹¹ Wei Fu-*jen's* 衛夫人 (d. 349) "Diagram of the Battle Array of the Brush" presented a series of illustrated model brushstrokes accompanied by textual glosses of the following type:

¹¹ So Ching, *T'sao-shu chuang* 草書狀, in Wang Yüan-ch'i 王原祁 et al., comps., *P'ei-wen-chai shu-hua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜 (1708; facs. rpt. Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1982; hereafter cited as *PWC*), ch. 1, pp. 8b–9a (vol. 1, pp. 348–35A). The first phrase is translated in Richard Barnhart, "Wei Fu-*jen's* Pi Chen T'u and the Early Texts on Calligraphy," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 18 (1964), p. 23, n. 22.

First stroke — Like a cloud formation stretching a thousand
 li; indistinct, but not without form.

Second stroke — Like a stone falling from a high peak, bouncing
 and crashing, about to shatter.

Third stroke — The tusk of an elephant or rhinoceros (thrust
 into and) broken by the ground.¹²

In "Principles of the Brush," the calligrapher Yü Shih-nan 虞世南 (558–638) wrote that the movement of semicursive brushstrokes was like "the advance and retreat of a falcon in the autumn in a swift strike" and that the use of the brush in cursive script was like "the swing and turn of dancing sleeves . . . the climbing monkeys passing over trees, the freed serpent searching water, light cavalry pursuing the enemy, raging flames sweeping over the prairie."¹³

We do not know the extent to which *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* headings were invented by Sung Po-chen or appropriated and adapted by him from existing typological terms. For example, in a treatise on how to paint *mo-mei*, Chao Meng-chien 趙孟堅 (1199–1264) uses terms and phrases such as: "mouse-whiskers" (strokes that form stamens); "deer horns" (a branch pattern); "smiling dimples" (a blossom form-type); and, "dragged like a rat's tail" (describing both the execution and the appearance of brushwork that forms long, slender branch tips).¹⁴ Some terms, like "pepper-eyes" and "deer horns," are shared

¹² Wei fu-jen, *Pi chen t'u* 筆陳圖, trans. Barnhart, "Wei Fu-jen," p. 16. Barnhart reproduces a printed version of the illustrated page as his fig. 1, and discusses authorship and date.

¹³ "T'ang Yü Shih-nan Pi sui lun" 唐虞世南筆髓論 in *PWC*, ch. 5, pp. 18b–19b [vol. 1, pp., 135B–136A]; trans. Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda, *Chinese Calligraphy*, New Orient Society of America (Chicago: U. of Chicago P., 1935), p. 25.

¹⁴ Versions of this rhymed treatise (written several years before 1257) survive in Chao's calligraphy. One is a colophon dated 1257 on Hsü Yü-kung's 徐禹功 (b. 1147?) "Plum and Bamboo in Snow," Liaoning Provincial Museum; listed under the entry "Sung Yüan mei-hua ho-chüan" 宋元梅花合卷, in Chang Chao 張照 et al., comps., *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈 (1745; facs. rpt. of original ms., Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), pp. 1206A–13B. The other is "Chao Meng-chien tzu shu Mei-chu san-shih chüan" 趙孟堅自書梅竹三詩卷, dated 1260; calligraphy handscroll, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, former John M. Crawford, Jr., collection; recorded in Wang Chieh 王杰 et al., comps., *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien* 石渠寶笈續編 (1793; facs. rpt. of original ms.; Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), pp. 1934A–37A. In addition to a version of the poem that he transcribed in the Hsü Yü-kung colophon,

by Chao and Sung Po-chen. However, Chao, like other ink-plum manual writers, always uses them as technical nomenclature or descriptive terms, whereas Sung puts them to other uses.

While Sung Po-chen's descriptive vocabulary may draw on traditional usage, his page format is in fact distinctive. Although a variety of picture-and-text or picture-and-caption formats is represented in extant Sung woodblock-printed illustrated books, they do not look like *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. The closest counterpart to Sung's pictorial program and format is an illustrated practical text of unknown authorship and date that (together with *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* and other plum materials) was collected and incorporated into *Sung-chai mei-p'u* 松齋梅譜 (*Pine-studio Plum Manual*), an encyclopedic *mo-mei* compendium of ca. 1351, compiled by Wu T'ai-su 吳太素 (active mid-fourteenth century).

Wu's instructional manual supplies the *mo-mei* novice with the tools of this scholar-amateur artform. He brings together theoretical and technical materials on painting, botanical classifications, a literary anthology comprising *mei-hua fu* 賦, *chüeh-chü*, and *ku-shih* 古詩, and a hagiography of *mo-mei* masters. Some of the constituent texts, like Fan Ch'eng-ta's 范成大 botanical *Mei-p'u* 梅譜 (ca. 1186), are identified.¹⁵ Some, like *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, are identifiable. No original edition or complete reprint or transcription of *Sung-chai mei-p'u* survives. The best extant edition is an incomplete sixteenth-century Japanese manuscript copy of an unknown abridged edition in the Asano 淺野 Collection, Hiroshima Central City Library.¹⁶ The Asano *Sung-*

Chao here inscribes another instructional poem on how to paint ink-plum blossoms; the last two terms quoted above appear in this poem. For translation and complete documentation, see K.S. Wong, assisted by Stephen Addiss, *Masterpieces of Sung and Yüan Dynasty Calligraphy from the John M. Crawford Jr. Collection* (N. Y.: China Institute in America, 1981), cat. no. 9.

Composite text, typeset and punctuated, in Yü Chien-hua 俞劍華, comp., *Chung-hua hua-lun lei-pien* 中國畫論類編 (preface dated 1956; rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-hua 中華, 1973), p. 1049.

¹⁵ *Fan-t's'un mei-p'u* 范村梅譜, in Tso Kuei 左圭 (d. 1274+), comp., *Pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai* 百川學海 (ed. T'ao Hsiang 陶湘 [1871–1940]); *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 百部叢書集成, photorpt. of original edn.

¹⁶ Issued in facsimile reproduction, with bibliographical introduction, collation, and variorum typeset transcription by Shimada Shūjirō, as *Shōsai baiju* 松齋梅譜 (Hiroshima: Hiroshima chūō shiritsu toshokan, 1988); hereafter SCMP. All references

chai mei-p'u contains only 84 of Sung's 100 illustrated pages. This redrawn, and somewhat reformatted, *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* forms the second in a series of four illustrated plum-blossom *chüan*, each with a title-picture-poem format.¹⁷ Preceding it is an anonymous model-book of annotated illustrations (*t'u-p'u* 圖譜) or, better, typology manual (*t'ai-p'u* 態譜). Like *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, the anonymous *t'ai-p'u* traces the life-cycle of the plum through a series of plum-blossom images, each matched with a morphologically descriptive title followed by a quatrain (figs. 2a-d).¹⁸

A typical *t'ai-p'u* page is reproduced as our figure 2a. Its title, "The Bondmaid" ("Ya-huan't'ou" 丫鬟頭; or, literally, "Splayed-chignon Head"), is followed by a verse that begins:

Two petals hanging down; top petal round,
Just like a girl's deftly-combed chignons.

This couplet identifies observable affinities between the shape of the hairdo named by the title and the form of the plum-blossom pattern illustrated above. A quick check of verse and title against pictorial image confirms that this blossom, as described in the poem, exhibits a central circle flanked by pendant ovals — the configuration aptly characterized as a female hairdo (in this case one associated with slave girls).

More important in view of the instructional purpose of the *t'ai-p'u*, the plum-blossom pattern so conceptualized and tagged is easily remembered. The title and rhyme are mnemonics. They are devised to assist the plum painter who must have in hand a great number of such patterns in order to represent the multiplicity of

blossom growth-stages and positions presented by the flowering plum in nature and to supply formal variation in a painting genre that is limited drastically not only by the scope of its subject-matter but also in its constituent pictorial elements. The *t'ai-p'u*, thus, supplies its user with patterns to be recalled by titles like "Bondmaid" and "Ape Face." (figs. 2a and 2c, top row).

After running its course from budding to flowering through forty-two pages of the *t'ai-p'u*, *Sung-chai mei-p'u* recycles the flowering plum through Sung Po-jen's *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. There are significant affinities and diagnostic differences between Sung's work and the preceding *t'ai-p'u*. The first pages of both the *t'ai-p'u* and of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (fig. 2b, top and middle rows, respectively) present the same title and basic configuration, the buds much more developed in the *t'ai-p'u*. The bud-pattern entitled "Ape Face" ("Yüan mien" 猿面) in the *t'ai-p'u* is named "Baby Face" ("Hai-erh mien" 孩兒面) in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (fig. 2c, top row, and 2c middle and bottom rows, respectively), and other pages work similarly.¹⁹

Whatever the correspondences in terms of pattern and title, the verses consistently differ. This is exemplified by the *t'ai-p'u*'s "Ch'ing yü" 擎雨 ("Receiving Rain"; fig. 2d, top row) and *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*'s "Ch'ing lu" 擎露 ("Receiving Dew"; fig. 2d, middle and bottom rows). The affinity between the titles is clear. So is that between the plum-blossom patterns: each figure displays a round central petal flanked by a lateral pair, the rear petals fanning out to form a backdrop for the splayed stamens. But the difference between the matching verses is notable: the *t'ai-p'u* verse explains how to arrange formal elements in a pattern that resembles fresh lotus in the rain; Sung Po-jen, in contrast, uses this occasion to invoke the Bronze Immortals,

are to this edition and all figures are taken from it. For other editions and for Chinese derivatives, see Shimada's introduction and see his "Shōsai baifu teiyō" 松齋梅譜提要, *Bunka* 文化 20.2 (1956), pp. 116-18.

¹⁷ Together these constitute ch. 3-6. The first two *chüan* treat plum blossoms; the last two, plum branches. Their texts differ in poetic form and content.

¹⁸ Both the *t'ai-p'u* (figs. 2a-d, top row) and the redrawn *MHHSP* (figs. 2b-d, middle row) display these elements differently from the arrangement in the Sung woodblock-printed edition of *MHHSP* (figs. 2b-d, bottom row): the pictorial image is now above the text, and the title to the right of the quatrain. The manuscript copy lacks printer's rules and borders throughout.

¹⁹ *SCMP* 3, p. 72, and 4, p. 113; *MHHSP* 1, p. 22. The *t'ai-p'u* image is entitled *chiao-mu* 椒目; the *MHHSP* counterpart, *chiao-yen* 椒眼 (both may be translated as pepper-eyes, or peppercorns). The orientation of the splayed branches vary: vertical, pointing up, in the *t'ai-p'u*; horizontal in the redrawn *MHHSP*; diagonal, pointing down, in the Sung woodblock-printed edition. See also "Li hsin" 梨心 ("Halved Pear") in the *t'ai-p'u* (*SCMP* 3, p. 78) and "Li" 李 (Plum [*Prunus salicina*]) in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (*SCMP* 4, p. 127, and *MHHSP* 1, p. 92); and, "Ch'ing chu" 擎珠 (Offering the Pearl) in the *t'ai-p'u* (*SCMP* 3, p. 74) and "Fo-t'ing chu" 佛頂珠, or the "Pearl in the Buddha's Head," in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (*SCMP* 4, p. 118, and *MHHSP* 1, p. 4b).

imperial-commissioned sculpture whose dispersal evokes the loss of empire.²⁰ Throughout, the *t'ai-p'u* verses focus on formal elements; they very rarely raise allusions. Conversely, the quatrains in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* rarely discuss graphic features; instead, they are packed densely with historical allusions. To have employed similarities of title and image, yet differences in quatrain content, points to the possibility of purposeful adaptation.

Judging by the placement of the illustrated texts in *Sung-chai mei-p'u* (*ch'uan* 3 and 4, respectively), we may conclude that Wu T'ai-su possibly considered the *t'ai-p'u* as earlier than *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. I do not suggest that this specific *t'ai-p'u* directly inspired *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, but that one of its type or genre — an illustrated, practical book on how to paint plum blossoms — did.²¹ In fact, Sung Po-jen seems to have appropriated an entire illustrated text, substituting his own titles and verses. Sung's game was to take this word-and-picture setup and tune it and turn it to his own taste and purpose. What, then, were the rules of his new game?

The *t'ai-p'u* uses short imagistic titles to trigger rhymed instructions for making the appropriate graphic configuration. In this situation the circle flanked by pendant ovals no longer is an arbitrary combination of shapes but becomes a named motif, "The Bondmaid" (fig. 2a). Under these conditions, it no longer floats freely but is tied by its title to the particulars that are specified in the matching verse. Sung Po-jen avails himself of such a title-image-poem circuit in order to induce a different effect: instead of the title calling up the form-type, the named form-type calls up the content of the matching poem, which now defines the meaning of the pictorial image. In this way,

²⁰ See Li Ho 李賀 (791-817), "Chin-t'ung hsien-jen tz'u Han ko 金銅仙人辭漢歌," in Ts'ao Yin 曹寅 et al., comps., *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (preface 1707; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1960) 391, p. 4403; trans. (with annotations) as "A Bronze Immortal Takes Leave of Han," in A.C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang* (1965 rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 106-8. For the significance of the bronze immortals, see *ibid.*, p. 107.

²¹ Sung Po-jen's riddle-like discussion of whether or not his book is a *p'u*, what kind of *p'u* it might be considered, together with his assertion in his preface that it is not a painting model-book (discussed below) suggest to me that he thought that his readers might recognize the format of his book as that of a practical manual. It is not surprising, therefore, that some scholars (for instance, Wang Fang-yu, see n. 2) have considered *MHHSP* to be the earliest extant illustrated painting manual.

he transforms the *t'ai-p'u*'s practical instructions into instructions of quite another sort.

In *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* the title acts as pivot between image and idea. Sung Po-jen imposes symbolic content on the image of *mei-hua* through the intermediary of the imagistic title that characterizes the pictorial image while displacing that picture to become, itself, the point of departure for the matching poem. We can see his game in play by examining "Mi-chiao" 麋角 ("Deer Horns"; fig. 1h). Sung starts with a flowering-plum pattern — a blossom in which two petals form a symmetrical pair of diagonals that point upwards and outwards. He names it; and he places the name above the picture. Thus typed, the picture now gives way to words. "Deer Horns" supersedes plum blossoms as the key motif for the quatrain printed along the left side of the page:

Yu yu cry the deer to one another
In the mountain grove, the wind and rain of autumn.
The moon over Ku-su Terrace,
Where Tzu-hsü once ordained that they would play.

Through the agency of this *ch'ueh-chü*, "Mi-chiao" generates its own associations. These then play back upon the deer-horn-shaped plum blossom. Now this plum-blossom picture is invested with arbitrary, and in this case artful, meanings.

The quatrain contains a pair of allusions to deer (*lu* 鹿 and *mi-lu* 麋鹿). It opens with a close variation on the first line of a poem from *Shih-ching*, or *Classic of Songs*: "Lu ming" 鹿鳴 ("The Deer Cry").²² From the harmony that traditionally is associated with the *yu yu* calls of *lu*,²³ the autumnal wind and rain of the second line form the melancholy transit through which the deer leap ahead to the last couplet where they allude to a speech recorded in the *Shih-chi* 史記,

²² "Lu ming" ("Deer Cry"), in *Mao-shih yin-te* 毛詩引得, Harvard-Yenching Sino-logical Index Series, suppl. 9 (Pei-p'ing: 1934; rev. edn. Tokyo: Japan Council for East Asian Studies, 1962), no. 161; trans. James Legge, *The She King or the Book of Poetry*, part 2, book 2, Ode 1, in vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford, 1861-72; 2d rev. edn. 1893; rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1985), p. 245.

²³ See Legge, *She King*, note on Ode 1, ll. 1-2, p. 246.

or *Historical Records*. There, Wu Pei 伍被 remonstrates with the king of Huai-nan (Liu An 劉安, 179-122 BC) by invoking a historical anecdote:

I have heard that my namesake in ancient times, Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥, admonished the King of Wu, but when the king refused to listen to his advice, Wu Tzu-hsü said, "I foresee the day when the wild deer will sport over the ruins of Ku-su Terrace." Now I too fear that the day will come when weeds and thorns will grow over this palace and the dew will fall through its shattered roof to wet men's robes!²⁴

Shih-chi's biography of Wu Tzu-hsü (fl. late-sixth to early-fifth century BC) records his repeated warnings to the king of Wu about the dangers posed by the state of Yüeh, and how he urgently admonished the king to follow up Wu's subjugation of Yüeh with its annihilation. The king rejects his advice. Wu Tzu-hsü is forced to commit suicide. Ten years later Wu is destroyed by Yüeh.²⁵

What does Tzu-hsü and the fate of Wu have to do with plum blossoms? Nothing, at least up to now. Nothing except that the quoted warning uses the figure of *mi-lu* among ruins; and *mi-chiao* (deer horns) are what certain plum blossoms resemble, as seen through certain eyes. The connection between word and image is arbitrary, except from a subjective point of view.

Sung Po-chen objectifies his vision by printing "Mi-chiao" as the title. One can see that it is morphologically descriptive of the printed pattern below it. If one scans his page from top to bottom and right to left, this connection seems not only plausible but, for the moment, inescapable. Having registered the title "Deer Horns," the viewer easily reads the splayed lateral petals of the blossom as an antler-like pattern. Having accepted "Deer Horns" as the proper designation of this configuration, he is deftly maneuvered through short associative

steps that conduct him from deer-horn-plum to the deer of *Shih-ching* and of *Shih-chi* and to the prophecy of Wu Tzu-hsü, embedded in the quatrain. Plum blossoms now become invested with political meaning.

Since the general development of the *chüeh-chü* moves from a condition of harmony to one of destruction and desolation, the viewer-reader, pursuing Sung Po-chen's allusions, may attribute that unhappy change to the breakdown in the relationship between the ruler and his ministers. In traditional interpretation, the harmonious situation found in *Shih-ching's* "Lu ming" arises from the ruler's generosity to his loyal ministers.²⁶ Indeed, interpretations of all ten poems comprised by the classic's Lu-ming decade (the group given its name from the first poem) stress the reciprocity of ruler and ministers. The thrust of these associations may be better understood as they appear in the traditional interpretation of a *Shih-ching* ode of troubled times, "Liu yüeh" 六月 ("The Sixth Month"), which is considered to be one of the "pien hsiao ya" 變小雅 ("the Ya odes of changed character").²⁷ Here the "Small Preface" itemizes the deleterious effects upon society arising from the abandonment of the conditions of "Lu ming": "When the state set forth in the 'Lu ming' ceased, there was an end of such harmony of joy." The Preface then proceeds through the rest of the Lu-ming decade, lamenting abrogation in such phrases as "no more such sovereigns and ministers," "an end to loyalty and truth," and "good laws and order failed."²⁸

This brings us to the unhappy state of affairs between Wu Tzu-hsü and the king of Wu, and Wu Pei and the king of Huai-nan. In each case, ruin results from the ruler's refusal to heed the warnings of his adviser. Each case also is a demonstration of the obligations (and fate) of the remonstrating minister, who is seen steadfastly to reiterate his unwelcome advice in the face of anger, punishment,

²⁴ *Shih-chi* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 118, p. 3085; trans. Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (N.Y.: Columbia U.P. 1962) 2, p. 373.

²⁵ Wu's biography is in *Shih-chi* 66; trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, *Selections from Records of the Historian* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1979), pp. 36-46.

²⁶ See *Shih-ching* "Small Preface," trans. Legge, *She King*, "Prolegomena," p. 63. In traditional texts the "Small Preface" appears at the head of each song, thus a Sung-era author assumed that his allusion would evoke this authoritative interpretation.

²⁷ "Liu yüeh," Mao no. 177, trans. Legge, *She King*, notes on Ode 3, p. 281, and "Prolegomena," pp. 65-66.

²⁸ Trans. *ibid.*; I have converted romanization and have replaced italics with quotation marks.

and, in Tzu-hsü's case, death. If we examine the content and context of both Wu Tzu-hsü's admonition and of the commentary on "Liu yüeh," we find a concern with warfare and the survival of the state. In the first case, Wu (accurately, in the event) predicts ruin as the consequence of the ruler's disinclination to heed his adviser, recognize danger and destroy the subdued enemy. In the second case, the "Small Preface" states that the poem "celebrates king Hsüan's (826-781 bc) punishment of the northern tribes."²⁹ The song mocks the barbarians who "confidently occupied" royal cities and "overran" the capital: "Badly reckoned the Hsien-yün 猃狁." It praises the Chou king who ordered the expedition "To deliver the royal kingdom"; "To help the son of Heaven." And it praises the commander, who is seen "Discharging his military service/ And settling thereby the royal kingdom"; who drives the Hsien-yün back north "As far as T'ai-yüan"; and who, fit "for peace or war," is "A pattern to all the States."³⁰ Commenting on this song, Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) notes that Hsüan ascended the throne after a period of dynastic decay and abuse during which time the Hsien-yün (nomads), availing themselves of Chou's internal disarray, "invaded and ravaged the country."³¹ The campaign celebrated in "Liu yüeh" took place in the Wei River valley, north of the capital, and now has been substantiated by bronze inscriptions.³²

What is this material doing in a Southern Sung flowering-plum picture book? Neither deer, nor these statesmen and commanders, nor their rulers, nor military might had ever claimed a place in flowering-plum traditions. But the issues were relevant ones in Sung Po-ien's time. With the death of the controlling chief councillor Shih Mi-yüan 史彌遠 (1164-1233), the invocation of personal rule 親政 by the emperor Li-tsung 理宗 (r. 1224-1264), and the recall of a coterie of militant luminaries banished or relegated to the sidelines by Shih, Southern Sung entered a period of change known to history as "Tuan-p'ing (1234-1236) keng-hua" 端平更化. The 1230s were a time of mount-

ing aspirations, when the responsibilities and direction of governance were hotly discussed. Fueling the internal debate was a dangerous development: the Mongol conquest of the Chin. The Jurchen-Chin dynasty asked for Sung help in repelling the Mongols and were refused. In 1233, after long, punishing campaigns against the Jurchen, the Mongols invited the Sung to join them in finally extinguishing Chin, which fell early in 1234. Now the question concerned the lack of a buffer between the Sung regime and the Mongols. The Sung naturally wished to redeem the Central Plains, with its old Chinese capitals, which had been ruled by the Jurchen and now were only lightly manned by the Mongols. The political debates raised the entire range of practical and moral issues of governance, sometimes cast as fulminating remonstrance against the current state of internal affairs. The activists prevailed. In mid-1234, the Sung mounted its northern expedition, briefly occupied Pien-ching 汴京 (the Eastern Capital of Kai-feng) and Lo-yang (the Western Capital), then were routed by the Mongols.³³

We now must consider whether Sung Po-ien's plum pictures and doggerel bear such close reading? Are we reading too much into a plum-cult divertimento? Or, do we indeed reach Sung Po-ien's intended message of the blossoms? One can begin by observing that "Mi-chiao" is not an isolated instance. In the pages of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'ü* we find other such titles: "Snail Horns," "Basin," "Helmet," "The Raptor Swoops," and "The Mantis Flies in a Rage" (figs. 1c, 1f, 1j, 1m, 1p), which similarly serve as formal and symbolic pivot: each characterizes the morphology of its graphic counterpart and sets the theme for an accompanying poem that alludes to a political situation. If, for a moment, we treat these prints simply as a series of ink shapes, it seems as if Sung Po-ien is making and taking his own Rorschach test, in which plum patterns elicit his preoccupations through his successive acts of verbal interpretation. What, then, is on his mind? In order to

²⁹ Ibid., p. 65.

³⁰ Ibid., stanzas 4, 1, 2, 3, 5, respectively, pp. 281-83.

³¹ Ibid., p. 281.

³² See Cho-yun Hsu and Kathryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1988), pp. 258-62.

³³ For these developments, see Charles A. Peterson, "Old Illusions and New Realities: Sung Foreign Policy, 1217-1234," in Morris Rossabi, ed., *China among Equals* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1983), pp. 204-39, and his biographical notice, "Cheng Ch'ing-chih," in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976; hereafter cited as SB). My discussion follows Peterson.

approach Sung's authorial intention more closely, let us first examine his preface, and then turn to the contents of his book.

SUNG PO-JEN'S PREFACE

Sung begins by declaring that he has become obsessed by plum blossoms 余有梅癖; he then traces the progress of this obsession, climaxing in the making of his book.³⁴ He records that he has had plum orchards planted, has had viewing pavilions built, and has had a collection of his plum poems printed. Yet his *mei-hua* aspirations remain unfulfilled. Often he finds himself despairing that there is something about the special attraction 趣 of *mei* that he still cannot fathom, and he takes comfort in the thought that only a man like his ancestor Sung Ching 宋璟 (663-737), a statesman of intrepid integrity and the author of a famous "Mei-hua" *fu*, could understand exhaustively the subtlety of the blossoms.³⁵

The flowering of his plum trees brings a rush of exaltation: he feels his "vitals suffused with pure frost," his "shoulders mantled by cold moonlight." Then serenity gives way to restlessness and to frenzy. Insatiably, he paces about the garden, smelling, rubbing, blowing, chewing the various parts of the flowers, like an addict who cannot get enough of his drug.

Sung Po-jen then redirects his obsessive admiration along more rational lines. He observes how the blossoms grow in varied positions and postures. He isolates the plum's special quality of purity; he identifies the blossoms with groups of virtuous hermits, scholars, and poets from antiquity and the more recent past; and he removes these human and botanical worthies from contaminating comparison with peony and peach.³⁶

³⁴ *MHHSP*, "Preface," pp. 1-3. I have utilized, with changes, the translation of Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 282-84. For "obsession" in literati life, see Judith T. Zeitlin, "The Petrified Heart: Obsession in Chinese Literature, Art, and Medicine," in *Late Imperial China* 12.1 (1991), pp. 1-26.

³⁵ I am grateful to Charles Hartman for interpretation of this passage. A "Mei-hua" *fu* attributed to Sung Ching is collected in Ch'en Yuan-lung 陳元龍, comp., *Li-tai fu-hui* 歷代賦匯 (rpt. Chiang-su ku-chi and Shanghai shu-tien, 1987) 124, pp. 12-13 [p. 501]. The earliest appearance of a version of this text known to me is in *SCMP* 11, pp. 218-20; typeset transcription, p. 295-96.

He now launches a systematic program of appreciation. He delineates blossoms in developmental sequence from bud to flower and from full bloom to decline, producing 200 pictures. He culls these to yield 100 representative images, and inscribes each with a poem. In doing so, he says that he has created a work that may be regarded as a "mei-hua p'u" 梅花譜, a plum-blossom register. He writes next, however, that it is a *p'u* 譜 and yet it is not a *p'u*. Yes, it may be called a *p'u* to the extent that taking a likeness of plum actually is like painting peony, bamboo, and chrysanthemum, which have *p'u*. But, no, "The present case is not such a *p'u*" 今非其譜也, at least not in the sense of a technical manual. His desire, rather, is to supply the needs of plum-loving gentlemen 好梅之士. To that end he has had his work cut in wood blocks and printed.

Now, he frets that it may be mocked as a frivolous waste of time and of no redeeming social value. He counters by conjuring up the image of his intended reader:

Surely there must be a like-minded gentleman who, at times when the plum has not yet flowered, may, in a moment of leisure, open [my book] and can have the "horizontal and slanted" (plum branches) of Ku-shan 孤山 (the West Lake hermitage where Lin Pu 林逋 (967-1028) wrote the celebrated poem to which "horizontal and slanted" allude) and the loneliness of Yang-chou (where Ho Sun 何遜 [d. ca. 534] wrote his famous plum poem) simulated in his breast. [Thus,] scarcely will he pass a day without seeing *mei* and to the end of his life will not forget the meaning of *mei-hua* 梅花之意.³⁷

Sung Po-jen closes this discussion by reasserting what his intention is not:

³⁶ The purity of flowering plum and of plum-like personae frequently are developed in contradistinction to flowers considered voluptuous and worldly; peony and peach are favorite foils.

³⁷ See "Shan-yuan hsiao mei" 山園小梅 ("Small Flowering Plum in The Garden on The Hill"), trans. Hans Frankel, in Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, p. 165. For Ho Sun, see Frankel, "Plum Tree," pp. 97-98.

This is not a case of establishing *mo-mei* [painting] models. As for *mo-mei*, we already have the school methods (家法) of Hua-kuang 華光 (Chung-jen 仲仁; d. 1123) and Yang Pu-chih 楊補之 (Wu-chiu 無咎; 1097-1169) which are beyond my abilities.³⁸

He then renews the challenge to his work through the voice of an interlocutor. This "guest" reminds Sung that in ancient times the plum's fruit could slake the thirst of Ts'ao Ts'ao's 曹操 (155-220) armies and "season the pottage in the bronze tripod [of State]" 調金鼎羹. He exhorts Sung, saying that the making of this book surely will impel those concerned with the country's welfare to conduct themselves as upright generals and ministers 出欲將入欲相, and to bring about peace. In contrast to this worthy mission, the interlocutor decries present-day plum devotees whose preoccupation with introverted aestheticism he finds epitomized by the couplet

In the garden grove after snow, just then see half a tree;
By the bamboo fence at the water's edge, suddenly horizontal
branches.

Sung's devil's advocate charges that this is a case of "shunning essentials and pursuing trivialities" 舍本而就末.

Perhaps Sung Po-jen's fever and fervor are, after all, perfectly normal, at least for a *mei-hua* maniac. The author-interlocutor antithetical structure is unexceptional. Further, for a Southern Sung literatus of a certain type, there is nothing remarkable in conflating aesthetic self-indulgence with spiritual development and moral responsibility.³⁹ Yet it is odd that Sung repeatedly indicates that his book is not what it may appear to be. The way in which the interlocutor introduces military and political allusions also is curious. The plum's fruit is frequently met in plum literature in just such contexts. The

³⁸ For the possibility that this disclaimer arises from a resemblance of his book to contemporary illustrated painting manuals, see above, n. 21. He is telling his reader again that his book may look like a practical manual but it is not one.

³⁹ The plum-cultist Chang Tzu 張翥 (1153-aft. 1211) is an outstanding example. See Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, pp. 32-39, and Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1978), pp. 26-41.

interlocutor, in contrast, however, develops his argument so as to isolate *mei* from *mei-hua* and elevate fruit above flowers. This is a striking inversion of dominant flowering-plum usage and values.

In developing the opposition between worthy and unworthy outcomes of flowering-plum inspiration, the interlocutor condenses and quotes the ideas of Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072). Where he exhorted upright generals and ministers, Sung was paraphrasing Ou-yang's praise of his colleague Han Ch'i 韓琦 (1008-1075).⁴⁰ Ou-yang had used the formula "出入將相" (followed almost exactly in Sung's preface) to recognize Han's accomplishments as military leader and as chief minister. But Ou-yang's reference had nothing to do with plums. The allusion is, however, appropriate to an activist agenda of dynastic renewal. "Going out as general or entering [the court] as minister" invokes the early-T'ang ideal of *wen* 文 and *wu* 武 in balance and embodied in leaders skilled equally in governance and in warfare.⁴¹

Most significant is the interlocutor's choice of the quotation that he uses to censure contemporary plum appreciation. The couplet, which celebrates plum in a snow-covered garden, was composed by the early-Sung recluse-poet Lin Pu, who was revered as the patriarch of plum poetry.⁴² Moreover, it had been singled out for praise by

⁴⁰ Ou-yang Hsiu, "Hsiang-chou Chou-chin t'ang chi" 相州畫錦堂記 ("Record of the Hall of Wearing Brocade in Daylight"), in *Ou-yang Wen-chung kung wen-chi* 歐陽文忠公文集 (SPTK edn.), 40, pp. 304-5, which supplies all of Sung's language here.

⁴¹ See Howard Wechsler's discussion of *ju-hsiang ch'u-chiang* in Denis Twitchett, ed., *Sui and T'ang China*, 589-906, Part I, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of China*, p. 200, noting that the *ju-hsiang ch'u-chiang* officials of the 7th c. indicate "a society in which a leader needed not only to be adept as an administrator and a scholar, but also to be trained in the martial arts, as was the emperor himself." According to *Tz'u-yüan* 辭源, the phrase "*ch'u-chiang ju-hsiang*," appears in reference to the merit of Li Ching 李靖 (571-649) in *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 貞觀政要. Wechsler (p. 200) considers Li to be representative of the *ju-hsiang ch'u-chiang* type. According to *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典, the related phrase "*ch'u-ju chia-hsiang*" occurs in the *T'ang-shu* 唐書 biography of Li Te-yü 李德裕 (787-850).

Han Ch'i, Li Ching, and Li Te-yü each served as chief minister; each distinguished himself repeatedly in military actions against barbarians; and each was invested with the title *Wei-kuo kung* 衛國公 (Duke of Wei), by which Ou-yang refers to Han in "Hsiang-chou Chou-chin t'ang chi." On Han, see James T. C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-century Neo-Confucianist* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1967), pp. 40-41.

⁴² See Lin's "Mei-hua" ("Plum blossoms"), poem 2, in Li E 李鶚, ed., *Sung-shih*

Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105). Huang preferred it to Lin's most celebrated poem, "Shan-yüan hsiao mei" 山園小梅 ("Small Flowering Plum in The Garden on The Hill"), which contains the key plum phrases "an-hsiang" 暗香 and "shu-ying" 疏影 (sparse shadows and hidden fragrance).⁴³ Sung Po-je's preface had raised the Lin Pu eremitic ideal, yet now the interlocutor relegates Lin's couplet to the role of foil in an activist-escapist dialectic, dismissing these immortal lines from the fountainhead of plum poetry as inessential. How can this happen in a book devoted to flowering-plum appreciation? In the context of the Southern Sung plum cults, this stance is patently perverse.

What is more, Sung Po-je, now speaking in his own voice, agrees with his fictive challenger. He thanks his accuser and says that this is just what he had in mind in the book's final image, titled "Bring on the Pottage for the Shang Tripod" ("Shang ting ts'ui keng" 商鼎催羹; fig. 1s). "In that case," the interlocutor replies, "this register has not been made in vain and cannot be called a mere divertissement, of no help to the world." Thus approved, Sung Po-je then signs his preface, *cum* confession, "for the benefit of those to come."

THE GAME IN PLAY: WORDS AND IMAGES IN *MEI-HUA HSI-SHEN PU*

If Sung Po-je promises a plum garden, it is of a peculiar kind. While his "like-minded gentleman" could feast his eyes on 100 plum-blossom pictures, he would, if he actually read Sung Po-je's text, be hard-pressed to find there much from the classical plum-garden world — the typical Flowering-plum Hermits and Plum-blossom Beauties, fragrant breezes, moonlight and snow, and shimmering jade. Instead, Sung's reader finds dynastic founders and restorers, ministers and strategists, and calls for action and caution. With one

chi-shih 宋詩紀事 (rpt. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1983) 10, p. 248. For Lin Pu and the rise of flowering-plum appreciation, see Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, pp. 22-24.

⁴³ Huang T'ing-chien, "Shu Lin Ho-ching shih" 書林和靖詩 ("On Lin Pu's Poetry"), in *Yü-chang Huang hsien-sheng wen-chi* 豫章黃先生文集 (SPTK edn.) 26, p. 296. For "Shan-yüan hsiao mei," see Frankel in Bickford *Bones of Jade*, p. 165.

significant and two incidental exceptions, the exemplars, images, and ideas that Sung Po-je uses in his work have no apparent connection with *mei-hua*.⁴⁴

The book opens with an image embodying incipience. A branch of tightly closed buds (fig. 1a) looks to Sung like a stalk of grain, and, as his quatrain directs, should prompt one to think of Kuang-wu-ti 光武帝 (Liu Hsiu 劉秀; b. 5 BC; r. 25-57 AD), who restored the Han Dynasty. A blossom about to open evokes the "Gold Seals" (fig. 1d) of Su Ch'in 蘇秦 (d. 317 BC), federator of the Six States. The spreading petals of an opened flower remind one of the bronze "Basin" (fig. 1f) of T'ang, who overthrew the Hsia tyrant and established the Shang. Splayed petals, like "Deer Horns" (fig. 1h), call up the story of Wu Tzu-hsü, as discussed earlier. As the flowers approach their end, a blossom that has shed its first petal (fig. 1g) evokes the "Four Grey-beards" ("Ssu-hao" 四皓) who came out of seclusion to support the heir-apparent of Han Kao-ti 漢高帝 (Liu Pang 劉邦; r. 202-195 BC).⁴⁵

In matching his plum-blossom pictures with imagistic titles, Sung Po-je associates *mei-hua*, as other poets and painters did, with birds, insects, and animals. But the images that he uses seldom have been seen in plum poetry and painting before. Seen through his eyes, identified by his titles, and explicated by his verses, the blossoms become swooping raptors (fig. 1m) or canny prey (fig. 1p). Or they may take on the appearance of the "Snail Horns" (fig. 1c) that in the text of *Chuang-tzu* are the seats of the fictive kingdoms of "Bash" and "Bully," whose bloody territorial disputes are likened to the conflict between the states of Wei and Ch'i.⁴⁶ While others stick blossoming

⁴⁴ One of the few quatrains typical of Southern Sung plum-blossom verse is "Ch'i feng" 欽風 ("Wind-swept"; ch. 2, p. 10b). It makes reference to Lin Pu and the Shou-yang princess (daughter of Wu-ti [r. 420-422] of Sung), who figures in an anecdote that explains the origins of the "plum-blossom make-up" pattern; see Frankel, "Plum Tree," p. 97.

⁴⁵ Su Ch'in's biography is in *Shih-chi* 69. For T'ang's inscribed basin, see the classic *Ta hsüeh* (sect. "Ming-te" 明德), trans. James Legge, *The Great Learning*, in vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 361. For the intervention of the "Four Men" (i.e., Ssu-hao), see *Shih-chi* 55, pp. 2044-47; trans. Watson, *Records* 1, pp. 145-49. The admonitions of Wu Tzu-hsü are discussed above.

⁴⁶ See *Chuang-tzu* 25 ("Tse-yang" 則陽), in *Chuang-tzu yin-te* 莊子引得, Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, suppl. 2 (Pei-p'ing: 1932; rpt. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1986), pp. 70-71; trans. (as "The 'Snail' Dialogue") in A.C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu: The*

branches in their hair, Sung Po-jen sees before him a rusty iron "Helmet" (fig. 1j), which prompts him to think of the unredeemed Central Plains. Other cultists drink from plum-blossom wine bowls. Sung Po-jen looks at these concave flowers and he sees ritual bronze vessels. To him, they are *yu* 卣, *chüeh* 爵, *kuei* 簋, *i* 彝⁴⁷ and *ting* 鼎 (fig. 1g).

SEASONING THE POTTAGE IN THE SHANG TRIPOD

If some of Song Po-jen's allusive analogies seem forced, plums and politics meet unambiguously in his invocations of the Shang tripod (*ting*) and its pottage (*keng*), the cliché of all flowering-plum clichés. As the blossoms approach maximum bloom, Sung presents an image of a full-blown flower (fig. 1g) and surmounts it with the title "Ting." His quatrain raises issues of legitimacy and statesmanship:

From Chia-ju to Fen-yin
Great fame transmitted imperishably.
The world expectantly awaits the seasoning of the pottage.
Is there someone with the ability to put his hand to the task?⁴⁸

Ting are an ancient symbol of dynastic legitimacy in China. Their legendary creation and transmission to worthy rulers is well known: cast in Hsia, transmitted to Shang, and lost by Shang along with its virtue. In his first couplet here, Sung Po-jen picks up this transmission at the point when king Ch'eng of Chou (r. 1115-1079 BC) "tings the *ting*" — that is, establishes the capital — at Chia-ju (near modern Loyang) 成王定鼎於郊廓,⁴⁹ and takes it forward to the re-

Inner Chapters (1981; rpt. London: Mandala Books/Unwin Paperbacks, 1986), pp. 153-54. Other trans. and interpretations in Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939; rpt., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, n.d.), pp. 64-65; and Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1968), pp. 284-85.

⁴⁷ These four not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 1, pp. 13a, 14b, 17a, 19a.

⁴⁸ I thank F. W. Mote for assistance in this translation. The final version and interpretation are my own.

covery of the long-lost precious *ting* during the reign of the Han emperor Wu 武 (Liu Ch'e 劉徹; r. 141-87 BC) at Fen-yin (in modern Shansi).⁵⁰

Reference to the plum is introduced in the closing couplet, where "seasoning the pottage" finds its *locus classicus* in *Shu-ching*, or *Classic of Documents*, which records that king Wu-ting of the Shang dynasty charged his minister Yüeh 說 to teach him:

"Be to me as the yeast and malt in making sweet spirits; as the salt and plums 鹽梅 in harmonizing [the flavors of] the pottage 和羹."⁵¹

Keng, the "pottage" of this passage, was a kind of thick soup, or stew, popular in ancient China; and, as Chang Kwang-chih points out, its preparation "is characteristically an art of mixing flavors." Plums, according to Chang (and to traditional commentators on this passage), were used to impart a sour taste and "were often mentioned with salt (*yen mei*) as the chief seasoning agents."⁵²

Wu-ting's esculent exhortation takes the forthright admonitions of the virtuous minister to be as essential to good government as fermenting agents are to wine-making, and strong seasonings to the stew. There exists also the implication that the function of these

⁴⁹ For the transmission of the *ting*, see *Chun-ch'iu Tso chuan cheng-i* 春秋左傳正義 (Hsüan 3), in *Shih-san-ching chu-shu* 十三經註疏 (rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1980), p. 1868; trans. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, in vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 293, and Burton Watson, *The Tso Chuan* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1989), pp. 81-83.

⁵⁰ For the Han recovery of the *ting*, see *Shih-chi* 28, pp. 1392 ff., and 1383; trans. Watson, *Records* 2, pp. 48 ff. and 36; for references to the recovery of the *ting* in sacrificial hymns, see E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895-1905 and Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1969), vol. 3, part 2, and appendix 1, part 2, nos. 12 and 15.

⁵¹ *Shang-shu cheng-i* 尚書正義, sect. "Yüeh ming hsia" 說命下 (Shih-san ching chu-shu edn.), p. 175; trans. modified from Legge, *The Shoo King*, part 4, book 8, in vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 260.

⁵² K. C. Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1977), p. 31. Although commentators treat *yen* and *mei* as separate components, it is likely that they form a compound that means salted plums (actually, pickled plums), as in the Japanese *umeboshi* 梅干し. In later literature *yen-mei* 鹽梅 was used to represent the forthright scholar-official.

briny and acidic condiments, which counteract the blandness of the pottage, is like the function of the frank minister at court in balancing the smooth speeches of sycophantic colleagues. The political implications of *keng* seasoned with *yen* and *mei* are elaborated as extended metaphor in a dialogue on the difference between "assent" 同 and "harmony" 和 in *Tso chuan*.⁵³

Sung Po-chen's quatrain, then, links the tripod symbolism of legitimacy with the plum-pottage symbol of the able and upright chief minister. No contemporary reader could fail to understand these allusions. In numberless essays, poems, and inscriptions on ink-plum paintings, writers expressed their political aspirations and frustrations through the phrases "harmonizing the pottage" (*ho keng*), "blending the pottage" (*tiao keng*), and the "Shang tripod." Indeed, the cliché was so popular during Southern Sung that the plum cultist Chang Tzu 張鑑 (1153-1211+) listed "making poems that allude to matters of . . . 'Blending the Pottage,' " among the "Abominations to the Blossoms."⁵⁴

Ting here marks the third time Sung Po-chen invokes the pottage and the tripod. We have encountered it twice before in the author's preface. First, the interlocutor invoked the ability of plum to "season the pottage in the bronze tripod" as a mandate to make a plum-blossom book capable of moral suasion. The author replied that the "end of the book has [the image entitled] Bring on the Pottage for the Shang Tripod" with that very idea."

Indeed, on the last page of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* (fig. 1s), Sung Po-chen raises these issues for the fourth time in closing his hundred-part cycle. The final image displays the remnants of a plum blossom that, having shed all its petals, exposes developing fruit. He directs its reading by invoking the Shang *ting* and its *keng* in the title on top; and, he makes his meaning plain in the verse inscribed at its side:

⁵³ *Tso chuan* (Chao 20), pp. 2093-94; trans. Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 684. The *Shih-ching* song quoted in this passage is "Lieh tsu" 烈祖, Mao no. 302.

⁵⁴ Chang Tzu, *Yü-chao t'ang mei-p'in* 玉照堂梅品 ("Flowering-plum Classifications of Jade-Radiance Hall"), quoted in *Ch'i-tung yeh-yü* 齊東野語 ("Words from a Retired Scholar from the East of Ch'i"), Chou Mi 周密, (late-13th c.) comp., T'ang Sung shih-liao pi-chi ts'ung-k'an edn. (Peking: Chung-hua, 1983) 15, p. 275.

Stripping off white [blossoms] gets green-jade [fruit],
The taste still bitterly sour.
Soon the dream will become reality:
When the pottage is seasoned, peace on earth.

Unlike the multitude of plum poems that mourn the falling of the blossoms, here the promised end is the fruit that is the agent of (the regeneration of) legitimate governance. Coming at the end of the cycle, it engenders a new beginning; and, if we return to the start of Sung Po-chen's book, we find again the tightly closed buds (fig. 1a) and a poem that urges us to think of emperor Kuang-wu of the Han, who was able to *chung-hsing* 中興 — to restore a dynasty.

A POLITICAL INTENTION

We saw in the preface that Sung Po-chen feared ridicule of his pastime. He countered by imagining an ideal reader who, by means of his book, would "never forget the meaning of *mei-hua*." Sung's purpose, then, was to instruct "like-minded gentlemen" in the proper way of reading plum-blossom significance.

With respect to this goal, the force of Sung Po-chen's medium — print — should not be underestimated. Through the course of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, the reader will be schooled in Sung Po-chen's personal plum-blossom language, presented as textual glosses on graphic patterns and objectified as a printed book. Sung thus creates a situation in which he projects his particular concerns as definitive readings, definitive at least within the confines of his book.

By instructing his reader in the correct interpretation of the blossoms, Sung's book may reflect ancient traditions of interpreting natural phenomena as omens, a practice that historically involved political manipulation in China. Or we may be tempted to relate Sung's strategic readings of plum configurations to the interpretation of hexagrams. One thinks, for instance, of the "Ting" ("Tripod") hexagram.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ See Richard Wilhelm, trans. Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*,

How political is his message and how pointed? Taken together with the antithetical rhetoric of the preface, the weight of allusive reference suggests that Sung Po-jen has availed himself of the enormously popular *mei-hua* motif in order to lodge political concerns between the covers of a book on plum-appreciation. We have seen lines like "The world awaits the seasoning of the pottage/ Who will have the ability to put his hand to the task?" and his exemplars of dynastic founding and restoration, for example T'ang of Shang and Han Kuang-wu-ti. There are auspicious imperial omens such as "Lao-jen hsing" 老人星 ("Canopus")⁵⁶ and "Ting" (figs 1g and 1s). Moreover, king T'ang's basin (fig. 1f) is inscribed with an injunction appropriate to dynastic reform: "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation."⁵⁷ Evoked by "Receiving Dew" (fig. 2d, bottom row), the dispersed Bronze Immortals recall the endless shame of loss of empire, while the Tripod holds the promise of recovery.⁵⁸ "Helmet" (fig. 1j) evokes a longing for the past and for a future that requires immediate action:

The rusted iron presses chill upon my shoulders.
The Central Plains, I think longingly, are not yet requited.
On what day sweep aside the border dust
And again tie on my courtier's cap?

Sung Po-jen develops the thrust of these allusions through the use of internal reference. We have seen, for instance, how the interlocutor, challenging the author to make a politically moral book, used a phrase that harked back to Ou-yang Hsiu and Han Ch'i of

Bollingen Series 19, 3d rev. edn. (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1968), hexagram no. 50 ("Ting"), pp. 193-97 and 641-46.

⁵⁶ Not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 1, p. 4a.

⁵⁷ *Ta hsüeh*, trans. Legge, *Great Learning*, in vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, p. 361.

⁵⁸ For the bronze immortals, see above, n. 20. Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) invoked the *ting* in "Song of the Stone Drums," where he described the calligraphy inscribed upon them with the phrase "Ancient tripods leap from the water. . ." Stephen Owen comments: "Since the Yüan-ho period (806-20), during which this poem was written, was considered to be a 'restoration' . . . of T'ang power, the stone drums had special meaning for Han [Yü]." See his *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1975), p. 248.

early Sung and further to Li Ching 李靖 (571-649) and the early-T'ang ideal of *wen* and *wu*. Similarly, we remember how the first-level allusions of "Deer Horns" were enriched as they were extended by association to the ode "Liu yüeh." Here, the "Small Preface" raised the spectre of the abrogation of responsibility and reciprocity; the ode praised the king who revives his failing dynasty, the prowess of the men who drive the barbarians back north, and the virtues of the commander Chi-fu who is a model of *wen* and *wu*, "A pattern to all the States" 文武甫萬邦為憲.⁵⁹

Political significance may be seen in other, more tangible, ways. The thrust of the material discussed above seems to aim at the situation at the court around 1238, the approximate publication date of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. Mentioned already was *Tuan-p'ing keng-hua*, the period of change when Li-tsung asserted personal rule and the enemies and rivals of Shih Mi-yüan were recalled to court. We also noted the Mongol annihilation of the Chin in 1234, followed by the Sung's disastrous attempt to retake the former Chinese capitals. But in addition, a great fire in Lin-an in 1237 prompted the emperor to call for "direct criticism." It is possible that *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* was one such remonstrance.⁶⁰

In light of these events, we return to "Tripod" (fig. 1g). Sung developed his allusions there by means of a particular mechanism. He opens the quatrain with the place-name "Chia-ju." Chia-ju then leads the reader to a passage in *Tso chuan* about the transmission of the dynastic tripods. The ancient details surrounding the king of Ch'u are now more relevant; he has just done Chou the good turn of putting down the Jung 戎 tribal people. Having advanced to the Lo River, he is reviewing his troops at the border of the Chou royal domain, where the Chou emissary comes to thank him. Thereupon

⁵⁹ Legge, *She King* "Liu yüeh," pp. 281-83. Chu Hsi comments: "If not for *wen* he would have had no means by which to attach the people to him. If not for *wu* he would have had no means by which to force the enemy into awe-struck submission. Able in *wen*, able in *wu*, therefore the States could use him as pattern." See *Shih-chi chuan* 詩集傳 (rpt. Peking: Wen-hsüeh ku-chi k'an hsing she, 1955) 10, p. 6a.

⁶⁰ On the Lin-an fire, see below. Suggestive for the perceived political significance of this book is *MHHSP*'s reprint date of 1261, when Chia Ssu-tao 賈似道 (1213-1275) was in power, and the Sung was in internal disarray, economic distress, and at war with the Mongols.

he asks about the tripods, and the emissary gives not just their history, but also a speech on dynastic virtue and the mandate to rule. His recitation concludes:

... King Ch'eng fixed the tripods in Chia-ju and divined that the dynasty should extend through thirty reigns, over seven hundred years. Though the virtue of Chou is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the tripods may not yet be inquired about.⁶¹

Might the ancient speaker as well have been speaking of the virtue of the Sung in the aftermath of the Mongols' destruction of the Chin?

This is not an isolated case. "Oyster Shell" ("Pang-k'o" 蚌殼)⁶² and "The Mantis Flies in a Rage" (fig. 1p) also refer to ancient warnings of the disastrous outcomes of mistaken strategies: the former, of the wages of prolonged stalemate; the latter, of the danger of permitting the prospect of immediate gain to distract attention from impending danger.⁶³ If Song Po-jen employs these images to speak to events of

⁶¹ *Tso chuan* (Hsüan, 3), p. 1868; trans. Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 293, romanization converted.

⁶² Not pictured here; see *MHHSP*, ch. 1, p. 12a.

⁶³ Attempting to dissuade Chao from attacking Yen, Su Tai 蘇代 told king Hui of his encounter with an oyster and a snipe. The oyster refused to open its shell, and the snipe told the oyster it would die if it did not. The oyster tauntingly replied that it would be the snipe who would die (of starvation). As they argued, a fisherman captured both of them. "As for the present case of Chao attacking Yen," Su Tai continued, "if Yen and Chao are locked in prolonged stalemate, the populace will become exhausted and, I fear, Ch'in will play the part of the fisherman." See *Chan-kuo ts'ü* 戰國策, ch. 2, as cited in *Tz'u-yüan*. The mantis quatrain refers to Chuang-tzu's observation of a cicada. The insect is so delighted with its shady perch that it is unaware of a mantis who is about to grab it; the mantis, in turn, is so intent on getting the cicada that it is unaware of a magpie watching it; the magpie is unaware of Chuang-tzu, who has cocked his cross-bow. Chuang-tzu is so engrossed that he forgets himself. Aghast at this exhibition of serial predation, he drops his bow and hurries off, only to be pursued as a poacher by the park-keeper. See *Chuang-tzu* 20 ("Shan-mu" 山木), p. 54; trans. Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 218-19. Song Po-jen's use of the term "Yellow bird" (黃鳥) instead of Chuang-tzu's "strange magpie" (異鷲) probably reflects a parallel version employed in ancient remonstrations on military policy; see *Shuo-yüan* 說苑 (sect. "Cheng-chien" 正諫), Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-68 BC), comp., and Han Ying's 韓嬰 (fl. 157 BC) *Han-shih wai chuan* 韓詩外傳, ch. 10, cited in *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*. Moreover, twice in *Chuang-tzu*, courtiers are warned by the example of a mantis which, unaware of the limits of its strength,

the recent past, he may have been referring to the Sung court's relations with the Chin and the Mongols. If concerning current events, he may have had in mind factionalism and short-sighted policies. If concerning the duty to admonish one's ruler, Sung's choice of classical allusions would remind the reader of the remonstrations following the great Lin-an fire.⁶⁴

Sung Po-jen's frequent allusions to ministers and strategists now take on further significance. In addition to those already noted, we have:

1. Duke Wu (Wu kung 武公; 812-757 BC) who, after the Ch'üan-jung 犬戎 killed king Yü of Chou, led troops in aid of Chou, pacified the Jung, and was made a duke by king P'ing of Chou.⁶⁵
2. Fan Li 范蠡 (5th century BC), who assisted king Kou-chien 勾踐 of Yüeh (496-465 BC), then withdrew to a little boat, wandered rivers and lakes, and went on to amass fortunes which he gave away to poor friends and relations (fig. 1r).⁶⁶
3. The Two Shu 二疏 (Shu Kuang 廣 and Shu Shou 受; fl. second half of the first century BC), who were tutors to emperor Hsüan's (Liu Ping-i; r. 74-49 BC) heir-apparent and who, after virtuous service, "knew when to stop," retired from court, and, revered and richly rewarded, shared their largesse with relatives and friends at home;⁶⁷
4. Yen Kuang 嚴光 (37 BC-43 AD), who came out of seclusion to

attempts to stop a chariot by angrily waving its arms in front of it. See *Chuang-tzu* 4 ("Jen chien shih" 人間世), p. 11, and 12 ("T'ien-ti" 天地), p. 30; trans. Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 62 and 133.

⁶⁴ Remonstrations discussed below.

⁶⁵ Not pictured here; see "K'uai hsing pien" 會星弁, *MHHSP* 2, p. 15; and *Shih-ching*, "Ch'i ao" 淇奥 (Mao no. 55); trans. Legge, *She King*, pp. 91-93. The Small Preface says that this song was made in praise of duke Wu's virtue when he entered the court of Chou and was chief minister (see Legge, *She King*, p. 46). For the events noted above and for duke Wu's virtuous rule of Wei, see *Shih-chi* 37, p. 1591; trans. Chavannes, *Mémoires* 4, p. 193.

⁶⁶ *Shih-chi* 129, pp. 3256-58; trans. Watson, *Records* 2, pp. 479-81.

⁶⁷ Not pictured here, see *MHHSP* 2, p. 242; and *Han-shu* 漢書 71, trans. Burton Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from The History of the Former Han by Pan Ku* (N.Y.: Columbia U.P., 1974), pp. 162-65.

assist his friend, the future emperor Kuang-wu, then selflessly withdrew;⁶⁸

5. Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), the strategist and minister who came out of his life of retirement to assist Liu Pei (162-223), founder of the kingdom of Shu;⁶⁹
6. Tsu T'i 祖逖 (266-321), the Chin Irredentist, and his friend Liu K'un 劉琨 (271-318), who remained in the north and worked for the restoration of Chin.⁷⁰

Plum blossoms, moreover, evoke the emotions engendered by political actions of ancient times:

1. The gratitude of the people of Wei to duke Huan of Ch'i (684-642 BC) who, after the Ti 狄 tribe defeated them, rescued them and reinstated the Wei, and sent them rich gifts;⁷¹
2. The despair of the slandered and exiled minister Ch'ü Yüan

⁶⁸ Not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 2, p. 24b; and *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1965) 83, pp. 2763-64.

⁶⁹ Not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 2, p. 7b; and *San-kuo chih* 三國志 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 35.

⁷⁰ Not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 2, p. 8a. Similar to "Deer Horns," the image is entitled "The Cock in the Wood Beats Its Wings" ("Lin chi p'ai yü" 林雞拍羽). The matching verse begins with a cock clapping its wings in the cold, which Sung Po-chen associates with the *Shih-ching's* cock crowing in the cold wind and rain. It is developed in the second line: "In wind and rain it does not change its rules of conduct" 風雨不改度, which refers to "Feng yü" 風雨 (Mao no. 90; trans. Legge, *She King*, p. 143) and its interpretation in the Small Preface as: "In an age of disorder, the writer longs for a superior man who does not change his rules of conduct" (trans. Legge, *She King*, Prolegomena, p. 51, modified). The crowing cock is the pivot for the second couplet; in line three it becomes the cock-crow in the middle of the night that awakens Tsu T'i and Liu K'un, who thereupon arise and dance. See biography of Tsu T'i in *Chin-shu* 晉書, cited in *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*. For Liu K'un's ambition to work in the north to restore the Chin, see Richard Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, by Liu I-ch'ing with Commentary by Liu Chün (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota P., 1976), chap. 2, item 35, p. 47. Other anecdotes cited in *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* indicate that the cock-crow of this anecdote later was interpreted as an omen of impending political change. The closing line of Sung Po-chen's quatrain urges males to waken themselves.

⁷¹ Not pictured here; see *MHHSP* 1, p. 8a. The image is entitled "Half Papaya" ("Mu-kua hsin" 木瓜心). The second couplet refers to the *Shih-ching's* song "Mu-kua" (Mao no. 64; trans. Legge, *She King*, pp. 107-8) and to the Small Preface, which says that it was made in praise and gratitude for the conduct of duke Huan toward the people of Wei (see Legge, *She King*, Prolegomena, pp. 46-47).

屈原 (third century BC), wandering along the embankment before drowning himself in the river;⁷²

3. The isolated loyalty 孤忠 of Su Wu 蘇武 (first century BC), who was rescued from barbarian captivity in the north by means of the deception of a letter said to have been tied to the leg of a goose;⁷³
4. The rage of Fan Tseng 范增 (278-204 BC) who, foiled in his attempt to assassinate Liu Pang (Kao-ti; r. 202-195 BC), smashed the jade dippers presented to him by his adversary.⁷⁴

Sung uses other images to embody the scholar's aspirations for official success, imperial recognition, and distinguished service. Flame-like stamens remind the poor scholar of the golden-lotus lamps that the emperor sent to light the way of eminent scholar-officials.⁷⁵ Fin-like petals bring to mind the fish who successfully leaps the rapids at Yü-men 禹門 and is transformed into a dragon — a metaphor for achieving the highest official success.⁷⁶ Flat-spread flowers recall the fringed hat, "Mien" 冕, of Chou, which Confucius considered to be an attribute of well-regulated government.⁷⁷

In all, about one-third (if not more) of the hundred combinations of titles and quatrains in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* speak to public engagement. Yet, many other texts are noncommittal, even somewhat escapist. They focus on self-preservation, reclusion, and the enjoyment of natural beauty and of beautiful women. For instance:

1. "Wine-Straining Kerchief" — a turban-shaped flower with a pair of pendant petals — recalls the head-cloth that T'ao

⁷² Not pictured here; see "Ch'un weng fou hsiang" 春甕浮香, *MHHSP* 1, p. 15a.

⁷³ Not pictured here; see "Ku hung chiao yüeh" 孤鴻叫月, *MHHSP* 2, p. 6b; and *Han-shu* 63; trans. Watson, *Courtier and Commoner*, pp. 34-45.

⁷⁴ Not pictured here; see "Yü tou" 玉斗 (Jade Dippers), *MHHSP* 1, p. 18b; and *Shih-chi* 7, pp. 313-15; trans. Watson, *Records* 1, pp. 51-55.

⁷⁵ Not pictured here; see "Han kang t'u yen" 寒缸吐焰, *MHHSP* 1, p. 15b.

⁷⁶ Not pictured here; see "Yu yü ch'u shui" 遊魚出水, *MHHSP* 2, p. 22b.

⁷⁷ Not pictured; see *MHHSP* 2, p. 2a. "Yen Yüan asked how the government of a country should be administered. The Master said ... 'Wear the ceremonial cap (mien) of Chou.'" See *Lun-yü* 15/10, trans. Legge, *Confucian Analects*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, pp. 297-98; I supply material in parentheses and convert romanization.

Ch'ien 陶潛 (365-427), having retired from office and taken up the rustic life, used to strain his wine and then wound back around his head;⁷⁹

2. "Old Chrysanthemum Draped with Frost" again calls forth T'ao Ch'ien and the eremitic ideal that he and his beloved flower embody;⁷⁹
3. "Wind-swept" blossoms emit "hidden fragrance," a phrase that evokes the recluse-poet Lin Pu who used these words in praise of the plum;⁸⁰
4. An overblown blossom that has only three petals left on it calls up the reclusive triad known as "The Three Worthies of Wu-chiang" (fig. 11);⁸¹
5. The modern reader is warned not to waste his accomplishments on the vulgar, lest he incur the jeers of Po-ya 伯牙 who, in ancient times, broke his *ch'in* and never played again after the death of his ideal listener;⁸²
6. The charms of Po Chū-i's 白居易 (772-846) concubines are evoked by graceful flowers that look like "Willow Eyes" and "Cherry Blossoms";⁸³
7. "Knit Brows" (fig. 11) recall Hsi Shih 西施, the foremost beauty of antiquity, whose charms belie the superficial blandishments of "Concealing Adornments";⁸⁴
8. Blossoms on the wind resemble those that fell upon the forehead of the Shou-yang 壽陽 princess (fifth century) and there formed the pattern that came to be called "plum-blossom make-up";⁸⁵
9. Other plum-blossom patterns inspire images of lotus aglitter

⁷⁹ Not pictured; see "Lu-chiu chin" 瀟酒巾, *MHHSP* 2, p. 15b; and T'ao's *Chin-shu* biography.

⁷⁹ Not pictured; see "Lao chū p'i shuang" 老菊披霜, *MHHSP* 2, p. 9b.

⁸⁰ Not pictured; see "Ch'i feng," *MHHSP* 2, p. 20b.

⁸¹ The Three Worthies of Wu-chiang are: Fan Li, Chang Han 張翰 (fl. mid-third to early fourth centuries), and Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙 (d. ca. 881).

⁸² Not pictured; see "Ch'in chia" 琴甲 ("Zither Spectrum"), *MHHSP* 1, p. 11a.

⁸³ Not pictured; see "Liu yen" 柳眼 and "Ying-t'ao" 櫻桃, *MHHSP* 1, pp. 11b, 3b.

⁸⁴ Not pictured; see "Yen chuang" 掩妝, *MHHSP* 2, p. 13b.

⁸⁵ Not pictured; see "Ch'i feng," *MHHSP* 2, p. 20b.

with rain drops and of a flirtatious lady, of a scene in a lonely boudoir, and of the crescent moon.⁸⁶

In fact, the absurdist "Snail Horns" (fig. 10) can hardly be taken as an exhortation to righteous warfare. "Profile" counsels indirection.⁸⁷ "The Startled Gull Flaps its Wings" proposes flight.⁸⁸ Finally, "Stride while Looking Back Over Your Shoulder" observes:

The way of the world has many steep and hazardous places;
Trotting forward one thinks of retreating.
One step forward, one backward look;
Not to make light of losing one's footing.⁸⁹

Such sentiments may be attributed to about one-sixth of Song Po-jen's titles and verses.

What are we to make of such a mixture of political, eremitic, and erotic themes? While this range is unmatched by the *oeuvres* of other Sung plum poets, it is well-attested by the Yuan works of Wang Mien 王冕 (d. 1359). Regarded by later men as a patriotic poet, Wang was a military activist who also was devoted to plum blossoms. He used *mei-hua* poetry and *mo-mei* painting to express a range of feelings, ideals, and exhortations that are notable both for their breadth and for their inconsistency. He embodied his entire world of concerns in images of plum blossoms, and in that world politics, comprising both activist and eremitic alternatives, played a central role.⁹⁰ Sung Po-jen

⁸⁶ Not pictured; see "Hsin ho chien yü" 新荷澱雨 ("New Lotus Splashed with Rain"), "Yen-wei" 燕尾 ("Swallow Tail"), and "Ch'ing k'ung kua yüeh" 晴空掛月 ("Suspended Moon in the Clear Sky"), *MHHSP* 2, pp. 9a, 11b, and 14a.

⁸⁷ Not pictured; see "Ts'e mien" 側面, *MHHSP* 1, p. 25b.

⁸⁸ Not pictured; see "Ching ou chen i" 驚鷗振翼, *MHHSP* 2, p. 12a. For the story of the seagull and the fisherman, see A. C. Graham, trans., *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (1960; rpt. with additional preface, N.Y.: Columbia U.P., 1990), p. 45.

⁸⁹ Not pictured; see "Ku pu" 顧步, *MHHSP* 2, p. 13a.

⁹⁰ For the problematic persona of Wang Mien in traditional sources, see Chou Shao-hsien 周紹賢, "Wang Mien shih-chi k'ao-cheng" 王冕事蹟考証, *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 11.8 (31 Oct. 1955), pp. 8-10 [234-36]; rpt. in *Ta-lu tsa-chih shih-hsüeh ts'ung-shu* 大陸雜誌史學叢書, series 1 (Taipei: Ta-lu tsa-chih, 1960), pp. 98-100.

Modern biographers see contradictions between the "patriotic" and "escapist" ideas in Wang Mien's writings and in the accounts of his life; see, e.g., Hung Jui 洪

seems to be doing the same thing in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. Perhaps this is what Hsiang Shih-pi 向士璧 (c.s. 1232) had in mind when he wrote, in his postface to the book, "Men of earlier times used to say, 'In a single plum blossom, a complete heaven and earth.'"⁹¹

The allusions that we have identified undoubtedly were common ones. Song Po-jen's reader need only have been lettered, not learned, to recognize them. There also is no doubt that *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* is a *tour de force* in which ingenuity and cleverness, if not wit, count for a lot. Yet this sort of forced playfulness, which seems endemic among such lesser literati of Southern Sung as the plum cultists Chang Tzu and Lin Hung 林洪 (fl. thirteenth century),⁹² does not preclude the sort of serious significance that was, as I have been arguing, Sung's aim in his word-and-image book of plum blossoms. Let us pursue further a historical explanation of that aim.

SUNG PO-JEN'S LIFE, WORKS, AND SOCIETY

If our modern-day reading of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* points to a political intention, why has this gone unremarked in the critical literature? One answer lies in the obscurity of the author. Can a marginal person be credited with such a purposeful plan? Apparently not. The erudites who commented on his book did not take it seriously. Let us investigate Sung's life and works to form an immediate context for the creation of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*.

Little is known about Sung Po-jen. His courtesy name was Ch'i-chih, 器之 and his studio name was Hsüeh-yen 雪巖. He was a native of Hu-chou 湖州 (Che-chiang), and, as we have noted, he claimed descent from the T'ang statesman Sung Ching. He was recommended for the *po-hsüeh hung-tz'u* 博學宏詞 examinations, and during the Chia-hsi reign (1237-1240) served as an official in Salt

Transport. Internal evidence in his poetry collections places him at the capital in the summer of 1237 and in the Lin-an environs during the period 1237-1239.⁹³

Ch'en Ch'i 陳起 (1190-ca. 1251) included Sung Po-jen's *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao* [Hsi-ch'eng chi] 雪巖吟草 [西勝集] (*Hsüeh-yen's Sighing Grasses* [West (Horse-) Path Collection]) in his *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi* 南宋群賢小集 (*Small Collections by Southern Sung Worthies*).⁹⁴ A Ch'ing-era supplement to this collection included a group of Sung's poems, under the title *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao pu-i* 雪巖吟草補遺. Most of the poems were published in another Sung Po-jen collection, *Wang-chi chi* 忘機集 (*Collection of Forgetting Schemes*).⁹⁵ Sung Po-jen's preface to *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* refers to yet another collection of his poetry (presumably plum poetry), titled *Ch'ing-chü chi* 清臞集 (*Collection of the Pure and Emaciated*). The editors of *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (*Annotated Catalogue of the Imperial Library*) treat a collection of Sung Po-jen's *tz'u*, *Yen-p'o Yü-yin tz'u* 湮波漁隱詞 (*Song Lyrics of the Fisherman-Recluse of Mist and Waves* [Sung Po-jen]), that was preserved in the fifteenth-century encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta tien*.⁹⁶

⁹³ Sources for Sung's life are: "Chuan lieh" 傳略 ("Biographical Sketch") by Wu-ch'ing 烏青, in Sung Po-jen's *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao* 雪巖吟草 ("Hsüeh-yen's [Sung Po-jen's] Sighing Grasses"), published in *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi* 南宋群賢小集 (*Small Collections by Southern Sung Worthies*), comp. Ch'en Ch'i 陳起 (1190-ca. 1251), Shih-men Ku-shih Tu-hua-chai 石門顧氏讀畫齋 edn., recompiled by Ku Hsiu 顧修, 1801, p. 1; and Chi Yün 紀昀 et al., comps., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (1782; typeset edn. in *Ho-yin Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao chi Ssu-k'u wei-shou shu-mu chin-hui shu-mu* 合印四庫全書總目提要及四庫未收書目禁毀書目 [Taipei: Shang-wu, 1978]); hereafter SKTY, p. 3425. For Sung's residence during the period 1237 to 1239, see annotations (whether author's or other's notes is unknown) in *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao* [Hsi-ch'eng chi] 西勝集 ("West [Horse-] Path Collection"), in *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi*, p. 1a. Other indications of Sung's activities appear scattered in the titles and contents of his poems and in annotations to them in the various collections and editions.

⁹⁴ J. W. Haeger's entry on *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi*, in Etienne Balazs and Yves Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), p. 441, gives its date of publication as ca. 1235. Since the book contains Sung Po-jen material dated as late as 1239, this date should be revised.

⁹⁵ See Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814), comp., *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi pu-i* 南宋群賢小集補遺, Shih-men Ku-shih Tu-hua-chai edn.; and *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao chia-chüan* 雪巖吟草分卷忘機集, in Chiang Ju-tsao 蔣汝藻, comp., *Mi-yün-lou ying Sung-pen ch'i-chung* 密韻樓景宋本七種 (1922-1924), Wu-ch'eng Chiang-shih Le-ti-an 烏程蔣氏樂地齋 edn.

瑞, Wang Mien, published in 1962 in *Chung-kuo hua-chia ts'ung-shu* 中國畫家叢書 and rpt. in P'an T'ien-shou 潘天壽 et al., eds., *Li-tai hua-chia p'ing-chuan* 歷代畫家評傳, Yüan vol. (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1979); and Chang K'un 張坤, *Wang Mien shih-hsüan* 王冕詩選, in *Che-chiang li-tai ming-jia shih-hsüan ts'ung-shu* 中國歷代名家詩選叢書 (Hang-chow: Che-chiang wen-i, 1985), appendix, pp. 149-58.

⁹¹ MHHSP, "Mei-hua p'u hou-hsu" 梅花譜後序, p. 2a.

⁹² For Chang and Lin, see Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, pp. 30-39.

What was the impact of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*? Other than its own postface and colophons, and the decision to reissue it some thirty years after initial publication, we find no indications of its Southern Sung reception. Although Wu T'ai-su incorporated a redrawn, abridged version into *Sung-chai mei-p'u*, he misidentified it, as did later compilers of ink-plum manuals.⁹⁷ Although the book received belated celebrity among Ch'ing collectors of Sung editions, *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* was not selected for inclusion in the Ch'ing imperial library. (A detailed discussion of the publication history of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* is contained in the appendix to this article.) It was recognized as an object, but Sung Po-chen's literary standing in general was not high. The *Ssu-k'u* editors classed him as a member of the River and Lake School (*Chiang-hu p'ai* 江湖派) of minor Southern Sung poets. They found his lyric songs "shallow and vulgar" and his *Hsi-ch'eng chi* as an example of, "thoughts being pure but the talent weak." Intrigued by the final image of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, Juan Yüan 阮元 (1764-1849) noted: "Because Po-chen served as an official in Salt Transport during the Chia-hsi reign, therefore the final heading says: 'Bring on the pottage for the Shang tripod.'" Did Juan Yüan mean that this *Shang-shu* allusion simply is an instance of Southern Sung occupational humor, a combination of Sung Po-chen's vocation (salt) and avocation (plums)?⁹⁸

The only sympathetic and substantial notice of Sung Po-chen supplies the best available evidence to support my argument that *Mei-hua hsi-shen pu* makes a serious political statement. It is an undated biographical sketch by one Wu-ch'ing 烏青 appended to Sung's *Hsüeh-*

yen yin-ts'ao in *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi*. Here he is characterized as an obscure official who was an ardent Irredentist. Going beyond the time of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, the biography speaks of the difficulties of the Hsien-ch'un era (1265-1274), to which Sung Po-chen responded with heroic and mournful verse. Ultimately, he became reconciled and less strident.⁹⁹ Such a person could have written *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* with the intentions that we have proposed for this book.

Another way to infer Sung Po-chen's political ideals is to study his circle of acquaintances. The *Ssu-k'u* editors noted that he frequently matched verses with the Chiang-hu poets Kao Chu 高翥 and Sun Wei-hsin 孫惟信 (1179-1243).¹⁰⁰ Kao and Sun were among the type of "visiting guests" who, according to Fang Hui 方回 (1227-1307), preyed upon the Hang-chou elite: "Their gossip was so fearsome that even before they arrived at the door, the officials would rush out to welcome them."¹⁰¹ The pseudo-recluse Lin Hung also was a recipient of Sung Po-chen's poems. Lin was perhaps the only plum addict in Hang-chou who not only could match Sung's devotion to the blossoms but also could rival Sung's impeccable plum-blossom lineage because he claimed descent from the poet Lin Pu.¹⁰² Such literary associates do not foster an impression of political activism. We must look elsewhere for that.

To those just mentioned we add the contributors of the postface and colophon to the original edition of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. Yeh

⁹⁶ SKTY, p. 4477. I have not located this book. According to the *Ssu-k'u* editors, the book was compiled ca. 1241. They note that appended to the *tz'u* is a work entitled *Yen-p'o yü-chü t'u* 漁波漁具圖 (*Yen-p'o's Fisherman's Gear, Illustrated*), in which flute, straw cloak, bamboo hat, and the like each is matched with a seven-character quatrain. This seems like another word-and-image project created by (or attributed to) Sung Po-chen.

⁹⁷ In his colophon at the end of ch. 4 of *SCMP*, Wu T'ai-su wrote admiringly of Sung Po-chen, although he confused *MHSP* with Sung's poetry volume *Ch'ing-chü chi*, and further seems to have thought it was a collection of 100 matching paintings and poems by the ink-plum master Yang Wu-chiu.

⁹⁸ For these evaluations see SKTY, pp. 4477 and 3425, and Juan Yüan, *Ssu-k'u wei-shou shu-mu t'i-yao* 四庫未收書目提要 (printed 1822; typeset edn. in *Ho-yin Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao chi Ssu-k'u wei-shou shu-mu chin-hui shu-mu*), p. 10.

⁹⁹ "Chuan lieh" 傳略 in *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao* (see n. 93). I have not been able to identify its author. According to this biography, Sung served in the Salt Tax Office of the Huai-Yang Industrial Prefecture (Chien Huai Yang yen-k'o 監淮揚鹽課). An annotation to the "Chuan lieh" notes that the "original edition" 原本 says that Su Shih 蘇軾 (1037-1101) saw and praised Sung's poetry; it goes on to observe that since the two men were not contemporaries this must be an error. If this error indeed appears in the original text, the undated "Chuan lieh" must have been written much later than Sung Po-chen's time.

¹⁰⁰ SKTY, p. 3425, and, following it, Juan Yüan in *Ssu-k'u wei-shou*, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Trans. Shuen-fu Lin, *Transformation*, pp. 34-35; for a loftier portrait of Sun, see Liu K'o-chuang's 劉克莊 (1187-1269) epitaph, trans. in Lin, p. 57.

¹⁰² Sung's poems to or about Lin include: "Fang Lin K'o-shan" 訪林可山 ("Calling on Lin Hung") and "Tu Lin K'o-shan Hsi-hu i-po" 讀林可山西湖衣鉢 ("On Reading Lin Hung's 'West Lake Teachings'"), *Hsüeh-yen yin-ts'ao* [*Hsi-ch'eng chi*], pp. 2b-3a and p. 3b. For Lin Hung as a plum cultist, see Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, pp. 31-33, and the references there.

Shao-weng 葉紹翁, who wrote the "Postface," was the author of *Ssu ch'ao wen-chien lu* 四朝聞見錄 (*Things Seen and Heard During Four Reigns*), a history of Southern Sung, from Kao-tsung (r. 1127-1162) to Ning-tsung (r. 1195-1224) that the *Ssu-k'u* editors considered to be among the best of its type.¹⁰³ Yeh was a disciple of Yeh Shih 葉適 (1150-1223) and friend of Chen Te-hsiu 真德秀 (1178-1235). His mentors were politically active Confucian scholars.¹⁰⁴ Hsiang Shih-pi was just starting his career when he wrote the colophon for *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. He earned fame by fighting the Mongols in the relief of Ho-chou 合州 (Szechwan) and other defensive actions, before falling victim to Chia Ssu-tao 賈似道 (1213-1275).¹⁰⁵ The willingness of men like Yeh and Hsiang to endorse Sung Po-chen's project suggest that they found the book sympathetic to an agenda of military activism and civilian reform.

Among the recipients of Sung Po-chen's poems were several officials who were summoned back to court, or who rose in power, after the death of Shih Mi-yüan. They included Cheng Ch'ing-chih 鄭清之, the chief councillor who promoted the abortive attempt to retake the capitals in 1234; Yu Ssu 游似 (c.s. 1221) and Wang Sui 王遂 (c.s. 1202), called back by Cheng during the period of change; Ts'ao Pin 曹豳 (1170-1249), known as one of the "four remonstrators of the Chia-hsi reign," as well as Wu Yung 吳泳 (c.s. 1208), Wang Po-ta 王伯大 (c.s. 1214; d. 1253), and Hsü Lu-ch'ing 徐鹿卿 (1189-1250), each of whom responded to the emperor's call for direct criticism after the 1237 Lin-an fire with impassioned remonstrance and exhortations.

¹⁰³ Etienne Balazs, "Ssu-ch'ao wen-chien lu" in Balazs and Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 108, where the birth and death dates for Yeh are "ca. 1175-1230." If this death date is correct, his 1238 postface to *MHHSP* is spurious. Other biographical references that I consulted gave no dates for Yeh Shao-weng.

¹⁰⁴ Yeh Shih presented memorials on military preparedness and served as acting vice-president of the Board of War during the attempt to reconquer the north in 1206-07. See Winston Wan Lo, "Yeh Shih," in *SB*.

During the reign of Ning-tsung, Chen Te-hsiu memorialized in favor of fighting the Jurchen who were then under attack by the Mongols. Impeached at the instigation of Shih Mi-yüan, he was later called back to the capital after Shih's death. In 1234 Chen dedicated to emperor Li-tung his *Ta hsiieh yen i* 大學衍義 (*Diffusion of the Meanings in the Ta hsiieh*), a guide to governance. See Julia Ching, "Chen Te-hsiu," in *SB* and Shimasue Kazuyasu (trans. by T. Nakayama), "Ta-hsiieh yen-i," in Balazs and Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 215-16.

¹⁰⁵ For Hsiang Shih-pi's biography, see T'o T'o 托托 comp., *Sung-shih* 宋史 (completed 1345; Peking: Chung-hua, 1977; hereafter cited as *SS*) 416, pp. 12477-78.

Some of these men were neo-Confucian scholars, and most, among other appointments, held office in the Bureau of Military Affairs. Several saw action in the field against the Mongols. In his poems addressed to these men and others like them, Sung Po-chen welcomed them back to the capital, congratulated them on promotions, and exhorted them again and again to exert themselves on behalf of the state for order and peace.¹⁰⁶

These poems are far from the garden and grove quatrains that Sung Po-chen addressed to Lin Hung. Yet they share something with those reclusive verses and with *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. In the activist poems, Sung repeatedly lodged his hopes and exhortations in plum-blossom images. In a poem presented to Cheng Ch'ing-chih, Sung exhorted the minister to "hold straight his tablet," in language reminiscent of the *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* interlocutor; he looked forward to a time, when "Serenely looking at world affairs a thousand years from now/ All will be comprised in the span of a plum blossom's single smile."¹⁰⁷ In a poem congratulating Li Hsing-chuan 李昉 (c.s. 1211) for answering the call to return to court, Sung Po-chen reminded him of the duty of statesmen to come out of retirement; he urged him to think about renewal, and closed with the image of "withered roots (old plums) looking expectantly toward early spring."¹⁰⁸ In the same way, he wrote to Ch'en K'ai 陳堦 (d. 1268), that "A touch of warm breeze brings buds into blossom./ The lone root responds by sending forth [flowers] on chilled plum branches."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Their biographies are as follows: Cheng Ch'ing-chih, *SS* 414, pp. 12419-23; Yu Ssu, *SS* 417, pp. 12496-98; Wang Sui, *SS* 415, pp. 12460-62; Ts'ao Pin, *SS* 416, p. 12482; Wu Yung, *SS* 423, pp. 12615-27; Wang Po-ta, *SS* 420, pp. 12567-69; Hsü Lu-ch'ing, *SS* 424, pp. 12648-52. Similar poems went to: Li Hsing-chuan 李性傳 (c.s. 1211), *SS* 419, pp. 12559-60; Ch'en K'ai 陳堦 (d. 1268), *SS* 42, pp. 12683-84; and Chao Yü-huan 趙與權 (c.s. 1214), *SS* 413, pp. 12402-7. The poems are included in *Hsiieh-yen yin-t'ao pu-i*, printed in *Nan Sung ch'ün-hsien hsiao-chi pu-i* (hereafter cited as *HYTPI*); a group of 30 of these poems are appended to *Wang-chi chi*, in *Hsiieh-yen yin-t'ao chia-chuan Wang-chi chi* (as in n. 95).

¹⁰⁷ "Shang An-wan hsien-sheng Cheng tso-hsiang" 上安晚先生鄭左相, *HYTPI*, p. 10a.

¹⁰⁸ "Ho Feng-shan hsien-sheng Li Wen-ch'ang fu-chao" 賀鳳山先生李文昌赴召, *HYTPI*, pp. 12a-b.

¹⁰⁹ "Ch'eng K'o-chai hsien-sheng Ch'en I-lang" 呈可齋先生陳侍郎, *HYTPI*, p. 11b.

The unambiguous political content of these poems and the occurrence of plum-blossom images strengthen an activist interpretation of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*. The above poems combined general topoi with topical references, naming reign periods and events. *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* may then actually be far more specific in intent and reference than it would at first appear. Sung Po-jen in fact may have made *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* in response to the court's call for criticism after the Lin-an fire. Sung wrote a poem about the fire; and a printed note to the title of his *Hsi-ch'eng chi* states that he was staying at the capital on June 15, 1237, the day it burned. Among the many scholar-officials who responded to the call were three recipients of Sung Po-jen's poems. The most famous opinion was that of Wang Po-ta, who warned:

There is no greater disaster for the sovereign than to dwell on the point of dissolution and not to know of it; there is no greater crime for the minister than to know of such dangers and not to speak of them.¹¹⁰

This criticism of the state of the country and the call for a strong, forthright minister finds echoes in Sung Po-jen's "Tripod" (fig. 1g), the political resonances of which were discussed above. Since *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* was printed in about 1238, it is possible that while other remonstrators were polishing their phrases, Sung Po-jen was sketching blossoms and planting allusions in matching title and verse.

In light of this, Sung Po-jen's conjunction of the plum-blossom title "Chou" 冑 with a quatrain on the theme of the "Central Plains unrequited" (fig. 1j) may have been intended as pointed political comment. It may have been Sung's literary way to point to Han T'o-chou 韓侂胄, who led the abortive war effort to recover the north in 1206 and was assassinated in 1207. *Chou* 冑 ("helmet") is a

¹¹⁰ I thank Charles Hartman for suggesting Sung's connection to the Lin-an fire and for providing Wang Po-ta's text and the above translation; see SS 420, pp. 12567-68. The remonstrations of other recipients of Sung Po-jen's poetry also are quoted in their SS biographies, as cited above, n. 106). Sung's poem on the fire is "Tu-yin tsao-jo" 都園遭熱, *HYTPI*, pp. 5b-6a. For the annotation placing him at the capital, see *Hsüeh-yen yin-t'ao*, p. 12.

pun on *chou* 冑 ("descendants"), which is a part of Han T'o-chou's name.¹¹¹

In view of Sung Po-jen's extreme self-consciousness in embedding meanings in word-and-image units, such interpretation seems plausible, and it opens a range of possibilities. For example, Sung Po-jen's treatment of a spherical blossom that he titles "Melon" (fig. 1b) has a matching verse that opens with an evocation of the ancient Shao P'ing 召平, who lost his status as the marquis of Tung-ling 東陵 with the fall of Ch'in. As a poor commoner, he was thus reduced to raising melons east of the city of Ch'ang-an during the early Han. "His melons," wrote Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "were known for their excellent flavor and everyone called them 'Tung-ling melons' . . ." ¹¹² From melon-like blossoms and the melons of Shao P'ing, Sung's verse next considers the shamefulfulness of those bent on fame and profit, concluding with "Ceaseless talk of the K'uei garrison."

Sung Po-jen's chain of associations has led him back to events that transpired in 686 BC, when, according to *Tso chuan*:

Duke Hsiang, the ruler of Ch'i, ordered Lien Ch'eng 連稱 and Kuan Chih-fu 管至父 to garrison K'uei-ch'iu 葵丘. It was melon time when they went and the duke said, "When melons come ripe again, I will relieve you." Their year of garrison duty went by, however, and no word came from the duke 期戎公問不至.

The men requested to be relieved, but the duke refused permission, and for that reason they plotted rebellion.¹¹³

The narrative proceeds to subsequent events that culminate in the assassination of duke Hsiang.

What is on Sung Po-jen's mind? Perhaps he is thinking of the loyalist rebels of Shan-tung in his own time. A military asset to Sung

¹¹¹ I thank Richard Davis for suggesting the specific reference to Han T'o-chou. See Herbert Franke, "Han T'o-chou," in *SB*; and Richard L. Davis, *Court and Family in Sung China, 960-1279: Bureaucratic Success and Kinship Fortunes for the Shih of Ming-chou* (Durham, N.C.: Duke U.P., 1986), chap. 5.

¹¹² *Shih-chi* 23, p. 2017; trans. Watson, *Records* 1, pp. 129-30.

¹¹³ *Tso chuan* (Chuang 8), p. 1765.3; trans. Watson, *Tso chuan*, p. 18.

goals in the alien-occupied north, the rebels also were uncontrollable, rapacious, and often opportunistic. Some served Chin, Sung, and Mongol masters in turn, or in tandem, in response to varying pressures and rewards. They were second only to the Chin as a focus of Sung concern during the early decades of the thirteenth century. The K'uei-ch'iu garrison, where alienated officers plotted rebellion in the *Tso chuan* narrative, was located at Lin-tzu 臨淄 (in modern Shan-tung), just northwest of I-tu, which, in Sung Po-chen's time, had become the northern headquarters of Li Ch'üan 李全 (d. 1231), the most dangerous of the Shan-tung loyalists. Having made impressive contributions to thwarting Chin encroachment, Li eventually controlled most of eastern Shan-tung, and was a menace to the Sung court. Wooed, humiliated, rewarded, betrayed, and wooed again by the indecisive Sung, Li instigated mutiny at a rebel liaison post in 1225, and surrendered and accepted office under the Mongols in 1227 (the Sung having cut off his supplies and approached his adversaries during the Mongols' siege of I-tu). He was killed in 1231, when the Sung defeated his armies at Yang-chou.¹¹⁴ With Li's death and the dispersal of his forces, the immediate danger may have passed, but not the ongoing threat of the Shan-tung rebels.¹¹⁵

Love, politics, and warfare converge in Sung Po-chen's treatment of a plump-petaled flower which he aptly titles "Twin Lichee" (fig. 11). His matching verse evokes the luscious, ripe fruit and the Jade Verity lady who awaits its arrival so intently that she is heedless of the soldiers' cries for help. The lady is, of course, the favorite of Hsüan-

¹¹⁴ Summarized from accounts of Li Ch'üan's relations with the Sung in Peterson, "Old Illusions and New Realities," pp. 210-18, and in Richard Davis, "Venture Foiled and Opportunities Missed," unpub. ms., pp. 10-17 (forthcoming in *The Cambridge History of China*). In the *Tso chuan* narrative the alienated garrison officers combined with disaffected members of the court to kill duke Hsiang and install the ducal grandson Wu-chih 無知 as ruler of Ch'i (see *Tso chuan*, p. 1765; trans. Watson, *Tso chuan*, pp. 18-19). In this vein, Sung Po-chen may have been touching on the Ning-tsung succession crisis of 1225, when supporters of Chao Hung 趙竑 (d. 1225), Ning-tsung's disinherited adopted son, attempted to enlist the forces of Li Ch'üan and the Shan-tung rebels in their uprising at Hu-chou.

¹¹⁵ Li's wife and son continued his enterprise. Operating from the I-tu base, Li T'an (d. 1262) in the late 1250s joined the Mongols against the Sung, then turned in 1261-62. See Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1988), pp. 62-67.

tsung (r. 713-756), Yang kuei-fei 楊貴妃 (d. 756), who was famous for her love of lichee and for using official couriers to rush them to her from the south. The topical reference may be to Li-tsung's infatuation with Chia Ssu-tao's sister. Lady Chia (d. 1247) became Li-tsung's concubine in 1231 and was elevated to *kuei-fei* 貴妃 in 1233. Sung here may be admonishing against imperial besottedness and the resultant power of consort families that could topple dynasties.¹¹⁶

Such references and allusions would have been easily apparent to the Southern Sung reader. Moreover, Sung Po-chen's ideal readers — the "plum-loving scholars" and "like-minded gentlemen" of the preface — would have been provoked into searching for special meanings because their plum-blossom sensitivities undoubtedly alerted them to the manifest eccentricity of this book as a devotional aid for flowering-plum appreciation. With respect to flowering-plum conventions, *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* emerges as a radical manipulation of tradition. It inverted flower and fruit valuation, emphasizing the final stage of the blossoms's life-cycle — the stripping away of petals to get to the fruit. This is a very strong violation of normative *mei-hua* expectations. The interlocutor's attack on Lin Pu is an act of outrageously bad taste in the context of plum appreciation. Sung Po-chen also has avoided traditional kennings and contemporary clichés ("Ting" and "Bring on the Pottage" excepted), and has attached exogenous textual images with embedded political content to plum figures through the intermediary of imagistic titles.

But finally, Sung Po-chen's symbolic use of plum blossoms departs from traditional flower-based political symbolism in which falling petals stand for falls from power and wilderness blooms stand for neglected talents, banished worthies, or high-minded hermits. The typical plum situation in this regard is passive; it encompasses inflicted isolation or a strategy of passive aggression, that is, a principled withdrawal from and resistance to a corrupt world. If the plum's particular virtues are integrity and endurance, these usually are man-

¹¹⁶ I owe this connection to Richard Davis. Lady Chia became Li-tsung's concubine in the 7th mo. of 1231, when she was invested with the title *Wen-an chün fu jen* 文安郡夫人. In the 8th she was promoted to *ts'ai-jen* 才人; and in the 12th of the next year she was elevated to *kuei-fei*. During her initial period of favor, Szechwan was attacked by the Mongols. See SS 41, pp. 794-95 and 797.

ifest as imposed or willed stasis and as an insistence on defining value in a purposefully self-contained way: "Alone she walks the early spring./ Herself completing her nature."¹¹⁷ The thrust of Sung Po- jen's plum-blossom meanings, in contrast, are strikingly active and sometimes martial.

If he shares his self-proclaimed flowering-plum obsession with cultists like Chang Tzu and Lin Hung, Sung Po- jen's act of honoring the plum is different. The others protected plum in a private world into which they themselves retreated; but Sung projects the plum upon the public sphere and insists on engagement with it. In *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* we encounter something that we have not seen before in flowering-plum literature or art: Sung Po- jen opens the introspective blossoms outward. His exemplars stand far from the retiring plum-loving personae of late-Sung poetry. His direct call for action in the work of dynastic restoration is, as far as I know, unprecedented in the context of plum poetry.¹¹⁸

Enlarged in scope through Sung Po- jen's woodblock-printed book, the pictorial image of the plum blossom enters the iconographic discourse of loyalty and protest. With the fall of the Sung, the potential of the flowering-plum image to be invested with political meaning would be realized by Chinese scholars under Mongol rule. Under these conditions, such readings would become established as mainstream *mei-hua* modes and as mainstays of *mo-mei* iconography.

We are well-accustomed to encountering plum blossoms in

¹¹⁷ Sung Ching, "Mei-hua" *fu* (see above, n. 35).

¹¹⁸ This is not to say that flowering-plum images were not used or interpreted in political ways during Sung Po- jen's time. The most celebrated instance of such interpretation was Liu K'o-chuang's "Fallen Plum Blossom." This poem was alleged to covertly lament the fate of Chao Hung, emperor Ning-tsong's adopted son who was disinherited and later strangled after an uprising called in his name in 1225, and to criticize Shih Mi-yüan whom many thought had engineered Chao Hung's fall and death. This allegation embroiled Liu in the Chiang-hu shih-chi 江湖詩集 (River and Lake Poetry Collection) case. Liu's images, however, were of typical *mei-hua* pathos and passivity: petals tossed and fallen like banished officials and exiled poets. This is different from Sung Po- jen's imagery in *MHHSP*. For Liu's poem and the Chiang-hu case, see *Ying-k'uei lü-sui* 瀛奎律髓, comp. Fang Hui; rpt. with collected criticism; collated and punctuated by Li Ch'ing-chia 李慶甲 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1986), ch. 20, pp. 843-44; and *Ch'i-tung yeh-yü*, ch. 16, pp. 292-93; summarized in Yoshikawa Kojiro, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, trans. Burton Watson, Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series 17 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P. 1967), pp. 176-77.

this role in the context of Yüan poetry and inscribed ink-plum painting (fig. 5), which we have come to think of as classic examples of their kind. We are less prepared, however, to see such themes in play in Sung plum poetry and art. In *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* we see the visual and verbal *mei-hua* language of Chinese scholars under the Mongols take shape during the late Sung. Both Sung Po- jen's message and his means of getting it across and enforcing its reading are precursors of the definitive scholar-painting modes that were erected during the Yüan period. By the time the book was incorporated into Wu T'ai-su's *Sung-chai mei-p'u*, in about 1351, its meanings, its interplay of word and image, and its political symbolism already had become mainstays of an orthodox *mo-mei* tradition.

MEI-HUA HSI-SHEN P'U AND THE MAKING OF A MO-MEI ICONOGRAPHY: WORDS AND PICTURES FROM SUNG TO YÜAN.

We have shown some of the ways in which the relationship between image and text in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* differs from Southern Sung norms. We can best understand the art-historical significance of those differences by comparing Sung's woodblock-illustrated pages with inscribed paintings of flowering plum from the Sung and Yüan periods. "Layer on Layer of Icy Thin Silk" (fig. 3) by Ma Lin 馬麟 (active early to mid-thirteenth century) and "Four Views of Flowering Plum" (fig. 4) by Yang Wu-chiu represent, respectively, the highest achievements of traditional flower-and-bird painting at the Southern Sung Painting Academy and of the modern art of ink plum, as practiced by the literati. They stand at opposite ends of the courtly-scholarly stylistic spectrum. Yet, they exhibit significant affinities which illuminate the Southern Sung aesthetic situation, especially with regard to word-and-image relationships. They are among the very few extant Sung plum paintings which bear poetic inscriptions. The empress Yang Mei-tzu (1162-1232) inscribed a mildly erotic quatrain at the top of Ma Lin's painting; Yang Wu-chiu inscribed a suite of song lyrics of his own composition at the end of his scroll. Whether we consider the Academy painting or the scholar-amateur ink plum, we find that

painting and inscription articulate visual and verbal dialects of a ubiquitous Southern Sung language of flowering-plum appreciation. These conventional idealizations of plum blossoms traverse boundaries between Academy and amateur painters, between pictorial and poetic vehicles. Each work, however different in its approach to painting plum, stresses whiteness, delicacy, attenuation, and angularity. Each develops qualities of elegant restraint and isolation together with a theme of transience, the last through nostalgia in the poetry and through the withering blossoms and falling petals at the extremity of the pictorial image — the branch tip at the top of Ma's hanging scroll and the one at the extreme left (or end) of Yang's handscroll. The pictorial image and the poetic text share their silk or paper ground in a relationship of harmonious complementarity. The poetry does not drive the painting. The inscribed text does not define the meaning of the pictorial image; rather, it enhances it or, in the case of Yang Wu-chiu, enriches it by providing the possibility for another layer of interpretation.

Compared to Yang Mei-tzu's verse and Yang Wu-chiu's lyrics, Sung Po-jen's quatrains play a far more aggressive role in directing the interpretation of the pictorial image. His texts define the meaning of his pictures. Moreover, through these texts, he creates a symbolic language that is not confined to established plum tradition nor to the organic extension of that tradition. Rather, he constructs new relationships between words and flowering-plum images by physical juxtaposition on the page. Some of his messages are sympathetic to traditional plum ideals; some, as we have seen, are willfully imposed, all are enforced through printed text that is integral to this picture-and-word project. Through the repeated performance of this procedure he creates expectations of reading the message of the blossoms in ways not commonly found before. That is to say, we are accustomed to looking for allegorical meaning with political reference in the flowers of poetry, but now this expectation is extended to pictorial images of flowers.

Within the covers of his book, Sung Po-jen's images mean what he says they mean in his printed poems. In his readings of plum blossoms, more than the traditional harbinger of spring or the

emblem of the transience of youth, beauty, and love, the messages of *mei-hua* tend towards matters of state: restoration and moral renovation. His projection of these concerns as definitive readings of plum blossoms anticipates the process through which the Yüan scholars would erect an iconography of virtue that permanently redirected the reading of selected botanical motifs in Chinese painting.

Sung Po-jen's predecessors, the Northern Sung literati, had attempted to elevate the art of painting by identifying it with poetry. His successors would take the implications of that identity further, placing upon painting poetry's traditional obligation to serve as an instrument of moral culture. Like Song Po-jen before them, Yüan scholar-painters would avail themselves of the agency of the poetic inscription to lodge moral and political messages in pictures of grasses, trees, and flowers.

In the practice of the Yüan scholars, the Sung concept of poetry, calligraphy, and painting as a creative continuum — "What is not used up in poetry overflows to become calligraphy and is transformed into painting" — became the formal premise of making art.¹¹⁹ Mountain and river, bamboo and plum, are resolved as form-types built from the brushstrokes of calligraphy. And, as attention shifted away from the painter's detailed delineation of his subject and towards meditations on brushwork, structure, and ink, pictorial images became increasingly abbreviated and poetic inscriptions came to play an increasingly important role in developing the affect of these images. The Yüan scholar-painters literally made paintings speak. Their paintings no longer were "soundless poems" 無聲詩 metaphorically, but works of art that actually showed and told their feelings through significant verbal and visual forms: words and pictures.

If we look back to the Sung work of Ma Lin and Yang Wu-chiu (figs. 3 and 4), we can see in each case that, however handsome the calligraphy and however sympathetic the text, the poetic inscription is, in fact, isolated from the pictorial image. Like traditional encomia inscribed or mounted at the top of hanging scrolls or colophons

¹¹⁹ Trans. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang (1555-1636)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 27 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1971) p. 12 (from Su Shih's remarks on ink bamboo by Wen T'ung 文同 [1019-1079]).

appended to handscrolls, these inscriptions are not essential to the formal integrity of the work of art. They could be separated from these paintings without mutilating pictorial forms, disturbing compositional balance, or substantially altering meaning. In post-Sung ink-plum painting (fig. 5) the separation of image and inscription would inflict unacceptable loss. For by the mid-fourteenth century ink-plum had become a fusion of picture and inscription.¹²⁰

To the extent that the poetic inscription became an indispensable and integral element in a unified work of art (whose fundamental complexity is undermined by calling it "painting"), the consistent display of some meanings and the avoidance of others in inscriptions enforces that selection and creates, *de facto*, what proved to be the definitive iconography of Chinese scholar-painting. Under the pressure of alien conquest, as Chinese scholars continue to assert their values through acts of making culture, we see the scholar-amateurs not only select pictorial motifs that hold associations suitable for literati self-identification, plum among them, but also select for development only a few of the many meanings attached to those motifs which they will use to express their situation and idealized response. Under these conditions some pictorial motifs (plum among them) gained unprecedented expressive force but lost much of their former richness of association. As scholar-painting took up the burden of cultural morality, the kind of erotic poetry that Yang Mei-tzu and Yang Wu-chiu inscribed on plum paintings during the Southern Sung all but disappeared from the Yüan repertory of ink-plum inscriptions. That is why students of literature may see plum blossoms and think of the slender, radiant ladies, erotically-gifted and nostalgically recalled in Sung song lyrics, while art historians see resistance, endurance under adversity, and survival with unimpaired integrity manifest in icy, white blossoms. It is not that these meanings were invented by Yüan scholar-painters. Rather, it is the case that these definitive Yüan readings of the pictorial image eclipse all other associations, even

those that were most pervasive before the fall of the Sung dynasty.

No genre was more profoundly affected by the union of pictorial image and poetic inscription than was ink plum. Here the formal and expressive demands of scholar-painting converged with the opportunities offered by the plum's particular morphology. We may consider that ink plum's popularity among the Yüan scholars may be attributed, in no small part, to the ease with which the tree's branches could be adapted to frame an inscription. Under these conditions, the diagonal compositions favored by Sung painters (figs. 3 and 4) gave way to sweeping curves (fig. 5) designed to receive calligraphy. The integrated inscription permitted the Yüan ink-plum painter to generate a considerable range of meanings and nuances from a very limited number of formal elements by using his text, as Sung Po-chen did in *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, to direct his viewer's reading of the pictorial image. Thus, pictorial image and poetic inscription together construct Yüan iconography.

A fourteenth-century biographer of the ink-plum master Wang Mien observed of his *mo-mei* practice: "Once the painting was done, he always personally inscribed its surface. In every case he availed himself of the picture to manifest his ideas."¹²¹ The biographer goes on to narrate a celebrated incident that demonstrates dramatically that Wang's contemporaries had come to expect that the artist might visually and verbally encode his message in painting and had become accustomed to looking to the inscription for the key to his intention. During his stay at the Yüan capital late in the 1340s, Wang Mien inscribed a plum painting with a couplet that read, "Icy blossoms, one by one, clustering like jade/ The barbarian flute 羌笛 blows, but cannot blow them down." When the scroll was unrolled, "onlookers all bit their tongues and cowered and dared not speak with him again," or, in another account, "some took it to criticize the times and made to seize him. One night he took to his heels and fled."¹²²

¹²⁰ For the relationship between painting and poetic inscription, and particularly Yüan innovations, see Shih Shou-ch'ien, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsüan" (Ph.D. diss. Princeton U., 1984), 6-7 and 236-66; and see Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Ch'ien Hsüan's 'Pear Blossoms': the Traditions of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yüan," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 24 (1987): 53-70.

¹²¹ Hsü Hsien 徐顯 (fl. late-14th c.), *Pai-shih chi-chuan* 稗史集傳 (pref. dated 1350; records events that occurred no earlier than 1359), as printed in *Li-tai hsiao-shih* 歷代小史, comp. Li Shih 李軾 (photolith rpt. of Ming-era edn., *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu* chi-ch'eng edn.), p. 10a.

¹²² *Pai-shih chi-chuan*, p. 10a. The couplet and the first quoted description of people's response are translated from a biography, textually parallel to Hsü's, that

What was so provocative? In plum poetry when the barbarian flute blows, the blossoms fall down. Wang Mien's couplet represents a potentially significant inversion of the cliché that his non-Chinese hosts may have found suspect, if not seditious.

That Wang Mien intended this painting as an anti-Mongol statement is problematic to say the least. All indications are that he was looking for work at the capital. Nevertheless this story reminds us that from Wang Mien's time on, the poetic inscriptions that had become part of scholar-amateur painting were not idle elaborations on pictures but could direct the reading of the painted image, could empower it, and evidently did so. People took them seriously. A myriad perfunctory inscriptions notwithstanding, in the hands of a master with something on his mind, the coordination of pictorial image and poetic inscription made scholar-painting an effective vehicle for communicating significant concerns, among them political comment.

Wang Mian painted *mo-mei* during the period in which the genre achieved what proved to be its definitive stylistic and iconographic form. We can see how he characteristically coordinated poetry, calligraphy and painting by examining "Ink Plum" (fig. 5). Its blossom-laden bough gracefully curves downward to frame the artist's inscription:

Blustering, the north wind can blow a man down;
Everywhere there is sand and dust.
Only the solitary plum tree is pure and noble;
Reflected in the water, its opening blossoms are, each one,
true.

This evocation of a solitary plum, preserving its purity and blossoming amid icy blasts is not in itself remarkable. Nevertheless, we probe for special meaning. Why? Because our expectation is that such a work

by such a man at such a time will embody a universal or personal message and will supply clues for the viewer to find it. This shared expectation is attested by a voluminous traditional literature of critical texts and painting colophons through which successive generations of Chinese scholars searched for, revealed, discovered, or empathetically invented the meanings that the artist embedded in pictorial images and poetic inscriptions.¹²³

To interpret Wang Mien's meaning, we start with his life and society. Wang Mien probably made this ink plum in the mid-to-late 1350s when he withdrew into the Chiu-li 九里 mountains (modern Chekiang province), away from the battling between Chang Shih-ch'eng 張士誠 (1321-1367), nominally representing the Yüan government, and Chu Yüan-chang (1328-1398), the future founding emperor of the Ming (r. 1368-1398). This casts a certain light on the agitation apparent in Wang's brushwork and evoked by the opening couplet of his inscription. He counterbalances a real anxiety with the serenity of his pictorial image, all slow curves and placid washes, and with the ideal image of his quatrain's closing couplet. We know that during this period of seclusion Wang Mien was biding his time, waiting for a chance to take a role in dynastic events, eventually presenting to the forces of Chu Yüan-chang his strategy for taking the city of Shao-hsing 紹興.

Now, perhaps we wish to read the "North" in "the north wind can blow a man down" in a more pointed way. Ming and Ch'ing scholars did. Like his "Barbarian flute . . . cannot blow them down" couplet, the quatrain inscribed on his "Ink Plum" played a significant role in the creation of Wang Mien's persona. As the Ming rewrote history and elevated Wang Mien to the status of anti-Mongol patriot, the quatrain was widely circulated, but with a difference — the text of its second couplet was changed to read:

When the barbarian boy freezes to death at the Great Wall
Only then will Chiang-nan again have spring.

of Chang Ch'en 張辰 (fl. late-14th c.), "Wang Yüan-chang chuan" 王元章傳, in *Chu-chi hsien-chih* 諸暨縣志 (n.p.: 1911) 51, p. 19b. The second quoted response is translated from the account of this incident in Wang Feng 王逢 (1319-1388), "T'i Wang Mien mo-mei yu yin" 題王冕墨梅有引, in his *Wu-hsi chi* 梧溪集, in *Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書 (Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edn.) 5, p. 86b.

¹²³ On the accretion of interpretations developed through successive colophons, see Chu-ting Li, "The Freer Sheep and Goat and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 30 (1968): 279-326.

It was specifically this version of the poem that was set into a political frame. Legend claimed that Wang Mien composed it at the order of the emperor upon his granting Wang the long-awaited first meeting.¹²⁴ Again, the poem and the circumstances are problematic. Nevertheless, it became part of Wang Mien's legend, entered the ink-plum annals, and entered also the apocryphal history of the founding of the Ming.¹²⁵

Wang Mien, his painting, and these emblematic anecdotes seem paradigms of the late-Yüan situation as we have come to understand it. Wang Mien typically is seen as an anti-Mongol activist and a helper to the Ming founder. The integration of image and inscription, as exemplified by his work, was a development with profound consequences for the history of Chinese painting. Historians view that achievement, together with the erection of an iconography of virtue, as Yüan innovations. Typically, they are interpreted as developments demanded, or at least decisively accelerated, by the need of Chinese scholars under alien rule to develop a covert language of protest. This, with some qualifications, is so. Yet the process was not so clear, and the innovations were not entirely unprecedented.

Upon close examination, Wang Mien's writings and his biography reveal him not as an anti-Mongol agitator (indeed his writings are largely free of racist slurs and he valued non-Chinese friends who were highly placed in the Yüan government), but rather as a man who aims traditional protest poetry against bad government. His target

is not an alien regime *per se*, but a government that fails in its responsibility to nurture and protect the people. Wang Mien is the archetypal outsider, the marginalized scholar whose selfless idealism and self-centered ambitions are fused in his aspirations to serve the state. Thwarted, he keeps trying to make a difference and one of the many ways in which he tries is through the words and images of plum painting. Song Po-jen, although he held minor office, also stood at the margins where, alienated and aspiring, he saw wrongs all around him but was unable to correct them directly. Perhaps his only recourse was through his little book.

Both Song Po-jen and Wang Mien committed their concerns to plum-blossom pictures matched with poems. However, the world of politics and painting changed during the intervening century. Both were outsiders, but Wang Mien was less alone because during the Yüan the Chinese scholar-elite as a whole had become outsiders. It was under these conditions that moralistic plum-blossom meanings and the practical strategies for expressing them through a special kind of painting took hold, flourished, and rose to dominate the image and the import of the flowering-plum in Chinese painting. That Song Po-jen's political meanings and word-and-image method need to be excavated while Wang Mien's are assumed is a measure of how decisive Yüan developments proved to be in the history of Chinese art.

Song Po-jen is a precursor, not a progenitor, of the Yüan scholar-painter and his book remains *ku-pen*, an isolated instance. It attests, nonetheless, that before the Mongol conquest and the situation that it created for scholar-painters, there existed a plum-blossom idiom of loyalty and protest, together with an effective strategy for developing and enforcing such readings through the manipulation of image and text. Brilliantly realized by the Yüan masters, this political idiom and the strategy for embedding meaning in and retrieving meaning from the images of scholar-art already were at work in the Southern Sung world of Song Po-jen's *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*.

¹²⁴ Versions recorded in, e. g., Yeh Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474), comp., *Shui-tung jih-chi* 水東日記 (between 1465 and 1472), typeset, punct. edn. (based on 1680 Tz'u-shu-lou 賜書樓 edn., suppl. by Hung-chih [1488-1505] Hsü-shih 徐氏 edn.), in *Yüan Ming shih-liao pi-chi ts'ung-k'an* 元明史料筆記叢刊 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) 6, p. 70, and Lang Ying 郎瑛 (1487-ca. 1566), comp., *Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao* 七修類稿 (1566+), typeset, punct. edn. (based on 1775 edn. collated with original Chia-ching [1522-67] edn.), in Yang Chia-lo, gen. ed., *Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ming-chu* 中國學術名著, 6th ser.; *Tu-shu cha-chi ts'ung-k'an* 讀書劄記叢刊, 2d. ser. (Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1984) 29, p. 446, under "Shan-nung chih shih" 山農刺時 ("Wang Mien Criticizes the Times").

¹²⁵ Significantly, Lang Ying returns to this quatrain and (erroneously) reattributes its authorship to the Ming founder; *Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao*, 31, p. 474, under "Mei-hua shih." For further discussion and references to this poem in Ch'ing anthologies and other writings, see, Maggie Bickford, "Ink Plum," in Mary Gardner Neill, ed., *The Communion of Scholars, Chinese Art at Yale* (New York: China Institute in America, 1982), cat. no. 48, n. 1, and my *Ink plum*, forthcoming, ch. 10. For the role of Wang Mien's couplet and quatrain in the formation of his persona and for problems of their interpretation in traditional sources, see Chou Shao-hsien, cited above, n. 90.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC APPENDIX

Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u was completed ca. 1238, in two *ch.*, and reprinted in 1261. The author's preface is undated. A postface by Yeh Shao-Weng is dated 1238. Following the author's preface is a publisher's colophon dated 1261, identifying the edn. as a reprint by Shuang-kuei t'ang 雙桂堂 of Chin-hua 金華 (Che-kiang).

Sung's book is not recorded in Sung-era bibliographies. The bibliophile Ch'ien Tseng 錢曾 (1629-1699+) was the first to record it in his *Tu-shu min-ch'iu chi* 讀書敏求記 (first printed in 1726). Thereafter *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* appeared in catalogs and other writings by such bibliophiles as Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 (1763-1825), Juan Yüan (1764-1849), and Yü Shao-sung 余紹宋.¹²⁶ Earlier in this century, the Shanghai Museum's 1261 "Shuang-kuei t'ang" rpt. edn., currently the only known Sung copy, was owned by the eminent collector and connoisseur Wu Hu-fan 吳湖帆 (1894-1968).¹²⁷

Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u was redrawn, reformatted, and reprinted in *Chih-pu-tzu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書, compiled by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (pref. 1766). This inferior edition was very popular and has been reprinted in several modern collectanea, including *Ts'ung-shu chi ch'eng* 叢書集成, *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* 美術叢書, and *I-shu ts'ung-pien* 藝術叢編. New wood-block editions that carefully copied the Sung edition also were issued. A photo-lithographed facsimile reproduction of a high-quality wood-block reproduction owned by Kao Shih-hsien 高時顯 (1878-1952) was issued by Shanghai Chung-hua shu-ch'ü in 1928.¹²⁸ A handsome photo-lithographed facsimile of Wu Hu-fan's copy was printed by Commercial Press in 1938.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ See Ting Fu-pao 丁福保 and Chou Yün-ch'ing 周雲青, comps., *Ssu-pu tsung-lu i-shu pien* 四部總錄藝術編 (1957; rpt. Peking: Wen-wu, 1984), vol. 1, p. 774b, and vol. 2, p. 16a, and Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜華, "Chung-kuo pan-hua yen-chiu chung-yao shu-mu" 中國版畫研究重要書目, in Ting and Chou, *Ssu-pu tsung-lu*, vol. 4, p. 182a. Colophons and catalog entries are collected in appendix to the Shanghai Chung-hua 1928 edn. of *MHHSP*. Juan Yüan's entry in *Ssu-ku wei-shou* is cited above, n. 98. Also see Yü Shao-sung, comp., *Shu-hua shu-lu chieh-t'i* 書畫書錄解題 (Peking: 1932; rpt. Hong Kong, 1968) 2, p. 19a. In remarks on *MHHSP*, Ch'ien Ta-hsin noted that "*hsi-shen*" is the Sung vernacular equivalent of *hsieh-hsiang* 寫像, "to take a likeness; to paint a portrait." His observation is reflected by my translation here and by my earlier translation of this title as "Manual of Plum-blossom Likenesses," in Bickford, *Bones of Jade*, cat. no. 52a. For Ch'ien's remarks and for speculation on possible nuances of the term *hsi-shen*, see Tanaka, "(Sōhon) Baika kishin fu" (cited above, n. 2), pp. 212-13. For other translations of the title, see above, n. 1.

¹²⁷ I examined the book at the Shanghai Museum in 1980 and 1986.

¹²⁸ *Sung Hsiueh-yen Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, 2 ts'ü. Following Ting and Chou, *Ssu-pu tsung-lu*, vol. 1, p. 774b, and others, I mistakenly considered this a facsimile of the Sung rpt. edn.; *Bones of Jade*, cat. no. 52a.

¹²⁹ *Sung pen Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, in Chang Yüan-chi 張元濟, et al., comps., *Hsü ku-i ts'ung-shu* 續古逸叢書, no. 46 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1938). The cartouche facing the title page notes: "Shang-hai Han-fen-lou ying-yin Wu-hsien Wu-shih Mei-ying shu-wu ts'ang Sung pen" 上海涵芬樓影印吳縣吳氏海景書屋藏宋本.

The bibliographical lacunae notwithstanding, transmission of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* material can be traced to the mid-14th c. when, as earlier noted, Wu T'ai-su incorporated its contents, redrawn and reformatted, into his encyclopedic *Sung-chai mei-p'u* of ca. 1351.¹³⁰ Thus incorporated, materials from *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* were transmitted with *Sung-chai mei-p'u* through numerous recensions and adaptations in later painting manuals. Wu presented it together with three *t'ai-p'u* that are unambiguously practical, illustrated "how-to" texts. Wu's *mei-p'u*, in turn, formed the (unacknowledged) foundation for many other books on painting. These four texts were taken from *Sung-chai mei-p'u* (or from an unknown intermediary based on it), redrawn, and presented as the painting manual section (*ch.* 26) of Wang Ssu-i's 王思義 (late 16th-early 17th c.) *Hsiang-hsüeh lin chi* 香雪林集 of 1603, the largest and most comprehensive extant *mei-p'u*. Here the *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* material is titled "Fan Pu-chih t'u-chüeh 范杲之圖訣" ("Fan Pu-chih's Painting Secrets"). Fan Pu-chih, I believe, was a conflation of Fan Ch'eng-ta 范成大 (1126-1193; author of the botanical flowering-plum treatise *Fan-ts'un mei-p'u* 范村梅譜) and the painter Yang Pu-chih (Wu-chiu).¹³¹

With the plum-painting manual *Lo-fu huan chih* 羅浮幻質, compiled by Chou Lū-ching 周履靖 and collected in his *I-men kuang-tu* 夷門廣牘 of 1597, the use of imagistic titles came full circle. Sung Po-je's plum-blossom rubrics reverted to typological terminology here: twenty *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* titles, now severed from their matching verses, were printed alongside model blossoms, where (along with bluntly diagnostic captions such as "Front," "Back," "Inverted," "Diagonal") they served merely as labels for painting motifs.¹³²

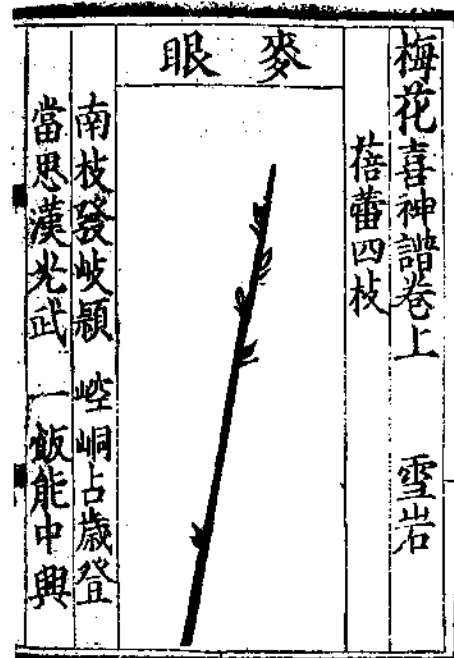
¹³⁰ *MHHSP* forms *chüan* 4 of *SCMP*, which in the Asano ms. copy comprises 84 of the original 100 illustrated items.

¹³¹ For the relationship between *SCMP* and *Hsiang-hsüeh lin chi*, see Shimada, "Kaidai Asano hon Shōsai baifu ni tsuite" 解題淺野本松齋梅譜について, in idem, annot., *Shōsai baifu*, pp. 27-34. The order and drawing of *MHHSP* material in *Hsiang-hsüeh lin chi* are clearly dependent on *SCMP*, sections omitted from the Asano copy are included here. Photographs of *ch.* 26 of the abridged copy in the Naikaku bunko 内閣文庫 (Cabinet Library) are deposited in the phot. collection of the Far Eastern Seminar, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

¹³² *Lo-fu huan-chih*, printed in *I-men kuang-tu*, *ch.* 34 (fac. rpt. of Wan-li edn.; Peking: Shu-mu wen-hsien, publisher's pref. 1990). Also see Ting and Chou, *Ssu-pu tsung-lu*, vol. 4, no. 809, pp. 176b-77a.

1. Nineteen Selected Leaves from
Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u

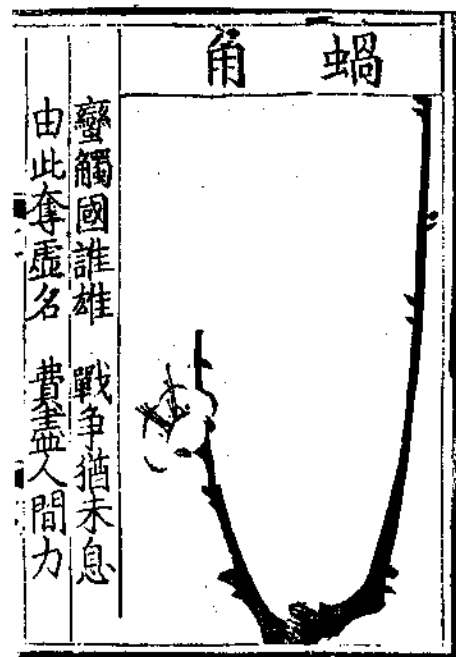
Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u, wood-block illustrated
(1238; rpt. 1261), Shanghai Museum;
reproduced by permission of the Museum,
[Sung k'o] Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u. The
seven illustrations (a-s) present a
reversed sequence of the book's program
which follows the life-cycle of the flowering
from bud to fruit.



a. "Grain Eyes" ("Mai-yen") ch. 1, p. 1a.



b. "Melon" ("Kua") ch. 1, p. 9b.



c. "Snail Horns" ("Kua chiao") ch. 2, p. 9b.

金 印

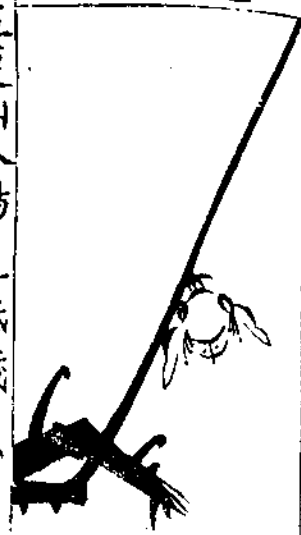
蘇秦鞭笞馬 六國飽風煙
纍纍懸肘下 郭外漸無田



d. "Gold Seals" ("Chin yin") ch. 1, p. 18a.

鍾 懸

五更山外鷓鴣 斗低殘月小
喚起利名人 僕僕渾無了



e. "Suspended Bell" ("Hsien chung") ch. 1, p. 20b.

角 麋

麋鹿同呦呦 山林風雨秋



眉 顰

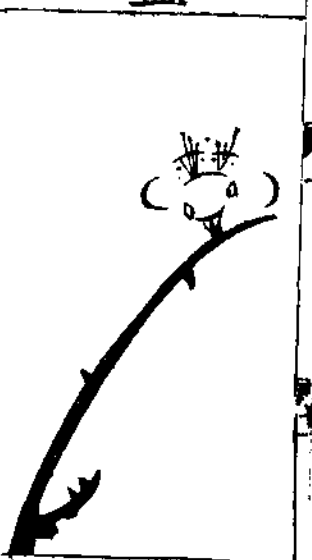
西施無限愁 後人何必效
只好笑呵呵 不損紅粧貌



i. "Knit brows" ("Pin mei") ch. 1, p. 25a.

盤

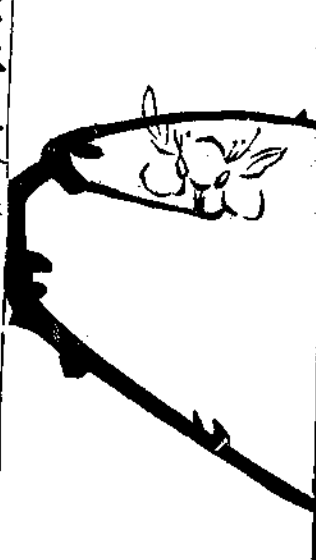
水精行素鱗 琉璃走夜光
銘垂日日新 萬古稽商湯



f. "Basin" ("Pan") ch. 1, p. 21b.

鼎

郊鄴至汾陰 重名垂不朽
天下望調羹 有誰能着手



g. "Tripod" ("Ting") ch. 1, p. 23a.

冑

秀鐵壓眉寒 中原思未報



h. "Helmet" ("Chou") ch. 2, p. 2b.

桃 並

漢帝欲成仙 王母從天下
結實動千年 三偷尤可詫



k. "Double-peach [Cap]" ("Ping-t'ao") ch. 2, p. 3a.

荔 雙

繡殼爛細枝 夏葉收新綠
玉真望甘鮮 不管郵兵哭



l. "Twin Lichee" ("Shuang li") ch. 2, p. 3b.

身翻鷗野

很禽忘所儔 翻身拏鳥雀
羽毛同所天 何苦強凌弱



m. "The Raptor Swoops" ("Yeh hu fan shen") ch. 2, p. 12b.

飛怒螳螂

我臂不能固 捕蟬非所宜

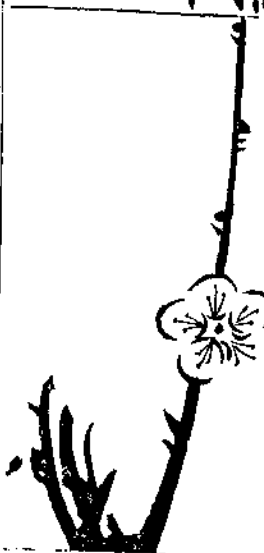


n. "The Mantis Flies in a Rage" ("Tang-lang") ch. 2, p. 21b.

皓四中橘

就實四枝

羽翼漢家了 志形天地間
箇中有真樂 奚必拘商山



q. "Four Greybeards in a Mandarin Orange" ("Chü chung ssu-hao") ch. 2, p. 23a.

蝶花穿

一夢在人間 東風吹不蒼
莊周鴻冥冥 胡戀花枝巧



r. "Butterfly Threading through Flowers" ("Ch'uan hua tieh") ch. 2, p. 16b.

風乘鷗

怒翻摩青天 秋風真得意
可憐鳥鷗儔 一枝聊自寄



s. "The Osprey Rides the Wind" ("O cheng feng") ch. 2, p. 19b.

高三江吳

品字列輕舸 占盡吳江雪



t. "Three Worthies of Wu-chiang" ("Wu-chiang san kao") ch. 2, p. 23b.

羹催鼎商

脫白弄青玉 風味猶辛酸
指日夢惟肖 羹調天下安



u. "Bring on the Pottage for the Shang Tripod" ("Shang ting ts'ui keng") ch. 2, p. 25b.

Figure 2. Comparison of Plum-Blossom Illustrations: Selected Leaves from Sung-chai mei-p'u and Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u

Top row: from an anonymous *l'ai-p'u* ("typology manual") in Wu T'ai-su's *Sung-chai mei-p'u*, comp. ca. 1351; Asano ms. copy (16th c.), Hiroshima Central City Library; by permission of the Library, after *Shōsai baifu* (see n. 16).

Middle row: from version of *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* in Asano ms.

Bottom row: *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*, 1261 wood-block rpt. edn. (see appendix).

Except for 2a, each *l'ai-p'u* example may be compared vertically with corresponding *Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u* examples.

a (top)

"The Bondmaid"
("Ya-huan
l'ou")
Y 雙頭)
ch. 3, p. 93.



b (top)

"Grain
Eyes"
("Mai-yen"
麥眼)
ch. 3, p. 71.



d (top)

"Receiving
Rain"
("Ch'ing
yü"
擎雨)
ch. 3, p.
87.

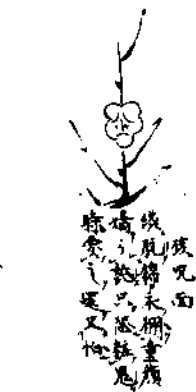
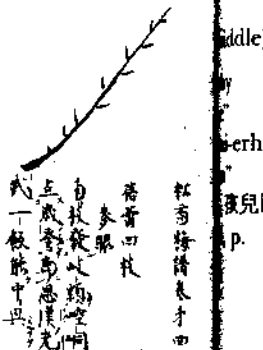


a (middle)

No
corresponding
illustration
in *MHHSP*.

b (middle)

"Grain
Eyes"
("Mai-yen"
麥眼)
ch. 4, p.
112.



d (middle)

"Receiving
Dew"
("Ch'ing
lu"
擎露)
ch. 4, p.
136.

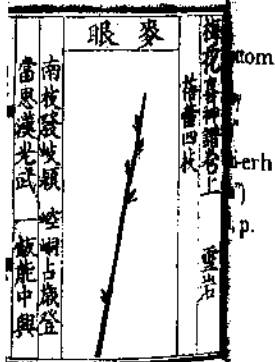


a (bottom)

No
corresponding
illustration
in *MHHSP*.

b (bottom)

"Grain
Eyes"
("Mai-yen"
麥眼)
ch. 1, p. 1a.



d
(bottom)

"Receiving
Dew"
("Ch'ing
lu"
擎露)
ch. 1, p.
22b.



渾如冷蝶宿花房
擁抱檀心憶舊香
開到寒梢尤可愛
此般必是漢宮粧

層疊水精

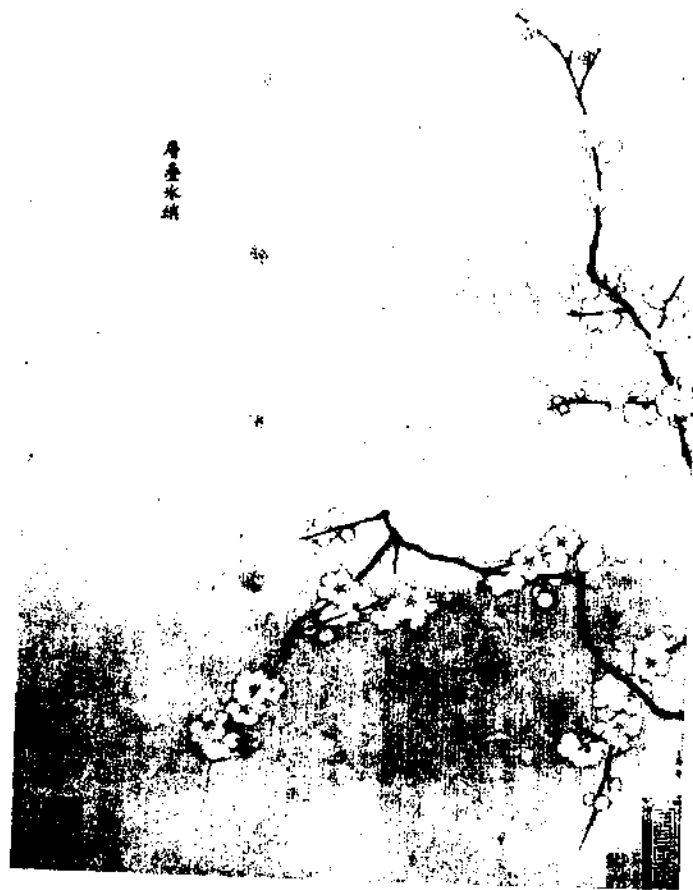


Figure 3. Ma Lin, "Layer on Layer of Icy Thin Silk."

1216 seal of Yang Mei-tzu; hanging scroll; ink and color on silk; 101.7 × 49.06 cm. Palace Museum, Peking; Museum photograph.



浙近青春試尋紅瑞鯉年疎隔小立
風前恍然初見情如相識為伊只欲願
狂猶自把芳心愛惜傳語東君乞情
弄不須要動
嫩紫商量無窮幽思如對新
紅樓層層思笑含香休將春色已藏
拒死地教人斷腸並清開殘香隨月
走上回廊
輕暖斜搭被伊引引不忘時寒裏一長幽
香惱人無寐可堪開市曉來起看芳
艸只怕裏危梢欲壓折向腰新移歸
芳閣休重金帶
月斷南枝幾回吟曉長松開遠雨泥風軟
雪侵霜妒妒年恨離披欲調商鼎如期
可奈何歸人自悲顛有素端如冰水影

Figure 4. Yang Wu-jiu, "Four Views of Flowering Plum."

1165; handscroll; ink on paper; 37 × 358.8cm.; sections 4 and 5. Palace Museum, Peking; Museum photograph.



Figure 5. Wang Mien (d. 1359), "Ink Plum"

Undated (ca. 1350s); hanging scroll; ink on paper; 138.5 × 25.7 cm.

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection, 1954.40.3; Gallery photograph.