

# Yuan Jiang: Image Maker

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In the late seventeenth century Yangzhou was one of the most prosperous cities of the empire largely due to the privilege of administering the highly profitable government salt monopoly. The Yangzhou merchants who amassed fortunes directly or indirectly through the trade of salt had the financial capacity to augment their social status through patronage of the arts. Responding to the economic opportunity, dozens of artists prospered in Yangzhou.<sup>1</sup> Some painters with literary reputations were sought after for their social cachet. They were patronized with a modicum of traditional respect; that is, their paintings were acquired through friendship and persuasion as well as payment in cash or tangible goods. Other painters were frankly professional with a commercial relationship to the newly wealthy. Among them was Yuan Jiang, a native of Yangzhou, who with his followers created one of the most prolific schools of painting of the eighteenth century. Richly detailed and technically accomplished, their paintings were visual entertainment suitable in scale as well as aesthetic content for the opulent mansions of Yangzhou merchants. This essay will focus on Yuan Jiang and how his paintings were shaped by and reflect his time.

Yuan Jiang was astonishingly versatile as an examination of his extant paintings reveals. He could paint everything from Song academy flower studies, to ink plays in the Xu Wei style (handscrolls of 1720 and 1721), and from brilliantly colored wall murals (*The Palace of Nine Perfections*) to intimate album leaves in monochrome (albums of 1711 and 1720). Expansive landscapes with palaces and sumptuous gardens are only the most distinctive and recognizable of his paintings. With references to historical allusions and classical styles, his paintings answered multiple needs among Yangzhou's well-to-do: of generous proportions, they served to fill the walls of spacious new villas; with grand historical themes, they demonstrated an appreciation of the past; and in alluding to contemporary events, they celebrated the

present. His broad artistic range and his frankly commercial status lead to the reasonable assumption that Yuan Jiang painted what would sell and what would sell was determined to a large extent by the demands of his clientele.

### Biography

Yuan Jiang is little mentioned in surviving records of the eighteenth century. As he did not compose poems, there is no literary collection. His birth and death dates are unknown, and as a professional he is given only the most summary biography in Zhang Geng's *Guochao Huazheng Xulu* of about 1740:

Yuan Jiang, *zi* Wentao, from Jiangdu. Excelled at landscapes and architectural painting. In his middle years he obtained anonymous sketches after ancient paintings and then made great progress. In the Yongzheng era (1723-35) he entered court as painter-in-attendance (*zhihou*).<sup>2</sup>

The next mention of Yuan Jiang appears in the *Huaren Buyi*, an anonymous text published around 1790. Close in content to the above, it adds that Yuan Jiang's court appointment was to the Outer Yangxin Palace Hall (Wai Yangxindian).<sup>3</sup> A painter of Yuan Jiang's skill surely would have made an able court artist, but the record is not entirely consistent. In 1795 Li Dou repeated most of the above information in *Yangzhou Huafang Lu*, deleting the reference to a court appointment and adding only that Yuan Jiang early studied the style of Qiu Ying (ca 1494 - ca 1552). Surely aware of previous biographies, Li Dou must have doubted the detail about service at court.

The meager historical record summarized above is admirably augmented by Yuan Jiang's paintings which were widely appreciated and have been preserved in quantity. It is from the paintings and the inscriptions on them that we know that Yuan Jiang travelled to Nanjing, Zhejiang and Beijing. It is from the extant dated paintings that his active dates can be tentatively established (see Appendix). The dated paintings extend from the earliest composition known to me of 1680 to the latest creditable picture of 1730. For thirty-five years from 1691 to 1726, paintings survive from virtually every year. In three rare instances Yuan Jiang included a reign name in his inscription: *The Palace of Nine Perfections* (Jiucheng Gong) of 1691, *Landscape* of 1716, and *The Green Wilderness Hall* (Lüye Tang) of 1720. These three exceptions are important, for they provide specific years by which to anchor the other cyclical dates. Paintings with cyclical dates outside the forty year period 1690 - 1730 must be carefully considered as to authenticity and as to whether they fall at the early or late end of Yuan's career.<sup>4</sup> The

almost one-hundred dated works, along with another fifty undated pictures, provide a portrait of a prolific artist, confident of his craft and responsive to the currents of the time.

Three hanging scrolls provide evidence for Yuan's presence in north China, if not his formal service at court. A landscape dated 1724 is inscribed by Yuan Jiang in Yantai (Beijing), placing him in the capital at the beginning of the Yongzheng reign.<sup>5</sup> Second, an undated river scene in a private collection carries the seal of Prince Yi (1686 - 1730), the thirteenth son of Kangxi and the half-brother of Yongzheng. Prince Yi would have used the seal from his enfeoffment in 1723 until his death in 1730.<sup>6</sup> The third painting provides persuasive visual evidence for a sojourn in Beijing. In a hanging scroll now in Phoenix, Yuan Jiang depicts Chinese scholars in blue robes and queue setting off past willow trees for the triennial examination. A rare example of contemporary costume and hair style, the painting is inscribed by Fu Wangwen, an unidentified official who may have served as an examiner. His poetic references to pounding brushes, locked doors, and imperial favor make the palace examination context clear.<sup>7</sup>

Although it is safe to conclude that Yuan Jiang visited Beijing, the question of service as *zhihou* is confounded by the absence of his name in court records; not a single work by Yuan Jiang is listed in the imperial catalog *Shiqu Baoji* and there is no instance of Yuan ever having used 'your servitor' (*chen*) in signing a painting. Pointing to the absence of Yuan's name in palace archives, Nie Chongzheng argues that the position at court was a local Yangzhou embellishment of Yuan's travel to Shanxi and Beijing. According to an oral tradition, Yuan Jiang and Yuan Yao (his putative son) were engaged by the Wei family, a banking family from Shanxi, to decorate its extensive mansions in Taiyuan. This story was given credence by an assortment of over one hundred Yuan Jiang and Yuan Yao paintings coming onto the Beijing antiques market from Shanxi during the period immediately after the fall of the Qing dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Although Yuan's detailed, colorful style would have appealed to the taste for the decorative among the Qing emperors, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that Yuan Jiang served officially at court.

Yuan's brief inscriptions on his paintings suggest a self-effacing professional with high enough social status to sign his own name, but humble enough to use occasionally the craftsmanly verb *zhi* ('made'). Yuan Jiang never reveals his mood or the circumstances of his painting. Typically an inscription includes the following: title with an indication

of his art historical model; more than half the time, a pair of characters for a cyclical year (in several instances only one character of the pair is given); an indication of the month in literary or colloquial language; and a signature which consistently reads 'Hanshang (literally "on the Han River," a reference to Yangzhou) Yuan Jiang.' Their terseness stands in sharp contrast to the longer, self-reflective inscriptions of his older contemporary Daoji (1642 - 1707) and his friend Li Yin (active second half of the seventeenth to the early eighteenth century).

### **Art and Commerce**

The demand for paintings in Yangzhou was an economic boon for all artists. For some painters, like the individualist Daoji, however, it was also a physical trial. Jonathan Hay cites a letter from Daoji to a patron negotiating a four-panel screen. It is indicative of the financial risks as well as the physical effort required to create large, multi-panel compositions.

...You know that originally my work was not associated with the general run of painting, and that I should not have to paint screens. I only do it because I have so many mouths to support and my old illness is getting worse all the time! When I exhaust all the Xuan and Luowen paper on the market, and connoisseurs cannot find more, only then do I turn to satin and silk for my calligraphy and painting; and it is after silk that I turn to screens. When I get a [folding] screen, it has twelve [panels for] paintings. The first and last ones are useless [because they are much narrower than the others], but the middle ten are fine for painting. I split the screen into its individual sections and paint it that way, which means I can't paint it as a [continuous] composition. I know that none of you gentlemen can be as free with your finances as before, so I charge twenty-four taels for the whole screen. But if someone wants a continuous scene, it means standing on a scaffold or a bench, stretching my arm and craning my neck to reach the painting, up and down, up and down, always moving about or standing. For painting in these conditions I charge fifty taels per screen. Now that I'm old I don't have the energy I used to. It's difficult for me to move the brush around vigorously. And even if I can complete the screen, it may be of no use – I may ruin one of the panels, then the other eleven will all be worthless. It is better if I just paint twelve separate panels...<sup>9</sup>

The letter is a valuable document for shedding light on prices of paintings as well as on Daoji's working methods. For a continuous composition Daoji charged more than twice the price of a series of individual compositions of the same width. While a substantial sum, fifty taels of silver is not out of line at a time when Yangzhou salt

merchants were among the wealthiest people of the world.<sup>10</sup> We do not know if Yuan Jiang charged similar prices for his screens, but the Daoji letter makes clear that the cost of materials was significant. Given the necessary investment of silk, pigments and time, large compositions were probably done only on commission and not produced to be held in stock. In Yuan Jiang's case extant paintings indicate that he may have based his large screens on previously executed hanging scrolls.<sup>11</sup>

A rare example of Daoji's large continuous-composition screen painting can be found in the twelve-panel *Panoramic Garden Vista* dated 1693 in the Palace Museum, Taipei. A stream laces between islands of bamboo, garden rocks, flowers, banana and pine which are arrayed in a shallow space. An unspecified background suggests that we are viewing a corner of a garden against a plaster wall. The five compositional clumps stand independent of one another, visually connected only by the meandering stream and overlapping branches. Although the individual elements are handsomely painted, the labor of which Daoji spoke is evident in the additive nature of the composition. He is not at ease on this large scale, but is struggling to balance the elements as he fills the paper.<sup>12</sup> Not a painting done for his own pleasure, it is a commercial production.

The physical effort and financial risks necessary to produce large continuous paintings did not inhibit Yuan Jiang. From his earliest multi-paneled screens, one senses a confidence and delight in creating seamless, sweeping compositions. By 1693, the year of Daoji's *Panoramic Garden Vista*, Yuan Jiang had been painting twelve-panel screens for more than a decade. One must wonder if the success of Yuan Jiang's huge compositions did not put pressure on other Yangzhou painters to work on a similarly grand scale.

The earliest extant example of Yuan Jiang's large scale work is a twelve-panel screen in Beijing, entitled *Landscape with Architecture in North Song Brush Idioms* (Appendix, entry 1681.1). Completely at ease with the large format, Yuan Jiang framed the composition with steeply rising banks on the two narrow end panels, guiding us deep into the low-lying distance, bringing us back to a rural estate in the foreground. The ample residence with courtyard is next to a structure of bizarre rock forms which grow mushroom-like into massive mountains, a technique which he will use repeatedly with increasing mastery in later compositions. The distinctive qualities of Yuan Jiang's style are fully present: a high point of view, graceful sweeping curves into the distance, a consistent recession, and harmonious proportion of architecture, figures and landscape. The design, however, is slightly less complex

and the execution somewhat less accomplished than works such as *The Palace of Nine Perfections* discussed below. Whereas some motifs such as cascading waterfalls and clusters of pines are virtually identical in the two paintings, *Landscape with Architecture* is unquestionably the less mature work and its cyclical date of *xinyou* therefore corresponds to 1681, a decade before *The Palace of Nine Perfections*.

Solidly within the traditions of both literati and professional painting, the subject matter of *Landscape with Architecture* is familiar: a comfortable country estate with gentlemen meeting in a courtyard, fishing boats plying a river, a scholar gazing at a waterfall, in short, the genteel activities of an idealized rural existence. It is consistent with the traditional range of subject matter for professional painters in the Ming dynasty who in turn drew upon Northern and Southern Song court painting. To decorate halls and villas in the Ming, the school painters provided bird and flower studies as well as landscapes, often heightened for dramatic effect with extremes of weather, mixed with bucolic themes of fisher folk and the aesthetic pursuits of the literati.

One of the most frequently encountered subjects in Yuan Jiang's painting, the lavish imperial palace, is scarce in Ming painting.<sup>13</sup> Palaces had no place in the solitary search for plum blossoms in winter or in the pursuit of self cultivation. What then are palaces doing in abundant numbers in the work of Yuan Jiang? Depicted in the heat of summer, beneath an autumn moon, blanketed by snow, Yuan Jiang's palaces are extravagant architectural complexes. His intriguing compositions lead the eye back into private courtyards, across lotus ponds to secluded pleasure boats and involve the viewer in the daily life of the privileged. When Yuan Jiang identifies his palaces, the inspiration is invariably attributed to Han and Tang dynasty models, but a case can be made that they reflected their own time.

In the year 1691 Yuan Jiang produced a huge composition entitled *The Palace of Nine Perfections* (Figure 1). Grandly conceived and exuberantly executed, the composition stretches over twelve hanging scroll panels almost twenty feet in width. The inscription written at the upper left on the twelfth scroll reads: 'The Palace of Nine Perfections: Yuan Jiang of Hanshang imitates antiquity. The time: Indian Summer of the *xinwei* year of the Kangxi reign (the tenth lunar month of 1691).' Yuan Jiang's ostensible subject was the celebrated Tang dynasty imperial retreat which was located in the hills north of Xi'an. First built around AD 600, repaired and expanded under Tang rule, the Palace of Nine Perfections provided the imperial family with relief from the oppressive heat of Xi'an. Although it was destroyed by the end of the ninth century, its

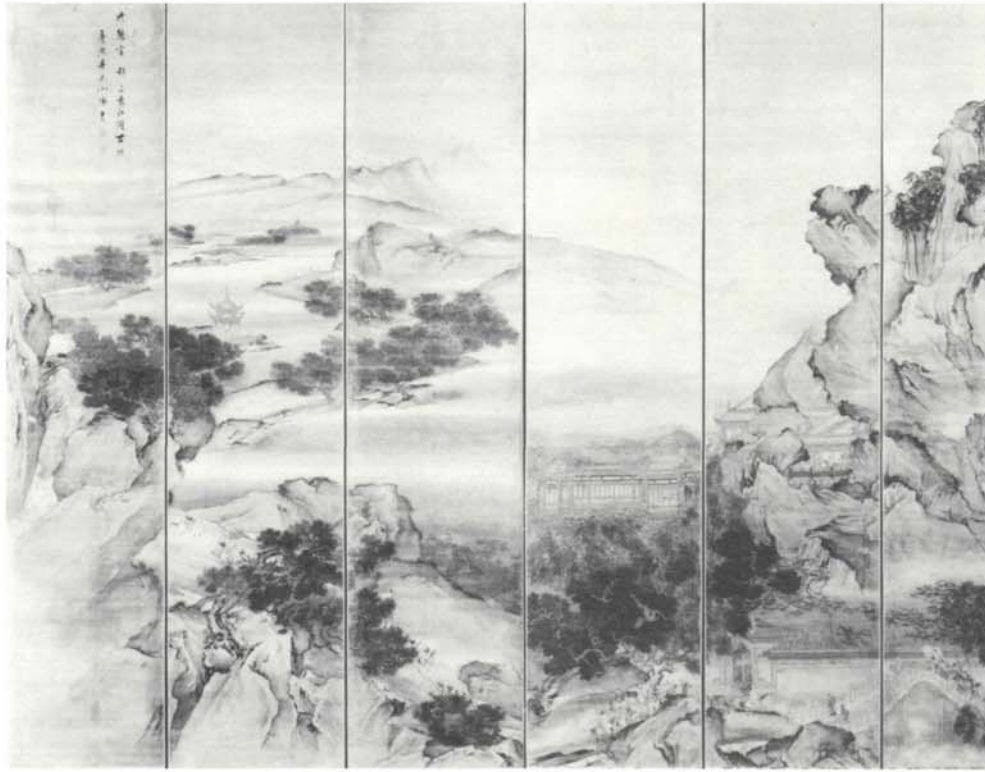
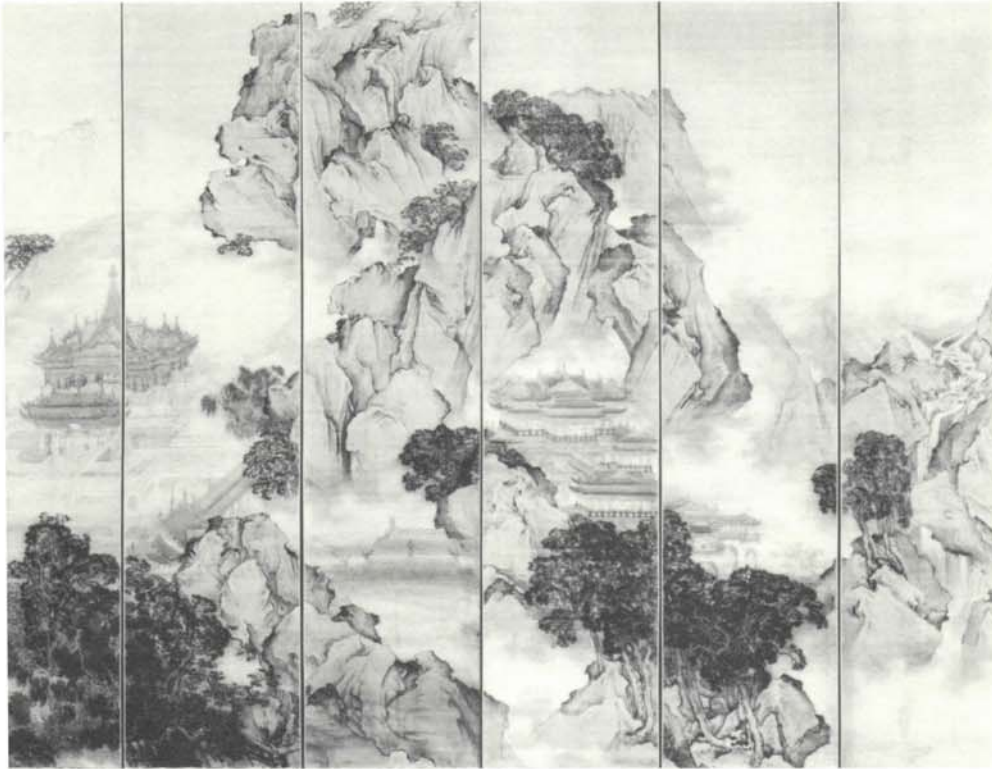


Figure 1. Yuan Jiang, *The Palace of Nine Perfections*, dated 1691.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

legendary splendor lived on in literary descriptions, providing a theme of imperial luxury and historical lustre. Like a well-crafted poem, however, a good painting embraces more than one level of meaning. The details within this airy composition considered with contemporary events suggest that the more relevant inspiration was the pomp and splendor of the Kangxi emperor's second Southern Tour which passed through Yangzhou in 1689.<sup>14</sup>

During the Kangxi emperor's first tour to the south in 1684, Yangzhou had been bypassed, perhaps out of cautious respect for the citizens' bitterness from the harsh and bloody Manchu massacre there in 1645. But Yangzhou was deemed politically safe by 1689, for during Kangxi's second tour the city was favored with a two-day visit on 23 and 24 March. Whereas the 1684 tour tested the political waters, during the 1689 tour Kangxi cultivated the image of a sensitive aesthete. The procession of about 300 colorful banners, splendidly garbed outriders,



and the august presence of the Son of Heaven himself must have impressed the populace. Along with recent military successes, the Southern Tour of 1689 seems to have engendered more tolerance towards Manchu rule and a new enthusiasm for imperial tradition.

If the visit kindled enthusiasm among the populace, the plan to commemorate the 1689 Southern Tour in a cycle of large paintings undoubtedly caused a stir in painting circles. A pictorial record of the tour was apparently discussed as early as 1686, during preparations for the trip, but a master painter was not designated until after the tour.<sup>15</sup> Wang Hui (1636 - 1717), the preeminent painter of the day, was appointed to design and supervise the execution of the scrolls. Wang Hui with his impeccable orthodox pedigree may have been the inevitable choice, but other painters undoubtedly hoped to be considered. Beyond responsibility for the complete cycle, there were assistant painters to be assembled. Wang Hui's entourage included Wang Yun



(1652 - after 1735), a Yangzhou painter who shared stylistic affinities with Yuan Jiang. From the time of the Kangxi emperor's visit in 1689 throughout the subsequent months as Wang Hui prepared to depart for Beijing with his painting assistants in 1690, talk of documenting the imperial tour was surely a topic among artists.

Painted in 1691, *The Palace of Nine Perfections* includes motifs that can be related to the imperial tour. An imperial procession approaches from the left and passes over a steep, ornately carved marble bridge. A canopy is held above an emperor who, from his white steed, gazes wistfully, the sensitive aesthete, at the lush scenery. As prescribed by Qing ritual, outriders follow with ceremonial paraphernalia and imperial insignia including a *jue* wine vessel, a falcon, and a conical crown which in design is strongly similar to Manchu head gear (Figure 2). The hats of the outriders also resemble Manchu design. The tail end of the extensive entourage rounds a hillock in the far distance (the carriage may refer to Kangxi's eldest son Yinti who accompanied him in 1689) while within the airy halls of the palace bamboo-slat curtains are raised in preparation for the emperor's arrival (Figure 3). The expansive mood is enhanced by a bright mineral palette, frequently used to depict paradises of the immortals, a reference to longevity.<sup>16</sup>

Is it conceivable that a wealthy Yangzhou salt merchant could be so brazen as to commission a picture of the reigning emperor and to hang it in his home? It is possible, I believe, due to the artful convergence of multiple meanings: Tang imperial splendor and the auspicious theme of longevity provided ample, and highly complimentary, camouflage for the discreet presentation of recent imperial events still vivid in memory. The motive for commissioning the screen might have been pride in Yangzhou's successful hosting of the monarch, indicating some acceptance of the Kangxi emperor with a public display of confidence in his rule. Cynical motives may also have played a role in the commission of *The Palace of Nine Perfections*. Since it was the emperor's pleasure that dictated which merchants were to be allowed to trade in the lucrative government-controlled monopolies, the compliment of comparing Kangxi's reign to the High Tang may have represented a 'protective act' by a vulnerable Yangzhou merchant eager to demonstrate his loyalty.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the motivation, *Evening Palace Scene after Guo Zhongshu* seems also to have been inspired by the imperial visits to Yangzhou. The 1693 garden composition contains some of the most delicately detailed imperial style pavilions and halls to be found anywhere (Figure 4). From a high point of view outside the wall, we are permitted a glimpse

of the elite world within: a lantern-hung dragon boat has delivered guests across a private lake; an extensive garden residence is screened by high walls and veiled by mists; servants are available but discreet. The architectural detail is specific and graphic from the embellishments on marble trim to the cantilevered brackets of the eaves. Rapidly sketched with fidelity, the specificity of Yuan Jiang's palatial gardens argues for some concrete inspiration. Even his fertile imagination could not have concocted these buildings. He had some hints from the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual*, the painting manual first published in 1679, but the few sketches of palatial architecture pale beside Yuan's fully conceived complexes. Had Yuan Jiang visited some of the temporary residences built for imperial visits? Had he been enlisted with other professional craftsmen to decorate beams, screens or lanterns within the new halls? Although there is no record of those who worked on the temporary imperial residences, the detail within Yuan Jiang's paintings argues that he had firsthand knowledge.

Yuan Jiang's hanging scroll in Shanghai entitled *Spring at Riverside Pavilions in Style of Guo Zhongshu* depicts a sumptuous imperial garden under moonlight. Connections to an imperial visit are suggested by the mood of anticipation among those who wait on the marble terraces and within the halls, and by the elaborate dew collector erected on a terrace in the far distance. The painting dates to the second lunar month of 1704, less than a year after the Kangxi emperor's Southern Tour of 1703 and third visit to Yangzhou, and about a year before the 1704 tour, for which preparations may have already begun. Even the paintings of the immortals' island of Penglai are little more than excuses to depict sumptuous imperial halls. (In the 1708 hanging scroll, for example, the imperial architectural program is complete down to carved marble ramps over which sedan chairs would be carried.)

Yuan Jiang's palace paintings represent a convergence of his unusual talent for architectural painting on a large scale with the flurry of Kangxi's imperial visits. The building and refurbishing of halls in Yangzhou necessitated by the imperial visits provided Yuan Jiang with new inspiration while well-to-do merchants proved eager customers for his paintings. Whatever their intent may have been the palace paintings are a special feature of the Yuan school, and the period of their production corresponds roughly with the decades of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors' southern tours.

Far from the refined world of gardens and palaces was the business of trade, a theme close to the daily experience of the Anhui and Yangzhou merchants. Yuan Jiang and his colleagues gave heroic proportions to



Figure 2. Yuan Jiang, *The Palace of Nine Perfections*, dated 1691, detail.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

trade in a pictorial theme that appears with unexpected regularity in Yuan school painting while it is virtually absent in those of contemporaries. In ox-cart paintings by Li Yin, Yan Yi, Yuan Jiang, Yuan Yao and the obscure Tan Song, transport carts ply their ways over impossibly steep terrains, fording streams and pausing at remote mountain inns.<sup>18</sup> The popularity and persistence of this subject may be linked to the transport necessitated by the salt business. It was the responsibility of merchants holding lucrative salt franchises to supply the frontier garrisons with arms and essential provisions. Besides seeing to the distribution of salt, the franchise-holding merchants had to transport goods to the northern borders.<sup>19</sup> Anhui merchants had learned to deal



with the logistics of shipping local products from mountainous southern Anhui to cities of the Yangtze delta. The Yuan school's colorful paintings romanticized this frequent and constant travel. Just as the lone scholar-official on horseback travelling to a new post appealed to the educated elite, these pictures of caravans of carts moving supplies to far-flung regions seem to have been irresistible to the merchant class. When depicting ox carts on mountain tracks, it was the custom of Yuan school painters to identify the Northern Song monumental painter Guo Xi (ca 1010 - ca 1090) as the source of their inspiration, and indeed a painting attributed to Guo Xi on this theme is in the Palace Museum, Beijing. But the subject matter is atypical of Guo Xi, and, as

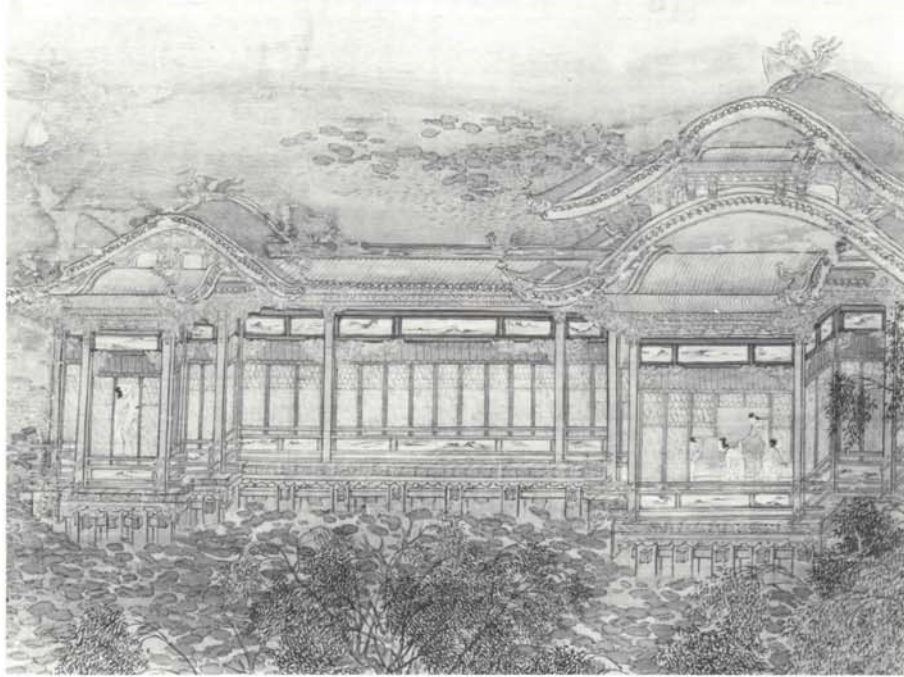


Figure 3. Yuan Jiang, *The Palace of Nine Perfections*, dated 1691, detail.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

with other credits given to Northern and Southern Song masters, the connection is loose, a convenient credential of antiquity rather than a genuine stylistic source.

### Reclusion

If, amid all of this commerce and pictorial extravagance, an image of political protest was desired, the *Peach Blossom Spring* by Tao Qian (Tao Yuanming, 365 - 427) might have provided it. Tao's famous account describes a fisherman whose attention was arrested by banks of blossoming peach trees. Pausing to look around, he happened upon a grotto which led to a secluded valley. Passing through the grotto, he accidentally discovered a utopian community of a past regime, oblivious to the cataclysmic political changes outside. Having enjoyed the peace and security within the valley, the fisherman returned to the capital to report to the magistrate his exciting discovery. A search party explored the stream but never again located the Peach Blossom Spring.

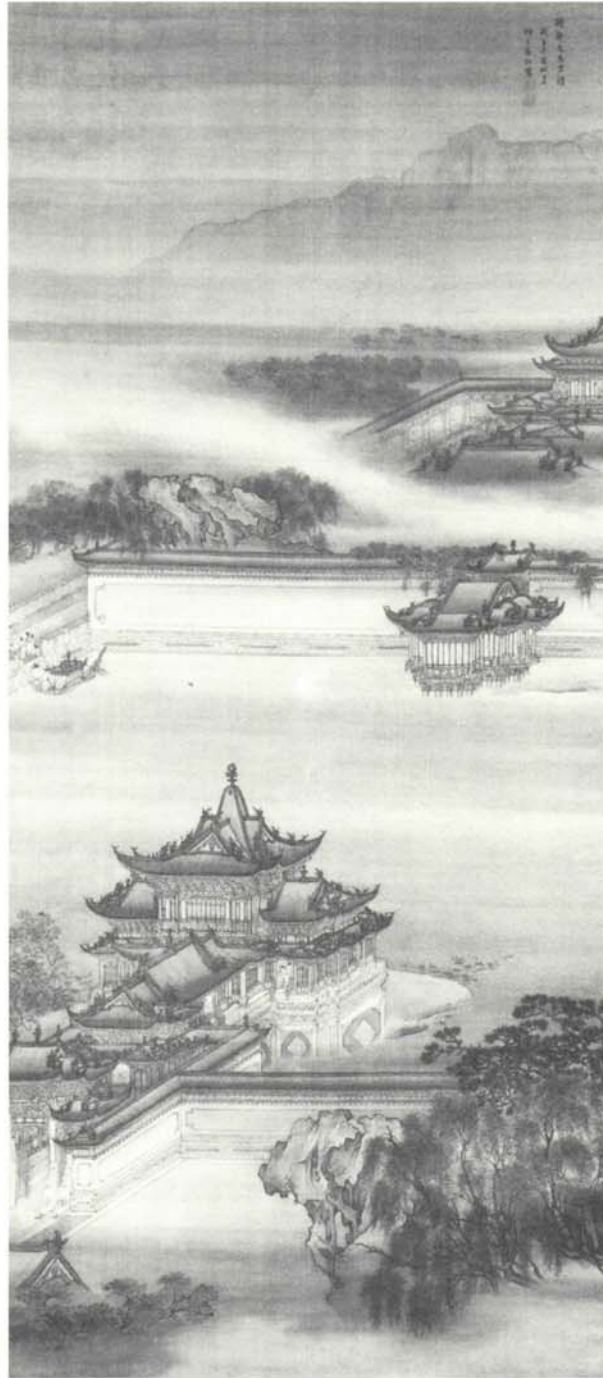


Figure 4. Yuan Jiang.  
*Evening Palace Scene after Guo Zhongshu*, dated 1693.  
Collection of Mr and Mrs Oscar L. Tang.

Over the centuries in essays and illustrations some scholars interpreted the story as an immortals' paradise unattainable by normal humans; others treated it as a real but unreachable community within this world.<sup>20</sup>

The standard iconography includes the grotto, a boat near bank of blossoming trees, and the fisherman, paddle in hand, approaching the entrance to the cave or encountering the inhabitants of the peaceful realm within the valley. Paintings of Peach Blossom Spring typically emphasized the other-worldly theme of an immortal's paradise through the use of malachite and azurite pigments. As this fanciful treatment continued into the Qing dynasty, the text was simultaneously used to demonstrate disaffection with the present. The Ming loyalist Zhang Feng (ca 1610-62) departed from the conventional imagery to convey his sense of disgust and dislocation during the chaos of the Manchu onslaught. On a leaf from an album done in Nanjing in the summer of 1644 he painted a fishing boat moored in a cove and a path leading into the trees that border the water (Figure 5). In his inscription at the upper left he wrote, 'The mouth of this stream resembles Peach Spring but it is not.'<sup>21</sup> The inclusion of boat, trees and path raise expectations that Peach Blossom Spring may be near, but bands of mist bar the entrance, and the restrained, cool treatment, without a glimpse of the grotto, leaves us on the outside of the valley to share Zhang Feng's disappointment.

Although the potential for political dissidence was inherent in the theme, the paradisiacal interpretation of Peach Blossom Spring continued to be popular in the early Qing. At the same time the idea of the real world existing within the remote valley was explored. Yuan Jiang painted a hanging scroll of Peach Blossom Spring in 1718 and a year later expanded that visual structure to his most dramatic interpretation of the theme in a set of twelve hanging scrolls twenty-four feet wide. The story begins at the right and follows the convention of depicting the moored boat, the grotto and the bank of blossoming trees which originally caught the eye of the fisherman. On the left side of the rock-passage the story continues with the fisherman meeting the startled inhabitants. But this is neither an immortals' paradise nor an unattainable valley within the real world; to the left of the village lies a lake with a complex of buildings of aristocratic style, a gentleman's garden. The Peach Blossom Spring grotto as a symbol of physical and psychological transition to another state had long since been incorporated into garden designs in the form of gates and passage ways. The concept found expression in paintings such as Qiu Ying's *Thatched House in the*



Figure 5. Zhang Feng, *Peach Blossom Cove*, dated 1644.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

*Peach-Blossom Village* in which a scholar's studio is nestled in a remote valley surrounded by mountains in the intense blue-green palate of paradise paintings.<sup>22</sup> Yuan Jiang chose to paint with muted pale-green and pink tints. Qiu Ying's retreat is otherworldly; Yuan Jiang presents a garden of this world within Peach Blossom Spring which itself is comfortably located on a broad river where fishermen, farmers and a transport boat can be seen. Yuan Jiang further stretches the standard Peach Blossom Spring motifs to include sericulture, an activity that is mentioned in Tao Qian's account but rarely depicted in painting. The inclusion may have been calculated to deflect official criticism of ostentation by embracing a recent imperial admonition. The Kangxi emperor, who saw the function of art as largely didactic, commissioned the court painter Jiao Bingzhen (active ca 1689 - 1726) to produce a series of twenty-three paintings on rice growing and silk-weaving. In 1696 the designs were carved into five pillars in the palace as well as into wood blocks for distribution as prints. In his preface to the set called *Gengzhitu* ('Picture of Tilling and Weaving') the Kangxi emperor wrote, 'We hope that all in our land will be devoted to these primary tasks of agriculture and sericulture, and that they will be diligent to gain and frugal to accumulate; so that they may have more than enough food



and clothing and jointly achieve an era of security, peace, wealth and longevity. This is our sincere wish to benefit the people.<sup>23</sup> By incorporating sericulture as well as agriculture into the garden, Yuan implies that Peach Blossom Spring is no longer remote, and does not represent a subversive wish to withdraw from society. On the contrary, the benefits of diligence and frugality, as well as an idyllic world, can be found here. Yuan Jiang's panoramic composition takes us from the remote spring and grotto at the right to an increasingly spacious and contemporary world on the left. We move from the mythic elements of the original text on the right to increasingly familiar contemporary images on the left, from distant past to recognizable present. Yuan Jiang's painting thus compliments the garden owner on having created a harmonious Peach Blossom Spring within this world.

The imagery of the Peach Blossom Spring is taken one step further in the Qianlong reign, at a time when the emperor sought compliments on the quality of his government and court officials felt it necessary to offer them.<sup>24</sup> The notion that a utopian world could be created within a garden was, under the brush of court official, painter and calligrapher Dong Bangda (1699 - 1769), extended to embrace the empire itself. In an undated hanging scroll, Dong depicts a colorful landscape covered with blossoming trees. There is no solitary fisherman or grotto, but the title proclaims the rosy theme: 'Spring Dawn at Peach Spring.'<sup>25</sup> The message is clear: under the benevolent reign of the Qianlong emperor the entire empire had become the long-sought haven of Peach Blossom Spring. Dong's bold manipulation of the theme was subtly used by the court painter Xu Yang (active ca 1750 - after 1776) in the fourth scroll documenting the Qianlong emperor's Southern Tour.<sup>26</sup> The handscroll opens with pink blossoming trees along the dikes at the confluence of the Huai and Huang rivers. Approximately thirty-four feet later the scroll closes with a bucolic country scene with a fisherman, paddle in hand, in the far distance. The long visual treatise on river conservancy is thus bracketed by the motifs of Peach Blossom Spring, conveying to the emperor a flattering message of universal peace. The transformation of traditional symbols - whether to accommodate the Qing, to disguise dissent, or to delight wealthy clients - was characteristic of Qing painting. Yuan Jiang, both imaginative and pragmatic in his approach to subject matter, routinely incorporated contemporary references into his compositions. Indeed Yuan Jiang was encouraged to modify ancient themes to gratify the wishes and self-images of his clientele, wealthy merchants largely independent of the weight of scholarly tradition.

### The Appeal of Literati Style

Yuan Jiang's robust personal style was originally formed during the 1670s and 1680s in contact with several innovative painters in Yangzhou. The most notable was Li Yin (active second half of seventeenth - early eighteenth century) who was a generation older than Yuan Jiang. Acclaimed in his circle as a modern master, Li Yin had a broad stylistic range from the lyrical to the fantastic. His most elaborate landscapes of writhing mountains, which sometimes border on the nightmarish, undoubtedly influenced Yuan Jiang's complicated peaks. In one particularly daring exercise Li Yin thought to turn upside down the conventional compositional formula of a flat recession at the bottom and mountains at the top.<sup>27</sup> In his *Landscape with Travellers*, traders with ponies and ox carts set out from an inn at the lower right. Viewed from a height, the road carries the travellers in serpentine curves around the foreground mountains and along a snaking river in the background. Justified by a long inscription, this innovative composition, still eccentric under Li Yin's brush, was adapted and used to great effect by Yuan Jiang.<sup>28</sup>

What Yuan Jiang added to Li Yin's formula was a more realistic handling of space adapted from Western techniques. From his earliest works, a form of converging perspective can be found in Yuan Jiang's paintings, gracefully integrated with traditional approaches. A masterful treatment can be seen in the hanging scroll *Watching the Tide* dated 1716. In Yuan Jiang's interpretation this ancient theme of the Hangzhou bore is startlingly realistic, with boats swept along precariously by the roiling water. A dramatic diminution of scale across the estuary is reinforced by an aerial perspective of barely outlined distant mountains modelled in light wash and of pale boat masts obscured by mist. The foreground rocks, on the other hand, are as contorted as the whipped-up waves of the incoming tide. Fully in command of Western techniques of recession, Yuan Jiang combined a consistent progression into depth with his hallmarks of strange rocks, slashing brushwork, a high viewpoint, and an airy luminosity.<sup>29</sup>

Ultimately Yuan Jiang and his patrons could not resist the draw of literati taste. Yuan Jiang's occasional dabbling in literati styles gained momentum in the late 1710s. Although silk was still his most frequent painting ground, he began more often to use paper, and to paint in the private formats of album and handscroll, his hanging scrolls were now sometimes of the tall, narrow proportions preferred by educated gentlemen. Washy peaks without outlines often replace deeply

cleaved mountains with jagged facets. Compositions tend to be less densely painted and color is occasionally replaced by monochromatic ink plays as in passages of the striking handscrolls of 1720 and 1721 of fruits and flowers, or in six of the leaves in the album of 1720. This incorporation of literati elements in his style may be the progress to which Zhang Geng refers in *Guochao Huazheng Xulu* cited above.

In 1719 Yuan Jiang painted a four-panel continuous landscape composition featuring figures in Manchu dress. Each of the scrolls was inscribed by one of four scholars who were residents of the Xiaoxing region of Zhejiang. The following year one of the inscribers, Lu Zengyu, earned the *juren* degree which qualified him to go on to the triennial Palace examination which he passed in 1721, earning the highest degree, *jinshi*. Another inscriber, Wang Binghe, earned the same degrees in 1729 and 1735.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps these new acquaintances encouraged Yuan Jiang to practice a more scholarly style.

In the fall of the same year Yuan Jiang painted a garden landscape; in an unusual departure from his custom, he indicated where he was painting, in The Hall of Green Wilderness (Figure 6). During 1719 he also painted a picture of the Hall of Green Wilderness and in the following year created a sumptuous multi-panel composition on gilded paper of the same title, formally including the Kangxi reign name in the inscription.<sup>31</sup> A feature which is common to both the 1719 landscape painted in the Hall of Green Wilderness and the large screen composition of the Hall of Green Wilderness is a broad terrace overlooking an expanse of water.<sup>32</sup> Green Wilderness Hall was a name used in the Tang and Song dynasties, but it was also adopted by several scholars of the Ming and Qing. Although the owner of the garden in which Yuan Jiang painted has not yet been identified, it is unlikely that Yuan's large panorama of the theme is merely a recreation of a famous historical garden. The number of paintings in succession and their shared features argue that he was portraying a contemporary garden at the request of the owner.

In the autumn of 1720 Yuan Jiang suppressed his own distinctive brushwork in an attempt to paint in the styles of Yuan dynasty masters such as Wu Zhen and Ni Zan. The resulting album on poetic themes is a provocative merging of professional and literati traditions. Yuan Jiang's handling of Su Shi's (1037 - 1101) prose poem on the Red Cliff (Figure 7) embraces some of the best features of both aesthetics: rich ink tones and strong brushwork combined with Yuan's penchant for dramatic presentation. Seen from a high point of view, the precipitous



Figure 6. Yuan Jiang, *Landscape Imitating the Ancients*, dated 1719.  
From *Kokka* no. 584.



Figure 7. Yuan Jiang, *Su Shih's Prose Poem on the Red Cliff*, leaf from album dated 1720. The Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto.

cliff and the vast expanse of river dwarf the small boat. The subject matter in this album ranges from lines of Tang poetry to topics of general interest like viewing the Hangzhou bore and a scholar playing a zither in his pine-shaded study, a leaf which comes closest to capturing literati aesthetics. Yuan Jiang was at home with large scale works and must have felt cramped on small pages, but albums like this gave him an opportunity to demonstrate his versatility. Financial incentives undoubtedly played a role as well. Having built a garden estate, an owner would naturally want to display within it some of the objects appropriate to a refined life; albums and handscrolls for private viewing were essential.

Yuan Jiang had a gift for painting. Whether simple album leaf designs or elaborate architectural murals, he gave his paintings an energy and originality which carries through even the many reworkings of a theme. Among professional painters of the Qing, Yuan Jiang stands alone in his ability to combine superb draftsmanship, harmonious color, and clear detail in large landscape compositions. Viewed from a distance, the huge paintings appear as airy landscapes. Seen up close they present a transporting vision of daily life, idealized and romanticized. Yuan Jiang managed to weave the contemporary dreams, aspirations and successes of the new economic elite with grand themes of the past. Proclaiming pride in a materialistic world, Yuan Jiang's paintings reflect their time and document the shifting concerns of late seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Yangzhou society.

## Appendix      Dated Paintings by Yuan Jiang

### Abbreviations of the Titles Cited

- Anhui*      *Chūgoku no Hakubutsukan* ('Museums of Continental China'), Part II, V: *Ankisho Hakubutsukan* ('Anhui Provincial Museum'). Tokyo, 1988.
- Barnhart      Barnhart, Richard. *Peach Blossom Spring: Garden and Flowers in Chinese Paintings*. New York, 1983.
- Cahill      Cahill, James. 'Yuan Chiang and His School,' *Ars Orientalis*, V (1963), 259-272; and VI (1966), 191-212.
- EDCP      *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*. Cleveland, 1980.
- FC      *Forbidden City (Zijincheng)*.
- Guangdong*      *Guangdong Bowuguan Canghuaqi*. Beijing, 1986.
- Guo      Guo Weiqu. *Song Yuan Ming Qing Shuhuaqia Nianbiao*. Beijing, 1982.
- Harada      Harada Bizan (Kinjiro). *Nihon Genzai Chūgoku Meiga Mokuroku*. Kyoto, 1975 reprint.
- Harada-K      Harada, Kinjiro. *Chūgoku Meiga Hokan* ('The Pageant of Chinese Painting'). Tokyo, 1959.
- Huang*      *Huang Junbi Xiansheng Juanzeng Wenwu Tezhan Mulu* ('Catalogue of Special Exhibition of the Gifts of Mr. Huang Junbi'). Taipei, 1985.
- Li      Li Jinyan, 'Yuan Jiang de Song Ying Tu' ('Yuan Jiang's Pine and Eagle'), *Dagong Bao* (Hong Kong), 29 June 1985.
- Nie      Nie Chongzheng. *Yuan Jiang yu Yuan Yao*. Shanghai, 1982.
- Rogers      Rogers, Howard. *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*. Lansdale, PA: 1988.
- Shanghai*      *Shanghai Bowuguan Canghua*. Shanghai, 1959.
- Sekai*      Koyama Fujio, ed. *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* ('Encyclopedia of World Art'), XVII: 'Chūgoku 6, Minshin.' Tokyo, 1968.
- Suzuki      Suzuki Kei, ed. *Chūgoku Kaiga Sogo Zuroku* ('Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings'). 5 vols. Tokyo, 1982-83.
- Taipei      National Palace Museum, *Hai-wai I-chen: Hui-hua*. Taipei, 1985.
- Tianjin      *Chūgoku no Hakubutsukan*, VI: *Tianjin Art Museum*. Tokyo, 1982.
- Treasures*      Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. *Treasures from the Shanghai Museum: 6,000 Years of Chinese Art*. San Francisco, 1983.
- Weng      Weng Wango. *Gardens in Chinese Art*. New York, 1968.
- Yangzhou      Kao Mayching, ed. *Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum*. Hong Kong, 1984.
- Xu      Xu Bangda. *Lidai Liuchuan Shuhua Zuopin Biannian Biao*. Hong Kong, 1974.
- Zhongguo*      Group for the Authentication of Ancient Works of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Jingpin Lu*, I. Beijing, 1984.
- Zhongguo*      Group for the Authentication of Ancient Works of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu* ('Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Works of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy'), I-VII. Beijing, 1986 - .

Year/ Lunar Month	Title	Format	Media	Collection	Source
1680	<i>Landscape with Storm</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Ching Yuan Chai	Cahill (1966), fig. 23
1681.1	<i>Landscape with Architecture in Northern Song Brush Idioms</i>	12-panel screen	Ink and color on silk	Rongbao Zhai, Beijing	<i>Rongbao Zhai</i> , 1987.1
1683	<i>River Landscape, Landscape after Guo Xi, Mt Peng-lai</i> (Same as below?)	3 of 12 album leaves or hanging scrolls		Former Manchu Imperial Household	Cahill (1966), figs. 24-26
1683	<i>Landscapes</i>	Large album of 12 leaves	Ink and color on silk	Not given; seals of Xiuquan in one leaf	Nie, p. 25 (listed as 1743)
1686	<i>Landscape after Mi Fu</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	Nie, p. 25 (listed as 1746)
1691.7	<i>Landscape after Guo Xi</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on gold paper	Yabamoto #6953, Osaka	Suzuki, JP12-086
1691.10	<i>Palace of Nine Perfections</i>	Set of 12 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	The Metropolitan Museum, 125a-1	Barnhart, no. 40
1693	<i>Night of Moon and Flowers on Spring River</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Guangdong Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 20
1693.8	<i>Evening Palace Scene after Guo Zhongshu</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Mr/Mrs Oscar L. Tang	Sotheby's, 11/19/86, lot 13



1694 Autumn	<i>Carts on a Winding Mountain Road after Guo Xi</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art	<i>EDCP</i> , No. 256
1694.12	<i>Sailing Through the Gorges after Guo Xi</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk		Sotheby's, 6/3/86, lot 72
1695 Autumn	<i>Wutong Tree and Autumn Hibiscus After Huang Quan</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Art Research Institute	Nie, p.20; <i>Meishu</i> ,1963.5; <i>Sekai Bijutsu Taikan</i>
1696.10	<i>Peach Blossom Spring after Yuan Masters</i>	Set of 8 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3410
1697.3	<i>Landscape after Ma Yuan</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Guangdong Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 20; <i>Guangdong</i> , pl. 180
1698	<i>Yangtze Gorges after Li Zhao dao</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	Cahill (1963), fig. 11; Nie, p. 20
1698	<i>Night of Moon and Flowers on Spring River</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	National Gallery, Beijing	Nie, p. 20
1699.2	<i>Landscape after Ma Yuan</i>	Fan	Ink and color on paper	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 1-5183
1700	<i>Returning Tipsy</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Lüshun Museum	Nie, p. 20
1701.5	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Yabamoto #6953, Osaka	
1702	<i>Escaping the Heat at Mt. Li</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Capital Museum	Nie, pl. 20
1703.10	<i>Landscape after Zhao Mengfu</i>	Handscroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3411

1704.2	<i>Spring at Riverside Pavilions in the Style of Guo Zhongshu</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Shanghai</i> , pl. 82
1704	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Yantai Diqu Wenguan Hui	Nie, p. 20
1706	<i>A Secluded Dwelling</i>	Folding fan	Ink and color on paper	Ching Yuan Chai	Weng, no. 13
1706	<i>Landscape</i>	Handscroll	Ink and color on silk	Guangdong Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 20
1707.2	<i>Pulling Carts over a Mountain Pass after Guo Xi</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	National Museum, Stockholm	Cahill (1963), fig. 20; Suzuki, E20-004
1707.10	<i>Landscape after Liu Songnian</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Asian Art Museum, San Francisco B60D85	<i>Taipei</i> , pl. 171
1707	<i>Peach Blossom Spring</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Los Angeles County Museum of Art	
1708.4	<i>Penglai, Isle of Immortals</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 1-5184; Cahill (1966), fig. 2; <i>FC</i> , VIII, p. 32
1708	<i>Mist and Rain over Spring River</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Yunnan Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 21
1710.5	<i>Watching Waves</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	Nie, p. 21
1710	<i>Landscape in the Style of Guo Zhongshu</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong	Suzuki, S17-007
1710	<i>Immortals' Palace in Spring Mountains</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Treasures</i> , no. 133.

1710	<i>Travelling in Autumn Mountains</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Liaoning Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 21
1710	<i>Eastern Garden</i>	Handscroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Wenwu</i> , 1973/1, pp.70-72
1711.8	<i>Landscape with Villa</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	Cahill (1966), fig. 5
1711.10	<i>Landscape with Architecture</i>	Album of 8 leaves	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Yangzhou</i> , no. 16 (2 leaves only)
1711	<i>Flowers</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Hunan Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 21
1712.3	<i>Pine and Eagle</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and pale color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3414; Li
1712.10	<i>Travelling among Streams and Mountains after Guo Xi</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Hashimoto collection, Takatsuki	Cahill (1963), figs. 21, 27
1712	<i>Lotus Pond, Willow Shade after Ma Yuan</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Yabumoto collection, Osaka	
1712	<i>Hall of Reading among Thick Willows</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3415
1712	<i>River Village</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shenyang Palace Museum	Nie, p. 22
1713	<i>Pavilions between River and Sky</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Chongqing Museum	Nie, p. 22
1714.6	<i>Fishermen on River in Spring</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M85.152	

1714	<i>Mount Lu</i>	Set of 12 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	Nie, p.22
1715.4	<i>House on Mt Lu (Lushan Caotang)</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Former Yuan Shuqu collection	Cahill (1966), fig. 8; Nie, p. 22
1715.10	<i>Clear River, Happiness of Fishermen (Qingjiang Yule)</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shandong Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 22
1716.2	<i>Spring Snow</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Harvard University Museums, 1968.73	Suzuki, A10-022
1716.3	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Anhui Provincial Museum	<i>Anhui</i> , pl. 90
1716.3	<i>Watching the Tide</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Yangzhou</i> , no. 17
1716	<i>Coolness from Pure Lotus</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Capital Museum	Nie, p. 22
1717.11	<i>Landscape with Villa</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Art Institute of Chicago, 44.437	Cahill (1966), fig. 7
1718.5	<i>Peach Blossom Spring</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	The Art Museum, Princeton University	Cahill (1966), fig. 6
1718.6	<i>Flavor of the Southeast (Dongnan Fengwei)</i>	Fan	Ink and color on paper	Palace Museum, Beijing	Nie, p. 22
1718	<i>Fording in Autumn</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Rongbao Zhai, Beijing	Nie, p. 23
1718	<i>The Road to Shu</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Unknown	Cahill (1966), fig. 10; Nie, p. 23

1719.2	<i>Pavilion of the Drunken Old Man</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk		Sotheby's, 6/2/87, lot 66
1719.5	<i>Peach Blossom Spring</i>	Set of 12 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Private collection, Canada	Sotheby's, 6/15/83, lot 25
1719 Summer	<i>Landscape with Figures, Buildings and Goats</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	The Art Museum, Berkeley	Suzuki, A30-021
1719 Autumn	<i>Landscape Imitating the Ancients</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color		Cahill (1966), fig. 13; <i>Kokka</i> , no. 584
1719 Winter	<i>Wind and Rain on Double Nine</i>	Fan	Ink and color on paper	Palace Museum, Beijing	Nie, p. 23
1719	<i>Landscape with Figures</i>	Set of 4 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on paper	Tianjin Cultural Bureau	Nie, p. 23
1719	<i>Hall of Green Wilderness</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	Nie, p. 23
1719	<i>Pavilions in Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Unknown	Nie, p. 23; <i>Sekai</i> , XX
1720.1	<i>Flowers</i>	Handscroll	Ink and pale color on paper	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3416
1720 Summer	<i>Flying Snow in Liang Garden</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 1-5185
1720.8	<i>Hall of Green Wilderness</i>	8-fold screen	Ink and color on gold paper	Unknown	<i>Sekai</i> , XVII, pl. 15
1720.8	<i>Deep Fragrance Pavilion</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Tianjin Museum	<i>Tianjin</i> , pl. 21; Nie, p. 23

1720 Autumn	<i>Poetic Themes</i>	Album of 12 leaves	Ink or ink and color on paper	Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto	
1720.11	<i>After Rain</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on paper	National Palace Museum, Taipei	<i>Huang</i> , pl. 14
1720	<i>Mountain Beneath Moon</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Shanghai Museum	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , hu 1-3417
1720	<i>Afang Palace in Snow</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk		Nie, p. 23
1721.4	<i>Fruit and Flowers</i>	Handscroll	Ink and color on paper	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Yangzhou</i> , no. 18; <i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 1-5186
1721.4	<i>Summer Trees, Deep Shade</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Rongbao Zhai, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 11-096
1722.2	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on paper	Sakuragi Shunichi, Nagoya	Nie, p. 24; Harada, p. 340
1722 Spring	<i>Landscape in the Style of Fan Kuan</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on paper		Christie's, 6/5/85, lot 72
1722.3	<i>Miscellaneous Paintings</i>	Album of 8 leaves	Ink and color on paper	National Gallery, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu</i> , jing 3-089
1722.3	<i>Wind Fills the Hall</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and pale color on silk	Nelson Wu collection	Suzuki, A26-002
1722.4	<i>Palace at Dawn</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Freer Gallery of Art, 11.257	Cahill (1966), figs. 14, 16
1722 Winter	<i>Lotus Pavilion, Retreat from Summer Heat</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Guangdong Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 24
1722	<i>Bamboo Hall</i>	Hanging scroll	Colors on silk	Sichuan Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 24

1722	<i>Three Rams</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on paper	Beijing Cultural Relic Store	<i>Zhongguo Tumu, jing</i> 12-255
1722	<i>Laden with Chrysanthemums</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Beijing Arts & Crafts Import-Export Co.	<i>Zhongguo Tumu, jing</i> 10-047
1722	<i>Mt Penglai</i>	Hanging scroll		Nuwazhai	Cahill (1966), fig. 17
1723.2	<i>Landscape with Pavilions among Pines and Bamboos</i>	Set of 12 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Yangzhou, no. 19; Nie, p.24</i>
1723 Spring	<i>Landscape with Garden</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and pale color on silk	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.82	
1723.4	<i>Landscape with Palace</i>	Set of 12 hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	Cahill (1966), fig. 18; Nie, p. 24
1723.5	<i>Spring Thunder, Insect Awakening</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	National Gallery, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo, I, 49</i>
1723 Summer	<i>Penglai: Isle of the Immortals</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	British Museum, 1953.5.9	Suzuki, E15-163
1723	<i>Birds and Flowers</i>	Pair of hanging scrolls	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zhongguo Tumu, jing</i> 1-5187
1724	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll			Nie, p. 24
1724	<i>Snowscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Murakami Yoshiro collection	Suzuki, JP27-007
1725	<i>Winter Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll		Private collection	Cahill (1966), fig. 19
1726.8	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Yangzhou, no. 20; Nie, p.24</i>

1726	<i>Landscape</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Yunnan Provincial Museum	Nie, p. 24
1730	<i>Spring Dawn over Lake and Mountains</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk		Nie, p. 25
1756?	<i>Landscape with Architecture</i>	Hanging scroll	Ink and color on silk	Former Kinoshita collection, Tokyo	Harada, p. 139



