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Trad. attr. to: Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106)  
Title: *Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*  
《陶淵明歸隱圖》  
*Tao Yuanming guiyin tu*  
Dynasty/Date: Northern Song, early 12th century  
Format: Handscroll  
Medium: Ink and color on silk  
Dimensions: 37.0 x 521.5 cm (14-9/16 x 205-5/16 in)  
Credit line: Gift of Charles Lang Freer  
Accession no.: F1919.119  
Provenance: K.T. Wong, Shanghai

**Literary theme:** The painting illustrates a famous 60-line poem titled *Guiqulai ci* 歸去來辭 (Returning Home), by Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427), who became an iconic figure in Chinese culture.<sup>1</sup> The text of the poem is written in seven separate passages that accompany the seven painted sections of the scroll,

**Physical description:**<sup>2</sup> Wrapper of fitted patterned silk, with white fabric title label, and two inscribed white fabric end labels. Outside label on brocade flap. Frontispiece, with signature and seals; new mounting before and after. Two old front mounting silks, with four inside labels: three on mounting silk 1, one on mounting silk 2. Seven demarcated sections of painting, ink and color on silk; no artist signature or seals. Each painting section preceded by passage of inscribed text. Two old back mounting silks: mounting silk 3, with six (6) collector seals, and mounting silk 4, with one colophon and four (4) seals. Separately mounted colophon on silk, with signature and one (1) collector seal;



new silk mounting before and after. Three colophons on attached paper, each with signatures and two (2) seals. Total seals: 43 — (10 accompanying calligraphy, plus 33 collector seals)

**Wrapper:** Fitted patterned silk, with white fabric title label, and two fabric end labels

Title label: ink on white fabric

1 column, running-standard script

宋李龍眠《淵明歸隱圖》真跡

*Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*, by Li Longmian [Li Gonglin] of the Song dynasty; a genuine work.<sup>3</sup>

End label: ink on white fabric

3 columns, standard script

宋李公麟繪《淵明歸隱圖》

*Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*, by Li Gonglin of the Song dynasty

End label: ink on white fabric: “No. 25”

**Outside label:** anonymous

1 column, x script

宋李龍眠《淵明歸隱圖》真蹟，神品。

*Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*, by Li Longmian [Li Gonglin] of the Song dynasty; a genuine work of the divine category.



**Frontispiece:** Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) – forgery

Ink on brown paper. Dimensions: 37.0 x 99.6 cm

Five characters, clerical script

淵明歸隱圖

*Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*

Signature: none

Seals: (3) – fake

*Su Mi zhai* 『蘇米齋』 (rectangle relief) – right

*Tanqi* 『覃谿』 (square relief) – left

*Weng Fanggang yin* 『翁方綱印』 (square intaglio) – left – (1/2)

**Mounting silks 1–2:** Two strips of silk mounted side-by-side. Three previous label slips on mounting silk 1, and one on mounting silk 2.

1. Dimensions: 37.0 x 8.9 cm

2. Dimensions: 37.0 x 9.0 cm

**Inside labels:** (4) – Four previous label slips. All written on brown paper, all with identical wording. The first label slip is written in running-standard script, the following three are written in clerical script. No signatures, dates, or seals.



宋李龍眠《淵明歸隱圖》真蹟，神品

*Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*, by Li Longmian [Li Gonglin] of the Song dynasty; a genuine work of the divine category.

**Painting description:** Seven paintings, each preceded by a passage of inscribed text. Six sections of silk: each section bears one text passage and one painting, except section 5, which bears two consecutive panels of text and painting.<sup>4</sup> No artist signature or seals.

**Artist Inscription:** none

**Other Inscriptions:** (1) – Possibly by Li Peng 李彭 (ca. 1060s–after 1110)<sup>5</sup>

Ink on silk. Seven written sections of varying length in front of each painting.  
Running-standard script. No signature, date, or seals.

Note: Some characters in sections 1 and 2 are illegible due to wear, damage, and remounting. As the text is well known, these characters are indicated by brackets [ ] in the transcription below.

Silk section 1: dimensions: 37.0 x 146.4 cm (Text 1 and Painting 1)

6 columns, running-standard script (lines 1–18 of poem)

[歸]去來兮，田園將蕪胡不[歸]？[既自]以心爲形役，[奚]惆悵而獨悲。  
悟已往之不諫，知來者之可追，寔迷途其未遠，覺今是而昨非。  
舟遙遙以輕颺，風飄飄而吹衣，問征夫以前路，恨[晨光]之熹微。  
乃瞻衡宇，載欣載奔，僮僕歡呼，稚子候[門]；  
三逕就荒，松[菊]猶存，



Oh, to go home!  
Field and garden will be weeds, how can I not go home?  
Since I made my mind my body's thrall,  
How very sad and sorry I have been.  
I know not to blame what is done and gone,  
And am aware I must follow what's to come;  
As I've not strayed too far from the path,  
I feel today is right and yesterday wrong.  
Far, far, fares my boat with the gentle breeze,  
Wind whirls and swirls, flapping my robes;  
I ask other travelers about the road ahead,  
And grudge that morning's light is still so faint.  
Then I glimpse the eaves of home,  
I leap for joy and start to run,  
Serving boys welcome me with cheer,  
My young sons await me at the gate.  
The three trails are all overgrown,  
But pine and chrysanthemum remain;

Silk section 2: dimensions: 37.0 x 60.7 cm (Text 2: W 5.6 cm; Painting 2: W 55.1 cm)

2 columns, running-standard script (lines 19–24 of poem)

攜幼入[室]，[有]酒盈樽。

引壺觴以自酌，眄庭[柯]以怡顏，倚南[窗]以[寄傲]，審容膝之易安。

Leading my children I enter the house,  
Where a pitcher is brimming with wine.



Pulling toward me cup and jug, I pour myself a drink,  
Spying the trees in the courtyard, I am happy of face;  
Leaning at the southern window, I convey my pride,  
How easy it is to be content with just a little space.

Silk section 3: dimensions: 37.0 x 57.4 cm (Text 3: W 6.1 cm; Painting 3: W 51.3 cm)  
3 columns, running-standard script (lines 25–32 of poem)

園日涉以成趣，門雖設而常關，策扶老以流憩，時矯首而遐觀。  
雲無心而出岫，鳥倦飛而知還，景翳翳以將入，撫孤松而盤桓。

I pass my days in the garden doing what I please,  
And though I set a gate there, it is always shut;  
An old man leaning on his cane, I stroll and rest,  
Lifting my head at times to gaze into the distance.  
As clouds aimlessly emerge from the peaks,  
Birds weary of flying know it is time to return;  
But until the sun is covered and almost gone,  
I stroke the bark of a lonely pine and linger on.

Silk section 4: dimensions: 37.0 x 64.8 cm (Text 4: W 8.2 cm; Painting 4, W 56.6 cm)  
3 columns, running-standard script (lines 33–40 of poem)

歸去來兮！請息交以絕游，世與我而相遺，復駕言兮焉求？  
悅親戚之情話，樂琴書以消憂，農人告予以暮春，將有事乎西疇。

Oh, to go home!



I will cancel my friendships and cease to roam;  
The world and I shall put each other aside,  
Were I to yoke my carriage, what should I seek?  
I'm happy having heartfelt talks with kith and kin,  
Dissolving my cares in the joy of zither and books;  
The farmers tell me that spring is near its end,  
And there's work to do out in the western fields.

Silk section 5: dimensions: 37.0 x 128.0 cm (includes Texts 5–6 and Paintings 5–6)  
Painting 5: 37.0 x 64.6 cm (Text 5: W 8.0 cm; Painting 5: W 56.6 cm)  
3 columns, running-standard script (lines 41–48 of poem)

或命巾車，或棹孤舟，既窈窕以尋壑，亦崎嶇而經丘；  
木欣欣以向榮，泉涓涓而始流，善萬物之得時，感吾生之行休。

At times I order up my covered cart,  
At times I row upon my lonely skiff,  
Exploring up the canyons, hidden and secluded,  
Or taking rough and rugged paths across the hills.  
As trees happily approach the time of blooming,  
And the fountains bubble up and start to flow,  
Glad the myriad things have each their season,  
I am moved that my own life must have an end.

Painting 6: 37.0 x 63.4 cm (Text 6: W 7.6 cm; Painting 6: W 55.8 cm)  
3 columns, running-standard script (lines 49–56 of poem)

已矣乎！寓形宇內復幾時，曷不委心任去留，胡為遑遑欲何之！



富貴非吾願，帝鄉不可期，懷良辰以孤往，或植杖而耘耔。

All is over and done!

How much longer will my body sojourn in this world?

Why not let my heart decide whether to leave or stay?

Why hustle and bustle about? Where is it I would go?

Wealth and station are not what I desire,

And I have no expectation of reaching heaven,

But I cherish going out alone on a fine morning,

And planting my staff at times to weed and hoe.

Silk section 6: dimensions: 37.0 x 64.2 cm (Text 7: W 7.3 cm; Painting 7: W 56.9 cm)

2 columns, running-standard script (lines 57–60 of poem)

登東~~岸~~以舒嘯，臨清流而賦詩，聊乘化以歸盡，樂夫天命復奚疑。

I climb the eastern bank, whistling loud and long,

And overlooking the clear stream, compose a poem;

I shall ride with the changes until the final return,

Happy in heaven's decree, what is there to doubt?

**Mounting silks 3–4:** Two strips of silk mounted side-by-side. Mounting silk 3 with six (6) collector seals. Mounting silk 4 with colophon.

3. Dimensions: 37.0 x 8.9 cm

4. Dimensions: 37.0 x 8.6 cm



**Colophons:** (5) Colophon 1 (forgery) is written on mounting silk 4. Colophon 2 is written on a separately mounted section of silk. Colophons 3–5 (forgeries) are written on three continuously mounted pieces of paper.

1. Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) – forgery

Ink on mounting silk 4.

4 columns, running-standard script.

Note: Two characters are omitted, and one is mis-transcribed; brackets [ ] provide missing characters and correction [ > ].<sup>6</sup>

宋李彭，字喬老，灌園修水之上。字畫有鍾、王之風。自言法右軍之瞻[麗]，用魯公之氣骨，獵可[>奇]峭於誠懸，[體]韻度於凝式。考沈潛菴《書畫緣》。北平翁方綱。

Li Peng of the Song dynasty, courtesy name Shanglao, watered his garden [i.e., lived] on the Xiu River [in Jiangxi Province]. His writing has the manner of Zhong [You, 151–230] and Wang [Xizhi, ca. 303–361]. He himself said that he modeled [his calligraphy] on the visual beauty of the General of the Right [Wang Xizhi], employed the power and structure [literally, breath and bone] of the Duke of Lu [Yan Zhenqing, 709–785], sought out the unusual and unconventional in Chengxuan [Liu Gongquan, 778–865], and styled [his works] after the harmonious manner of [Yang] Ningshi [873–957].<sup>7</sup> See the *Shuhuayuan* by Shen Qian’an [unidentified]. Weng Fanggang of Beiping [modern Beijing].

Signature: 翁方綱

Weng Fanggang



Date: none

Seal: (1)

*Weng Fanggang yin* 『翁方綱印』 (square intaglio) – (2/2)

2. Li Peng 李彭 (ca. 1060–after 1110)<sup>8</sup>

Ink on separately mounted section of silk. Dimensions: 37.0 x 22.8 cm.

10 columns, running script.

往在山谷處，見伯時所作《歸去來》小屏，意趣簡遠，與此畫氣象畧相似。山谷指淵明，語余曰：『伯時寫照，於此最得體，蓋大小四五輩不同，而姿狀若一故也。觀其邁往不屑之韻，一時要貴，豈能挽致之？』然世或論淵明與二踈，以謂二踈既出知反，而淵明未嘗出，既出知反，如從病得愈，氣味勝於初不病。余以爲不然。二踈以師傅恩，行止足計，雖涉世網，而未嘗病。淵明之出則病矣，知病之不可嘗而不深犯。計此風流，未肯遽出二踈下也。汝陰勝士王性之以此本示余，得以想見歸田園之樂，頗覺此老去人未遠也。大觀四年三月五日，山南李彭喬老書。

Once, at Shangu's [Huang Tingjian's, 1045–1105] place I saw a small [painted] screen with *Going Home* done by Boshi [Li Gonglin, ca. 1049–1106].<sup>9</sup> Its concept was simple but far-reaching, and in atmosphere it was generally similar to this [painting]. Shangu pointed at [the figure of Tao] Yuanming and said to me: "Boshi's figure painting is at its best in this [screen]. The reason is because [although Tao appears] in several groups of different size, his demeanor is always the same. Seeing by his mood that he disdained setting forth, how could the wealthy and powerful of the time hold him back?" Still, some people in the world compare Yuanming and the two [tutors surnamed] Shu,<sup>10</sup> saying that the two Shus left [home to accept official employment], but knew when to return, while



Yuanming never actually left, and that leaving and knowing when to return is like getting well after an illness: one's sense of taste is better than if one had not at first been ill.<sup>11</sup> I do not think this is right. As the two Shus served as tutors by [imperial] favor, they were [astute] enough to plan their times of going and staying, and although they experienced the problems of the world, they never felt sick [of it]. But as soon as Yuanming left [home], he was indeed sick of [the world], and as he knew that he could not help being sick of it, it wasn't really worth [going on]. Observing Tao's deportment and manner, I am not willing to place him too hastily below the two Shus. When the eminent Wang Xingzhi of Ruyin showed me this scroll, I could visualize the joy of returning to one's fields and garden, and had the sense that the old fellow [Tao Qian] had not gone so very far away from others [after all].<sup>12</sup> Fifth day of the third lunar-month in the fourth year of the Dagan reign period [March 26, 1110], written by Li Peng Shanglao from south of the mountain.<sup>13</sup>

Signature: 李彭商老

Li Peng, Shanglao

Date: 大觀四年三月五日

Fifth day of the third lunar-month in the fourth year of the Dagan reign period [March 26, 1110]

Seals: none

3. Shen Hao 沈顥 (1586–after 1661) – forgery (not translated)

Ink on first brown endpaper. Dimensions: 37.0 x 130.0 cm.

28 columns, running script.



Text consists of *Guiqulai ci* with variant readings and six omissions, indicated by smaller characters in brackets [ ]. See text and translation above.

《歸去來辭》 陶淵明

歸去來兮，田園將蕪胡不歸！既自以心爲形役，奚惆悵而獨悲？  
 悟已往之不諫，知來者之可追，實迷途其未遠，覺今是而昨非。  
 舟搖[搖]以輕颺，風飄[飄]而吹衣，問征夫以前路，恨晨光之意微。  
 乃瞻衡宇，載欣載奔，僮僕攬迎，稚子候門；  
 三逕就荒，松菊猶存，攜幼入室，有酒盈樽。  
 引壺觴以自酌，眄庭柯以怡顏，倚南[窗]以寄傲，審容膝之易安。  
 園日涉以成趣，門雖設而常關，策扶老以流憩，時矯首而游觀。  
 雲無心以出岫，鳥倦飛而知還，景翳翳以將入，撫孤松而盤桓。  
 歸去來兮！請息交以絕游，世與我而相遺，復駕言兮馬求？  
 悅親戚之情話，樂琴書以消憂，農人告予以春及，將有事於西疇。  
 或命巾車，或棹孤舟，既窈窕以尋壑，亦崎嶇而經邱；  
 木欣欣而向榮，泉涓涓而始流，羨萬物之得時，感吾生之行休。  
 已矣乎！寓形宇內復幾時，曷不委心任去留，胡爲乎遑欲何之！  
 富貴非吾願，帝鄉不可期，懷良辰以孤往，或植杖而耘耔。  
 登東[皋]以舒嘯，臨清流而賦[詩]，聊乘化以歸盡，樂乎天命復[奚]疑。  
 石天沈顥題。

[For translation of *Guiqulai ci*, see Other Inscriptions, above,]

Signature: 沈顥

Shen Hao



Date: none

Seals: (2) – fake

*Shen Hao zhi yin* 『沈顥之印』 (square intaglio)

*Zhu ta liangfeng* 『竹榻涼風』 (square intaglio)

#### 4. Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) – forgery (not translated)

Ink on second brown endpaper. Dimensions: 37.0 x 92.9 cm.

30 columns, standard script.

右宋李伯時所畫《陶淵明歸去來詞圖》，卷後有李商老跋。又考吳潛庵《書畫緣》，知商老亦北宋人。跋中言及『往在山谷處』云云，考山谷爲治平進士，伯時爲元祐進士，是三人均北宋同時人也。畫係絹本分段，每段後書《歸去來詞》，共成七段。披觀之下，玩味不盡，而分段書文布置井。然誠《歸去來辭》之畫，非略寫大意柴桑隱士畫也。李跋謂『意趣閑遠，寫照得體』，是也。又李跋引漢二疏去官歸隱，相提並論，謂淵明『風流未肯遽出二疏下』，其評亦充。然二疏與淵明，爵位與時勢俱不同，而其爲知幾則一。所謂擬必於倫，其知言哉。

予因李跋引二疏以擬淵明而有慨焉。夫六書之旨，首在象形指事。古來畫法，本由六書象形而生，『善可爲法，惡可戒』，是也。商老因伯時之畫，顧亭林云：『古人圖畫皆指事之使觀者可法可戒』，是也。淵明去官高隱，而念及於二疏之辭位歸里，不知二疏當日罷官而歸，其祖道都門，後世固亦流爲丹青名迹也。考昌黎《送楊少尹序》言：『疏廣、受二子，以年老一朝辭位而去。於是公卿設祖道都門，車數百輛，道旁觀者多歎息泣下，某言其賢。漢史既傳其事，而後世之畫又圖其跡』。是二疏去官，後世亦有圖畫之流傳，在昌黎時，當必親見其畫本，故詳悉言之也。夫漢以後，畫家推顧、陸，唐時推吳、張，宋初推荆、關、董、巨，其

著名尤在伯時上。二疏畫本，當必出於數子之手，亦未可知。其遺幀尤堪寶貴，第不知尚有存於宇宙間者否。然漢晉卓行高人，志同道合，觀此歸隱柴桑之畫本，亦如見祖道都門之畫本也。則觀淵明畫，猶觀二疏畫，謂二疏圖畫仍存於今世，無不可也。北宋之名迹，已自寥寥，今獲觀斯帙，不可謂非眼福，是誠希世之寶也。磨挲之餘，爰題數語以誌景行。華亭董其昌書。

Signature: 董其昌

Dong Qichang

Date: none

Seals: (2) – fake

*Taishi shi* 『太史氏』 (square intaglio)

*Dong Qichang* 『董其昌』 (square relief)

#### 5. Wang Shihong 汪士鋐 (1658–1723) – forgery (not translated)

Ink on third brown endpaper. Dimensions: 37.0 x 154.0 cm (to roller)

12 columns, clerical script.

漢疏廣，字仲翁，東海蘭陵人，仕至太子太傅；兄子受，官至太子少傅。位五年，廣謂受曰：『知足不辱，知止不殆，功成身退，天之道也。不去恐有後悔』。上許之，賜黃金百斤，太子贈五十斤，公卿大夫設供帳，祖道都門外；送者車數百乘，道路觀者皆曰：『賢哉！二大夫』。歸之日，散金與諸舊，召鄉父老飲宴，不治田宅。或勸爲子孫計，廣曰：『賢而多財，則損其智。愚而多財，則益其過』。退谷汪士鋐並錄。



Signature: 退谷汪士鋹

Tuigu, Wang Shihong

Date: none

Seals: (2) – fake

*Tuigu* 『退谷』 (square intaglio)

*Wang Shihong yin* 『汪士鋹印』 (square intaglio)

**Collector Seals:** (33)

1. Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–1590) – (1) – genuine/fake?

*Xiang Molin fu miji zhi yin* 『項墨林甫祕笈之印』 (rectangle relief) – painting 7,  
lower left

2. Song Lao 宋犖 (1634–1713) – (2)<sup>14</sup>

*Shangqiu Song shi shoucang tushu* 『商丘宋氏收藏圖書』 (rectangle relief) –  
painting 1, lower left – (1/2)

*Shangqiu Song shi shoucang tushu* 『商丘宋氏收藏圖書』 (rectangle relief) –  
painting 7, lower left – (2/2)

3. Wang Xuehao 王學浩 (1754–1832) – (1)



*Jiaoxi zhi yin* 『椒畦之印』 (square intaglio) – colophon 4, lower right

4. Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅 (1775–1849) – (4)

*Chailin cengguan* 『茝林曾觀』 (square relief) – painting 7, lower left – (1/2)

*Chailin cengguan* 『茝林曾觀』 (square relief) – mounting silk 3, lower right – (2/2)

*Liang Zhangju shending shuhua zhi yin* 『梁章鉅審定書畫之印』 (square intaglio)  
– mounting silk 3, lower right – (1/2)

*Liang Zhangju shending shuhua zhi yin* 『梁章鉅審定書畫之印』 (square intaglio)  
– mounting silk 4, lower right corner – (2/2)

5. Tu Zhuo 屠倬 (1781–1828) – (1)

*Tu Zhuo zhi yin* 『屠倬之印』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 3, lower left

6. Dai Zhi 戴植 (active 1820s–1840s) – (4)

*Dai Zhi miwan* 『戴植祕玩』 (square relief) – mounting silk 4, lower left – (1/4)

*Dai Zhi miwan* 『戴植祕玩』 (square relief) – colophon 2, lower left – (2/4)

*Dai Zhi miwan* 『戴植祕玩』 (square relief) – colophon 3, lower right – (3/4)

*Dai Zhi miwan* 『戴植祕玩』 (square relief) – colophon 4, lower right – (4/4)

7. Xu Lin 徐璘 (early to mid-19th century) – (2)<sup>15</sup>

*Xu shi Qiucha* 『徐氏秋查』 (square relief) – frontispiece, lower left



*Xu Qiucha shangjian yin* 『徐秋槎賞鑑印』 (rectangle relief) – mounting silk 4,  
lower right

8. Du Wenlan 杜文瀾 (1815–1881) – (1)

*Du Xiaofang cang shuhua zhi yin* 『杜小舫藏書畫之印』 (rectangle relief) –  
mounting silk 3, lower right

9. Unidentified – (17)

*Kongfang xiong you juejiao shu* 『孔方兄有絕交書』 (square relief) – frontispiece,  
lower left<sup>16</sup>

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 1, lower right – (1/7)<sup>17</sup>

*Yunxi laoren* 『雲西老人』 (square relief) – painting 1, lower left – (1/4)

*Xishi zhi bao* 『希世之寶』 (square relief) – painting 2, upper right – (1/3)

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 2, lower right – (2/7)

*Xishi zhi bao* 『希世之寶』 (square relief) – painting 3, upper right – (2/3)

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 3, lower right – (3/7)

*Xishi zhi bao* 『希世之寶』 (square relief) – painting 4, upper right – (3/3)

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 4, lower right – (4/7)

*Yunxi laoren* 『雲西老人』 (square relief) – painting 5, upper right – (2/4)

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 5, lower right – (5/7)

*Yunxi laoren* 『雲西老人』 (square relief) – painting 6, upper right – (3/4)

*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 6, lower right – (6/7)

*Yunxi laoren* 『雲西老人』 (square relief) – painting 7, upper right – (4/4)



*Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (square relief) – painting 7, lower right – (7/7)

*Zhushi shending* 『竹石審定』 (square relief) – mounting silk 3, lower right

*Xiaoqingliang shanfang zhencang* 『小清涼山房珍藏』 (rectangle relief) –  
mounting silk 3, lower left

**Traditional Chinese catalogues:** (1) – uncertain<sup>18</sup>

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For the earliest recorded versions of Tao Qian's poem, see: Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), comp., *Song shu* 宋書, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 4, 93:2287–88; Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), comp., *Songben liuchen zhu Wen Xuan* 宋本六臣註文選, 2 vols. (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1972; rpt. 1964 ed.), vol. 2, 45:851–52; and Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648) et al., comps., *Jin shu* 晉書, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 4, 94:2461–62. For text with modern commentary, see: University of Beijing Chinese Literature Department, comp., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxueshi cankao ziliao* 魏晉南北朝文學史參考資料 (Hong Kong: Hongzhi shudian, [1961?]), 439–45. For English translations, see: James Robert Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 268–70; and A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yuan-ming (A.D. 365–427): His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1:191–94.



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<sup>2</sup> At the time of Freer's acquisition in 1919, the current painting consisted of two handscrolls of unequal length, which were remounted as a single scroll in 1929.

The first scroll included:

- a. the current outside label
- b. the current frontispiece (forgery)
- c. current mounting silk 2, with one inside label
- d. the first section of text and painting
- e. current mounting silk 3, with six collector seals

The second scroll included:

- a. current mounting silk 1, with three inside labels
- b. six sections of texts and paintings
- c. current mounting silk 4, with one inscribed colophon (forgery)
- d. one separately mounted colophon written on silk (genuine)
- e. three colophons written on paper (all forgeries)

<sup>3</sup> Label slips and colophons identify Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106) as the painter of the Freer scroll, and indeed several contemporary, or nearly contemporary, sources record a handscroll painting by him on the theme of Tao Qian's famous poem, *Going Home*. These sources include: a poem by Li's close friend, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101); a prose colophon dated 1112 by the slightly younger *ci*-poet, Zhou Bangyan 周邦彥 (1058–1123); and a poem by the even younger Xia Ni 夏倪 (active early 12th century). Two scrolls on this theme by Li Gonglin are also recorded in the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (preface 1120), the catalogue of the imperial painting collection compiled for Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty 北宋徽宗 (reigned 1101–25), and a painting by this title is mentioned again in the book's biographical section on Li. While it is relatively certain therefore that Li once painted a scroll on the *Going Home* theme, it remains unclear if the two scrolls listed in *Xuanhe huapu* actually represent one painting in two parts, or if there




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were two discrete versions of the composition, both by Li Gonglin. Numerous other versions of a handscroll painting on the *Going Home* theme are attributed in various sources to a range of artists who lived both before and after Li, and his exact role in shaping the set of seven compositions seen on the Freer scroll is unclear; similarly, more than one such painting attributed to Li Gonglin is cited in later catalogues. Despite these numerous references to paintings with the same title and attribution, it was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty when a work was recorded that might be the Freer scroll (see note 18, below). Actually, Su Shi wrote poems for two paintings by Li Gonglin, *Going Home* and *The Yang Pass*, which were both in the possession of Li Dan 李旦 (active mid- to late 11th century); see Su Shi, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集, 17:17b–18a, in WSKQS. For the 1112 colophon by Zhou Bangyan, see Zhang Chou 張丑 (1577–1643), *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 (preface 1616) (Sunqi 孫溪: Zhu shi jiashu 朱氏家塾, 1888), 8B:30a–b. For the poem by Xia Ni, see Sun Shaoyuan 孫紹遠 (late 12th century), comp., *Shenghua ji* 聲畫集, 1:18b–19a, in WSKQS. For references to Li Gonglin’s *Going Home* in the imperial Northern Song catalogue, see: *Xuanhe huapu*, 7:7b and 7:10b, in WSKQS. For recorded paintings on the *Going Home* theme attributed to Li Gonglin and various other artists, see Elizabeth Brotherton, *Li Kung-lin and Long Handscroll Illustrations of T’ao Ch’ien’s “Returning Home”* (Ph.D. dissertation: Princeton University, 1992), 71–84 and 129–31 (esp. 131, note 9).

<sup>4</sup> The determination of breaks in the silk and measurement of the six (6) silk sections was performed by John Winter of the Freer Gallery’s Conservation and Scientific Research Laboratory; see Intermediate Report, filed 03 November 2005.

In regard to the seven (7) text-and-painting panels, except for the anomalous Text 1 and Painting 1, the following six paintings range in width from (no.3) 57.4 cm to (no. 4) 64.8 cm, with an average width of 62.66 cm; while the demarcated text passages range in width from (no. 2) 5.6 cm to (no. 4) 8.2 cm, with an average width of 7.13 cm.



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<sup>5</sup> Li Peng is the author of Colophon 2, which is dated 1110. Scholars such as Fu Shen and Elizabeth Brotherton who have closely studied the calligraphy on this scroll believe that, in addition to Colophon 2, Li also inscribed the seven text passages of Tao Qian's *Returning Home* that precede the painting sections, and they interpret this as meaning that both texts were written around the same time and for the same scroll. As a possible explanation for some apparent stylistic discrepancies between the calligraphy of the colophon and that of the poem sections, Brotherton suggests that, "we may ascribe their differences to the change in approach of the calligrapher as he moved between formal textual transcription and personal colophon." Nonetheless, the differences in style and script type between the colophon and poem sections, and the fact that Colophon 2 is written on a different silk than that of the paintings, led some earlier scholars to conclude that the writer of the poem texts was not Li Peng. The issue clearly requires further study, especially since the dating of the calligraphy in the poem sections is an important supporting element in determining the probable date of the painting. See comments by Fu Shen in: the Freer file folder, comment 8 (1986); Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎 (1905–1998) and Fu Shen 傅申, *Ōbei shūzō: Chūgoku hōsho meiseki shū* 歐米收藏：中國法書名蹟集 (Tokyo: Chūōkoron-sha, 1981), vol. 1, 143; and Fu Shen, Glenn D. Lowry, and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 26. For a close analysis of the calligraphy in Li Peng's colophon and comparison with the unsigned calligraphy of the *Returning Home* text sections, see Elizabeth Brotherton, *Li Kung-lin and Long Handscroll Illustrations of T'ao Ch'ien's "Returning Home"* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Princeton University, 1992), 132–40. For the opinion that the *Returning Home* text sections were written by a different hand than the Li Peng colophon, see: Max Loehr, "Chinese Paintings with Sung Dated Inscriptions," in *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 240–41; and James Cahill, Freer file folder, comment 6 (1965), and *An Index of Early*



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*Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, Yuan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 116. For a neutral view, see Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*. (Washington, DC: David R. Godine in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 38–39.

<sup>6</sup> While the comments contained in this text are commonly quoted in regard to Li Peng's calligraphy, the cited source remains unidentified. Whatever the immediate source, the forger omitted two characters from one passage, and mistranscribed another. Without the missing characters, the meaning of the text, while still intelligible, is somewhat garbled. For this reason, the missing and correct characters have been supplied in the transcription.

<sup>7</sup> This text is cobbled together from Southern Song and Yuan dynasty sources, see: Dong Shi 董史 (active mid-13th century), [*Huang Song*] *Shulu* [ 皇宋]書錄, 2:31b–32a, in *WSKQS*; and Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316–after 1403), *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要, 6:25b, in *WSKQS*.

<sup>8</sup> While some scholars believe that Li Peng originally wrote this colophon for the Freer painting (see note 5, above), because of differences in silk between the two, this is not at all certain. Given the pastiche quality of the current scroll, marred by the introduction of several forged items, it is possible that the colophon was moved to its current location from somewhere else in order to lend authenticity to the attribution of the unsigned paintings to Li Gonglin. For another surviving calligraphy by Li Peng, a letter written in running-cursive script, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianzuan weiyuanhui 國立故宮博物院編纂委員會, eds., *Songren moji jice* 宋人墨跡集冊, part 3, in *Gugong fashu* 故宮法書, vol. 15 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1972), 41–42; and Xu Bangda 徐邦達, *Gu shuhua guoyan yaolu* 古書畫過眼要錄 (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1987), 401.



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<sup>9</sup> The poet and calligrapher Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), sobriquet (*hao*) Shangu 山谷, was a relative of Li Peng's.

<sup>10</sup> The character 踈 is an alternate form of the usual 疏. The Two Shus (*ershū* 二疏) refer to Shu Kuang 廣 and Shu Shou 受, an elderly uncle and nephew, who in 67 B.C. became tutors to the heir apparent of Emperor Xuan of the Western Han dynasty 西漢宣帝 (reigned 73–48 B.C.E.). Achieving great success in this position, but sensing that some misfortune would inevitably occur, the Shus asked to retire after five years due to their advanced age. On parting from the court, they were given an elaborate and emotional send-off, receiving lavish gifts from both the emperor and heir apparent. The Shus returned home to live in convivial private luxury, entertaining friends and family without regard to expense, while a number of their erstwhile colleagues at court soon fell victim to disgrace and execution. See Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 c.e.), comp., *Han shu* 漢書, 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), vol. 10, 71:3039–40; and for English translation, see Burton Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han by Pan Ku* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 162–65.

<sup>11</sup> The two Shus do not appear as a reference in Tao Qian's *Going Home*; however, they are the focus of one of his other poems titled *Yong Er Shu* 詠二疏 (In Praise of Two Tutors Named Shu). While both Tao and the Shus are separately mentioned or discussed in many later sources, they are not usually matched directly against each other in texts prior to the late eleventh century. The earliest extant record of such a direct comparison appears to be a colophon to Tao Qian's poem on the Two Shus written by the poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), which states: "While [Tao] Yuanming never left [private life to take a government position], and the Two Shus left but knew when to return, their ambitions



were the same. Some people consider that having left but knowing when to return is like getting well after an illness; one's sense of taste is better than if one had not at first been ill. Those [people who think like that] are simply looking at things upside down." Judging from the exact similarity in wording between Su Shi's text and the corresponding passage in Li Peng's colophon, and the identical rejection of the unattributed comment by both Su and Li, it would seem that they were responding to some earlier statement or text that was current at the time, but is no longer known. For Tao Qian's poem on the Two Shus, see Lu Qinli 遼欽立, edited and annotated, *Tao Yuanming ji* 陶淵明集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 128–30; for English translation, see Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien*, 215–19. For the Chinese text of Su Shi's colophon, see Hu Zi 胡子 (1082–1108), *Yuyin conghua qianji* 漁隱叢話前集, 3:7a–b, in *WSKQS*; and Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659), ed., Su Shi, *Dongpo tiba* 東坡題跋, in Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed., *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 (Taipei: Shijie shuwu, 1962), vol. 22, no. 175, separate pagination, 2:28 (bottom). Su Shi also composed a poem in imitation of Tao Yuanming's "In Praise of Two Tutors Named Shu," in which he used the same rhymes as Tao's original; see Su Shi, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集, 32:1a–b, in *WSKQS*. For five examples from the Southern Song of texts where the retirements of Tao Yuanming and the Two Shus are compared either directly or in close proximity, see: Guo Yin 郭印 (active early to mid-12th century), *Yunqi ji* 雲溪集, 5:4b; Zheng Gangzhong 鄭剛中 (1088–1154), *Beishan ji* 北山集, 10:2a; Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112–1171), *Meiqi ji, qianji* 梅溪集, 前集, 17:2a; Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184), *Panzhou wenji* 盤洲文集, 30:6b; and Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213), *Gongkui ji* 攻媿集, 77:17a. All published in *WSKQS*.

<sup>12</sup> Wang Zhi 王銍 (active ca. 1110–after 1158), *zi* Xingzhi 性之, from Ruyin 汝陰, Anhui Province, evidently owned this painting at the time Li Peng saw it and wrote his colophon on March 26, 1110. Wang was a historian of some note, author of numerous small




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treatises on miscellaneous subjects, and a poet of the Jiangxi School, which followed the lead of Huang Tingjian (1045–1105). From around 1116 until some time after 1158, Wang served as an official in various capacities both at court and in the provinces. He also spent a period in exile in the area of Mount Lu in Jiangxi Province, near Tao Yuanming's former haunts, and eventually retired to a place near Shanyin 山陰 (modern Shaoxing), in Zhejiang Province. For biographical information about Wang Zhi, see: the introductory *tiyao* 提要 (synopsis) by Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) et al., to Wang Zhi, *Xueqi ji* 雪溪集, no pagination, in *WSKQS*; Chang Bide 昌彼得 et al., comps., *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引, 6 vols. (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1974), vol. 1, 205–06; and Elizabeth Brotherton, *Li Kung-lin and Long Handscroll Illustrations of T'ao Ch'ien's "Returning Home,"* (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1992), 114–17. (Note: While some sources give 1154 as the year of Wang Zhi's death, he is recorded as being alive as late as 1158; see Anonymous (Yuan dynasty?), comp., *Songshi quanwen* 宋史全文, 21B:28b, in *WSKQS*.)

<sup>13</sup> For a somewhat different interpretation of this colophon text, see: Brotherton, *Li Kung-lin and Long Handscroll Illustrations*, 106–07.

<sup>14</sup> The placement of these two seals indicates that the painting was probably still separated into two scrolls at the time of Song Lao's ownership.

<sup>15</sup> On the collector Xu Lin, see the documentation for F1916.552 (esp. note 4), elsewhere in this website.

<sup>16</sup> This unidentified square-relief seal is carved with a line from a poem by Huang Tingjian—"Elder Brother Round-Square [i.e., Money] has written to break off relations"—selected perhaps for its general resonance with the Li Peng colophon, where



Huang so prominently appears (see Colophon 2). Given its proximity to a seal belonging to Xu Lin, it is possible that this seal was also his (see Collector Seals 7). For the source of the quote, see the second line of the poem *Xi cheng Kong Yifu* 戲呈孔毅父 (Playfully presented to Kong Yifu), in Huang Tingjian, *Shangu ji* 山谷集 3:5a–b, in *WSKQS*.

<sup>17</sup> This group of fourteen unidentified seals is regularly impressed along the length of the painting. The group is comprised of three different seals, all of which may have belonged to the same unidentified collector. The most frequently used of the three is a square relief seal reading *Tiedi waishi* 『鐵笛外史』 (Retired Official Iron Flute), which appears seven times in all: once on former scroll one, bridging the lower part of the join between the section of silk with the opening poem text and the painting illustrating Tao Qian's arrival home; and six times in the same relative position on former scroll two, bridging the lower part of each of the drawn vertical lines that separate the spaces for poem text from the following illustrations. The text of the seal calls to mind the famous Yuan dynasty poet and calligrapher Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296–1370), who adopted several pseudonyms that included the characters *tiedi* 鐵笛 (iron flute), but none where he also referred to himself as *waishi* 外史 (retired official). Thus, while Yang may have served in some way as inspiration for the name on the seal, he most certainly was not its owner. The same square seal (measuring 2 x 2 cm) appears on two other paintings in the Freer collection, both of which also bear a seal belonging to the nineteenth-century collector Du Wenlan 杜文瀾 (1815–1881); see Collector Seals 8, and the documentation for F2002.4, elsewhere in this website.

The square relief seal reading *Yunxi laoren* 『雲西老人』 (Old Man from West of the Clouds) is applied four times on the painting, once in the lower left corner of former scroll one, and three times on former scroll two bridging the top of the vertical lines in sections five, six, and seven that separate the spaces for poem text from their



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illustrations, and balancing the *Tiedi waishi* seals at the bottom. “Old Man from West of the Clouds” was a pseudonym adopted by the Yuan dynasty painter, Cao Zhibo 曹知白 (1272–1355), but none of his known seals resemble the impressions seen here. The same square relief seal does appear, however, on two other paintings in the Freer collection, one of which also bears a superscription and seals of the collector Xu Lin 徐璘 (early to mid-19th century); see Collector Seals 7, and the documentation for F1916.552 (esp. note 7), elsewhere in this website.

The last of the three unidentified seals on the painting, reading *Xishi zhi bao* 『希世之寶』 (rare treasure of the ages) is impressed three times on former scroll two, bridging the vertical lines between the spaces for poem texts and the illustrations for sections two, three, and four.

While it cannot yet be stated with absolute certainty that these three unidentified seals belonged to the same collector, their placement and pattern of distribution over the painting strongly suggest that this was the case. While it is tempting to believe that the seals are relatively early, what little evidence there is regarding a possible owner suggests that they were in fact applied fairly late in the ownership history of the scroll, and certainly after the painting was divided into two scrolls.

<sup>18</sup> In the late sixteenth century, Zhan Jingfeng 詹景鳳 (1520–1602), an important connoisseur of ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy, provided the earliest record of a painting on the *Going Home* theme that was both attributed to Li Gonglin and had a colophon written by Li Peng (ca. 1060s–after 1110) dating to the Daguan 大觀 reign period (1107–10). While the Freer scroll appropriately bears a colophon by Li Peng dated to the fourth year of Daguan (1110), there are also certain discrepancies between Zhan’s written account and the Freer scroll that make it impossible to state definitively that the current work is the one he saw and recorded. For example, the scroll Zhan describes also



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had dated colophons by Su Xiang 蘇庠 (1065–1147) and Wang Zhi (active ca. 1110–after 1158), neither of which appear on the current Freer scroll, though it should be noted that Li Peng named Wang Zhi as the current owner of the painting (see note 12, above).

Zhan Jingfeng also describes the painting as having eight sections with equal dimensions, while the Freer scroll contains only seven sections that differ somewhat in size. But Zhan's comment about equal dimensions should be understood as a general statement rather than an exact measurement, and with the exception of the longer first section, the other six paintings on the Freer scroll are indeed roughly the same size (see note 4, above). Aside from this, there are two other known handscrolls that not only include the same seven basic compositions as the Freer scroll, but also have an additional section mounted at the front consisting of a large-scale portrait of Tao Qian shown walking against a blank background. Based on these two later examples, one may speculate that such a portrait of Tao could once have constituted the eighth and opening section of the Freer scroll, thus bringing it in line with Zhan Jingfeng's account. This conjecture is supported by the fact that there are no collector seals along the current right edge of the painting silk, which is quite unusual for a work of the age and quality of the Freer scroll. This indicates that the front portion of the original scroll may well be missing, and it is here that the portrait of Tao Qian would have appeared, together with the now missing collector seals.

While there is still no conclusive proof that Zhan's scroll and the Freer scroll are one and the same, no other known scroll has direct associations with both Li Peng and Wang Zhi. It is also interesting to note that Zhan emphatically denied that the painting he saw was actually from Li Gonglin's hand, and declared it instead to be a close copy done by an unidentified Song dynasty artist, an opinion that is completely in line with current scholarly thinking about the date and authenticity of the Freer work. For a *baimiao* 白描 (ink outline) version of "Going Home" attributed to Li Gonglin and having the same basic composition as the Freer painting, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuan hui



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國立故宮博物院編輯委員會, eds., *Gugong shuhua tulu* 故宮書畫圖錄, vol. 15 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1995), 303–10. The second scroll, which is cut off in the middle of scene five, was done in the blue-and-green style of Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (active 1120s–ca. 1162); it is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, see: Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), 191–93 (for discussion); and Wu Tung, *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Tang through Yuan Dynasties*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, with Otsuka Kogeisha, 1996), vol. 2, 250–55 (plates).