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Artist: Zhao Yong 趙雍 (1291–1361)
Title: *Horse and Groom, after Li Gonglin*
《臨李公麟〈人馬圖〉》
Lin Li Gonglin “Renma tu”
Dynasty/date: Yuan, 1347
Format: Handscroll
Media: Ink and color on paper
Dimensions: 31.5 x 73.5 cm (12-3/8 x 28-15/16 in)
Credit line: Purchase
Accession no.: F1945.32
Provenance: C. T. Loo (Lu Qinzhai 盧芹齋, 1880–1957) and Company, New York

Description: Inscribed jade fastening pin (imperial workshop). Signed outside label. Signed imperial frontispiece on sutra paper, with three (3) imperial seals. Painting bears: an unsigned artist’s inscription consisting of a date, with one (1) artist’s seal; plus imperial inscription with date, signature, and one (1) imperial seal. One forged colophon on paper, separately mounted, with two (2) fake calligrapher seals. Total seals on scroll: 30, including 19 imperial seals.

Fastening pin: (1) – Imperial workshop, ca. 1764
green jade, carved on obverse with archaic design
carved inscription on reverse, with gold pigment

Thirteen characters, clerical script

乾隆御題：趙雍臨李公麟《人馬圖》

Horse and Groom, after Li Gonglin, by Zhao Yong. Inscribed by the Qianlong emperor.

Outside label slip: Zuo'an 蒞龔 (19th century), unidentified

Ink on brown paper slip, glued to outside brocade flap

Thirteen characters, clerical script; plus seven characters, running-standard script

乾隆御題趙雍《臨李公麟〈人馬圖〉》。辛巳嘉平蒞龔題。

Horse and Groom, after Li Gonglin, by Zhao Yong, with imperial inscription of the Qianlong emperor. Jiaping [twelfth] lunar-month of the xinsi year [January 20–February 17, 1882?], inscribed by Zuo'an.¹

Mounting silks: Imperial, mid-18th to early 19th century

Inside cover flap, opening section of pale green silk with phoenix-and-clouds motif, joined with section of matching beige silk with phoenix-and-clouds motif. Three additional strips, all beige silk with phoenix-and-clouds motif.

| | | |
|---|----------------|----------------------|
| Inside cover flap: | 32.3 x 23.3 cm | pale green silk |
| Mounting silk 1, before frontispiece: | 32.3 x 13.7 cm | champagne-color silk |
| Mounting silk 2, between frontispiece and painting: | 31.5 x 13.8 cm | champagne-color silk |
| Mounting silk 3, between painting and colophon: | 31.5 x 13.4 cm | champagne-color silk |
| Mounting silk 4, after colophon: | 31.5 x 13.4 cm | champagne-color silk |

Frontispiece: Hongli 弘曆, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1711–1799; reigned 1735–96)

Dimensions: paper 28.8 x 83.5 cm

mounting 31.5 x 116.5 cm (pale-green silk)

Black imperial ink, on yellow-brown sutra paper

Four large characters, plus two smaller characters, all running script

愛其神駿。御題。

I love its equine nobility.² Inscribed by the emperor.

Signature: 御

Yu

Seals: (3)

Qingxin shu miaoli 『清心抒妙理』 (rectangle intaglio) – upper right

Qianlong chenhan 『乾隆宸翰』 (square relief) – left, under signature

Qinxue haowen 『勤學好問』 (square intaglio) – left, under signature

Painting: The composition of this picture is copied directly from the first in a group of five ink paintings of horses and grooms on a handscroll attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106), known as *Wuma tu* 五馬圖 (Five Horses).³

Artist Inscription: Zhao Yong 趙雍 (1291–1361)

Left of painting. No signature

Seven characters, seal script⁴

至正七年八月望。

Full moon [fifteenth day] of the eighth lunar-month in the seventh year of the Zhizheng reign period [September 20, 1347].

Seals: (1)
Zhongmu 『仲穆』 (square relief)⁵

Other inscriptions: (1)

Hongli 弘曆, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1711–1799; reigned 1735–96)

Painting, center top

8 columns, running script. Poem (4x7).⁶

性是龍媒形鳳姿，于思左立控鞵羈，貢呈哈薩尋常事，乃信王孫非炫奇。
甲申新春，御題。

In character it is a dragon, and like a phoenix in form,
At its left, a bearded groom grips its bridle and reins.
Kazakh traders bringing tribute is a commonplace affair,
So We are sure the noble scion was not just showing off.

Early spring in the *jiashen* year [February 2–March 2, 1764], inscribed by the emperor.

Signature: 御
Yu

Date: 甲申新春
Early spring in the *jiashen* year [February 2–March 2, 1764]

Seals: (1)

Qianlong 『乾』 『隆』 (linked circle-square relief)

Colophons: (1) – Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1436–1504) — forgery⁷

Separately mounted. Paper dimensions: 31.5 x 51.5 cm

12 columns, running script

予嘗觀唐陳閔馬圖，歎其精絕。今見仲穆臨李伯時之作，真能繼之。至于番人牽馬，尤極其態，『所謂心合意會』，又不止于『雲滿身』者。此圖仲穆寫寄其_地⁸弟奕者，後入崑山顧仲瑛家。蓋自古千里之足，骨朽無遺，而二百餘年，颯爽之氣，猶宛然尺素間，又何天閑十二之足誇哉。延陵吳寬題。

I once saw a horse painting by Chen Hong of the Tang dynasty and could only sigh at its exquisite artistry, but looking now at Zhongmu's [Zhao Yong's] copy of a work by Li Boshi, I see that he is truly able to carry on as his successor.⁹ As for the Central Asian leading the horse,¹⁰ [Zhao] has captured his demeanor to the utmost, [so when he wrote] "it is a work that, as they say, totally agrees with my mental concept," he was not just referring to the [horse's] "cloud-covered form."¹¹ This picture was painted by Zhongmu for his younger brother Yi, and later came into the collection of Gu Zhongying from Kunshan.¹² Since antiquity, the bones of thousand-league horses have rotted away leaving nothing behind, yet after more than two hundred years, the vigor and vitality of this [painted] steed remain the same as ever on this length of silk. What horse in the Twelve Celestial Stables can boast as much?¹³ Inscribed by Wu Kuan from Yanling.

Signature: 吳寬

Wu Kuan



Date: none

Seals: (2)

Yanling 『延陵』 (rectangle relief) – upper right

Yuanbo 『原博』 (square relief) – lower left

Collector seals: (23)

1. Unidentified seals, pre-Qianlong¹⁴ – (6)

Zhonggui 『中圭』 (rectangle relief) – painting, lower right – 1 of 2¹⁵

Zhonggui 『中圭』 (rectangle relief) – painting, lower left – 2 of 2

Ma Yulin yin 『馬玉麟印』 (square intaglio) – painting, middle right – 1 of 2¹⁶

Ma Yulin yin 『馬玉麟印』 (square intaglio) – painting, lower left – 2 of 2

Haichang Zhao Guoshen Junyu tushu 『海昌趙郭詵君玉圖書』 (square relief) – painting,
lower left

Siyou shanfang tushu 『四友山房圖書』 (square relief) – painting, lower left

2. Hongli 弘曆, the Qianlong emperor 乾隆 (1711–1799; reigned 1735–96) – (12)

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 『乾隆御覽之寶』 (oval relief) – painting, upper right

Shiqu baoji 『石渠寶笈』 (rectangle relief) – painting, right

Chunhuaxuan tushu zhenmi bao 『淳化軒圖書珍秘寶』 (square intaglio) – painting, above
horse¹⁷

Gu xi tianzi 『古希天子』 (circle relief) – painting, right of artist signature

Shou 『壽』 (rectangle intaglio) – painting, right of artist signature



Bazheng maonian zhi bao 『八徵耄念之寶』 (square relief) – painting, right of signature

Chunhuaxuan 『淳化軒』 (rectangle relief) – painting, left of artist signature

Qianlong chenhan 『乾隆宸翰』 (square intaglio) – painting, left of artist signature

Xintian zhuren 『信天主人』 (square relief) – painting, left of artist signature

Qianlong jianshang 『乾隆鑑賞』 (circle intaglio) – painting, left

Sanxitang jingjian xi 『三希堂精鑑璽』 (rectangle relief) – painting, left

Yi zisun 『宜子孫』 (square intaglio) – painting, left

3. Yongyan 顥琰, the Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶 (1760–1820; reigned 1796–1820) – (3 seals)

Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 『嘉慶御覽之寶』 (square relief) – painting, above groom

Baoji sanbian 『寶笈三編』 (square relief) – painting, right

Jiaqing jianshang 『嘉慶鑒賞』 (rectangle relief) – painting/mounting silk 3 join, top

4. Unidentified seals, post-Jiaqing – (2 seals)¹⁸

Enling zhenmi 『恩齡珍祕』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2/painting join, bottom – 1/2

Enling zhenmi 『恩齡珍祕』 (square intaglio) – painting, lower left – 2/2

Traditional Chinese catalogues – (1)

Hu Jing 胡敬 (1769–1845) et al, comps. *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編 (1816). Published jointly with *Midian zhulin sanbian* 秘殿珠林三編 (1816). 10 vols. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1969. Vol. 7, 3307–08.

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Vassar College Art Gallery. *Chinese Painting: Seventy-fifth anniversary exhibition*. Exhibition catalogue: May 22 to June 10, 1940. Poughkeepsie, NY: Vassar College Art Gallery, [1940]. Plate 4b.

Sirén, Osvald (1879–1966). *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*. 7 vols. New York: Ronald Press, 1956–58. Vol. 6, plate 27.

Cahill, James F. “Ch’ien Hsuan and His Figure Paintings.” In *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 12 (1958): 11–29, esp. figs. 1–3.

Wang Bomin 王伯敏 and Huang Yongquan 黃湧泉. *Zhejiang gudai huajia zuopin xuanji* 浙江古代畫家作品選集. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1958. Plate 30.

Zhuang Shen 莊申. “Zhao Yong Renma tujuan kao” 趙雍《人馬圖卷》考. In Zhuang Shen, *Zhongguo huashi yanjiu* 中國畫史研究. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1959. Pp. 251–64.

Grousset, René (1885–1952). *Chinese Art and Culture*. New York, Orion press, 1959. P. 248, bottom.

Fontein, Jan, and Rose Hempel. *China, Korea, Japan*. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1968. Plate 164.

Freer Gallery of Art. *Freer Gallery of Art: China*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972. Plate 61 and p. 167.

Lawton, Thomas. *Chinese Figure Painting*. Washington, DC: David R. Godine, in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973. Pp. 174–77.

Loehr, Max (1903–1988). *The Great Painters of China*. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1980. P. 165, fig. 81.

Chang, Yuan-chien. “*Jen ch'i t'u* and the Horse and Figure Painting of Chao Meng-fu.” In *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 17.3–4 (July/October 1982): whole issue, esp. plate 6.

Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬 (1920–2007), ed. *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中國繪畫綜合圖錄 (Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings). 5 vols. Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1982–83. Vol. 1, 232–33 (A21–109).

Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman. “Chinese Ladies in the Istanbul Albums.” In Ernst J. Grube and Elinor Sims, eds. *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums*. London: The Percival David Foundation, 1985. Pp. 77–84, esp. fig. 78.

Haiwai cang Zhongguo lidai minghua bianji weiyuanhui 海外藏中國歷代名畫編輯委員會, eds. *Haiwai cang Zhongguo lidai minghua* 海外藏中國歷代名畫. 8 vols. Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1998. Vol. 4, 181 (no. 115).

Zheng Ming 鄭明. *Baima tushuo* 百馬圖說. Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 2001. P. 48.

Hong Kong Museum of History. *Tianma shenjun: Zhongguo ma de yishu he wenhua* 天馬神駿: 中國馬的藝術和文化 (Heavenly Horse: The Horse in Chinese Art and Culture). Exhibition catalogue. July 16–October 13, 2008. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History, 2008. P. 49.

Notes

¹ The text of the label slip currently mounted on the outside brocade flap of the scroll consists of thirteen characters written in clerical script that provide the name of the artist (Zhao Yong) and title of the painting (Horse and Groom, after Li Gonglin), and note the presence of the Qianlong emperor's inscription; plus seven characters in running-standard script that give the studio name of the writer (Zuo'an 酢龔) and the date of writing according to the cyclical year and lunar month of the Chinese calendar (the *jiaping* [twelfth] lunar-month of the *xinsi* year). The most pertinent *xinsi* year in the nineteenth century began in 1881, and its twelfth lunar month fell in early 1882, from January 20 to February 17. The only other *xinsi* year in the nineteenth century corresponds to 1821–22, when presumably the scroll was still in the imperial collection. The early-1882 date is the only information that is known about the writer of the label text, who otherwise remains entirely obscure. It is also unknown what happened to the imperial label that must once have adorned the scroll, and whether Zuo'an was the owner or simply a hired calligrapher asked to replace it, though in the latter case, one would expect him to name the current owner..

² This phrase is borrowed from an anecdote recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks), by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), concerning the literatus-monk, Zhidun 支遁 (314–366), one of the most important Buddhist figures of his age: 「人嘗有遺遁馬者，遁愛[受]而養之。時或有譏之者。遁曰：愛其神駿，聊復畜耳。」 (A person once left Zhidun a horse, which he took and raised. Someone at the time criticized him for this, but Zhidun said, “I love its equine nobility, so I am simply tending it.”). See *Taishō shinshū Daizō-kyō* 太正新脩大藏經, 85 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō shinshū Daizō-kyō kanko kei, 1962), vol. 50, 349, middle.

³ Painted in *baimiao* 白描 (ink outline) style, Li Gonglin's *Five Horses* was formerly in the Qing imperial collection, and then reportedly in a private collection in Japan where it went missing

during World War II. Both the imperial catalogue and early photographs record an inscription beside the original composition that identifies the equine subject copied here was an eight-year-old, nearly six-foot tall horse named Fengtougong 鳳頭驄 (Phoenix-head Piebald), which was received at the Song-dynasty court as tribute from the Central Asian kingdom of Khotan on January 27, 1087. Holding the reins beside him is his bearded foreign groom. While Zhao Yong remained largely faithful to the composition of Li Gonglin's original painting, his main stylistic, and aesthetic, departure was the addition of vivid color. Chemical analysis of the individual pigments reveals red vermilion in the groom's robe and blue azurite in his collar; brown and orange "iron earth" are found in the hat and shoes as well as the horse's hooves, while the pinkish tones around the horse's mouth and in the groom's face and chest area are an insect dye, all of which are consistent with Yuan dynasty practice. For the imperial catalogue entry, see Wang Jie 王杰 (1725–1805) et al., comps., *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 (1793), published jointly with *Midian zhulin xubian* 秘殿珠林續編 (1793), facsimile reprint of 1948 ms. copy, 8 vols. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), vol. 5, 2698–99; and for early photographs, see *Kokka* 國華 380 (January 1922): 237–43, and *Kokka* 381 (February 1922): 271–74. Chemical analysis was conducted by John Winter of the museum's Department of Conservation and Scientific Research; see DCSR report for F1945.32, "A Horse and a groom in red coat," August 26, 2003; September 12, 2003; May 18, 2004.

⁴ While no directly comparable examples of Zhao Yong's authentic seal script have been located, the structures of the characters seen here conform to Yuan-dynasty usage. The darkness and dryness of the ink also compare closely with that of the outline strokes in the painting, indicating that the text is contemporaneous with the painting. For an example of Zhao Yong's seal script, see the two-character title reading *Zhuxi* 竹西 (Bamboo West), attached to a handscroll painting by Zhang Wu 張渥 (active ca. 1336–ca. 1364) titled *Zhuxi caotang tu* 竹西草堂圖 (The Thatched Hut of Bamboo West); see Liaoning sheng bowuguan 遼寧省博物館, eds., *Liaoning sheng bowuguan cang shuhua zhulu: huihua juan* 遼寧省博物館藏書畫 著錄：繪畫卷

(Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998), 207–14; and Liaoning sheng bowuguan, ed., *Liaoning sheng bowuguan canghua ji* 遼寧省博物館藏畫集, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1962), 85–87.

⁵ As the inscription lacks a signature, this square-relief seal reading *Zhongmu* 『仲穆』, which was the courtesy name (*zi*) of Zhao Yong, is the only direct indication left by the artist of his identity. While seals sharing the same text and design are common among impressions associated with Zhao Yong, no other impression of the exact seal seen here is known. Nevertheless, the red seal paste looks water-based and the impression appears to have been made with a cast-metal seal, both of which are characteristic of genuine Yuan dynasty impressions. (Note: the seal appearing on the Freer painting is reproduced in Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch'ien, *Seals of Chinese Painters and collectors of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods* [Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1966], 712. Although the seal also appears in a more recent compendium, no other work is actually listed as bearing the same impression [and the image there may have been copied from the previous source]; see Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, eds., *Zhongguo shuhua jia yinjian kuanzhi* 中國書畫家印鑑款識, 2 vols. [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987], vol. 2, 1357.) Further research is necessary.

⁶ The text of this poem is recorded in the chronologically-arranged third collection of poetry by the Qianlong emperor under the first lunar-month of the *jiashen* 甲申 year (February 2–March 2, 1764), the same date that accompanies the inscription here. See Qianlong, *Yuzhi shi sanji* 御製詩三集, 35:25a, in *Qing Gaozong (Qianlong) yuzhi shiwen quanji* 清高宗(乾隆)御製詩文全集, 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1993), vol. 4, 747.

⁷ With some discrepancies, the basic text of this colophon by Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1436-1504) is recorded in his collected literary works; see Wu Kuan, *Jiacang ji* 家藏集, 35:14b-15a, in WSKQS. However, in all known editions of the *Jiacang ji*, the Wu Kuan colophon contains an

additional sentence at the end that does not appear on the Freer scroll. The sentence reads: 「今爲文侍御宗嚴得之」 (“At present, [the scroll] has been acquired by Censor Wen Zongyan.”). In other words, Wen Zongyan (1462–1525)—better known as Wen Shen 文森, an uncle of the famous Suzhou artist Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)—owned the painting at the time Wu Kuan produced his text, and was presumably the person who asked him to compose and inscribe it. The omission of this acknowledgment concerning the current owner of the scroll strongly suggests that the Freer calligraphy is forged. See also note 8, below. For Wen Shen’s career and the date of his service as a censor, see the obituary notice by his nephew Wen Zhengming, “Xian shufu zhongxian dafu duchayuan youqian duyushi Wen gong xingzhuang” 先叔父中憲大夫都察院右僉都御史文公行狀, in *Wen Zhengming ji* 文徵明集, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, 629–39, esp. 634.

Sometime after Wen Shen’s ownership, the scroll for which Wu Kuan wrote his colophon apparently entered the collection of the notorious minister, Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480–1565), who used his position as Grand Secretary (1542–62) to assemble an extraordinarily large and fine collection of artworks. Following Yan Song’s death, Wen Zhengming’s eldest son, the painter Wen Jia 文嘉 (1501–1583), was assigned to make an inventory of the deceased minister’s possessions. Under the name of Zhao Yong, he listed a work with the title *Fengtou congma tu* 鳳頭驄馬圖 (Picture of Phoenix-head Piebald), and inserted a rare comment, ranking the painting as “best of the best” and noting that it had once belonged to his great-uncle, Wen Shen (referred to by his sobriquet Baihu zhongcheng 白湖中丞). Although no other record of the painting in Yan Song’s collection survives, nor does Wen Jia mention an attached colophon, given the common denominator of Wen Shen, it seems likely that Wen Jia was referring to the same now-lost painting for which Wu Kuan originally composed his colophon. See Wen Jia, *Qianshantang shuhua ji* 鈐山堂書畫記 (preface 1569), in Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed., *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), vol. 17, no. 156, separate pagination, 57.

⁸ In the sixth column of the colophon, the character *di* 地 (earth) has a mark beside it indicating that it should be omitted (accordingly, the character appears in reduced size and brackets in the transcription). The correct character, also read *di* 弟 (younger brother), immediately follows. Colophons are often composed in advance and then transcribed onto the intended scroll. While errors in transcription therefore appear in genuine colophons, and homophones such as here are often involved, given the respective meanings of the two characters and the immediate context of the sentence in which the word *di* appears, this particular slip-up seems an unlikely one for the author himself to make, and more like something that a copyist might inadvertently write and quickly correct.

⁹ Chen Hong 陳閔 (active mid–8th century) was an important Tang-dynasty painter of figures and horses. None of his horse paintings survive, nor any related compositions that can be reliably attributed to him.

¹⁰ In the passage of the text reading 「至于番人牽馬」, the original third character has been deliberately excised and replaced with the character *fan* 番 (foreigner; especially one from Central Asia), which appears on the scroll as the last character in column three. In the edition of Wu Kuan's *Jiacang ji* cited above, the character in question reads *mu* 牧 (herdsman), however this is probably a Qianlong-era emendation, as the same colophon also appears in a pre-Qianlong compilation where the character *fan* is rendered with the more derogatory word *hu* 胡 (barbarian). The offensive character was most likely replaced, both on the scroll and in the imperial reprint of *Jiacang ji*, to accommodate the ethnic sensitivities of the Qianlong emperor, a practice that can be observed in other textual materials from the period. For the pre-Qianlong colophon text, see Sun Yueban 孫岳頒 (1639–1708), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715) et al., comps., *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜 (preface 1708) (Yangzhou 揚州: Yangzhou shiju 揚州詩局, 1708), 85:15b–16a (quoting in turn from the *Lidai mingren huaba* 歷代名人畫跋).

¹¹ The two quotations in this sentence, and the comment in the following sentence about a painting done by Zhao Yong for his younger brother Yi, are all references to an earlier (1343) copy by Zhao Yong of Li Gonglin's *Phoenix-head Piebald*. For traditional Chinese catalogue records of this painting, see the following three sources: Zhu Cunli 朱存理 (1444–1513), attr. (Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 [1563–1624], comp.), *Tiewang shanhu* 鐵網珊瑚. (postscript 1600) (China: Nian Xiyao (1671–1738) Chengjiantang 年希堯澄鑒堂, 1728), *Hua* 畫 2:51a–53b; Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712), comp., *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (1680–82) (Wuxing 吳興: Jian'gu shushe 鑑古書社, 1921), *Hua* 畫 16:71a–73b; and Wu Sheng 吳升 (died ca. 1712), comp., *Daguan lu* 大觀錄 (preface 1712) (Wujin 武進: Lishi Shengyilou 李氏聖譯樓, 1920), 16:50a–52a.

¹² “Gu Zhongying from Kunshan” was the famous late-Yuan dynasty patron of the arts, Gu Ying 顧瑛 (1310–1369), who often hosted gatherings of artists, writers, and scholars at his large Yushan 玉山 (Jade Mountain) estate near Kunshan 崑山, in Jiangsu province. According to colophons on Zhao Yong's 1343 copy of Li Gonglin's painting (see note 11, above), Gu Ying received that painting as a gift from Zhao Yi in September 1347, around the same time that Zhao Yong made the Freer painting, his second recorded copy of the work. On Gu Ying, see David Sensabaugh, “Guests at Jade Mountain: Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth Century K'un-shan,” in Chu-ting Li, ed., *Artists and Patrons; Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting* (Lawrence, KS: The Kress Foundation of Art History, University of Kansas, and The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, in association with University of Washington Press, 1989), 93–100.

¹³ The term *tianxian shi'er* 天閑十二 (Twelve Celestial Stables) is a common reference to the imperial stables.

¹⁴ As these six seals all appear in the 1816 imperial catalogue, they must have been present on the scroll when it was acquired for the imperial collection sometime before 1764, when Qianlong inscribed the painting. See Hu Jing 胡敬 (1769–1845) et al., comps., *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編. 9 vols. (1816) (Rpt., Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1969), vol. 7, 3307–08.

¹⁵ This rectangle-relief seal, reading *Zhonggui* 『中圭』, appears at both the lower right and lower left of the painting paper. *Zhonggui* (with the first character usually written 仲) was the courtesy name (*zi*) of the Yuan dynasty landscape painter Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354), who was a slightly older contemporary of Zhao Yong. While it is tempting to accept the seal as Wu's, he is not known to have used one with this design, and as the name *Zhonggui* was fairly common over the centuries, it is not possible to attribute the two impressions here to the famous artist without further corroborating evidence.

¹⁶ This square-intaglio seal reading *Ma Yulin yin* 『馬玉麟印』 (seal of Ma Yulin) is impressed twice, at both the middle right and lower left of the painting paper. A late Yuan dynasty scholar-official by the name of Ma Yulin (died 1367), from Hailing 海陵 (Zhejiang Province), served in a series of positions under the regime established in Suzhou in 1355 by Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321–1367), a contender for power in the lower Yangzi Delta region during the waning years of the dynasty. Ma was a poet and acquaintance of many of the leading literary figures of the time. When Ming armies conquered Suzhou in 1367, he chose to commit suicide by poisoning. Given this man's life dates and his social relations with various contemporary artists, it would be convenient to identify the seal in question as belonging to him. However, another individual with the same given name lived during the late sixteenth century. This second Ma Yulin passed the provincial exams (*juren* 舉人) in 1570 and the national exams (*jinshi* 進士) in 1577, after which he served for a time in Zhejiang and Yunnan provinces and elsewhere. Lacking further concrete information, it is not possible to say definitively that the seal impressed twice on the Freer painting belonged to either the former or the latter Ma Yulin, especially since neither man was

known as a collector and no impressions of seals belonging to either have been located. For biographical sources on the first Ma Yulin, see Wang Deyi 王德毅 et al. comps., *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 元人傳記資料索引, 5 vols. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1977-82), vol. 2, 986–87. For bare-bones information on the second Ma Yulin, see Yinjishan 尹繼善 (1695–1771) et al., eds., *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志, 129:5b and 123:8b, in *WSKQS*; E’ertai 鄂爾泰 (1680–1745) et al., eds., *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 (1736), 18A:41a, in *WSKQS*; Ji Zengyun 嵇曾筠 (1671–1739), comp., *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 (1736), 117:31b, in *WSKQS*; and Huang Yuji 黃虞稷 (1629–1691), *Qianqingtang shumu* 千頃堂書目, 25:17a, in *WSKQS*.

¹⁷ The painting bears two seals referring to the Chunhuaxuan 淳化軒 (Belvedere of Pure Development), a hall the Qianlong emperor constructed in 1770 on the grounds of the summer palace at Yuanmingyuan 圓明園, northwest of the capital, where he planned to retire after abdicating the throne. Presumably, the painting was moved to this hall sometime after its construction and was kept there for the remainder of Qianlong’s life. It is unknown if the Freer scroll remained in the Belvedere of Pure Development during the reign of his son, the Jiaqing emperor (reigned 1796–1820) and after, or was moved to a different imperial repository, but at some point after his reign, the painting found its way into private hands. In this regard, it should be noted that a joint British-French expeditionary force looted and burned the Yuanmingyuan summer palace in October 1860 as an act of retaliation against Jiaqing’s grandson, the Xianfeng emperor (reigned 1851–62), who resided there in preference to the imperial palace in the city. Xianfeng had fled in haste ahead of their arrival and shortly after the destruction of the palace, objects from the imperial collections previously housed there began to appear in the Beijing art market. Given its association with the destroyed palace, it is possible that the Freer painting was among those works.

¹⁸ The two impressions of this seal are not recorded in the imperial catalogue *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編, indicating that they were not present on the scroll at the time the catalogue was

compiled and published (1816). As the impression located at lower right overlaps onto the mounting silk, which was already in place by 1816, it is clear that this private owner's seal was applied only after the scroll had left the imperial collection, which is to say, sometime after 1820.

The square intaglio seal, which reads *Enling zhenmi* 『恩齡珍祕』 (Private Treasure of Enling), may have belonged to a minor painter and calligrapher named Ni Enling 倪恩齡 (mid-to late 19th-century). Ni hailed from Kunming 昆明 in Yunnan Province, but he actually grew up in the capital Beijing. After passing the national examinations (*jinsshi*) in 1876, Ni was appointed an editor (*bianxiu* 編修) in the imperial Hanlin Academy, and in 1879 and again in 1889, he helped to conduct local examinations in the capital district of Shuntian 順天, rising eventually to the rank of prefect of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi Province). While Ni evidently lived in Beijing and spent much of his official career in the area during the 1870s and 80s, it is not known if he owned a collection of art. Since no impressions of his personal seals have been located, a conclusive identification with him cannot be made at this time. For a brief biographical note on Ni Enling, see Chen Yutang 陳玉堂, ed., *Zhongguo jinxindai renwu minghao dacidian* 中國近現代人物名號大辭典 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubandshe, 2005), 1016 (#10730).

¹⁹ According to this publication, the owner of the painting at the time was Li Junzhi 李濬之 (1868–ca. 1930?), courtesy name (*zi*) Xiangquan 響泉, from Ningjin 寧津 (Hebei Province), who was a landscape painter and had an interest in seals, but is best known for his anthology of poetry by painters of the Qing dynasty, the *Qing huajia shishi* 清畫家詩史 (1930), a work that took him some twenty-five years to compile. The publication is also accompanied by a short art historical discussion by Gao Shixian 高時顯 (1878–1952)—cognomen (*hao*) Yehou 野侯, from Hangzhou 杭州 (Zhejiang Province)—a seal carver, painter of plum blossoms, and well-regarded calligrapher of clerical script—who spent many years as editor and head of the fine arts division of the publishing company Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. In his comments on the Freer scroll, Gao praised the painting as a genuine and beautiful antique work, but also questioned the authenticity of the Wu Kuan colophon because of the missing phrase regarding Wen Shen; see note 5, above.



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