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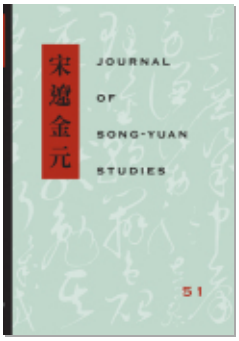

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Beckoning the Recluse:

Qian Xuan's 'Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains' and Song Loyalism

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Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains (*Fuyu shanju tu* 浮玉山居圖) by the late Song-early Yuan master Qian Xuan 錢選 (ca. 1235–before 1307) is regarded as one of the most puzzling paintings in the history of Chinese art (Figure 1, p. 256).[1] Qian Xuan is an enigmatic figure due to his presumed loyalism to the demised Song and self-imposed seclusion from his contemporaries. Further, the idiosyncratic style of this blue-and-green landscape handscroll sets it apart from other works by Qian. With the specific landmark "Floating Jade Mountains" in the title, the handscroll is widely accepted as a portrayal of the

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1. I am much indebted to previous studies on Qian Xuan, especially: Shih Shou-chien, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984); Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Ch'ien Hsüan's Pear Blossoms: The Tradition of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yüan," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22 (1987): 52–70; Peter C. Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change: Painting after Mongol Reunification of North and South China," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics: Intercultural China* 35 (1999): 142–69; Peter C. Sturman, "Sung Loyalist Calligraphy in the Early Years of the Yüan Dynasty," *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 19/4 (2004), 59–102; Maggie Bickford, "Paintings of Flowers and Birds in Sung-Yüan China," in *Arts of the Sung and Yüan*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (New York: Dept. of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 293–315; Tan Shengguang 談晟廣, "Song Yuan huashi yanbian mailuo zhong de Qian Xuan" 宋元畫史演變脈絡中的錢選 (Ph.D. diss., Qinghua Universtiy, 2009); Li Yongqiang 李永強, *Yuanchu huihua xinmao de xianfeng: Qian Xuan huihua wenti zaikao* 元初繪畫新貌的先鋒: 錢選繪畫問題再考 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2018); and Shi-Yee Liu, "Qian Xuan's Loyalist Revision of Iconic Imagery in *Tao Yuanming Returning Home* and *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 54 (2019): 26–46.

Song loyalist artist's retirement dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains (Fuyu shan 浮玉山), located in his hometown, Wuxing 吳興, fifty miles south of the Southern Song capital, Lin'an 臨安. According to Qian's contemporary cultural luminary Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), who hailed from the same hometown, massive rocky peaks stood in the middle of Jade Lake in Wuxing. Despite the alternate rising and falling of the water, the height of the peaks above the surface of the lake appeared unaltered, from which the name "Floating Jade Mountains" was derived.[2]

The biographical account of Qian as a loyal recluse was fused into the mountainscape he created. The title encouraged viewers to spin appealing narratives of the artist prompted by the hagiographic conventions of Song loyalism: the steadfast scholar withdraws to the mountains after the fall of the Southern Song and makes a living by his brush; his loyalist resentment and poverty lead him to depend on alcohol for solace.[3] Like almost all the paintings bearing Qian's name, this scroll is accompanied by the artist's own poetic inscription (Figure 2). Accordingly, Shih Shou-chien regards Qian as the first artist to achieve the full-fledged self-expression of his private world through the combination of painting and poetry in a single work of art.[4] The title romanticizes Qian Xuan and his work, implicitly guiding people's expectations that a Song loyalist lives up to a high moral standard. The title further functions as, in Gérard Genette and Bernard Crampé's words, "a seduction," or "a baptismal act," that assigns a certain identity to the painting and shapes the way both Qian and his work were perceived within the confines of loyalist interpretation.[5]

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2. Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, "Wuxing shanshui qingyuan tu ji" 吳興山水清遠圖記, in *Zhao Mengfu ji* 趙孟頫集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1986), 7.143.

3. For a reconstructed biography of Qian Xuan, which includes the years of his birth and death, see Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," 76–7 and 48–50.

4. Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," 6. Wen C. Fong also credits Qian with the integration of poetry and painting in a single work of art, noting that "Qian's art ushered in a new era of greatly increased complexity and sophistication." See Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th–14th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 315. However, Maggie Bickford finds the artistic program in which painting and poetry form a complementary relationship already present in Yang Wujiu's 楊無咎 (1097–1169) *Four Views of Flowering Plum* (dated 1165). See Maggie Bickford, *Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese-Scholar Painting Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 250 (note 14).

5. Gérard Genette and Bernard Crampé, "Structure and Functions of the Title in Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 14/4 (1988): 692–720. Regarding similar issues related to the titles of western

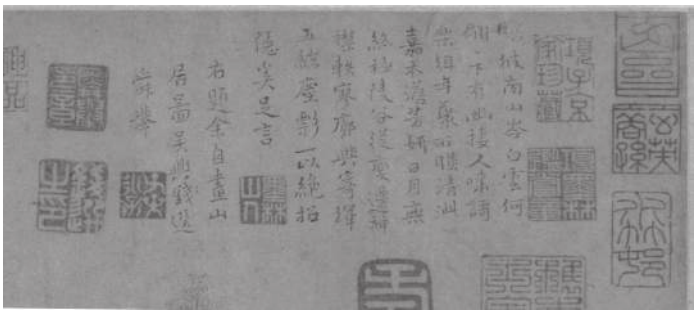

Figure 2. Qian Xuan's inscription on *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*.

However, Qian Xuan's use of pictorial and written languages in the scroll—the dreamlike mountain landscape and the poem about the unfettered life of a recluse—do not clearly indicate that the painting depicts his home in the Floating Jade Mountains. Unrolling the handscroll, we first see the artist's own inscription near the opening of the painting. After the *wuyan gushi* 五言古詩 (classical pentasyllabic poem), he writes (Figure 2):

> To the right, I inscribe [a poem] on the picture of a mountain dwelling painted by myself. Wuxing Qian Xuan Shunju.[6]
>
> 右題余自畫山居圖。吳興錢選舜舉。

In this inscription, Qian does not register his own presence at a specific site. While this scroll is identified as *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* in most Ming and Qing painting catalogues, it is recorded as *Mountain Dwelling* (*Shanju tu* 山居圖) in the *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 (*Catalogue of Painting and Calligraphy in the Qianlong Imperial Collection, Second Series*), a text compiled under the supervision of the scrupulous mega-collector, Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736–1795).[7] Despite this ambiguity surrounding the painting's name, to this day both exhibition catalogues and websites throughout the world continue to identify it as *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, and thus it has been widely understood as a portrayal of Qian's own mountain dwelling. The reason for this, in part, stems from a misreading

paintings, see Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Picture Titles: How and Why Western Paintings Acquired Their Names* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015).

6. "Shunju" 舜舉 is Qian Xuan's courtesy name (*zi* 字).

7. Wang Jie 王傑 (1725–1805) et al., comps., *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1971), 6: 3197.

of the phrase "*yu zi hua shanju tu*" 余自畫山居圖 in the artist's inscription. James Cahill, for example, interprets this phrase as "I painted my mountain dwelling" and regards the scroll as the landscape of Qian's estate.[8] However, the character *zi* 自, which indicates the first person, should be read as "myself," the reflexive usage, rather than as "my," the possessive meaning. The precise translation of the phrase, therefore, should be "I, myself, painted the picture of a mountain dwelling."

If the inscription does not in fact unambiguously identify the scroll as a portrayal of Qian's own mountain dwelling, what does the landscape image mean? Does the scroll represent an imaginary landscape in a conceptual world? While the dearth of historical sources on Qian Xuan and the scroll makes it impossible to determine the meaning of the painting with precision, the question I intend to address here concerns the painting's agency in the specific social contexts of its production, circulation, and reception.[9] Moving beyond the question of the painting's representation, which may not in fact be provable, I pose here instead the question, "What did the painting *do*?" The point of subjectivizing *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* is to bring the relationality between the scroll and its contemporaneous beholders into the focus of investigation.[10] With its stylistic aberrations that distinguish it from the other works in Qian's oeuvre, how did it communicate as a communal language in the Song-Yuan transitional period, and what sort of new voice did it project to its beholders? The aim of these inquiries is to move beyond the delimited frame set by the scroll's current title and the hagiographic narrative of the artist, and uncover the way in which the painting and its viewers are connected.

These questions will be explored through an analysis of intertextual relationships among the artist's pictorial and written languages, the colophons

8. James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 35.

9. Alfred Gell demands a reorientation from what a work of art "means" to what it "does" and considers it as social agency and a system of action. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998). Richard Vinograd notes that it is important to clarify one's understanding of the position, purposes and receptivity of Chinese scholar painting, focusing on the situations in which the art of painting was performed. Richard Vinograd, "Situation and Response in Traditional Chinese Scholar Painting," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46/3 (1988): 365–74.

10. W. J. T. Mitchell urges us to reckon with images not simply as inert objects but as operational beings with drives of their own. W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want," in *What Do Pictures Want: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28–56.

composed in response to them, and other related texts written by literate elites in and around Hangzhou, where the scroll circulated and was viewed. When a series of images and texts are woven into an interreferential relationship beyond the hagiographical qualities of the metanarratives pertaining to Song loyalism, the motives and agency of the scroll, and the shared ethos, memories, as well as the cultural inheritance of its contemporary viewers, can be illuminated to constitute multiple pasts of the early Yuan.

The Stylistic Aberrations of Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains

Housed in the Shanghai Museum, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* is frequently classified as a stylistic aberration, distinct from other paintings by Qian Xuan. For example, in *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* (*Wang Xizhi guan e tu* 王羲之觀鵝圖) and *Mountain Dwelling* (*Shanju tu* 山居圖), both considered genuine works by the painter, the picture ends abruptly on the left, leaving a blank space for the inscription (Figures 4 and 5, p. 257).[11] However, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* bears the artist's own inscription near the scroll's opening, as if providing an introduction before setting out on a journey through the remainder of the scroll.[12] Unrolling the *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* scroll, the first view is of an isolated isle covered with lushly growing bushes and trees, followed by churning waves of monumental mountains that consist of multiple geometric units. In the middle of the composition lie thatched huts nestled in the crook of a mountain, where trees partially obscure them. In addition to the huts, other signs of human presence, such as a figure crossing a bridge and a roofed boat, suggest that the landscape is inhabited, but our entry is barred by the expanse of water at the bottom of the painting. The painting concludes with a precipitous mountain with a crater at its waist. Cottony clouds that rest lightly in the crater impart a heavenly flair to the high vista. Although viewed section by section in the format of a handscroll, the panoramic landscape is unified by consistently proceeding viewpoints led by long chains of trees entwining

11. For a comprehensive study on *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, see Liu, "Qian Xuan's Loyalist Revision of Iconic Imagery," 26–46.

12. Hay, "Poetic Space: Ch'ien Hsüan and the Association of Painting and Poetry," in *Words and Images*, ed. Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 185.

themselves around the mountain masses. As a whole, the mountains seem to be floating in midair in the absence of background, evoking a dreamlike vision of an ideal retreat.

Like such Yuan luminaries of the high tradition as Zhao Mengfu, Qian took a serious view of "antique intent" (*guyi* 古意), a quality early Yuan literati identified with paintings of the Northern Song, or earlier, and projected into their own paintings.[13] In creating *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, Qian transformed the landscape imagery of ancient masters, such as Dong Yuan 董源 (?–962), Fan Kuan 范寬 (ca. 956–ca. 1026), Li Cheng 李成 (ca. 919–ca. 967), and Li Tang 李唐 (ca. 1050–ca. 1130). The softly rolling islet modelled with fine, parallel texture strokes, as well as the luxuriant foliage growing on it follow Dong Yuan's schema, while the faceted profiles of the precipitous mountains, which convey a sense of monumentality, recall the pictorial idioms of Fan Kuan, Li Cheng, and Li Tang. Qian combined their styles in such a straightforward manner that the painting appears eclectic rather than harmonious. The artist's pictorial scheme to succeed great masters of the past was well received by later viewers who added colophons to his painting. For example, the Yuan monk Fanqi 梵琦 (1296–1370) observes, "Shunju [Qian Xuan] is especially skilled at colored landscape painting. Ink painting like this is particularly difficult. In a vast expanse, trees and rocks lie beyond mists and auroras. It is proper to view [the painting] as [one in the style of] Yingqiu's [Li Cheng] mature brushwork"(Figure 3, p. 256).[14]

Guyi, while not a totally new concept, became the mainstream aesthetic criterion in the painting and calligraphy of the early Yuan. As a result of the chaos accompanying the dynastic transition, many antique art works flowed out of the collections of the Song imperial family and their former officials and into the hands of broader audiences. The social zeitgeist and dissemination of high culture during this era helped create the conditions for an art movement on a scale that had not been seen before.[15] *Dwelling in the Floating*

13. Regarding this new artistic trend in the early Yuan, Tang Hou 湯垕 (ca. late 1250s–1310s), a leading critic and collector of the early Yuan in Hangzhou, documented his viewpoint in his work *Huajian* 畫鑑. On Tang Hou and his *Huajian*, see Yeongchau Chou, "Reexamination of Tang Hou and his *Huajian*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2001). For a comprehensive study of Zhao Mengfu in English, see Shane McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu: Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

14. 舜舉偏工著色山, 如斯水墨畫尤難, 蒼茫樹石煙霞外, 合作營丘老筆看.

15. On trends in the Hangzhou art market and aestheticism in the early Yuan, see Ankeney

Jade Mountains is one of the most lucid visual accounts of this new aesthetic mode.

Another visual aberration present in *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* is related to its reenactment of the style of the mysterious Tang poet-painter Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), or at least the Yuan understanding of Wang's artistic idiom. Wang was equally famous as a poet and painter; his poems possess the calm resonance of nature and the appeal of vivid artistic imagery, whereas his paintings were believed to reflect his poetic sentiment through the implementation of novel brush techniques.[16] Although none of the paintings genuinely attributed to Wang are known to survive, later critics provide some clues to his painting style. The Northern Song scholar-artist Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) described a copy of Wang's painting of his private garden retreat, *Small Wangchuan* 小輞川, as having "fine brushwork" (*bixi* 筆細).[17] The renowned Ming critic and painter, Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), understood Wang's style as comprising two types—simple and plain, and detailed and cautious—with the latter likely resulting from the influence of Li Sixun's 李思訓 (651–716) style on Wang.[18] Intriguingly, the early Ming critic Du Qiong 杜瓊 (1396–1474) associated Qian Xuan's style with this latter detailed type. By noting that Qian prized "fineness and meticulousness" (*xianxi* 纖悉), Du regarded Qian as one of the few Yuan

Weitz, "Notes on the Early Yuan Antique Art Market in Hangzhou," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 27–38; and *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes: An Annotated Translation* (Boston: Brill, 2002).

16. For a comprehensive study on Wang Wei, see Pauline Yu, *The Poetry of Wang Wei: New Translations and Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980). Art historians have explored the legacy of Wang Wei in Chinese painting. For example, see Wen C. Fong, "*Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (*Chiang–Shan Hsüeh–Chi*) Attributed to Wang Wei (A.D. 699–759)," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976/1977): 6–33; Alfreda Murck, "Su Shi and Zhao Lingrang: Brush Ideas of Wang Wei," *Ars Orientalis* 49 (2019): 3–21; and Huiping Pang, "Art History under the Microscope: An Experimental Approach to the Monochrome Wangchuan Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 79/2 (2019): 151–95.

17. Mi Fu 米芾, *Huashi* 畫史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 7.

18. In his letter to Feng Kaizhi 馮開之 (n.d.) regarding *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* attributed to Wang Wei, Dong Qichang notes: "According to Mi Fu's *Huashi*, of all the styles attributed to Wang Wei only two kinds reflected the truth, while the rest were all inventions. One of these was close to [the style] of General Li [Sixun]; the other, which left out all texture strokes, had a simple and plain flavor." Translated in Fong, "Rivers and Mountains after Snow," 14. However, the detailed remark on Wang's style that Dong quotes is not found in the *Huashi*. See Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, "Tōjin Meikō gyō Shoku zu" 唐人〈明皇行蜀圖〉, *Chūgoku gakan no kenkyū* 中國畫巻の研究 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 2005), 146.

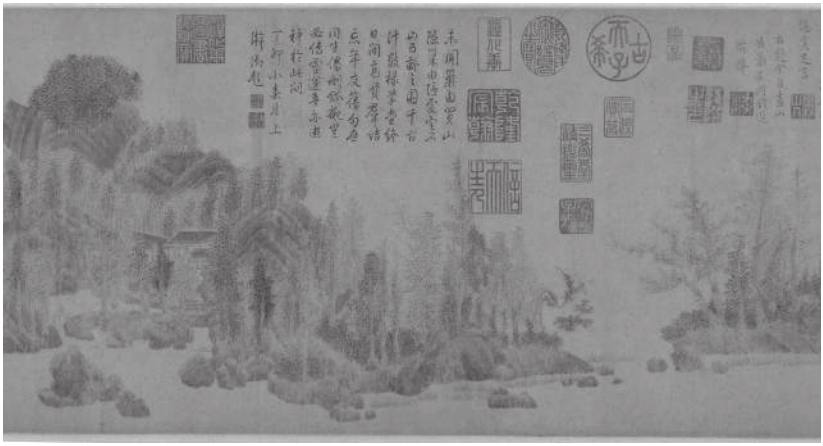

Figure 6. Detail of *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*.

masters who embodied Wang Wei's brush technique, including such vaunted artists as Zhao Mengfu, Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1356) and Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301/6–1374), thus positioning Qian Xuan in the lineage of Wang Wei (Wangchuan *mai* 輞川脈).[19]

In the scroll, Qian took pains to depict mountain masses and trees (Figure 6). He applied dense hemp-fiber strokes, small dots, and short lines to add texture to the outcroppings, and dedicated innumerable lines and dots of varying lengths and shapes to conjure the vegetation. In the earlier colophons to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, Yuan critics such as Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283–1350) and Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292–1364) describe Qian's brushwork as "refined and subtle" (*jingmiao* 精妙) and "fine and dense" (*mianmi* 綿密), respectively (Figure 3, p. 256).[20] In one of the later colophons, the Ming painter Yao Shou 姚綬 (1423–1495) refers to Qian's brushwork as

19. "Old Qian of the Zha Stream [Qian Xuan] prized fineness and meticulousness . . . All these gentlemen spread from the lineage of Wangchuan [Wang Wei]" 霅川錢翁貴纖悉 . . . 諸公盡衍輞川脈. Du Qiong's poem on the lineage of Wang Wei's school of painting is recorded in Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712), *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫匯考, in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (henceforth ZGSHQS; Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992–1999), 7:26.181. Revised translation based on Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 164–65.

20. The two colophons by Zhang Yu and Zheng Yuanyou will be discussed further in the following section.

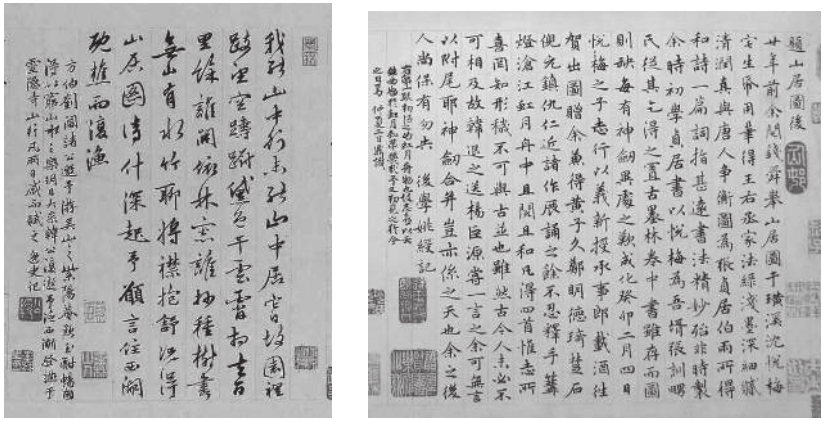

Figure 7. Colophons to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* by Yao Shou 姚綬 (1483), from *Jin Tang Song Yuan shuhua guobao teji*, reproduced by permission of the Shanghai Museum.

follows: "[Qian's] brushwork on the raw paper achieved the family method of Minister Wang of the Right [Wang Wei]. [Qian's] green color is light, [his] ink is deep, and [his brush] is fine and smooth, fresh and lustrous. Indeed, he can truly compete with the man from the Tang."(Figure 7).[21] These depictions of Qian's technique in the colophons provide insight into how he incorporated the old Tang master's brushwork in his scroll.

Color effect is another feature that differentiates *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* from the other paintings in Qian's oeuvre. The painting's blue-and-green color scheme, a time-honored indicator of archaistic aesthetics associated with the legendary Tang masters Li Sixun and his son Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (ca. 670–ca. 730), emphasizes the trancendental quality of the moutainscape; yet Qian Xuan's novel use of color distinguishes the scroll from its precedents and his other works.[22] For example, *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* and *Mountain Dwelling* fill the crisp outlines that form faceted terrains with the bright mineral colors of azurite and malachite, whereas here, Qian spread a thin bluish color on the scroll first, then added very fine hemp-fiber strokes and rubbing strokes with ink. The magical hues of deep bluish-black

21. 生紙用筆, 得王右丞家法, 綠淺墨深, 細膩清潤, 眞與唐人爭衡.

22. Regarding Chinese landscapes in the blue-and-green-manner, see Richard Vinograd, "Some Landscapes Related to the Blue-and-Green Manner from the Early Yüan Period," *Artibus Asiae* 41 2/3 (1979), 101–31.

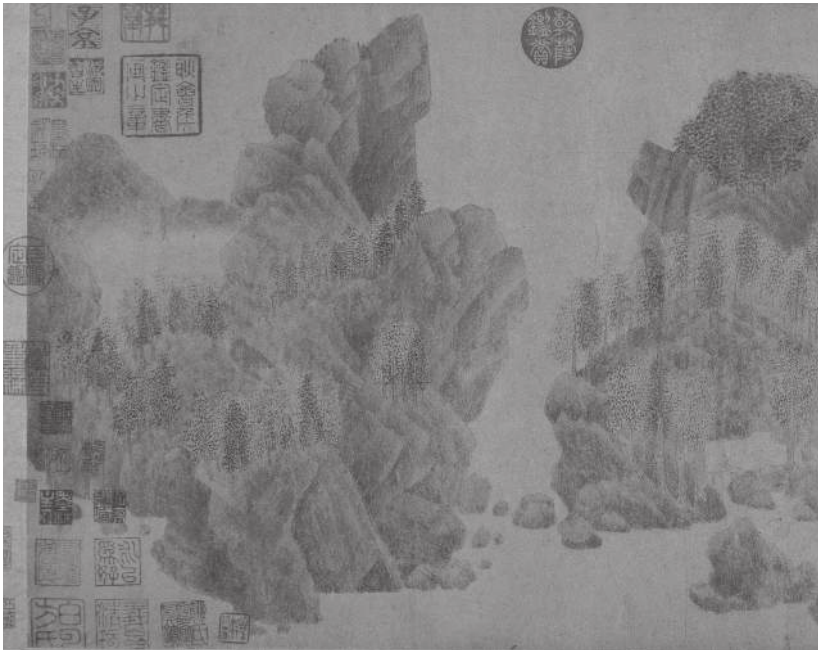

Figure 8. Detail of *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*.

emanating from the inky mountains still enthrall viewers today. This color effect is observed on the relatively bare, rocky areas of the mountains, where ink strokes are lightly applied, and also in the patches of white clouds at the top left (Figure 8). Close examination of the painting reveals a bluish glow exuding from the stone clusters.

The marvelous visual effects call up the monumental landscape on silk by the Northern Song court painter Guo Xi 郭熙 (after 1000–ca. 1090) titled *Early Spring* (*Zaochun tu* 早春圖), the energetic mountain structure of which was achieved with a blue tint made from ink mixed with a bluish-black mineral pigment called *qingdai* 青黛.[23] *Qingdai*, also called *daise* 黛色 or *meise* 眉色, was used in eyebrow makeup for women in ancient China.[24] Unlike the Northern Song master, Qian achieves his visual effects by first applying a

23. In his treatise on landscape painting, *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致, Guo Xi writes: "For the color of rocks, use *qingdai* and ink, and attain [the desired level of] lightness and darkness" 石色用青黛和墨而淺深取之. See Guo Xi, "Huajue" 畫訣, in *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致, in *ZGSHQS* 1:501.

24. Wang Yaoting 王耀庭, *Jungguk hoehwa sanchaek* 中國繪畫散策, trans. Oh Yeongsam (Seoul: Areum namu, 2007), 105.

thin green hue as a base color on paper and then adding very fine hemp-fiber strokes and rubbing strokes with ink. As a result, the shaded landmasses possess a jewel-like luster, as if every facet of the unit has the potential to change its color when light reflects.

This mesmerizing *qingdai* coloring is mentioned in a Ming period colophon by Yao Shou, who became the fourth owner of the scroll after Fang Tianrui 方天瑞 (fl. early 14th c.), Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283–1350), and Shen Yuemei 沈悅梅 (fl. 15th c). Yao brought Qian's scroll with him on a trip to West Lake and wrote the following poem (Figure 7):

我能山中行	I can go into the mountains,
未能山中居	But I cannot yet retreat there.
他日故園裡	Someday, in an old garden,
跂望空躊躇	Gazing up at the sky on tiptoe, I would hesitate.
黛色干雲霄	The bluish-black [mountains] obstruct the sky,
相去百里餘	A hundred leagues away from one another.
……	

Yao describes the towering mountains as "bluish-black" color "obstruct[ing] the sky," which could indicate Qian Xuan's precipitous mountains emanating magical hues, or the mountains at West Lake, or both. "Bluish-black" was a popular expression used to describe the mountainscapes in the West Lake area. In the Tang period, for example, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) composed many poems on the West Lake during his posting in Hangzhou. In one such poem, in response to a guest who asks about Hangzhou, he writes: "The mountain named Tianzhu heaps up in bluish black, and the lake called Qiantang [West Lake] emits emerald glaze."[25] Qian Xuan's contemporary Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298) describes one of the ten views of West Lake in his poem "Spring Dawn on the Causeway" (*Suti chunxiao* 蘇堤春曉) as follows: "A mirror[-like lake], bluish-black [mountains] soften, and scarlet [flowers] are vivid."[26] Although the color *dai* 黛 was not exclusively used for the mountains near the

25. 山名天竺堆青黛, 湖號錢唐瀉綠油. Bai Juyi 白居易, "Da ke wen Hangzhou" 答客問杭州, in *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集, ed. Gu Xuejie 顧學頡 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 532–33. For a recent study on the cultural landscape of West Lake in the Song, see Xiaolin Duan, *The Rise of West Lake: A Cultural Landmark in the Song Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020). On painting and calligraphy related to the West Lake in the Southern Song, see Hui-Shu Lee, *Exquisite Moments: West Lake and Southern Song Art* (New York: China Institute, 2000).

26. 冰奩, 黛淺紅鮮. Zhou Mi 周密, "Mulan hua man" 木蘭花慢, in *Pingzhou yudi pu* 蘋洲漁笛譜 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 1.2.

West Lake, the bluish-black hue came to represent a familiar visual image of the landscape. In the scroll, Qian Xuan successfully reenacts the long-standing written tradition of describing the scenic beauty that exists in nature through his distinctive pictorial language.

While scholars are divided on the date of *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, I argue that the reconstruction of the socio-cultural environment and the stylistic aberrations of the scroll locate it within the creative period of Qian Xuan's later years.[27] In the scroll, Qian's manner of combining individualistic characters with anachronistic brushwork appears straightforward rather than seamless and harmonious, just like Zhao Mengfu's manner in the *guyi* mode of *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* (*Qiao Hua qiuse tu* 鵲華秋色圖) dated 1296 (Figure 9, p. 258). This suggests that Qian's scroll was created as a keen response to the newly prevalent aesthetics shared by arbiters of taste in the early Yuan such as Zhao Mengfu, Tang Hou, Qiu Yuan, and Zhou Mi, to name but a few. Thus Qian probably painted *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* in the years between Zhao's painting of *Autumn Colors* (around 1296) and Qian's death, which was before 1307.

The Yuan Viewers of the Scroll

With its conspicuous stylistic aberrations, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* attracts, transfixes, and finally enthralls its beholders to the image momentarily; the longer, ultimate effect is to move the viewers in a certain

27. Richard Barnhart, Shih Shou-chien and Tan Shengguang argue that the scroll should be dated before 1275, the death year of the late-Southern Song politician and art collector Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213–1275) based primarily on the *chang* 長 seal located at the beginning of the colophon. Shih further argues that "South Mountain" in Qian's poem suggests the scroll's link to Jia in that the mountain can refers to a specific mountain near West Lake. Tan Shengguang also argues that Qian's poem describes Jia Sidao's garden in third-person perspective, indicating that the scroll was dedicated to Jia Sidao. See Richard Barnhart, "Review of The Great Painters of China by Max Loehr," *Ars Orientalis* 12 (1981): 81; Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," 169–70; and Tan, "Song Yuan huashi yanbian mailuo zhong de Qian Xuan," 139. However, two types of *chang* seals are known, and the seal found in *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* does not belong to Jia but to Geng Jiazhao 耿嘉祚 (fl. mid-to late 17th c.). Regarding *chang* seals, see Wang Chichien and Kathleen Yang, "The Mystery of the Chang Seal," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 151–60. Li Yongqiang, on the other hand, regards the scroll as having been created in the early Yuan, possibly after 1286, as the last line of Qian's poem, "Why does one still need words to be called to a life of reclusion" 招隱奚足言, reflects Qian's aloof seclusionist attitude toward the Yuan regime, which he declined to serve. See Li, *Yuanchu huihua xinmao de xianfeng*, 37–42.

experiential direction.[28] What the painting does, or what kinds of associations and emotions Qian's scroll conjured up in the minds of Yuan beholders, is well documented in the colophons attached to the body of the painting (*huashen* 畫身).[29]

The earliest colophon is that of Qian Xuan's contemporary, Qiu Yuan 仇遠 (1247–1327), which is written on a piece of paper separate from the other Yuan colophons (Figure 3, p. 256).[30] In the preface to his colophon, Qiu notes that Fang Tianrui had acquired the painting:

> Fang Tianrui from Jincheng, a descendent of Mr. Xuanying,[31] acquired *Dwelling in the White Cloud Mountains*, which reminds me of reclusion in the mountains of Tonglu. Qian Shunju's authentic painting has an indefinable kind of charm. I leisurely attach a poem [to it]. Old Man of a Mountain Village, Qiu Yuan.
>
> 錦城方天瑞，玄英先生後人，得白雲山居圖，彷彿桐廬山中隱所。錢舜舉眞跡，別是一種風致，漫系以詩。山村老人仇遠。

Qiu Yuan's colophon indicates that the scroll had once been named *Dwelling in the White Cloud Mountains* (*Baiyun shanju tu* 白雲山居圖), rather than the widely accepted title, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*. Why did he use the words "White Cloud Mountains?" Was he trying to form an association with the words "white cloud" 白雲 in Qian Xuan's poem, or perhaps with the motif of the bank of clouds in the mountain on the left part of the painting?

The genealogy of the owner of the scroll, found in Qiu's colophon, provides a clue to help us answer the above questions. Fang Tianrui was a descendant of the well-known Fang family of Huizhou 徽州方氏. In 833, Tianrui's distant ancestor, Fang Su 方肅 (fl. early 9th century), became a presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) and was appointed District Magistrate of Renhe (Renhe *xianling* 仁和縣令) in Hangzhou. Three years later, he moved to White Cloud Village

28. Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 92, cited in Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 36–37.

29. The scroll bears colophons and seals that belong to twenty people, from the early Yuan through the Republican periods, and those closest to the body of the painting were written by seven Yuan cultural luminaries in Jiangnan. For high-resolution images of the entire scroll, including its colophons, see The Palace Museum et al., "Yuandai Qian Xuan Fuyu shanju tu," 元代錢選浮玉山居圖, in *Jin Tang Song Yuan shuhua guobao teji* 晉唐宋元書畫國寶特集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2002).

30. Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," 169.

31. The identity of Xuanying 玄英 will be discussed later.

Figure 10 A–F. The seals of Fang Tianrui.

(Baiyun cun 白雲村) in Tonglu 桐廬, Zhejiang. There, Fang Su became the founder of the Fang clan of White Cloud 白雲方氏, an offshoot of the Fangs of Huizhou 徽州. His second son was the renowned late-Tang poet Fang Gan 方干 (809–888), who is also known by his posthumous name, Xuanying 玄英.[32] In his colophon, Qiu Yuan relates the owner's ancestor, and famous recluse-poet of Tonglu, to the landscape painting by Qian Xuan.

Among the earliest seals on the scroll, the six seals closest to two corners of the body of the painting are identified as belonging to Fang Tianrui: *Yunshan zhai* 雲山齋 (Cloud Mountain Studio), Xuanying *yisun* 玄英裔孫 (Descendent of Xuanying), *Yongyi weihao* 永以爲好 (Everlasting Friendship), Yizhai *qingwan* 義齋清玩 (Yizhai's Pure Enjoyment), *Fengya jiuyin* 風雅舊隱 (Elegant Old Retreat), and Baiyun Fangshi 白雲方氏 (The Fang Clan of White Cloud) (Figure 10).[33] Fang Tianrui was an eminent cultural figure in Hangzhou in the late Southern Song and early Yuan, around the time when Qian Xuan was active as an artist in Wuxing. Both the earliest identified owner of the scroll and the writer of the earliest inscription were members of a tight-knit circle of eminent scholars and collectors in Hangzhou.[34]

32. For the genealogy of the Fang family, see Tang Lixing 唐力行, "Huizhou Fang shi yu shehui bianqian" 徽州方氏與社會變遷, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 1 (1995): 75.

33. Yizhai 義齋 is Fang Tianrui's *zi* 字. See Chou, "Reexamination of Tang Hou and his *Huajian*," 30 (note 51). Shih Shou-chien regards the Shuizhu cun 水竹邨 (Water Bamboo Village) seal, which is located below the Xuanying yisun seal, as belonging to Fang. See Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan," 230 (note 6). However, the Shuizhu cun seal in fact belongs to Yao Shou.

34. For example, in 1289, Fang Tianrui viewed the rubbing of *Baomu tie* 保母帖 by Wang

Qiu Yuan's colophon continues with a five character regulated verse poem (*wuyan lüshi* 五言律詩), which seemingly describes a peaceful residence surrounded by mountains and water.

翼翼山千朶	Lush and luxuriant, mountains are [like] a thousand blossoms,
蕭蕭屋數間	In the whistling wind, houses nestled among them.
石崖不可渡	The rock cliffs are impassible,
門逕幾曾關	When was the path to the gate ever closed?
綠樹經秋在	Green trees, passing through autumn, remain,
白雲終日閒	White clouds are idle all the day long.
依稀鏡湖曲	Misty and diaphanous, Mirror Lake bends,
西島水迴環	Around West Island, the water turns in a circle.

"Mirror Lake" *jinghu* 鏡湖 in the penultimate line is the name of the lake to which the Tang poet Fang Gan retired, whereas "West Island" is the name of the island located in the western part of Mirror Lake.[35] In the poem, Qiu's mention of "white clouds" relates the mountain landscape in Qian Xuan's scroll to the eminent Tang poet Fang Gan's retreat, White Cloud Village, where the Fang clan originated. Qiu Yuan cleverly revises the ambiguous identity of Qian's mountainous landscape into an idealized portrayal of a mountain dwelling of the Fang family in the White Cloud Mountains.

Intriguingly, the Ming painting catalogue, *Shanhu wang* 珊瑚網, compiled by Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (fl. 16th c.), documents an additional phrase between Qiu's preface and poem: "[Written] on the ninth day of the fourth year of Yanyou (1317), on the North Bridge of Hangcheng [Hangzhou]."[36] The North

Xianzhi 王獻之 (343–388) in the famous writer Zhou Mi's collection and later acquired the rubbing around 1319. Qiu Yuan wrote a colophon on the rubbing along with renowned scholar-collectors in Hangzhou such as Zhao Mengfu and Xianyu Shu 鮮于樞 (1246–1302). Regarding *Baomu tie* and early Yuan literati in Hangzhou, see Chou, "Reexamination of Tang Hou and his *Huajian*," 29–30.

35. The biography of Fang Gan is found in Xin Wenfang 辛文房, *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 2:100–1.

36. 延祐四年九月, 書于杭城北橋. In the *Shanhu wang*, this painting is identified as *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*. The inclusion of the additional phrase between the preface and the poem may indicate that the colophon Wang documented was not identical to Qiu's colophon attached to the painting. In *Shanhu wang*, Qiu Yuan's colophon is recorded after those by the other Yuan writers, which indicates that the order of the colophons in Wang

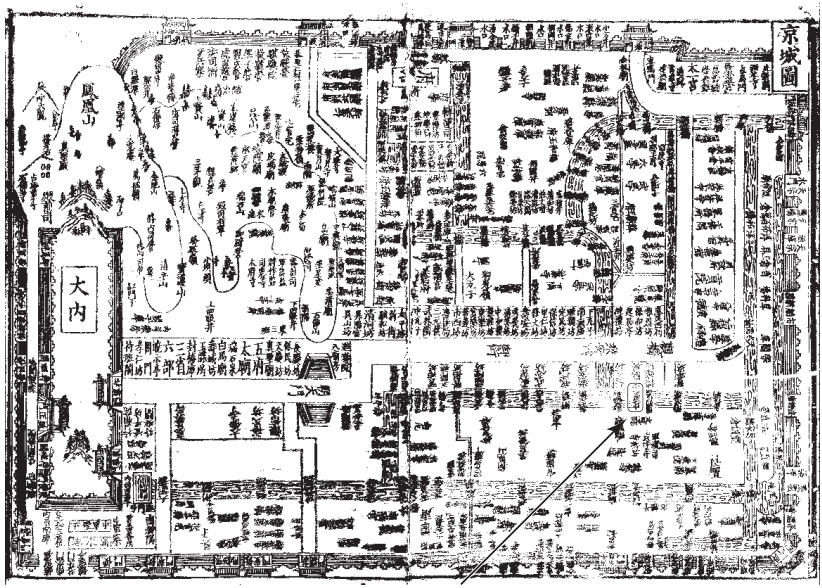

Figure 11. "Capital Map" 京城圖 from Qian Shuoyou 潛說友 (1216–1288), comp., *Lin'an zhi* 臨安志, *Xianchun* 咸淳 (1265–1274), reproduced by permission of the National Library of China; location of North Bridge 北橋 marked with a rounded rectangle.

Bridge of Hangcheng (*Hangcheng beiqiao* 杭城北橋), where the colophon was written, most likely refers to Qiu Yuan's studio, the Gongxing zhai 躬行齋, in Lin'an (current Hangzhou), the capital of the Southern Song dynasty (Figure 11).[37] Qiu Yuan, a native of Hangzhou, was one of the leading members of the city's poetry clubs in the late Southern Song and early Yuan.[38] The

Keyu's time was different from that of today. It was Emperor Qianlong who had the colophons rearranged and remounted chronologically. See Wang Keyu 汪砢玉, *Shanhu wang* 珊瑚網, in *ZGSHQS* 5:8.1043.

37. The North Bridge of Hangcheng is marked on a diagrammatic map of Hangzhou from the Southern Song dynasty. See the "Capital Map" (*Jingcheng tu* 京城圖), in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (1265–1274). For a comprehensive study of the four maps of Hangzhou and its vicinity found in the *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, see Jiang Qingqing 姜青青, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi Songban "jingcheng situ" fuyuan yanjiu*《咸淳臨安志》宋版「京城四圖」復原研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2015).

38. Qiu Yuan promoted the revival of Tang poetic style in the early Yuan together with Zhao Mengfu, Dai Biaoyuan 戴表元 (1244–1310), and Yuan Jue 袁桷 (1266–1327). For studies on Tang poetry in the Yuan dynasty, see Zhang Hong 張紅, "*Yuandai Tangshixue yanjiu*" 元代唐詩學研

Gongxing zhai, was a renowned cultural venue for literati gatherings where local elites appreciated paintings, wrote colophons on them and composed poems. It is likely that Qian's scroll was viewed at Qiu's studio with his colleagues, including Fang Tianrui, the owner of the scroll.

In contrast to the well-established tradition in which paintings were created for a specific recipient or event, described in a dedicatory inscription, Qian Xuan rarely addressed his paintings to their recipients. This is also the case for *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, and it is unclear whether Fang Tianrui received the painting directly from Qian Xuan or acquired it from someone else. One thing that is certain is that the scroll was initially created as a painting of a mountain dwelling (*shanju tu* 山居圖). Its generic title acted as a cuing device that solicited poetic thoughts from Qiu Yuan and later viewers.

The subsequent owner of *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, as far as the extant colophons inform us, was Zhang Yu, who happened to find the scroll in a bookstore in Hangzhou in 1348, a few decades after the artist's passing (Figure 3, p. 256):

> Lord Wuxing [Zhao Mengfu] in his early years learned to paint from Shunju [Qian Xuan]. [Qian Xuan] created a number of figure and bird-and-flower paintings; therefore, his landscape paintings are rare these days. This is one of them, in which he himself depicted the scenery of a mountain dwelling. The interest generated by the scenery is high, while his brush and ink are refined and subtle, which makes it a particularly felicitous work. The poem is also elegant, [written] not in the language of recent authors. In the autumn of the seventh month in the year of *wuzi* (1348), I acquired [this painting] in a bookstore, as if obtaining ancient illustrated annals. Accordingly, I respond with a poem that rhymes [with Qian's] to commemorate this time here after.[39]
>
> 吳興公蚤歲得畫法於舜舉。舜舉多寫人物花鳥，故所圖山水當世罕傳。此卷蓋其自寫山居，景趣既高，筆墨精妙，尤爲合作，詩亦雅麗，非近人語。僕以戊子秋七月得於書肆，如獲古圖史云。因次韻，識歲月於後。

究 (Ph.D. diss., Shanghai shifan daxue, 2004). Regarding Qiu Yuan and his network of friends in Hangzhou, see Jennifer W. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties: Loyalism in Thirteenth-century China* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1991), 149–56, and 205–28.

39. Revised translation based on Birgitta Augustin, "Modern Views on Old Histories: Zhang Yu's and Huang Gongwang's Encounter with Qian Xuan," *Arts Asiatiques* 67 (2012), 67.

As a cognoscente, Zhang justifies the value of the painting by referencing the rarity of Qian Xuan's landscape paintings, the excellence of Qian's painting skill, and the elegance of the accompanying poem. Zhang emphasizes that the scroll is an authentic work by Qian, noting that "he himself depicted the scenery of a mountain dwelling," which is almost the exact same phrase found in Qian Xuan's inscription, "the picture of a mountain dwelling painted by myself" 余自畫山居圖. Zhang characterizes Qian's brushwork as "refined and subtle" (*jingmiao* 精妙), a term associated with the legendary master Wang Wei. In so doing, he elevates Qian's status as a cultured poet-painter in the lineage of Wang Wei.

Zhang was a renowned scholar and Daoist in the mid-Yuan and he had close relationships with many eminent literati in Jiangnan.[40] With the establishment of Mongol rule, remnant loyalists to the former dynasty (*yimin* 遺民), including Zhang Yu and his associates, and their descendants were placed in the lowest stratum of Yuan society and classified as "Southerners" (*nanren* 南人). Barred from holding important governmental positions, they retreated to their hometowns and also devoted themselves to religion, art, and literature. Only two months after Zhang Yu's acquisition of the painting, fellow Daoist-artist Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354) viewed the scroll. His colophon follows that of Zhang (Figure 3, p. 256):

> The Old Man of the Zha Stream was an erudite scholar of Wuxing. People do not recognize that the histories and classics were all strung together in his mind. . . . Master Zhao Wenmin [Zhao Mengfu] was taught by him, and not only in painting. Beyond a deep knowledge of the affairs of ancient and recent ages, he was also profoundly learned in music, and his nature was as lofty as this. People often praise him as a painter, but this emphasizes his amusements at the expense of his learning. Today, I view his scroll owned by Zhenju [Zhang Yu], together with the poem written upon it. Poem and painting are in accord. One who knows his poem will know his painting. On the eighth day in the ninth month of the eighth

40. For the literati *nanren* network in Jiangnan in the mid and late Yuan, see Zhang Pengchuan 張朋川, "Yuandai Taihu diqu huajia he daojiao wenhua" 元代太湖地區畫家和道教文化, *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao* 南京藝術學院學報 1 (2007): 14–19; Birgitta Augustin, "Painting Authenticity: Intersections in the Lives and Art of Zhang Yu, Huang Gongwang and Ni Zan" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2015); Najung Kim, "Displaced Landscape: The Art and Life of Ni Zan (1301–1374)" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2019); and Birgitta Augustin, "Listening to the Rain: The Collective Commemoration of Lu Shanfu's 'Tingyulou' through Poetry and Calligraphy," *JSYS* 49 (2020): 354–416.

year of Zhizheng (1348), the greatly ignorant scholar Huang Gongwang bows to the ground and reverently inscribes this in his eightieth year.[41]

霅溪翁吳興碩學，其於經史貫串於胸中，時人莫之知也。……而趙文敏公嘗師之，不特師其畫，至於古今事物外，又深於音律之學，其人品之高如此。而世間往往以畫史稱之，是特其游戲而遂揜其所學。今觀貞居所藏此卷並題詩其上，詩與畫稱知詩者乃知其畫矣。至正八年九月八日，大癡學人黃公望稽首敬題，時年八衮。

Like Zhang Yu, Huang admires Qian Xuan not only as a skilled painter but also as a man of great erudition in music and poetry, and he further emphasizes the teacher-disciple relationship between Qian and Zhao Mengfu.[42] Huang points out the harmonious relationship between Qian's mountainscape and the accompanying poem, but only touches on the subject of the painting.

Following Huang's colophon on the scroll is that composed by Gu Ying 顧瑛 (1310–1369), another cultural luminary based in Kunshan, Jiangsu. He writes (Figure 3, p. 256):[43]

無官落得一身閒	Without a government post, my body becomes relaxed,
置我當於丘壑間	I place myself amid hills and ravines.
便欲松根結茅屋	Then I want pine roots to weave the roof of my thatched cottage,
清秋採菊看南山	In a fine autumn, plucking chrysanthemums, I catch sight of South Mountain.

Gu Ying refracts Qian's image of a mountain dwelling into his own world of reclusion and then into that of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427), a celebrated recluse and poet of the Six Dynasties. The last line is directly taken from the

41. Revised translation based on Augustin, "Modern Views on Old Histories," 69.

42. There is little evidence that Zhao Mengfu took Qian Xuan as his master, and Qian Xuan was quite a secluded figure compared to Zhao Mengfu and his network of friends. Considering that Qian was senior to Zhao by about twenty years and that they were both from Wuxing, Huang supposes that Qian served as a model for local literati painters, including Zhao. For the relationship between Qian Xuan and Zhao Mengfu, see Li, *Yuanchu huihua xinmao de xianfeng*, 57–66.

43. Regarding Gu Ying, see David Sensabaugh, "Guests at Jade Mountain: Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth-Century K'un-shan," in *Artists and Patrons: Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, eds. Chu-tsing Li, James Cahill and Claudia Brown (Kansas: Kress Foundation Department of Art History, University of Kansas, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1989), 93–100; Gu Gong 顧工, "Gu Ying yanjiu santi" 顧瑛研究三題, *Zhongguo shuhua* 中國書畫 1 (2016): 4–9.

fifth in Tao's series "Drinking Wine: Twenty Poems" (*Yinjiu ershi shou* 飲酒二十首), in which the poet, picking chrysanthemums at his rural retreat, experiences a moment of clarity when the distant South Mountain catches his eye.[44] Like the ancient poet who felt liberated by looking at South Mountain, Gu Ying recognizes that Qian's mountainscape has helped him picture an ideal pure residence in his mind, removed from the concerns of worldly affairs.

Although Southerners, including Gu Ying and his associates, had very limited opportunity to participate in government affairs under Mongol rule, they continued their literati culture with elegant gatherings, which provided a sense of community as well as personal satisfaction. Gu Ying's famous estate in Kunshan, Jade Mountain (Yushan 玉山), was an important center for Yuan literati, and "of all of the poems written between 1341 and 1367, more than one out of every ten was produced in Gu Ying's salon."[45] His circle of friends and guests at Jade Mountain included prominent literati as well as Daoist and Buddhist practitioners, and all of the Yuan writers who left colophons on *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*—Zhang Yu, Huang Gongwang, Zheng Yuanyou, Fanqi, and Ni Zan—attended Gu Ying's gatherings. This suggests that Qian Xuan's scroll was circulated and appreciated among Gu Ying's network of friends in Jiangnan during the Yuan period. Through his poem, Gu turns the reality of their communal experience as unemployed men of letters into a palatable self-image of elegant recluses living in dreamlike mountains, just like the world created by Qian Xuan.

Following Gu Ying, Zheng Yuanyou, another key member of Gu Ying's literary circle, writes a poem, in which he registers Gu Ying's presence in Qian's landscape (Figure 3, p. 256):

餘不之水浮玉山	The waters I have not visited drift to Jade Mountain,
仙人來乎往其間	An immortal comes and goes amidst them.
珪璋藻思發天巧	Lofty poetic thoughts give rise to heavenly skill,

44. Tao Yuanming, "Yinjiu ershi shou" 飲酒二十首. For an annotated translation, see James R. Hightower, *The Poetry of Tao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 130.

45. Stephen H. West, "Literature from the Late Jin to the Early Ming, ca. 1230–1375," in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Kang-I Sun Chang and Stephen Owen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 578.

粉墨絹楮留人間　The painting remains in the mortal world.
錢翁山居窈綿密　Old Qian [Xuan]'s [brushwork of] *Mountain Dwelling* is gracefully fine and dense,
深潤山林閟白日　The deep and moist mountain forest blocks out the bright sun.
. . .

In response to Gu Ying's poem on reclusion, Zheng incorporates allusions and semantic word play into his verse. In the first two lines, Jade Mountain is depicted as a place frequented by a Daoist immortal. It can refer to the mythological residence of the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwang mu* 西王母). Jade Mountain is also the name of the mountain in Kunshan where Gu Ying had a luxurious estate before he fled to Hexi 合溪, Jiaxing 嘉興 in 1356.[46] In those days, Gu often hosted sophisticated parties collectively known as "elegant gatherings at Jade Mountain" (Yushan *yaji* 玉山雅集). In mentioning Jade Mountain in the first line of his poem, Zheng references both meanings and blurs the distinction between the immortal realm and Gu Ying's worldly estate, thereby merging the ideal and the real into one in the embrace of the pictorial world.

Ni Zan, another close friend of Gu Ying, associates reclusion and alienation from state power with the subject of Qian's painting, but his poem is more spiritually oriented (Figure 3, p. 256):

何山[人]西上道傷[場]山[47]　Who is the person that heads west and ascends Daochang Mountain?
山自白雲僧自閒　The mountain naturally [enjoys the companion of] white clouds, and a monk freely idles.
至人不與物俱化　The perfected man does not transform with things,
往往超出乎兩間　He often rises above this worldly realm.
洗心觀妙退藏密　[He] purifies his heart, observes the marvelous, and retreats to hide himself in a secret place,

46. For a depiction of Gu's retreat at Hexi, see David Ake Sensabaugh, "Fashioning Identities in Yuan-Dynasty Painting: Images of the Men of Culture," *Ars Orientalis* 37: Current Direction in Yuan Painting (2009): 132–33.

47. 人 and 場 are my corrections to the poet's miswritten original characters 山 and 傷.

閱世千年如一日　Seeing the world of a thousand years as if [everthing happens in] one day.

……

Ni Zan follows the rhymes of Old Suichang [Zheng Yuanyou]'s composition [in the year of] *gengxu* (1370).[48]

倪瓚次韻，遂昌翁所賦庚戌。

In the first line, Ni Zan associates the image of Qian's mountainscape with Daochang Mountain. "Daochang," which literally means "enclosure of the Dao," is also the name of a mountain on the western side of Jade Lake in Wuxing.[49] The mountain is higher than any other in the vicinity of Jade Lake, and its precipitous peak rising out of the fluctuating waves likely reminded Ni of a mountain on which immortals dwelled.

Ni Zan belonged to the second generation of Song loyalists, and around the time he wrote this colophon, he confronted another dynastic transition, that of Yuan to Ming. With the founding of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), many of Ni's colleagues who had served the local rebel leader Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321–1367) were sent into exile or executed by the new Ming emperor, Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368–1398), including Chen Ruyan 陳汝言 (ca. 1331–1371), the artist responsible for *Mountains of the Immortals* (*Xianshan tu* 仙山圖) (Figure 12, p. 258).[50] The landscape in the blue-and-green mode depicts an imagined, paradisiacal realm to which the painter probably wished to escape and leave behind the dusty, violent world;[51] however, he could not do so until his untimely death in 1371. Following Chen's execution, Ni Zan left an inscription

48. This line is based on a phrase from "Xicizhuan" 繫辭傳 in the *Zhouyi* 周易, " . . . the holy sages purified their hearts, withdrew, and hid themselves in the secret" 聖人, 以此洗心退藏於密. Translation from *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, trans. Richard Wilhelm et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 316.

49. Zhao Mengfu, "Wuxing shanshui qingyuan tu ji," in *Zhao Mengfu ji*, 7.143. On the meaning of Daochang, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 342 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), 189.

50. Regarding Zhang Shicheng's regime based in Suzhou and the Jiangnan literati who supported his government during the closing years of the Yuan, see Kim, "Displaced Landscape," 100–34.

51. John Hay notes that azurite and malachite pigments applied to the painting allude to Daoist alchemy, as both minerals were used in elixirs from the Six Dynasties period. See John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China Institute,

on the top right of the painting in memory of Chen, noting the "rich elegance and pure detachment" of the transcendent realm.[52] Likewise, amidst the insecurity and violence of the dynastic transition, Ni Zan perceived Qian Xuan's painting of the mountainous terrain as a mysterious sanctuary. Qian Xuan's mountainscape also conjured up in Ni Zan's mind the highest mountain on Jade Lake, Daochang Mountain, which he imagined as a reservoir of calm located farther away from the boundaries of the violence-torn world.

While Qian's landscape evoked diverse responses from the above literati, none of them suggested that the landscape was a portrayal of Qian Xuan's own dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains. A blue-and-green landscape possessing a paradisiacal quality with a generic title, *Mountain Dwelling*, was enough to convey the idea of disengagement for Yuan literati. Gu Ying, Zheng Yuanyou, and Ni Zan were born after the Song's demise, and they defined their political identity in terms of the dynasty of their birth, the Yuan; however, they were discriminated against as Southerners under Mongol rule. They suffered once again when the Ming dynasty was established following the collapse of the Yuan. However complicated their political identity, Qian's landscape communicated a time-honored seclusionist ideal employed throughout Chinese history that continued to effectively "signal political protest, moral purity, or simply a desire to disentangle from worldly affairs in accordance with the Dao."[53]

The title of a painting, together with the name of its painter, are the first facts collected by the viewer, and such knowledge requires literacy to attain. In the age of mass literacy, we take the "authorized" title written on the museum label for granted, even as the title shapes and delimits our reception of the image. Yet, as demonstrated above, the Yuan literati viewed Qian Xuan's inscription as a cuing device to solicit poetic thoughts. The individual situation

1985), 46–50, quoted in Stephen Little et al., *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), 368.

52. The inscription reads: "*Mountains of the Immortals* was painted by Master Chen Weiyun [Chen Ruyan]. In its rich elegance and pure detachment, he has profoundly captured the brush-spirit of Zhao Ronglu [Zhao Mengfu]" 仙山圖, 陳君作也, 所畫秀潤清遠, 深得趙榮祿筆意. Translation by Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 369.

53. Regarding the relationship between landscape art and reclusion in China, see Peter C. Sturman and Susan S. Tai, eds., *The Artful Recluse: Painting, Poetry, and Politics in 17th-Century China* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 2012). For the quoted phrase, see Peter C. Sturman, "Landscape," in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, eds. Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 181.

of each literatus guided his personal response, such that Qian's mountainous landscape came to represent different things to different people, be it ideal, real, or somewhere in between.

Qian Xuan's Zhaoyin *Poem and Poetic Ambiguity*

The colophons by the above Yuan writers do not provide a full explication of the effect *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* had on Qian's contemporary viewers, at least not in a straightforward way, due to the texts' temporal distance from Qian's poetic and pictorial languages.[54] Therefore, in this section, I weave Qian's poetic inscription on the scroll into a shared narrative of his time. Analyzing thematically and temporally related works of literature against his inscription sets the scroll as a dynamic site in which relational processes between the scroll and its contemporary viewers come into focus.

As the *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* scroll opens to the left, its beholders first see the painter's own calligraphic inscription (Figure 2, p. 263):[55]

瞻彼南山岑	Gaze at the peak of South Mountain,
白雲何翩翩	How effortlessly the white clouds glide!
下有幽棲人	Below it dwells a recluse,
嘯歌樂徂年	Whistling and singing, he takes delight in the passing of years.

54. There are few extant materials related to Qian Xuan and how his landscapes were received by contemporary viewers in the early Yuan. Even in Tang Hou's *Huajian*, much of which was composed during the author's early residence in Hangzhou, there is no entry that mentions his contemporary Qian Xuan.

55. As much as Qian Xuan's pictorial language was grounded in archaism, with the artist's deliberate hand reviving the brushwork of old masters like Fan Kuan, Li Cheng, Dong Yuan, and Wang Wei, so too was the calligraphic style of his poetic inscription. Scholars have observed that the square-shaped characters in informal-regular style reveal lateral, flat movements, and further that the strokes are individual, reflecting Qian's careful study of the styles of Zhong Yao 鍾繇 (151–230) and Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–741), the pioneering regular-script masters admired by early Yuan literati. See Wen Fong, Beyond Representation, 311. Zhao Mengfu also modeled his small standard script on Zhong Yao. See Shane McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu*, 11–12. While Shih Shou-chien considers the inscription's dominant use of sharp brushstrokes as evidence for an early date, before the fall of the Song (Shih, "Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsüan," 9), Sturman observes that Qian employs sharp strokes to affect a squared and slightly elongated character composition, a style imitative of Ouyang Xun. This was the most popular style used by Qian's contemporary *yimin* literati in the early Yuan, including Zhou Mi and Qiu Yuan. Sturman "Sung Loyalist Calligraphy," 59–102.

叢石映清泚	Clusters of rocks are reflected in the limpid water,
嘉木澹芳妍	[The reflection of] fine trees ripples with fragrant charms.
日月無終極	The sun and moon rise and set endlessly,
陵谷從變遷	Hills and valleys follow vicissitudes.
神襟軼寥廓	The spirit in his chest surpasses the silent vastness,
興寄揮五絃	Entrusting [himself] to his inspiration, he plucks a five-stringed zither.
塵影一以絕	Dust scatters in the wind without a trace,
招隱奚足言	Why does one still need words to be called to a life of reclusion?

Qian devotes most of the lines in the first stanza to describing a sublime waterside mountain dwelling where a recluse leads an unfettered life. This eremitic scene is further aestheticized through Qian's poetic streamlining in the second stanza, which presents the palatable image of the cultured recluse who pursues a life in nature and plays the zither. Qian then introduces the notion of *zhaoyin* 招隱 in the very last line of the poem, which is a key theme in Chinese poetry that has been translated in two opposite ways. While in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Songs of the South*) it originally meant "summoning the recluse back [to court]," later, during the Western Jin 西晉 (265–316), it acquired the meaning of "calling one to a life in reclusion."[56]

What makes Qian's poem particularly intriguing is that the word *zhaoyin* expands "into a series of possible literal meanings—a series of alternations."[57] Following the first stanza, which describes the peaceful repose that reclusion promises, the second stanza invokes a spirited mood that infuses the whole universe. The third and fourth lines portray the unrestricted, magnanimous heart of the zither player-recluse. With the five-stringed zither, he dismisses all worldly thoughts from his mind to achieve a superlative state of being, as evidenced in the penultimate line, "Dust scatters in the wind without a

56. Zornica Kirkova, *Roaming into the Beyond: Representations of Xian Immortality in Early Medieval Chinese Verse* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 117.

57. Andrew Harrison, "Poetic Ambiguity," *Analysis* 23/3 (1963): 55. According to William Empson, "ambiguity, the collapsing of many meanings into one word, or small group of words, is part of the essence of poetry," quoted in Harrison, "Poetic Ambiguity," 54.

trace."[58] This ideal image of the recluse presented in the second stanza may inspire readers to interpret the closing line as an endorsement of the retired lifestyle: "Why does one still need words to be called to a life in reclusion?" This rhetorical question emphasizes that words are not necessary to invite one into reclusion, not only because the abundant natural beauty of the mountain dwelling is irresistible, but also because reclusion in the mountains leads one to spiritual enlightenment.

If, on the other hand, readers construe the first two lines of the second stanza, "The sun and moon rise and set endlessly, Hills and valleys follow vicissitudes," as indicative of the social changes and transformations the recluse experiences, and his playing of the zither as a mollifying action against an unruly state, then the rest of the poem operates differently from the interpretation above. The penultimate line, "Dust scatters in the wind without a trace," would then intimate that all worldly troubles subside afterwards (with the natural passing of time or the recluse's soothing zither music); in other words, the event that drove the recluse into seclusion is now a thing of the past. The reader might then take the closing line as "Why does one still need words to summon the recluse back to the world?" alluding to the advent of a new era in which the recluse could give full scope to his abilities. In Qian's poem, the word *zhaoyin* does not convey a static, fixed meaning but rather presents a certain alternating field to the readers' minds.[59]

Early Yuan readers of Qian's poem would have projected their own image onto the elegant recluse, as they were themselves involuntary recluses of a sort, marginalized from power after the fall of the Song. The poem grants the recluse the specific identity of a five-stringed zither (*wuxian* 五絃) player, an identification evocative of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜.[60] It is said that Emperor Shun invented the five-stringed zither and composed a song called "South Wind" (*Nanfeng* 南風) while playing:

南風之薰兮	The fragrance of the south wind,
可以解吾民之慍兮	Can relieve the hardships of my people.

58. Augustin, following Shih's translation, reads the penultimate line as "To my dusty image–I bid farewell forever." She notes, "Qian thus leaves the boundaries of Song loyalism and becomes a timeless guardian of lost ideas." See Augustin "Modern Views on Old Histories," 68.

59. Harrison observes that poetic ambiguities "have to be read *in toto* and as such they "present" but do not assert what they communicate." See, Harrison, "Poetic Ambiguity," 55.

60. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, "Yueshu" 樂書, in *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 23.1053.

南風之時兮　　The season of the south wind,
可以阜民之財兮　　Can enrich the wealth of my people.[61]

As the emperor plays the song, a breeze blows from the south and ushers in his peaceful and affluent reign. The *wuxian* zither in Qian's poem thus recalls the song of "South Wind" and, by extension, an ideal world regulated by a benevolent ruler. By means of the semantic extension from the *wuxian* player to Emperor Shun, the poem elicits the idea that a song played by the recluse would also invite a positive effect onto the world.

The imagery of the *wuxian* player-recluse also echoes the *yimin* literati's nostalgic lifestyle in Hangzhou during the Southern Song period. Among Chinese musical instruments, the *qin* came to be identified as a vehicle for expressing unmediated artistic ideas and natural talent, and thus the ability to play the instrument was regarded as an immaterial form of cultural capital.[62] These cultural associations remained current in the Song dynasty; it was in the Southern Song period that the Zhe school (*Zhepai* 浙派) of the zither was established in Hangzhou with the confluence of Northern and Southern cultures, which had a significant impact on the development of subsequent playing styles.[63] As documented in Zhou Mi's memoir of Hangzhou, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事, by the Southern Song *qin* performance had become well established as a popular form of entertainment in the West Lake area.[64]

Local literati, imperial relatives, and those who sojourned in Hangzhou held literati gatherings, which were in essence a composite work of art that brought together painting, calligraphy, poetry, and *qin* music into one

61. See Kong Fu 孔鮒, "Nanfeng ge" 南風歌, in *Kong congzi* 孔叢子 (Jinan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), 543. English translation by Jack Wei Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty: On Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2011), 207.

62. For an insightful discussion on the Chinese zither and its socio-cultural meanings, see J. P. Park, "Instrument as Device: Social Consumption of the Qin Zither in Late Ming China (1550–1644)," *Music in Art* 33.1/2 (Spring–Fall 2008): 136–48.

63. The seven-stringed zither was the preferred member of the ancient zither (*guqin* 古琴) family, which also includes the five-stringed zither. See Xu Xiaoying 徐曉英, "Nan Song Lin'an Zhepai de guqin yishu" 南宋臨安浙派的古琴藝術, in *Nan Song jingcheng Hangzhou* 南宋京城杭州, ed. Zhou Xun 周勛 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1985), 210–14.

64. Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 in *Quan Song biji di ba bian* 全宋筆記第八編 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 2:3.37. Also see Xiaolin Duan, *The Rise of West Lake: A Cultural Landmark in the Song Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 28.

harmonious experience. Membership in the network of literati allowed for entry into these gatherings, which soon developed into poetry clubs (*yinshe* 吟社). The scenic beauty of the West Lake area attracted sightseers and moreover provided a source of inspiration to the members of these poetry clubs. As Xiaolin Duan notes, the lake was woven into the fabric of life in Hangzhou both ecologically and culturally, and its natural landscape during the Southern Song took on a significant role in shaping the cultural identity of the state.[65] In the 1260s, Zhou Mi and his associates, including Qiu Yuan and Yang Zan 楊瓚 (also written as 纘), whose daughter was a consort of Emperor Duzong (度宗, r. 1264–1274), organized a poetry club called the "West Lake Poetry Society" (*Xihu cishe* 西湖詞社).[66] The West Lake Poetry Society was the most famous poetry association of the time, about which Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. late 13th c.) wrote: "[It] is composed of officials in the capital and visiting Confucian scholars from all around the country. Their poems, which project mood and feeling, are widely circulated."[67] Yang Zan, a leading member of West Lake Poetry Society, was a renowned zither player of the Zhe school in the late Southern Song.[68] Zhou Mi vividly recorded one of their gatherings:

> In the summer of the year of *jiazi* (1264), Xiaweng [Yang Zan] met friends of the poetry club at Huanbi Garden near West Lake to escape the heat. With zithers, wine cups, brushes, and inkstones, wearing shorts made of burlap and kerchiefs made of sackcloth, we set out on a boat amid deep lotuses and thick willows. The shadows of dances and the dust of songs were kept away from our eyes and ears. Drinking to our hearts' content and collecting lotus leaves, we searched for themes and composed poems.[69]
>
> 甲子夏，霞翁會吟社諸友，逃暑於西湖之環碧。琴尊筆研，短葛練巾，放舟於荷深柳密間。舞影歌塵，遠謝耳目。酒酣，採蓮葉，探題賦詞。

65. For an in-depth study of the socio-cultural history of West Lake during the Southern Song, see Duan, *The Rise of the West Lake*.

66. See Chen Xiaohui 陳小輝, "Yang Zan, Zhou Mi yinshe yanjiu zonglun" 楊纘、周密吟社研究綜論, *Mudanjiang daxue xuebao* 牡丹江大學學報 2 (2015): 39–41.

67. Duan, *The Rise of the West Lake*, 86.

68. For Yang Zan's biography, see Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖會寶鑒, in *ZGSHQS*, 2:4.875.

69. Zhou Mi's preface to his "Cailu yin" 採綠吟, in *Pingzhou yudi pu*, 1.20; revised translation based on Duan, *The Rise of the West Lake*, 86.

For leading elites of Southern Song culture and politics, reclusion was a state of mind rather than a physical withdrawal to secluded mountains and ravines. Clothing themselves in the personas of historical recluses, they enjoyed high culture and leisure at West Lake, which served as an immensely attractive venue for their artistic activities and social gatherings.[70]

Qian Xuan's poem affixed to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* provides a particular prism that refracts the world of the recluse into the relatable experiences of early Yuan readers. It would elicit in them a sense of longing for the lost glory that once flourished in the familiar landscape in and around Hangzhou. *Yimin* literati would also find self-sublimated images of escape and solace in the perfected *wuxian* player-recluse. Through the play of poetic ambiguity that collapses more than one meaning into the word *zhaoyin*, Qian's scroll functions as a mechanism that alternates between the ideal and the real, and between past and present. Along with Qian's pictorial rendering of sublime mountains removed from the ills of the present, his poetic imagery offers an appealing image of a life in reclusion to readers; alternately, his poetic language holds onto a faint hope of being summoned out of reclusion.

Qian Xuan's utopian vision projected in the pictorial image and the poem of *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* is distinct from the artistic tones inherent in his other works. To understand this aberration, we now examine selected paintings under Qian's name and their accompanying poems within a broad spectrum of Song loyalism from about 1280 to 1310.[71] As the intensity of Song loyalty became attenuated with the passage of time and through varying social circumstances, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* imparted new pictorial and verbal conceptions.

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70. Alan Berkowitz makes a distinction between substantive reclusion that renounces action in the world and abstract, nominal reclusion that plays a role in every facet of life, including philosophical trends, art and literature, and appreciation of the natural world. See Alan Berkowitz, "Entelechy in the Ethos of Reclusion in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 4 (1994): 632–38. Sturman calls the utilization of the voice of reclusion as a philosophical and social claim the "rhetoric of reclusion." See Sturman, "The Art of Reclusion," in *The Artful Recluse: Painting, Poetry, and Politics in 17th-Century China*, 21–49.

71. In her study of Song loyalists, Jennifer W. Jay urges us to understand Song loyalism "in terms of a spectrum of relative rather than absolute values." Jennifer W. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*, xi.

Song Yimin *and Qian Xuan's Pictorial and Poetic Languages*

As informed by the Yuan colophons to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, this scroll was circulated and appreciated by literate elites in Jiangnan, including the early Yuan members of the poetry club, who had played an active role in the resplendent culture of Hangzhou in the late Southern Song. To them, the fall of the Southern Song dynasty came as an immense personal and collective trauma. Beginning in 1278, Song imperial tombs were looted by the Yuan court-appointed Central Asian monk Byaṅ-sprin (Yanglian Zhenjia 楊璉眞伽), and the remains of emperors and empresses were mutilated and displayed in public.[72] The trauma of foreign conquest and dynastic change dominated the narrative of the late thirteenth century among remnant subjects of the deceased dynasty. Former members of West Lake Poetry Society, including Zhou Mi and Qiu Yuan, joined a group of poets in composing *ci* 詞 poems that mourned the fallen dynasty and the "incident of the imperial tombs" in particular. These poems were later compiled in an anthology titled *Yuefu buti* 樂府補題 (*New Subjects for Lyric Songs*), which is comprised of a total of thirty-seven *yongwu ci* 詠物詞 (song lyrics on small natural objects) by fourteen poets.[73] Divided into five groups, the poets composed on five objects–ambergris perfume, white lotus, water shield, cicada, and crab. In such *yongwu ci*, poets became observers of phenomena in nature; rather than relating their own experiences or historical events, they conveyed their thoughts and meaning indirectly, through symbol and allegory.[74] Using poetic imagery as a medium, the loyalist poets projected the complexity of their inner mental states as they confronted the

72. Regarding the demise of the Southern Song and the poetry of Song loyalists, see Michael A. Fuller, "An Inner Compass: The Poetry of Experience at Dynasty's End," in *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 458–94.

73. For *Yuefu buti*, see Huang Zhaoxian 黃兆顯, *Yuefu buti yanjiu ji jianzhu* 樂府補題研究及箋注 (Hong Kong: Hokman Publications, 1975); Kang-I Sun Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings in the Yüeh-fu pu-t'i Poem Series," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1986): 353–85; and Eugene Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada: Problems of Historical Interpretation of Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 37: *Current Direction in Yuan Painting* (2009): 176–94.

74. Regarding *yongwu ci*, see Shuen-Fu Lin, "Ci Poetry: Long Song Lyrics on Objects (*Yongwu Ci*)," in *How to Read Chinese Poetry*, ed. Zong-qi Cai (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 286–307.

Figure 13. After Qian Xuan, *Pear Blossoms* 梨花圖, undated. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 31.3 × 96.2 cm. Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

tragic demise of the Song. Although no historical materials specify that Qian Xuan was closely associated with cultural luminaries and loyalist poets in Hangzhou in his lifetime, Qian's poetic and painterly languages in the early years of the Yuan were in tune with those of the loyalist poets of the *Yuefu buti*. This is probably not only because Qian harbored loyalist sentiment as a remnant subject of the Song, but also because his bird-and-flower paintings that dealt with sensuous and romantic subject matters were specifically geared to audiences in southeast China who shared a collective memory of Southern Song culture.

A prime example that reflects Qian's early style is *Pear Blossoms* (*Lihua tu* 梨花圖), which although attributed to Qian Xuan was likely created by one of Qian's followers (Figure 13).[75] With unassuming outlines and delicate colors, it displays enough of Qian's style to qualify as a reliable copy of a lost Qian Xuan in the fine style of the Imperial Academy masters.[76] The anonymous painter presents an image of pear blossoms that also appears in Zhou Mi's poem on the white lotus theme in the *Yuefu buti*. Placed in the center against a void background, the subject is rendered with highly naturalistic accuracy and is the only thing in focus, with the result that the image appears as an

75. For the first profound study on this painting in relation to Song *yongwu ci* poetry, see Harrist, "Ch'ien Hsüan's Pear Blossoms," 52–70.

76. Sturman observes subtle variations in Qian's calligraphy, as when his brushstroke is blunter in *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, or sharper in *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*. Sturman, "Sung Loyalist Calligraphy," 77–78. Even given those variations, in *Pear Blossoms* the characters are written with more artful care–many of the long vertical strokes being much more sharply delineated (e.g., the characters "*shun*" 舜 and "*ju*" 舉), and the character compositions far more elongated—than those of Qian's original calligraphy.

aniconic portrait. On the left is the painter's seven-character poem suffused with abstract ideas and anthropomorphic imagery:

寂寞闌干淚滿枝　The lonely tear-stained face, teardrops drenching the branches,
洗粧猶帶舊風姿　Though washed of makeup, her old charms remain.
閉門夜雨空愁思　Behind the closed gate, on a rainy night, vainly sorrowing,
不似金波欲暗時　How differently she looked bathed in golden waves of moonlight, before darkness fell.

Old Man of the Zha Stream, Qian Xuan, Shunju.[77]
霅谿翁錢選舜舉

The poem mentions neither its title nor the object, pear blossoms, as if following the generic rule of *yongwu ci* that poets should not name the object in the text of the poem.[78] In *Pear Blossoms*, the painted image of white flowers replaces a written title, tightly knitting the relationship between the painter's words and image. Through the deliberate poetic device of personification, the image of the pear blossoms turns into a heartsore court lady in confinement and further elicits for literary audiences a line from the famous narrative poem, "Changhen ge" 長恨歌, by the Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846): "A branch of pear blossoms drenched in the spring rain."[79] This line uses pear blossoms as a metaphor for Emperor Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 712–756) beloved concubine, Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756), who had been executed and now appeared before the emperor as a plaintive spirit.[80] What is striking

77. Translation by Harrist, 64.

78. In the *Yuefu buti*, the poems in a certain series bear a subtitle, such as "In the Mountain House at Fucui 浮翠山房 we celebrate the White Lotus." See Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings," 362.

79. 梨花一枝春帶雨. Bai Juyi 白居易, "Chang hen ge" 長恨歌, in *Bai Juyi ji*, 239. Translation in Harrist, "Ch'ien Hsüan's Pear Blossoms," 64.

80. Zhou Mi's poem on the white lotus theme in the *Yuefu buti* also uses the image of pear blossoms, equating the flowers with Yang Guifei, who in turn symbolizes his lost dynasty. Kang-I Sun Chang observes that the *Yuefu buti* poems deal with one thing by means of another, and that the vehicle for allegory rests on the relation between the poetic images and a shared external structure. She calls this type of allegory, "imagistic allegory." See Chang, "Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings," 372–79.

about Qian's poem is that the description of the flowers in an external world is no longer purely descriptive; with the historical underpinnings, the flowers become an imagistic allegory through which the poet alludes to his inner feelings as a witness of tragic beauty. Qian's contemporary Yuan beholders of *Pear Blossoms* would become mourners of the beauty and, furthermore, the bereaved of their lost Song dynasty.

The trauma of foreign conquest and dynastic change dominates the narrative of the very first years of the Yuan dynasty both in literary and visual arts.[81] As seen in *Pear Blossoms*, the poetic language of Qian Xuan's bird-and-flower paintings is suffused with imagistic suggestiveness that demands a multilayered interpretation, such as that established by his contemporary loyalist poets in the *Yuefu buti*.[82]

In a couple of decades, however, this dramatic change was relegated to a historical footnote. While the capital of the Mongol regime was located in the north, local indigenous elites residing in the old capital of the Southern Song lived as semi-recluses in their hometowns, working hard to make a living and refocusing their emotional energies on art and literature. This new atmosphere is reflected in another painting attributed to Qian Xuan, *Autumn Melon* (*Qiugua tu* 秋瓜圖) (Figure 14), which shows a visual affinity with *Pear Blossoms* in its unassuming use of muted colors and fine outlines.[83] On the top of the painting, the artist's accompanying inscription reads:

金流石爍汗如雨　　[Extreme heat makes] metals flow and
stones melt, my sweat pouring like rain,

81. See Jennifer W. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*; and Yu Hui 余輝, "Yimin yishi yu Nan Song yimin huihua" 遺民意識與南宋遺民繪畫, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 4 (1994): 50–68.

82. In addition to *Pear Blossoms*, another painting under Qian's name, *White Lotus*, which was excavated from the tomb of the Ming prince Zhu Tan 朱檀 (d. 1389), shares a level of allusion and allegory with the *Yuefu buti* lyrics on the white lotus theme. Regarding *White Lotus*, see Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 149–53; Jan Fontein and Tung Wu, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), 235–37; and Shandong Provincial Museum, "Fajue Ming Zhu Tan mu jishi" 發掘明朱檀墓紀實, *Wenwu* 文物 5 (1972): 25–37.

83. Regarding this work, see Wang Jingling 王靜靈, "'Qiugua tu' yu Qian Xuan de zhiye hua"〈秋瓜圖〉與錢選的職業畫, *Gugong wenwu* 故宮文物 3 (2005): 4–15. Wang regards *Autumn Melon* as an authentic painting by Qian Xuan; however, in terms of the calligraphic style of the inscription, the arrangement of horizontal strokes are much looser than that of Qian's original works, and the first four strokes of the character *xing* 興 are not simplified into two short vertical strokes, as seen in his original calligraphy.

削入冰盤氣似秋　[I] slice [a melon] and put it on an ice tray, and it feels like autumn.
寫向小窗醒醉目　[With the melon] brought to the small window, my drunken eyes have sobered up.
東陵閑說故秦侯　[Recalling] Dongling, [we] leisurely talk about the former Marquis of Qin.

Wuxing, Qian Xuan, Shunju.
吳興錢選舜舉

Like the poem accompanying *Pear Blossoms*, this poem omits a direct indication of its object in the text, a melon; instead, the artist's pictorial language painstakingly depicts a ripening melon, its leaves turning yellow with the coming of autumn. The narrator in the poem gazes out the window and thinks of Shao Ping 邵平 (fl. third c. BCE), who was the Marquis of Dongling during the Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). After the fall of the Qin, the marquis refused to serve the new dynasty and made a living by planting and selling melons outside the east gate of Chang'an.[84] The life of this former marquis who fell on hard times echoes the life of remnant subjects of the Southern Song such as Qian Xuan, who was once nominated by his prefect to participate in the regular civil service recruitment examinations (*xianggong jinshi* 鄉貢進士) in the Southern Song, but who later became a professional painter forced to sell his paintings for living.[85] With the clear reference to the Marquis of Dongling, the poem encourages its contemporary viewers to interpret the painted melons as a metaphor for Shao Ping, or, more specifically, a metonym for the social slippage of Song *yimin* themselves. Melons also represent the materialized virtue of the loyalist-recluse living an unfettered life in communion with nature who succeeded in growing melons that became a favorite of the people.

In this painting, Qian has "virtually" grown a melon using his brush. Painted in the format of a hanging scroll, *Autumn Melon* features a profuse array of melon vines growing among weeds in the bottom half of the composition. The plump melon in dark green is solidly placed on the ground, close to the

84. For the biography of Shao Ping, see Sima Qian 司馬遷, "Xiao xiangguo shijia" 蕭相國世家, *Shiji*, 53.1614.

85. Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui baojian*, *juan* 5, in *ZGSHQS* 2:885. Shih notes that many traditional biographies record that Qian had received a *jinshi* 進士 (Metropolitan Graduate) degree; Shih, 9–10. Regarding *jinshi* and *xianggong jinshi*, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 167 and 232, respectively.

viewer, whereas the leaves and vines in various hues of green and yellow turn and twist up into the imagined depths of the picture surface. While the poem on *Autumn Melon* evokes the pathetically heroic code of compassion, pathos, and solitariness, the poetic voice is serene and subdued when compared to that of *Pear Blossoms*. Both the pictorial and poetic images in *Autumn Melon* are deeply enmeshed with the communal narrative of *yimin* suffering social disorientation after the dynastic turn, which makes *Autumn Melon* an autobiographical piece of the artist and his contemporary viewers.

Figure 14. After Qian Xuan, *Autumn Melon* 秋瓜圖, undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 63.1 × 30 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei, Republic of China. https://theme.npm.edu.tw/opendata/DigitImageSets.aspx?sNo=04019310

As a decade passed after the Song's demise, the uncompromising loyalty of subjects devoted to the former dynasty started to mellow, although they, still labeled as Southerners, remained in a state of semi-retreat due to the abolishment of the civil service examinations; otherwise, in very rare cases, they were offered appointments directly from the Yuan government. The renowned Song clansman, Zhao Mengfu, accepted an office in the Yuan government in 1287.[86]

86. Regarding Zhao Mengfu's early career as a Yuan official, see McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu*, 37–43.

How did Qian Xuan respond to this change of heart, this adaptation of Song loyalists to Yuan rule? Regarding this question, it is worth discussing a little known but significant painting attributed to Qian Xuan, *Young Nobleman of Wuling Holding a Bow* (*Wuling gongzi xietan tu* 五陵公子挾彈圖) housed in the British Museum (Figure 15, p. 259).[87] According to the inscription, written in 1290, Qian painted this picture as a metaphorical portrait of Zhao Mengfu:[88]

五陵年少動經過	A young man at Wuling is energetic and restless,
白馬金鞍逸興多	Astride a white steed with a golden saddle, [his] free whims are many.
挾彈呼鷹鷹不至	Holding his bow he calls to orioles, but no oriole comes,
長楸落日奈春何	Among tall catalpa trees at sunset, what is to be done about spring?

> To the right is a picture of *Young Nobleman of Wuling Holding a Bow*. This is modeled on [the portrait of] *Junior Minister Zi'ang* [Zhao Mengfu]; I have therefore pictured him. On the twenty-first day in the tenth month of the twenty-seventh year of Zhiyuan (1290), I happened to paint this for Mr. Mei of Jiangyin. Wuxing, Qian Xuan, Shunju.[89]
>
> 右題五陵公子挾彈圖。此子昂郎中本，余因圖之，至元二十七年十月廿一日，爲江陰梅君遇作。吳興錢選舜舉。

Distinct from Qian's other paintings discussed in this study, *Young Nobleman Holding a Bow* is addressed to an unidentified recipient, Mr. Mei of Jiangyin, Jiangsu. This painting portrays Zhao Mengfu in the guise of a noble

87. The white horse and its Tang-style harness in *Young Nobleman of Wuling Holding a Bow* shows an affinity with the Freer Gallery's *Consort Yang Mounting a Horse*, also attributed to Qian Xuan. McCausland indicates that Qian's horse suggests a debt to the Tang model as seen in "the extremely delicate outline of the horse's figure, and the geometric arcs of his hind quarters, belly and saddle flap." For a full treatment of *Young Nobleman Holding a Bow*, see McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu*, 131–35.

88. The calligraphy of *Young Nobleman Holding a Bow* betrays some characteristics rarely seen in Qian's works, and the character compositions appear less articulated. For instance, the end tips of some long vertical strokes are sharply delineated (e.g., the characters *shun* 舜 and *ju* 舉); some long vertical strokes are substantially bent toward the left (e.g., the characters *zhong* 中 and *shi* 十); and the hook in the vertical hook stroke of the character *he* 何 is not articulated.

89. Revised translation based on McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu*, 131.

youth of Wuling (Wuling *nianshao* 五陵年少) in an antiquarian mode. Wuling *nianshao* refers to aristocratic young men at Wuling, the five tumuli of the Han emperors near Chang'an. They are often portrayed as enjoying a luxurious life free from worldly cares and frequenting pleasure quarters, their ingenuous spirit and charm depicted with balmy springtime as a backdrop. In the Tang dynasty, the image of the Wuling *nianshao* was enriched by he social environment in which the government enacted the mercenary recruiting (*mubing* 募兵) system to increase the supply of soldiers for military campaigns. In a group of poems under the title "Songs of the Youths" (*Shaonian xing* 少年行), renowned Tang poets such as Wang Wei, Li Bai 李白 (701–762), and Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) often depicted the heroic, unrestrained spirit of young knights.[90]

As Shane McCausland aptly points out, Qian Xuan seems to subtly criticize the imperial heritage that enabled Zhao to receive a post in the Yuan court.[91] The man in non-martial attire riding on the lavishly harnessed horse holds a bow in his right hand as if emphasizing his identity as a knight-errant. Instead of having a hunting falcon perched upon his arm, which would be protected by a rough leather guantlet, the young man, smiling enigmatically, calls up an oriole on his fair, bare forearm with the sleeve rolled up. As the springtime bird with golden-hued plumage and liquid voice calls its mate to nest, the sense of togetherness conveyed by the oriole led to its frequent use in poetry as a symbol of a young woman or man. Paired with the painterly image, the poetic language also subtly derides the young man who has failed to attract an oriole. The last line portrays the protagonist in an undesirable situation: although he has delicately adorned himself as a knight errant, he is left alone at sunset. Through this metaphorical portrait, Zhao is represented as a privileged, unsophisticated youth rather than a virtuous scholar endowed with intelligence and modesty. The portrait was probably created as an eloquent mockery of men such as Zhao Mengfu, who looked to rise in the new world order after the Song's demise.

Another undated landscape scroll by Qian Xuan, *Mountain Dwelling* (Figure

90. For example, see Li Bai 李白, "Shaonian xing er shou" 少年行二首, in *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 341–2; translation in Stephen *Owen*, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry*, *The High Tang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 130; and Du Fu 杜甫, "Shaonian xing er shou" 少年行二首, in *The Poetry of Du Fu*, trans. Stephen Owen (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 56–9. .

91. McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu*, 131–35.

5, p. 257), provides a meaningful comparison to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* as the painting shares its theme of reclusion. The first three paintings discussed above exhibit neat, unassuming outlines and delicate color washes, whereas here Qian uses crisp outlines in ink and applies the archaistic blue-and-green decorative coloring in constructing the natural setting. Following the sparsely occupied first section of the scroll, towering mountains host thatched huts nestled among the trees. The expanse of water surrounding the mountains limits entry to the dwellings; the only path, obscured by trees and rocky outcrops, connects to a small bridge that leads to a landmass in the foreground at the end of the scroll. While the poetic voices presented in the previous paintings are charged with anguish, melancholy, and subtle sarcasm, respectively, the poem accompanying *Mountain Dwelling* conveys a sense of calm detachment and the poet's conviction about reclusion:

山居惟愛靜　Living in the mountains, I only love serenity,
日午掩柴門　Midday, I close the brushwood gate.
寡合人多忌　People have aversions to the unsocial person,
無求道自尊　As I seek nothing, the Way heightens itself.
鷃鵬俱有志　A quail and a Peng bird both have their aspirations,
蘭艾不同根　Orchids and mugworts have different roots.
安得蒙莊叟　How can I get hold of Elder Meng Zhuang [Zhuang Zhou]
相逢與細論　to meet with him and discuss in detail?

Wuxing Qian Xuan Shunju, painted and inscribed.
吳興錢選舜舉畫並題

While admitting that this seclusive stance does not sit well with worldly society, Qian believes that casting aside social commitment to pursue naturalness in serene anonymity leads to a solitary path of self-cultivation. He voices the existential superiority of recluses, noting that there exists a fundamental difference between noble men of virtue (referred to as fragrant orchids and a gigantic Peng bird) and mediocre individuals (useless mugworts and a tiny quail).[92] Around the time Qian Xuan created *Mountain Dwelling*, probably

92. For the allegorical tradition of the Peng bird and the quail, see Zhuangzi 莊子 (fl. 4th c. BCE), "Xiaoyao you" 逍遙遊. For an English translation, see Zhuangzi, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 64. For the

after the fall of the Song dynasty, reclusion became a lived reality for remnant subjects, rather than an exercise in rhetoric or a mere posture. Qian's paintings in the mode of this scroll would have become increasingly appealing to contemporaries who faced the prospect of being forced into reclusion and who wished to envelop themselves in the moral and spiritual supremacy of great historical recluses for self-justification.

In contrast to the four paintings discussed above, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* displays the bold eclecticism of diverse anachronistic modes and Qian's self–effacing voice that lacks an assertive authorial presence. With little melancholy and anguish, formerly evoked via images of small, natural objects, Qian's engagement with the seclusionist ideal represented by the exquisite portrayal of a mountain dwelling mirrors the changed social and cultural atmosphere of his time in the early Yuan. On the one hand, the pathetic, devastated, or even violent tone were inherent in art and literature during the first few decades following the fall of the Song lingered, as seen in works by *yimin* painters, such as Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318) and Gong Kai 龔開 (1222–1307) (Figures 16, p. 259, and 17, p. 260); but on the other hand, their poignant voice and choreographed emoting started to give way to the new sensibility found in Qian Xuan's *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*.[93]

Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains possesses pictorial and verbal cognitive languages shared by both the artist and his contemporary audience, and it exemplifies the way in which the new early Yuan pathos was pictured and narrated. Qian's pictorial language displays a measured workmanship without traces of an expressionistic brush, resulting in a calm and refined veneer that refrains from exhibiting emotion.[94] Qian is punctilious in his attention to the revival of old masters' methods as well as to the verisimilitude color effects of a mountain mass that would exist in nature. Likewise, Qian's written language on the tranquil landscape retains a self-effacing voice, rather than an assertive

orchid and the mugwort, see Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340–278 BCE), "Li sao" 離騷. For an English translation, see Qu Yuan et al., *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems*, trans. Arthur Waley (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 76.

93. Both Zheng Sixiao and Gong Kai contributed to the self-conscious construction of loyalist identity in the early Yuan by using the ubiquitous tropes of orchids and horses, respectively. Regarding paintings created during the Song-Yuan transitional era, see Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 142–169; and Xu Hui 徐輝, "Yimin yishi yu Nan Song huihua" 遺民意識與南宋遺民繪畫, *Palace Museum Journal* 4 (1994): 50–68.

94. Eugene Wang explores how changing pictorial conceptions in the Yuan generated a different way of conveying pathos. See Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada," 176–94.

authorial presence, that composedly observes a zither player-recluse. Guided by Qian's poetic dictation, readers are invited to journey to the world of a recluse who is in tune with the rhythms of nature and in accordance with the Way, only to find their own image cast in the recluse. Rather than evoking melancholy and self-pity, as in *Pear Blossoms* and *Autumn Melon*, Qian Xuan's language diverts his audience's attention away from their unruly reality and into another realm. As the Yuan scholar Zhao Pang 趙汸 (1319–1369) notes, probably regarding Qian's later poetry style such as that found in *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains*, "Mr. Qian['s poetry] is unconstrained, easy and honest, and his tone is elegant and relaxed, without any hint of indignation or discontent."[95] Seemingly ironic in the absence of any feeling of grievance or indignation towards the fall of the dynasty, the ideal lifestyle presented in the poem suggests the decidedly detached stance of a utopian alternative world.

Having undergone the political ills and social trauma of the dynasty's collapse, but having subsequently removed themselves from it, many elites struggled to master their unruly situation. One way to transcend their unwelcome reality was by creating another order of existence so that they could be absorbed into an alternate realm. Marginalized from politics and power as remnant subjects of the Southern Song, early Yuan literati had little choice but to adopt the unfettered lifestyles of various exemplary recluses throughout history. Accordingly, the recluse-*wuxian* player in Qian Xuan's poem would appear not to be merely confined to a literary, fictive character turning his back on the world; early Yuan readers of the poem would find in the recluse their own self-image, or the sublimation of it—that is, the virtue of a culturally refined but unassuming self. As the recluse invited peace by playing the five-stringed zither, so scholars bided their time with hopes for better days while devoting themselves to art, music, and literature. Especially for Southerners who remembered their past selves as poet-scholars in the environs of Hangzhou, Qian Xuan's pictorial and poetic languages would surely have rekindled memories of an elegant lifestyle lived not so long ago. The natural beauty of Jiangnan, where they were being rooted, was transformed into a nostalgic symbol of a bygone era.

95. 錢公跌宕眞率,格力優暇,無怨憤不平之意. Zhao Pang 趙汸 (1319–1369), *Dongshan cungao* 東山存稿, 2.55b, in *SKQS* 1221:210; revised translation based on Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada," 187.

What Does Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains *Want?*

This study began by liberating *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* from its widely accepted title, which limited it to a self-contained imagistic object and fed the mythology of Qian Xuan within the hagiographic narratives of Song loyalism. Early in the article, I suggested modifying the typical query "What does the painting mean?" to "What does the painting do?" Through an investigation of intertextual relationships among the scroll, its paratexts, and other literary and pictorial works, I explored how the mechanisms of Qian's art operated both visually and verbally to elicit certain responses from its original beholders and affect their emotions within the social setting in Hangzhou and its environs during the Song-Yuan transition. In this last section of the article, I move beyond the question "What does the painting *do*?" and ask "What does the painting *want*?" in order to present the painting as a more independent, self–directed agent as well as consider the actual relationality among the scroll, its contemporary beholders, and their social milieu.[96] In other words, I ask: "What is the target of the aspiration posed by the scroll?" This question further invites the query: "What is the area of oblivion the painting attempts to erase at the cost of its desire?"

By the time Qian Xuan created *Young Nobleman Holding a Bow* in 1290, it was extremely rare for Southerners to serve the Yuan in official capacities, not only because of their own reluctance to collaborate with the foreign regime, but also because of the Yuan system of ethnic quotas which placed limits on the service of Southerners in public offices. Zhao Mengfu's recruitment into the notoriously difficult Yuan bureaucracy in 1287 was an exceptional case. However, a decade later, around the time of Zhou Mi's death in 1298, many associates in Zhou's circle, including Qiu Yuan, began to serve the Yuan due to poverty or for other reasons.[97] Acknowledging the complexity of their situation,

96. Mitchell notes that the shift of the question from what pictures do to what they want "helps open up the actual dialectics of power and desire in the relationality of image and beholder." Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want?*, 34.

97. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*, 241; Chou, "Reexamination of Tang Hou and his *Huajian*," 17; and Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*, 490–91. Yuan rulers repeatedly issued decrees to recruit well-respected scholars before the restoration of the civil examination recruitment system, and this official recruiting system continued even after the restoration. Regarding official recruitment in Yuan China, see Tomoyasu Iiyama, "A Career between Two Cultures: Guo Yu, a Chinese Literatus in the Yuan Bureaucracy," *JSYS* 44 (2014): 471–501; Yuan-Chu Lam, "The Civil-Recruitment Chapter in the Yuan History," *Monumenta Serica* 56 (2008): 293–372; Sakurai

the committed former loyalists demonstrated that the term *zhaoyin* could alternate between two precisely opposite meanings by reconciling themselves with foreign rule: after being drawn into seclusion with the fall of the Song, the *yimin* recluses were summoned back into the world to reestablish their careers.

In 1313, the Yuan government reinstated the civil examination recruitment system that had been abolished since the fall of the Song. Qualified candidates, including Southerners, were finally able to devote their energies to long-awaited career opportunities, which would save them from their peripheral political status and help to alleviate their poverty. They had little room to continue mourning and yearning for their lost past. Regarding this new turn, which helped decrease the feelings of anxiety and disorientation among educated men, the Yuan writer Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274–1344) noted: "Scholars flock to give up their mourning and resentment, and are inclined toward peacefulness, induced by the benefits of the [restored] examination recruitment."[98]

Despite the popularity of Qian's paintings among local elites in the West Lake area, who retained the glorious memory of Hangzhou during the Southern Song, I do not claim that *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* is a portrayal of a specific, identifiable site, as is *West Lake* (*Xihu tu* 西湖圖), attributed to the Southern Song master Li Song 李嵩 (fl. 13th c.) (Figure 18, p. 260). Rather, Qian's world as depicted in the scroll may represent a realm situated midway between the familiarity of mountainous waterside landscapes in Jiangnan and the utopianism couched in the literary and pictorial rhetoric of pathos that trivialized the traumatic past in the beholders' minds. Combined with fond reminiscences tied to the past glory of the deceased dynasty, this new domain, created through a process of aesthetic transfiguration and sublimation, would be inviting to dispossessed Yuan literati who did not abandon their longing for a better future. In that future, virtuous men of letters who once withdrew from the unruly world would be warmly hailed by a better society, which is in fact the original meaning of *zhaoyin*, "inviting the hermit out of reclusion to serve the world." Hence, the last line of Qian Xuan's poem on

Satomi 櫻井智美, "Gendai shūken'in no setsuritsu" 元代集賢殿の設立, *Shilin* 史林 3 (2000): 457–85; and Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 29–37.

98. 學者復靡然棄哀怨而趨和平, 科舉之利誘之也. Jie Xisi, *Wen'an Ji* 文安集, 8.1b, in *SKQS* 1208:211; revised translation based on Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada," 191.

Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains may have inclined some aspiring *yimin* viewers to settle on this meaning of *zhaoyin* and read the line as "Why does one still need words to summon the recluse [to court]?"

Part of what makes Qian Xuan's scroll such a representative piece of his time are the implicit acknowledgments it wants to incorporate: a sense of historical realities that resonates with post-conquest socio-political milieus and the desires of its contemporary beholders. The shared experiences of violence and discrimination that connected the Yuan *yimin* community in Jiangnan helped to slowly build a collective identity, motivating art and literature shared by the dispossessed. The connective tissue of the insular community began to loosen around the time when *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* was created. With aspirations to take advantage of the career opportunities offered by the foreign empire, literate men, regardless of their political and ethnic affiliations, would volunteer to naturalize themselves as subjects of the "now-legitimate" Yuan. In line with this cosmopolitan direction, Qian's scroll may want to anesthetize its beholders from the negativity of the past by diverting them with its innocuous visual and verbal languages. It also tolerates, if not embraces, their desire to join the subcelestial realm (*tianxia* 天下), or the realm left to the newly installed Yuan empire to govern on behalf of Heaven.[99]

99. Regarding the concept of *tianxia*, see Zhao Tingyang, "All Under Heaven and Methodological Relationism: An Old Story and New World Peace," in *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, eds. F. Dallmayr and T. Zhao (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 46–66; and Zhao Tingyang, *All Under Heaven: The Tianxia System for a Possible World Order* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021).

Figure 1. Qian Xuan 錢選 (ca. 1235–before 1307), *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* 浮玉山居圖, undated. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 29.6 × 98.7 cm. Shanghai Museum, Shanghai, China.

Figure 3. Colophons to *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* by Yuan writers; from right to left, top to bottom: Qiu Yuan 仇遠, Zhang Yu 張雨, Huang Gongwang 黃公望, Gu Ying 顧瑛, Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐, Fanqi 梵琦, and Ni Zan 倪瓚, from *Jin Tang Song Yuan shuhua guobao teji* 晉唐宋元書畫國寶特集 (2002), reproduced by permission of the Shanghai Museum.

Figure 4. Qian Xuan, *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* 王羲之觀鵝圖, undated. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.2 × 92.7 cm. Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/40081.

Figure 5. Qian Xuan, *Mountain Dwelling* 山居圖, undated. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 26.5 × 113.6 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing, China.

Figure 9. Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* 鵲華秋色圖, dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 28.4 × 93.2 cm. CC BY National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China. https://theme.npm.edu.tw/opendata/DigitImageSets.aspx?sNo=04015185

Figure 12. Chen Ruyan 陳汝言 (ca. 1331–1371), *Mountains of the Immortals* 仙山圖, before 1371. Handscroll scroll, ink and color on silk, 33.5 × 98cm. Image CC Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1997.95

Figure 15. After Qian Xuan, *Young Nobleman of Wuling Holding a Bow* 五陵公子挾彈圖, 1290. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 30.5 × 76 cm. British Museum, London, The United Kingdom.

Figure 16. Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318), *Ink Orchid* 墨蘭圖, dated 1306. Handscroll, ink on paper, 25.7 × 42.4 cm. Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts, Abe Collection, Osaka, Japan.

Figure 17. Gong Kai 龔開 (1222–1307), *Noble Horse* 駿骨圖, undated. Handscroll, ink on paper, 29.9 × 56.9 cm. Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts, Abe Collection, Osaka, Japan.

Figure 18. Attributed to Li Song 李嵩 (fl. 13th century), *West Lake* 西湖圖, undated. Handscroll, ink on paper, 27.0 × 80.7 cm. Shanghai Museum, Shanghai, China.