
A Genuine Gift?:

Context, Provenance and Authenticity Issues of Dong Qichang's *After Mi Youren's "Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers"* in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin

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abstract

This paper discusses the handscroll “After Mi Youren’s ‘Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers’” 仿小米瀟湘奇境圖, now preserved in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. The scroll in its current condition consists of a painting by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), and three colophons: one by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639), another by Wang Wenzhi 王文治 (1730-1802), and the other by Dong himself. Using Celia Carrington Riely’s research on the scroll’s background as a starting point alongside the aid of further literary records and visual materials, this paper explores the context surrounding the creation of Dong Qichang’s painting, and proposes a new dating — from the traditional dating of circa 1615 to one of circa 1608 instead. This paper offers a more detailed account of the scroll’s provenance and dives into the history of its collectors. The scroll is not only a revered Dong Qichang painting, but also a testament to the friendship and shared artistic appreciation of two generations of prominent collectors in Dong Qichang’s circle, as well as later ones. Verifiable records aside, the issue of authenticity in this scroll is particularly complex and is a matter of concern throughout this investigation.

Introduction

The handscroll in question currently resides in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. The museum acquired the scroll in 1988 from the Mochan Shanzhuang, Swiss collector Franco Vannotti’s (1910-?) collection of Chinese paintings and calligraphy. The scroll in its current condition consists of a painting by Dong Qichang (1555-1636), and three colophons: one by Chen Jiru (1558-1639), one by Wang Wenzhi (1730-1802), one by Dong

himself. The painting (fig. 1), measuring 108 cm in length and 19 cm in height, is executed with ink on paper. It depicts a water landscape with misty mountains and islets covered by trees.

The painting showcases an interpretation of the so-called Mi-family style, as seen in the depiction of the background mountains. Also demonstrated is a variation of the iconic hemp-fiber texture stroke on the earthy riverbanks and hill-formed islets in the foreground and middle ground. In regards to stylistic models, Chen Jiru — scholar,

calligrapher, and close friend of Dong Qichang — made a keen observation in his colophon (fig. 2)¹, stating that Dong Qichang had combined the styles of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* and Zhao Mengfu's *Water Village* in his painting.² Both masterpieces had been part of Dong Qichang's own collection, and use compositions of mountains and islets as well as certain brushworks highly comparable with the Berlin scroll. Dong Qichang himself also mentions the Mi style (which is most prominently featured in the background mountains) in the painting's inscription. The execution of the painting's mist-like effect, however, is that of a typical Dong Qichang technique, with stylized and accentuated forms. Wai-kam Ho and Dawn Ho Delbanco describe the technique as “form with empty spatial pockets”, which creates an impression of visual flexibility in the painting.³

The most extensive existing study concerning the Berlin scroll is Claudia Woschke's 2010 master's thesis, which offers a comprehensive visual analysis and is particularly thorough in aspects such as the painting's subject matter, composition, style and technique.⁴ An earlier, less detailed investigation of the Berlin scroll lies in Dong Qichang expert Celia Carrington Riely's meticulous article “Tung Ch'ich'ang's Life”, where the scroll is introduced alongside the discussion of Dong Qichang and Wu Zhengzhi 吳正志 (?-1619~1621)'s relationship.⁵

This paper uses Riely's findings regarding the scroll's background as a starting point, and focuses on a few aspects that have not yet been treated with detailed attention. The first part of this paper further explores the context surrounding the creation of Dong Qichang's painting and explains why it should be dated circa 1608. The paper's second part offers a more elaborate introduction to the provenance of the scroll, the backgrounds of the collectors and the network of literati/art enthusiasts supporting it. By

relating the scroll's texts – their content and background – to other reliable historical textual materials, and by comparing the calligraphy and seal impressions with those found on other works, this study also strives to further the discussion of the scroll's authenticity issues.⁶

Gifts for the Pavilion of Rising Clouds

Found at the end of the painting are five lines of text inscription followed by Dong Qichang's signature and seal:

“Mi Fuwen's [Mi Youren 米友仁, 1074-1151] painting *Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is at my home. I made this (painting, following Mi's painting,) for my friend Cheru as a present for his studio, the Pavilion of Rising Clouds. Dong Qichang.”

米敷文瀟湘奇境圖在余家。仿此以贈澈如年兄雲起樓。董其昌。

Wu Zhengzhi, sobriquet Zhiju 之矩, style name Cheru 澈如, was from a scholar-official family in Yixing, Jiangsu Province. According to Riely's research, Wu was one of Dong Qichang's closest friends, whom he met with frequently throughout his long years of retirement from 1599 to 1621.⁷ To explain their relationship, Riely wrote: “[...] while painting and calligraphy provided the everyday fare on which their friendship thrived, Tung and Wu were bound together on a deeper level by what they considered their common political fate: their relegation to provincial posts, [...] and their consequent decision to resign rather than expend time and talent in lackluster positions that failed to reflect their worth.”⁸

Riely further pointed out, in regards to this

inscription, that the Berlin scroll can be linked to a painting attributed to Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107), now located in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.⁹ The painting, *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓圖, was entitled by Dong Qichang, and the special circumstance surrounding it is documented in Dong's colophon beside the painting:¹⁰

“My senior Wu Cheru [Wu Zhengzhi], [vice director] in the Ministry of Rites, enjoined me to paint three depictions of his Pavilion of Rising Clouds: a handscroll, a hanging scroll, and a circular fan. As I was not pleased [with the results], I am giving him this painting [instead], and will add to it [a transcription of] *The Biography of Ji Changru* [in the calligraphy] of Zhao Wenmin [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322], for together they will make a beautiful pair. Cheru is famous in the world for the moral integrity of his literary writings, so if it is not a famous work by some master of the past, then how could [a painting or calligraphy] be important enough for his Pavilion of Rising Clouds? Dong Qichang.”

光祿澈如吳年丈，屬余作《雲起樓圖》卷、軸、團扇共三幀。余未愜意，以此圖貽之。又欲為補趙文敏《汲長孺傳》，合成雙美。澈如以文章氣節名世，非古人名蹟，何足為雲起樓重也？董其昌。

Like the inscription on the Berlin scroll, this colophon is undated. There is, however, another reference which does possess a date – Wu Zhengzhi's 1617 colophon to Dong Qichang's much discussed *Invitation to Reclusion at Jingxi* 荆谿招隱圖 (fig. 3), which Dong painted for Wu in 1611 and now resides in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Wu's colophon reads:¹¹

余識玄宰在未第前，時玄宰才名譟甚。後同舉進士，群輩競為考館逐鹿，即玄宰臚唱第一，幾為捷足所先，余遜不就試，又以狂言謫塞外，玄宰由此見知。不十年，玄宰亦以史官外補。自泃上至荆谿，幾六百里，扁舟過從，音問不絕。曾乞畫，玄宰雖心諾而未踐也。戊申[1608]復以戇直為權門要人陳治則所逐。光祿之席未煖，黜為湖州司李。玄宰故見惡斯人者，不覺同病相憐，訪余雲起樓頭，貽以二卷一畫。既各移藩臬，忌玄宰者，未容出山，余雖為小草，亦望望然，從彭蠡拂衣而歸，此圖遂成先識矣。今而後，山中日月正長，白首兄弟載書畫船，問字往還，誓不為弋者所慕，又豈待招而後隱哉？丁巳夏至日長蟄散人吳正志識。(italic by the author)

In this text, Wu reminisces upon his relationship with Dong. It records a certain period during Wu's turbulent political life and alludes to when Dong prepared his gifts for Wu's Pavilion of Rising Clouds. According to the colophon, Wu had requested Dong to paint for him at an earlier time; Dong agreed but did not actually do so until around 1608. In the seventh month of 1607, Wu was appointed Guangluchen 光祿臣 (Assistant Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainments) but less than three weeks later, he was impeached. After a year or so,¹² he was demoted to the provincial post *Huzhou sili* 湖州司李 (prefectural judge of Huzhou, Zhejiang), as mentioned in the colophon. These incidents made Dong grow deeply sympathetic towards Wu, and, finally, he tailored the three paintings for Wu's studio as promised. A reasonable dating for these paintings would

therefore be around 1608.

The Berlin scroll has been commonly dated to circa 1614 (museum archive) or circa 1616 (Riely)¹³ due to the colophon Dong Qichang inscribed with the painting (fig. 4):

“In the second month of the summer of the year *jiaxu* [1634], I was traveling back home and made a stop in Weiyang. Mr. Miao showed me Gao Yanjing's [Gao Kegong] long scroll depicting streams and mountains. The painting of misty scenery excelled that of Nangong [Mi Fu] and could compete with Oubo [Zhao Mengfu]. I regret that I could not fully master that kind of technique but the connoisseurs were lenient with me. About twenty years ago, I gave this scroll to my fellow examinee Wu Guanglu [Wu Zhengzhi] of Jingxi. Now it belongs to my friend Dingsheng, and even Meiweng [Chen Jiru], the master of the Hut of Obtuse Immortal, praises it, overlooking my weakness. I feel absolutely ashamed. It is to be appreciated that the painting is nicely kept by art enthusiasts. The fifth month of the year *bingzi* [1636]. Qichang.”

甲戌仲夏歸。舟次維揚。繆先輩以高彥敬溪山長圖見示。煙雲縹緲。突過南宮。果與鷗波抗行。恨予未盡其法。為鑒賞家所寬。此卷二十年以遺荆谿吳光祿年丈。今又歸定生詞兄。而頑仙廬主人眉翁復為護短。殊用慙惶。第存林下風流嘉致可耳。丙子五月。其昌。

Dong wrote this text in 1636, recalling a memory from 1634. The painting's original dating of around 1614 or around 1616 clearly must have been rendered due to the expression “about twenty years

ago” in this colophon. But the expression should not be taken literally – if the Berlin scroll was indeed one of Dong's gifts for the Pavilion of Rising Clouds, circa 1608 would thus be a more proper dating.

Collector stories

Following the painting are three colophons, all written in the running script style (*xingshu* 行書). On the entire scroll there are forty-five seal impressions in total, among which are seven seals impressed on the seams of different paper segments (*qifengyin* 騎縫印), one from Chen Zhenhui 陳貞慧 (1604-1656) and six from a collector of the much later republic period (1912-1949). So far, all but two seals have been identified.¹⁴ Using the inscriptions and seal impressions, we can trace down six of the scroll's former owners before it entered the Vannotti collection in Europe in 1966. Two major groups of collectors who are related to the colophons will be discussed in the following.

Chen Zhenhui

According to Dong Qichang's inscription, the first owner of the scroll was Wu Zhengzhi. Wu, however, left no writing or seal impression on the scroll. Thus, the earliest collector seal on the scroll is the *Dingsheng* seal (see fig. 2, lower right corner), which belonged to Chen Zhenhui, and is the only seal impression he left on the scroll. Chen was a politically active scholar and essayist of the late Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (1636-1912) period. He was a member of Fu She 復社, was son of Dongling Faction member Chen Yuting 陳于廷 (1566-1635), and was acquainted with both Dong Qichang and Chen Jiru.

Chen Zhenhui was also close friends with Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618-1655), a renowned literatus and influential Fu She member during the late Ming

period. Hou once wrote an essay titled *The Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓記, which detailed a visit to the Yunqi Lou studio, whose master at the time was Wu Hongyu 吳洪裕 (?-1650), son of Wu Zhengzhi.¹⁵ Hou visited the studio in 1652, together with Chen Zhenhui and Dai Jiushao 戴九韶 (dates unknown) to commemorate their friend Wu Hongyu, who had died two years before. This essay attests to not only the close relationship between Chen Zhenhui and the Wu family, but also to Chen's very acquaintance with the Yunqi Lou studio. We could therefore speculate that Chen obtained the Dong Qichang scroll from Wu Hongyu, who first inherited it from his father, the original recipient of the scroll. If this were true, the scroll would not only be a revered Dong Qichang painting, but also a powerful testament to the friendship and shared artistic appreciation of not just one but two generations of prominent art lovers in Dong Qichang's circle. For Chen Zhenhui personally, the scroll was as Chen Jiru wrote in his inscribed colophon: an item to be kept as a treasure.

Bi Yuan, Chen Huai, and Wang Wenzhi

The next traceable owner of the scroll was Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797) (style name Qiufan 秋帆). Originally from the Jiangsu Province, he was a prolific scholar and high-ranking official during the Qianlong and early Jiaqing periods (1735-1795, 1796-1820) of the Qing dynasty. Peculiarly, Bi Yuan — like Wu Zhengzhi — also did not leave any writing or seal impression on the scroll. We are only able to discern Bi's relation to the scroll from Wang Wenzhi's colophon. Following a poem by Wang himself — a lengthy, seven-character poem of twenty-eight verses, filled with cliché words praising both the Dong Qichang painting and the friendship between Bi Yuan and Chen Huai 陳淮 (1731-1810) — Wang Wenzhi also inscribed a more informative

commentary about his encounter with the painting:

“To the right is Dong Wenmin's painting *After Mi Fuwen's 'Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers'*. It was in the collection of my fellow examinee, Minister Bi Qiufan [Bi Yuan]. By reading the colophons, it became clear that the scroll once belonged to my in-law Yaozhou's [Chen Huai] ancestor. Therefore, the Minister gifted him the scroll. Spring, the second month of the year *gengxu* [1790] of the Qianlong reign, I, Wang Wenzhi of Dantu, was able to observe the scroll, and I wrote this poem to commemorate the occasion.”

右董文敏仿米敷文瀟湘奇境圖卷為同年畢秋帆尚書所藏。觀跋語知為藥州親家先世之物。因以奉贈。乾隆庚戌春二月。丹徒王文治獲觀。爰紀以詩。

Wang Wenzhi, sobriquet Yuqing 禹卿, style name Menglou 夢樓, was an official and well-known poet and calligrapher, also from the Jiangsu Province. He and Bi Yuan were not only fellow examinees in the imperial *keju* examination in 1760, but were also close friends of many years who shared a similar enthusiasm for literature and art.¹⁶

In 1788, Bi Yuan was appointed *Hu-Guang zongdu* 湖廣總督 (governor general of the Hunan and Hubei area), and lived in Wuchang, Hubei Province. In the early months of 1790, Bi became acquainted with Chen Huai, who was at the time serving as *Hubei buzhengshi* 湖北布政使 (provincial administration commissioner of Hubei) and who had already been close friends with Wang for quite some years. Chen Huai, sobriquet Wangzhi 望之, style name Yaozhou 藥州, was originally from Henan Province. Chen Huai and his younger

brother Chen Lian 陳濂 were both already close friends of Wang Wenzhi's when Wang was still just an examinee in the 1750s. One of Chen Lian's sons would later marry Wang Wenzhi's daughter, making Wang an in-law of Chen Huai's, as stated in Wang's colophon.¹⁷ Both Bi Yuan and Chen Huai were considered top-class private art collectors of their time. Due to political reasons, however, major parts of their collections were confiscated and sequestered in the imperial storehouse at the beginning of the Jiaqing reign. Many of Bi and Chen's pieces were considered to be of the highest quality, even among the imperial collection.¹⁸

From the winter of 1789 to the fifth month of the following year, Wang travelled to Chu 楚, namely the Hubei area, and composed eighty-eight poems during his trip.¹⁹ These poems can be found in volume nineteen of *Menglou's Poetry Anthology*, compiled by Wang Wenzhi himself in 1795. The poem inscribed on the Dong Qichang scroll is also included in this anthology. The two versions are similar but not identical — the biggest difference being the last two verses — though the meanings are basically the same. While the two commentaries have different wording and carry slightly different information, there is nothing contradictory or alarming.²⁰

According to Wang's text, in 1790 he and Bi Yuan had learned from the previous colophons that the scroll was once owned by an ancestor of Chen Huai; Bi Yuan generously gave the scroll to Chen Huai after learning this. Once in possession of the scroll, Chen Huai then impressed two seals upon it—a normal name seal and a seal that reads *zhu huan bi he* 珠還璧合, meaning “the jewel returned and the bi-jade repaired” (fig. 5). The latter seal clearly must have been specially impressed (or even custom-made) to commemorate the scroll's return to the Chen family. As mentioned before, Chen Zhenhui

was one of the first owners of the scroll; he was also Chen Huai's ancestor. More specifically, Chen Huai was the grandson of Chen Zhenhui's fourth son Chen Zongshi 陳宗石, who married Hou Fangyu's daughter. Therefore, Chen Huai was also the great-grandson of Hou Fangyu, the aforementioned close friend of Chen Zhenhui. After Chen Huai, his son Chen Chongben 陳崇本 (dates unknown, sobriquet Bogong 伯恭), who served as compiler (*bianxiu* 編修) at the Hanlin Academy,²¹ continued to preserve the scroll and left seven seal impressions.

Closing remarks

As demonstrated above, the stories behind the painting and colophons on the Dong Qichang scroll can be corroborated by other historical materials, but not without some assumptions. The only historical documentation of the scroll found so far is in a catalogue entitled *Dong Huating's Painting and Calligraphy* 董華亭書畫錄, compiled a little after Chen Zhenhui's time.²² Wang Wenzhi's colophon, however, can be verified by the records in his poetry anthology, as mentioned before.

Most of the scroll's seal impressions are dated after the seventeenth century and appear identical with digital images found in online seal databases.²³ Some of the seals that supposedly belong to Dong Qichang and Chen Jiru, however, seem to exist nowhere else. The seals in question are the *chang* seal following Dong Qichang's inscription on the painting (see fig.1, lower left corner) and the *Chen Jiru yin* and *Meigong* seals following Chen Jiru's colophon. The *chang* seal is in fact so coarse that it is possible it was added by later people, in an attempt to raise the value of the painting.²⁴ Although suspicious, there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that the scroll was a fabrication by irrelevant forgers – when it comes to authenticity,

Dong Qichang's works have always been particularly complicated.²⁵ It is a known fact that Dong Qichang would sometimes put his inscription upon works by ghost painters or even forgers he deemed to be skillful. With this particular Berlin scroll, the brushstrokes in the calligraphy look convincing, and the painting itself, though not of excellent quality in terms of execution, reveals no striking traces of forgery. Even if the painting, however, was created by someone else, I would still argue that Dong Qichang at least inscribed the painting with his own hand, thus bestowing onto it his authentication. Though Dong Qichang was a controversial figure, often questioned for being a cunning opportunist, it is not farfetched to suggest he had the decency to do so for a friend with whom he shared a similar political fate during a crucial phase of his life.



Figure 1. Dong Qichang, After Mi Youren's "Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers", ca. 1608, handscroll, ink on smooth paper, 19 x 108 cm, Museum of Asian Art Berlin, registration no.: 1988-400. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

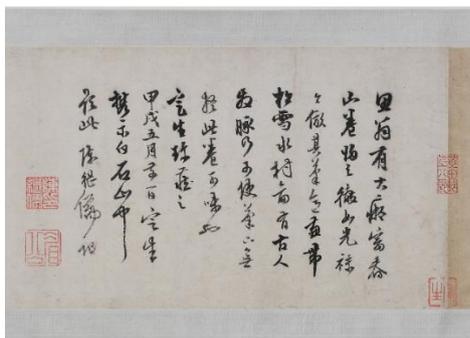


Figure 2. Chen Jiru's colophon to Dong Qichang, *After Mi Youren*. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

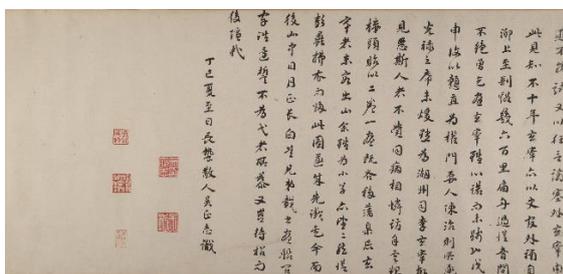


Figure 3. Wu Zhengzhi's colophon to Dong Qichang, *Invitation to Reclusion at Jingxi*, 1611, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no.: 1990.318. Public domain.

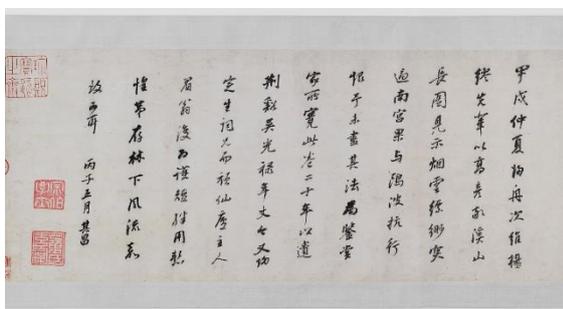


Figure 4. Dong Qichang's colophon to *After Mi Youren*. Copyright: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe



Figure 5. Chen Huai's name seal (upper left) and the seal *zhu huan bi he* (bottom left). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

Notes

- 1) “思翁有大癡富春山卷。歸之微如光祿。今仿其筆意。兼帶松雪水村圖。有古人為脈乃可使筆下無疑。此卷可味也。定生珍藏之。甲戌五月前一日。定生携示白石山中。題此。陳繼儒記。” (“Siweng [Dong Qichang] once owned Dachi's [Huang Gongwang] *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, later it was owned by Cheru Guanglu [Wu Zhengzhi]. Now this (painting) imitates the style of Dachi's painting and that of Songxue's [Zhao Mengfu] *Water Village*. If you have learned old masters' work well, you have no hesitation while creating your own. With this scroll one could understand that. The scroll is a treasured piece in Dingsheng's [Chen Zhenhui] collection. One day before the fifth month of the year *jiaxu* [1634], Dingsheng brought the scroll to Baishi Mountain and presented it to me, therefore I inscribed it with these words. Chen Jiru.”) If not noted otherwise, transcription and translation of inscription texts appeared in this paper are done by me.
- 2) Images: Huang Gongwang, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, at http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=1194 (accessed Aug. 2, 2019); Zhao Mengfu, *Water Village*, at <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/230286.html> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
- 3) Wai-kam Ho and Dawn Ho Delbanco, “Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's transcendence of history and art,” in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang*, ed. Wai-kam Ho (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and the University of Washington Press, 1992), vol. 1, p. 32.
- 4) Claudia Woschke, “Die zauberhafte Landschaft der Flüsse Xiao und Xiang nach Mi Youren” (master's thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2010).
- 5) Celia Carrington Riely, “Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's life,” in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang*, ed. Wai-kam Ho (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and the University of Washington Press, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 411-414.
- 6) Woschke considers the painting an original, mainly due to the idea that Dong would not use a ghost painter for a gift to an important friend. Woschke 2010, pp. 79-83.
- 7) Riely 1992, p. 411.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. 413.
- 9) *Ibid.* Image: attrib. Mi Fu, *Pavilion of Rising Clouds*,

- at <https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1908.171/> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
- 10) Transcription and translation by Freer Gallery of Art, <https://archive.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1908.171/F1908-171.Documentation.pdf> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 11) Text from website of the Metropolitan Museum, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/41479?sortBy=Relevance&ft=Dong%2520Qichang&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1_ (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 12) Riely 1992, p. 412.
 - 13) Ibid., p. 413.
 - 14) Notes on the unidentified seals (fig. 5, bottom right): I speculate that the two, *jinwei* 金味 and *dayuan* 大淵, may be of Japanese origin. Their form, appearance, and placement suggest they belong to one person. Regarding the characters, *jinwei* is not exactly a proper Chinese word but does exist in Japanese vocabulary, pronounced *kanaaji*, meaning “metallic” or “cutting edge of a bladed instrument”. Also, the word *dayuan* is rarely found in classical Chinese texts but can be read as a Japanese family name, Obuchi.
As seen in museum archives of the Vannotti collection, the dealer of the scroll is documented with the code name “C. E. S.”. This most likely stands for Chiang Er-Shih (Jiang Eshi 蔣諤士, 1913-1972), an artist and Chinese art dealer with a disputable reputation. It is known he had befriended Vannotti in the 1960s and sold him Chinese paintings. For Jiang Eshi’s biographical information see: Zhang Yangong, ed., *Yangzhou huayuan xulu*, entry “Jiang Eshi”, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_9ec98f130102vd18.html (accessed Aug. 28, 2018); “Biographical background,” in *Chiang Erh-Shih Paintings in the Allison Collection* (1956), unpaginated; Jack V. Sewell, foreword to *Chiang Er-Shih. Recent Works*, exhibition catalogue (Feb. 7 - Mar. 29, 1970, the Art Institute of Chicago), unpaginated; Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists. A Biographical Dictionary* (University of California Press, 2006), p. 69; Freddie Botur, *Tennis and America, Thank You. Memoirs of a Czech Refugee, 1948* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2013), pp. 161-174; James Cahill, letter to Hong Zaixin, Jul. 18, 2007, <http://jamescahill.info/the-writings-of-james-cahill/responses-a-reminiscences/163-41-chiang-er-shih> (accessed Aug. 28, 2018). From the limited information about Jiang available we learn that he was born and raised as a Chinese mainland who left for Hong Kong in 1949 and who, after that, worked and lived in Japan, the United States and Europe. In the 1950s, he held solo exhibitions in Hong Kong, Tokyo and in several cities across the United States. It seems Jiang was very active as a painter and socialized frequently with influential people, such as the wife of the U. S. Ambassador to Japan at the time (Effie B. Allison, foreword to *Chiang Erh-shih Paintings in the Allison Collection* (1956), unpaginated.). As a dealer, Jiang traveled with artworks, so there is a high possibility the Dong Qichang scroll was once in Japan before it was ultimately sold to Vannotti.
 - 15) Hou Fangyu, “*Yunqi lou ji*”, in *Zhuanghui Tang wenji*, vol. 6, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015030918992&view=2up&seq=231> (accessed Aug. 1, 2019).
 - 16) Chen Yafei, “Kechang, mufu, jingxuntang: Bi Yuan yu Wang Wenzhi de hanmoyuan (shang),” *Shoucang Paimai* 9 (2015): pp. 70-77.
 - 17) Li Fang, *Huangqing shu shi*, vol. 8: “陳濂字澄之淮弟乾隆三十一年進士官編修未館選時與王夢樓太守同居京師始訂異姓昆弟之歡繼聯兒女姻婭之好互相師友[...]” <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=852804&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 31, 2018).
 - 18) Chen Yafei, “Bi Yuan shuhua jiancang chuyi: Shoucang pian,” *Rongbaozhai* 5 (2011): pp. 221-222; He Yan-chiuan, “Chen Huai's painting and calligraphy collection and the Jiaqing Emperor's third edition of *Midian zhulin shiqu baoji*,” *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (March 2015): pp. 139-179.
 - 19) Wang Wenzhi, “*Houchu youcao*,” in *Menglou shiji* (1792), vol. 19, <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=127951&page=37&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 31, 2018).
 - 20) Commentary text in *Houchu youcao*: “為望之親家題董文敏仿米敷文瀟湘奇境圖。圖為秋帆尚書所藏。觀跋語知是陳氏故物。遂以遺望之。俾珠還劍合焉。”
 - 21) *Qinding siku quanshu jianming mulu*, “zhiming”, <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=104099&page=58&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 22) Qingfu Shanren, *Dong Huating shuhua lu*, reproduced from block-printed edition from 1896, in *Lidai shuhua lu jikan* (Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe, 2007), vol. 1.
 - 23) E.g.

- <http://diglib.zjlib.cn:8081/zjtszgjcj/index1.htm> (accessed Aug. 4, 2019)
- 24) Cf.: Celia Carrington Riely, "Dong Qichang's seals: A more rigorous approach to the dating of undated works," *Zhejiang University Journal of Art and Archaeology* 2 (2015): p. 159, footnote 3.
- 25) For detailed studies on Dong Qichang's signatures and seals see: *ibid.*, pp. 157-253; *ibid.*, "Dong Qichang de 'Dong Qichang', 'Qichang' shukuan yanbian yanjiu ji qi dui Dong Qichang mouxie zuopin xinian ji jiangding de yiyi," trans. Bai Qianshen, in *Ming Qing shufashi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. Hua Rende, Ge Hongzhen, and Wang Weilin (Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2008), pp. 115-154.
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