



THE „CHING-MING SHANG-HO“ SCROLL
IN THE COLLECTIONS
OF THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM

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There are few Chinese scrolls that have been more frequently paraphrased than the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u [1], "Pilgrimage to the River during the Spring Festival". According to literary sources the original was painted by the Northern Sung (960 to 1279) Academy painter — Chang Tse-tuan [2]¹⁾ and the copies of this scroll are known to exist in almost every major collection of Chinese art in the world. The copy in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures has not yet been dealt with monographically, and the present paper is the first attempt towards this goal. It bears the signature of the Ming period's (1368—1644), painter Ch'iu Ying [8],²⁾ which is the reason why we shall take this fact as the starting point of our investigation.

Like the "Ch'i hsi yeh shit t'u" [12], "Pai yeh t'u" [13], "Keng chih t'u" [14] and other similar scrolls, the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u is classified by Chinese connoisseurs among such genre subjects, which are taken from popular festivities and rejoicings, from rural life or traditional Chinese trade and craft. Chang Tse-tuan's picture "Pilgrimage to the River during the Spring Festival" represents the feast celebrated in Pien-liang, the former capital of the Northern Sungs, now K'ai-feng [16].

So far no agreement among Chinese connoisseurs has been reached on the authenticity of the scroll in the Hui-hua kuan.

However, those engaged in the dispute are unanimous on one point: that this Ch'ing-ming shang-ho picture is an outstanding masterpiece by a Sung painter (probably from the beginning of the 12th century), characterized by the structural and compositional peculiarities of genre paintings dating from that time.⁴)

The unparalleled pictorial qualities of the masterpiece and the sentimental atmosphere which had become enveloped by later critics and colophon writers (according to them, Pien-liang portrayed at its peak of splendour and prosperity was raided and destroyed by the Tartar invaders soon after the painting had been completed) made it a sought for model for numerous imitations which in turn served for further copying. Today these copies and re-copies are to be found in every more distinguished public and private collection in the Old as well as the New World. O. Sirén's encyclopedic study on Chinese painting deals — besides the original (?) — with three copies: an early one in the Ku-kung collections, a later version in the Metropolitan Museum, and a third one in a private collection in Hongkong. A. Waley speaks of four copies: in the British Museum Collection and in the collections of Mr. Sidney Cockerell, Mr. Chester Beatty and Mr. Eumorphopoulos respectively. L. Hájek comments on the copy kept in Moscow, in "Muzej iskusstva narodov Vostoka", A. Priest deals with the copy in A. W. Bahr's New York collection. One copy is in the "Kunstgewerbemuseum, Wien" and one in the "Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig".⁵) A number of later versions, literary not treated so far are in Chinese and Japanese private collections. Of the two Ch'ing-ming shang-ho versions in Czechoslovakia, one is in the keeping of the Náprstek Museum, the other in a private collection in Prague.

Among several painters, who are stated to have copied Chang Tse-tuan's scroll, the name of Ch'iu Ying is the most interesting for us, because, as said before, the copy we are dealing with, is signed with his name — Ch'iu Ying imitated the painting manner of the Sung Chang Tse-tuan [21] — and also because it is he, who is mentioned as the author of the picture in the 1st and 5th inscription of our colophon (cf. Suppl. I and V). About the existence of Ch'iu Ying's copy of the Chang Tse-tuan's scroll Ch'ing-ming shang-ho, an account by Hsie K'un [22], a connois-

seur of Chinese art from the end of the 19th century, is given in his work *Shu hua suo chien lu* [23]: „In the market town Pai-p'u in Nan-t'ung-chou, the family of Wang possesses the picture Ch'ing-ming shang-ho painted by Chang Tse-tuan. It is very delicate in workmanship and bears the traces of an old painting manner. When I was in the province Kuang-tung I saw there the picture by Ch'iu Ying and in Hu-nan I found Min Chen's copy. But neither of them could be compared with the original.” [26]⁷⁾

This account as well as the information in the 1st and 5th inscription of our colophon should thus give real evidence that Ch'iu Ying has copied the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll, however the measure of reliability of the information is considerably problematic. On the one hand, because it is known that there were many pictures painted by Ch'iu Ying's contemporaries or later painters who imitated his style and applied his signature to them, and on the other hand that Ch'iu Ying's copy of the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll is not included in the authorized list of his works.²⁵⁾ But well founded as our doubts regarding the epigraphic data and reports may be, we cannot overlook certain similarities in the method of painting employed in some other, authentic, Ch'iu Ying's pictures, as well as in our scroll. These similarities lead us, when analysing the painter's style used in our copy, to base our research on comparison with Ch'iu Ying's paintings.

The copy of Chang Tse-tuan's picture in the collections of the Náprstek Museum (like many of its later copies) differs from the original in so far that it must be considered a freer version of the given theme, rather than a copy in the proper meaning of the word. It is an oblong scroll almost of the same length-to-height ratio as the original,⁸⁾ and is, similarly as the original, painted in the technic of fine, minute brush-strokes so-called “Kung-pi” [28] technique, and adheres to the three basic structural characteristics of the masterpiece:

- the horizontal axis of the picture is the river,
- the composition gradates from right to left with the apex in the town-centre at the Pien-liang bridge (because of its arched form called “Rainbow” bridge)
- it maintains in principle the original sequence of sub-themes and their communication.⁹⁾

The copies studied so far differ from the original (which artistic qualities, unambiguously considered far superior to those of any copy, are not evaluated in the present paper) in content as well as form. According to the imitator's individuality and inventiveness, the copies are either richer or poorer in submotifs, and thus, from the point of view of content, either closer or less close to the original. Some of those in the original may have been omitted in the copies or, vice versa, new details not occurring on the original may have been added to the imitations. Most frequently, however, the original submotifs were substituted in the copies by other details, such as other animals, trees, architecture, furniture, and so on, or by group motifs with a lower number of figures. These sometimes striking discrepancies between the original and copy are accounted for by the manner of copying one copy from the other, as it developed in the course of time, and by the imitator's personal predilections. It is emphasized that later copies of the masterpiece were invariably made in succession one from the other which obviously led to considerable departures from the original. Moreover, as years went by, some original motifs became obsolete or perhaps incomprehensible to the imitator, and thus he either discarded or substituted them by other familiar motifs and details.

Changes in content of this kind concern a large number of motifs, but in our view they are especially striking in drawings of architecture and ships. In the original these are depicted with absolute accuracy, showing a detailed knowledge of their construction, this precision being lacking in our copy. In this connection it is not without interest to note the way in which those species of animals that did not belong to the normal subject-matter of Chinese painting — such as camels, for instance — are depicted in the original and in the copy. While the original gives so faithful a rendering that there can be no doubt the artist worked from nature, the clumsiness of the copy makes it clear that in this case the painter had never seen them before.

These and similar differences, of which a great many can be found if we compare the various details and motifs in the original with those in our copy, have, however, also given a different character to each of the two pictures under comparison. Whereas the original Ch'ing-ming shang-ho strikes us in particular by

reason of the description it provides of the life and commerce of a medieval city, to which merchandise is brought by impressive-looking ships, the copy seems rather to show a folk festival held on market day, and to depict various entertainments in the palaces.

This discrepancy in the overall character of the pictures, as well as differences in the rendering of details and the arrangement of individual motifs, lead us to believe that the author did not paint our copy according to the original scroll. He was most probably working from some other, older copy, itself already slightly divergent from the original, and this made it possible for him also to add some details or even whole minor motifs derived from his own experience.

From the formal point of view it should be emphasized that some later versions, ours included, are distinguished from the original by a different pictorial expression within the Kung-pi technique, especially by the modified relation between ink-line and colour. In the original, colour is not more than a supplement to the ink drawing, while in some later copies it is an equivalent, sometimes even dominant pictorial element. In our copy the ink-line retained its pictorial and decorative function — it draws the contours or the details and frame of the subject — and yet it is evident that colour assumed a role much more important than it had played in the original. This emphasized role of colour is in evolutionary connection with the T'ang-period (618—905) tradition of landscape and architecture painting by the Ch'ing-lü [29] technique (so-called "green-blue and gold") revived in the second half of the Ming era (1368—1644). Its characteristics were intense colour, particularly green and blue, golden contours and a greater emphasis on the decorative component of the painting.

A comparison between the original and our copy thus shows that the copy was not made direct from Chang Tse-tuan's original, this being apparent both in the various details and in the style. This confirms our earlier supposition that, just as some of the later Ch'ing-ming shang-ho pictures, ours is not in fact a copy in the proper sense of the word, but a more or less free adaptation of a given theme.

In the preceding paragraphs we have attempted, as far as possible, to determine at least partially the relationship between the copy in the Náprstek Museum and the picture in Hui-hua Kuan. Henceforth we shall be dealing with the copy of the scroll alone, starting with a description of its present condition.

The Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll in the Náprstek Museum is now in two independent parts — the painting and the inscription — which originally may have been a single scroll. The painting alone is 29.5 cm by 701.5 cm long; when mounted, the picture is 38.3 and 821.5 cm respectively. The painting is in Chinese ink and colours on medium-thread Pien-szu-chüan [30] silk. The silk, darkened over the years, is in good condition except for a few minor rents in the upper part of the scroll. The picture is mounted on "mi-se" [31] colour brocade forming the frame to the painting and on two layers of Tan-hsüan [32] mounting paper, of which that next to the painting has a brown shade. A piece of thick brocade in five colours protects the scroll at the outer end. The layer of brown painted pasting paper¹⁰) and the good condition of the brocade around the painting show that the picture was recently remounted, which is borne out by the missing parts of a few seals at the two ends of the picture cut off together with the damaged parts.

The text to the painting is written in Chinese ink on two sheets of brownish Ma-chih [33] paper; unmounted it is 31×105 and 31×106.5 cm in size, mounted 37×243 cm. It is pasted onto one layer of Hsüan-chih [34] paper; at the borders is a white brocade, yellowed here and there. The rather worn condition of the brocade, the difference between its colour and pattern, and those of the mounting around the painting as well as the white inner side of the pasting paper (in contradistinction to the pasting paper under the painting) lead us to the conclusion that the mounting of the text is probably the original one.

Today the painting and text are separate which raises the question, whether they ever belonged together, that is, whether the painting was ment for another text or vice versa. There is nothing to prove conclusively that both parts were originally one, some facts, however, indicate that this was the case. First, Ch'iu Ying, whose name is on the painting, is also the author mentioned in the colophon (cf. Supplement I and V); secondly,

the painting and calligraphy are approximately of the same standard; and last but not least, the Ma-chih type paper and medium-thread Pien-szu-chüan type silk were painting materials used in the same period.¹¹) From this circumstantial evidence we assume that the pictorial and written part probably are of the same origin, and that they were separated later for remounting, which work, however — for reasons unknown to us — has never been completed.

The basic structural principle underlying the artistic composition of the scroll is the river. It is the thematic project to the narrative and the axis about which the scroll has been composed. After a placid and serene course through the lowlands with willow-trees and hidden in the background by a range of mountains, the river leisurely enters the scene. It forms the dynamic component of the picture, the link between still nature and animated creatures. It leads the beholder through the painting, from the open landscape, over the outskirts into the heart of the town, until he reaches the point, where the Rainbow bridge boldly arches the powerful stream. Thence the river proceeds over palace gardens, branches out into side channels that encircle the pavilions of the imperial residence, rolls towards the valley between towering mountains and vanishes through a pass in the romantic landscape.

The river, as already said, is the structural axis of the painting and divides it into two basic horizontal planes, the near one in the foreground, and the far one in the background. The natural irregularity of its bed, now reaching the upper and then again the lower border of the picture, provides the painter with an immensely elastic compositional substructure that enables him arbitrarily to alternate the emphasis on the scenes in the near and far plane. Vertically the painting is divided into three parts or rather sections, each with a contribution of its own to the subject matter of the "Pilgrimage to the River during the Spring Festival", with its peculiar atmosphere and character. These three sections, arranged from right to left — as we inspect the picture — and representing in succession the open country, the outskirts and town-centre, and the imperial palace with a hilly landscape, are by no means independent units, though they differ in char-

acter. They are linked together not merely by the unifying line of the river, but also by various compositional elements, quite inconspicuous at first sight: The outgoing scene of the preceding section forms an element to fit into the first scene of the continuous section, thus producing the illusion of unbroken action throughout the picture.

The driving power behind the composition is the narrative component, the story to be told; it forms the graded projection directly determinative of the pictorial structure. Spring time nature provides the background to an episode from human life, the celebration of Ch'ing-ming [37] festival,¹²) that brought together people from every walk of life. The many varicoloured scenes change endlessly before the eyes of the observer, the streets, squares, houses and palaces teem with figures of people and animals, mountains alternete with lowlands, cottages with proud buildings and palace pavilions, booths with tents, shops with stands on the bazaar. The painter evidently attempted to portray among others the atmosphere of spring so characteristic of the Ch'ing-ming festival. Sooner or later we are drawn into the picture, we — quite unwarily — participate in the depicted bustle, we are one of the pilgrims on his way to the town. First we pass over a landscape with a dense cover of willow-trees but no more than a few solitary figures; as we proceed these lone pilgrims later join together into small groups until they gradually merge into an unbroken procession speeding along the river banks towards the town and into it. After a brief interlude with two scholars we join a group of men that carry a decorative sedan-chair with a dignitary, and see from the corner of our eye a bunch of children at play in the grass as they tend a herd of goats and water-buffaloes. And here comes the first spectacle: Seated upon an elevated terrace is a story teller, his two-men orchestra — a lute player and drummer — attracting by their music an ever increasing audience. Moving on, we pass a rice field irrigated from a treadmill operated by two youngsters. Other boys and maidens hoe the tender rice seedlings, horsemen display their skill and courage, porters speed along with baskets hung from their cross-beams, merchants lug their merchandize to the market, farmers drive heavily loaded donkeys before them. Far up on the river we see barges and boats groaning under their cargo,

some are already fastened to the pier and bales and sacks are being hauled from their under-decks. Eventually we reach our destination, the town, heralded by the high-arched Rainbow bridge. The sight is overwhelming, the communication of the picture real and unmediated. Involuntarily our mind goes back to the colophone writer, who said that "... it so seemed to us, as if we entered the capital of Pien, contemplated the river and walked along its banks; we almost felt the onrushing scents and dust touch our faces!" The bridge and the river banks are literally dotted with people (on our copy are more than nine hundred figures). Scholars, merchants, porters, magistrates, boatmen, all mingle in a multicoloured crowd, some just standing about, others hurrying, amusing themselves, or working. More to the left along the river bank there is the centre of the fair. We squeeze ourselves past houses and stands and booths, and hardly know where to look first. Merchants, shopkeepers and grocers offer their goods through the advertisements hanging above the market-booth and shops, artisans display their products such as sweet dainties, earthenwares, dishes, children's clothing and theatre masks; puppeteers perform their plays, scrolls are being mended by mounters, wrestlers show off their strength to a circle of admirers, calligraphists write letters or copy quotations from classics, painters paint portraits, ropewalkers hold their audiences spellbound by their acrobaticism. Through a wide gate in the city wall we enter the inner town. Here, the river is confined into men-made beds, the buildings are larger, loftier and grouped together. The main street is teeming with life: buyers are walking the round of shops, examine bundles of silk and inspect curios, others drink tea or hot wine in tea-rooms, soldiers are being drilled, others verify their skill on horse-back. Behind the second city wall, hidden from the eyes of the common people, is the imperial palace. Ladies of attendance and high officials are seen promenading through ornamental pavilions, along terraces and gardens. Boats shaped as dragons and phoenixes glide over the river, and the imperial court listens to orchestras and watches dancers. The narrative ends in a landscape with majestic mountains and a misty, apparently impenetrable valley. The river grows mysterious and deeper, and almost imperceptibly vanishes behind an overhanging cliff — our journey is over, the picture ends.

The text to the scroll includes five calligraphically different inscriptions by the following authors:¹³⁾ Wen Cheng-ming Hengshan of Yen-men, dated 1527,¹⁴⁾ Han Feng-tzu Wang shou (?), Yen-ku shan-jen Lu Ts'an (?), Tung Hsiang-heng (?), Wu-ku chü-shih Lu Shih-tao.¹⁵⁾ The first inscription of a rather descriptive character deals in detail, if not too systematically, with the individual topics of the picture. Most interesting is the explanation of the earlier Shang-ho custom, (in our translation: Pilgrimage to the River) compared from the writer's point of view (Ming era) with the practise of visiting the tombs.¹⁶⁾ Another contribution of this inscription is the information that the picture, painted by Ch'iu Ying, probably existed (cf. Suppl. I: "This scroll is the one imitated by Ch'iu Shih-fu). The second, third and fourth inscription expresses in versified language the impressions and feelings produced by the picture in the writer, the author of the third inscription moreover commented on one of the old customs connected with the Ch'ing-ming festival — the firing of the paper money for the souls of dead ancestors. The fifth inscription, written by Lu Shih-tao, is more instructive: Its attitude is critical towards Ch'iu Ying's technique as well as to the beholder.

The data in the text agree in one thing, that it ascribes the authorship of our Ch'ing-ming shang-ho version to Ch'iu Ying, but all we can deduce from it is that he probably have copied Chang Tse-tuan's picture, not, however that he or any of his contemporaries actually painted our copy in the keeping of the Náprstek Museum. This opinion is based on the supposition that in the case of our calligraphy we are not dealing with an original work by the hand of the mentioned authors. Since the comparison by means of which this assumption can best be confirmed is most easily made in the case of Wen Cheng-ming's calligraphy, of which we have a number of reproductions, we have selected for this purpose the first inscription of the colophon signed with his name. If we therefore compare our "Wen Cheng-ming's" calligraphy with any other of his authentic calligraphies,¹⁷⁾ it becomes quite evident that not only does it bear no resemblance to the handwriting, but it is of such a low artistic standard that we are forced to admit, that it could not have come from the hand of even an ordinary skilful calligrapher. This conclusion, based on the formal shortcomings of the handwriting, can to a certain

extent be borne out by certain inaccuracies to be found in the contents of our text. Our ("Wen Cheng-ming's") text is quite obviously based on the text written by the Grand Secretary Li Tung-yang [48] (1447—1516) describing the original scroll, but differs from it in some details, particularly as regards the substitution or omission of some characters.¹⁸⁾ Thus it is clear that not only we are in the case of our colophon not dealing with an original calligraphy, but it is moreover not unlikely that it was not even written "direct"; i.e. from the original calligraphy. For this reason we cannot consider the data in the colophon to be a proof of the authenticity of our scroll, nor can we use it as an indication of its date of origin. Our further research must therefore be based on an analysis of the painter's style.

As we have mentioned already, the brief inscription at the edge of the painting also gives the painter Ch'iu Ying as the author of our scroll. This caused the picture in our collection to be up till now considered as originating in the sixteenth century. Bearing these facts in mind, as well as the specific style in which the scroll is painted, we shall start our analysis of that style and its artistic qualities from the above-mentioned data.

Our Ch'ing-ming shang-ho picture is painted by use of the Ch'ing-lü technique which employs vivid greens and blues with golden lines to portray landscape motifs. Ch'iu Ying is credited with having evolved a new version of this style, by which he revived the artistic communication of the T'ang era (618—905) painters, father and son Li Szu-hsün [49]¹⁹⁾ and Li Chao-tao [51]²⁰⁾ and the Sung Chao Po-chü [52].^{21 22)} According to O. Si-rén, he enriched this traditional style and "made it more natural through the introduction of blossoming trees and verdant fields".²³⁾ Ch'iu Ying, most probably in cooperation with his assistants, did many a painting in this style and — as can be seen from the critical comment in Lu Shih-tao's commentary on our scroll (cf. Supplement V) — he may also have used it in the copy he painted from Chang Tse-tuan's picture Ch'ing-ming shang-ho.

The painting on our scroll shows some of the basic features of Ch'iu Ying's or some of his contemporaries' way of applying the Ch'ing-lü technique. The contours of the mountains, river, tree-

trunks, architecture and figures are drawn in ink-line alternating with a colour line in the smaller areas (architectural details: in a darker shade of the respective colour area; contours of faces, hands and legs: in orange). Within the area defined by the contour hardly ever changes in shade and intensity, except for the mountains, where two shades — green and blue — are in free contact. The lines drawn in gold are applied in the uppermost layer — on the completed area — and form parallels to the ink contours; the golden line is only independent in detail drawings, such as in patterns of garments or in architectural decorations and ornaments. In addition to these characteristics there are, however, other signs on our scroll so widely different from the master' style and quality of work, that they make us wonder whether the picture in our collection might actually come from Ch'iu Ying's workshop. The technique of our painting is flat and schematic as regards space, figural drawing and detail as well. The solution of the spacial relations between the objects fails to evoke the illusion of deepness as it does in the 16th century pictures signed by Ch'iu Ying, and the articulation of surface, chiefly in mountains, is much more rudimental (cf. fig. 4 and 5). Unlike Ch'iu Ying's rather individualized figures, those on our scroll are typified, and even the types are products of accumulated outward features, such as the garment or other attributes of a profession, say those of a scholar, coolie, monk, and so on (cf. fig. 2 and 3). The dating of the scroll in the Náprstek Museum as being of the 16th century is also disproved by its literally poor vocabulary of strokes, many details are drawn in stereotypes (waves, foliage), and the lines are "too soft"; Chinese connoisseurs would be inclined to say that "they haven't power enough".

Besides the comparison of the technique and quality of the painting, there exist, however, some other criteria according to which we must doubt whether our picture could be a painting from the 16th century. Above all it is the criterium of the way of copying old masters by later painters and secondly the criterium of the quality and state of the silk applied for the painting.

In Chinese painting, copies are considered a special type of creative expression. Works of ancient masters were regularly reproduced by painters in various later periods. Thus, there arose chains of interconnected copies with evolutionary (chiefly as to

time) laws all their own, not quite identical with those of the creative communication in the originals. Every copy from a certain period bears both the characteristics of the model and those of the creative peculiarities of the respective period. These characteristics involve the composition and technique, and are influenced by the copyist's personality and competence. One characteristic, however, applicable nearly indiscriminately to copies from the Ming and Ch'ing period might be termed the rule of sequence in style and time. According to this, Ming painters copying Sung originals accentuated elements particular to the Sung style, while Ch'ing painters emphasized those typical of the Ming paintings. We have already shown that the origin and authorship of our scroll cannot be determined from the data on the painting and colophon, and thus conclusive criteria must be sought for in the style. The inscription at the end of the picture which emphasizes that the painting manner used in the copy was that of Chang Tse-tuan from the Sung period might have been correct in Ch'iu Ying's original version of the masterpiece, not, however, in our scroll. The composition and technique of the latter exhibits and consistently emphasizes features characteristic of the style in Ming genre pictures, but reveal no trace of Sung original elements. They are especially those features with which sixteenth-century painting has been enriched by the pictures from Ch'iu Ying's workshop, i.e. an emphasis on colour and on the general decorative effect of the painting. These facts, together with the conclusions we have reached when comparing the technique of 16th century painting with that used in the case of our copy, lead us to the conclusion that our copy not have been done by a Ming or early Ch'ing painter, and that it was not painted earlier than in the 18th century. The latter assumption is supported by another important fact, the type and quality of the used silk, the so-called Pien-szu-chüan silk, which according to its quality must be classified among the later types used in the 18th and 19th century.²⁴) Now, if we are to decide from which of these centuries our picture actually comes, we must take into account the condition of the picture, its state of preservation to be judged by the discoloration of the silk and the deterioration in the weave of the silk threads. The picture was remounted some years ago, the damaged borders were removed and some torn

threads replaced, so that it seems younger than it actually is. A thorough examination showed, however, that some threads had mouldered and lost strength and that the upper layer of ink and pigments had weathered away. Thus, taking into account all the criteria established in the course of our study it is safe to say that our scroll comes from the 18th century.

Conclusion

From data obtained by studying the painting and text of the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll in the collections of the Náprstek Museum and by comparing it with other materials and literary sources at our disposal, the following conclusions were arrived at:

The Ch'ing-ming shang-ho picture in the keeping of the Náprstek Museum is painted in the "green, blue and gold" technique, that is in the technique as used by Ch'iu Ying in the 16th century reviving Li Szu-hsün's and Li Chao-tao's painting tradition. This technique, the emphasis on detail and colour within the Kung-pi style, the signature on the painting and the entries in the first and fifth inscription on the colophon seems to be about all that suggests a connection between our scroll and Ch'iu Ying. On the other hand, the foregoing analysis of the content and pictorial elements of the painting with reference to the quality of the brushwork, as well as the fact that the text ascribing the authorship to Ch'iu Ying is a mere copy, shows convincingly that our picture could not have originated from the Ch'iu Ying's workshop. This conclusion is corroborated by the style of our picture emphasizing elements of Ming originals, which is typical of copies made by Ch'ing painters, as well as by the material of the scroll, quality and condition of silk and paper, which likewise indicates that the painting could not have been made during Ch'iu Ying's lifetime or soon afterwards. Thus we concluded that our scroll (similarly as the majority of remaining versions in the blue and green style) is the copy painted by an anonymous artist in the 18th century.

NOTES

1) Chang Tse-tuan, *tzu* Cheng-tao [3], born in Tung-wu [4]; attended the school at Pien-liang [5]; later on studied painting. No more accurate biographic data are available about the painter. From some commentaries on Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u it appears that he lived and worked in the Sung Hsüan-ho era [6] (1119—1125), and that he attained the highest academic degree. (Particulars on his work are in *Chung-kuo hua-chia jen ming ta tz'u-tien* [7], Shanghai, 1940, p. 461.)

2) Ch'iu Ying, *tzu* Shih-fu [9] *hao* Shih-chou [10]; born in T'ai-tsang [11]; active in the first half of the 16th century. Particularly skilled in imitating old masters. (*Chung-kuo hua-chia*, p. 10; O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, London, 1958, Vol. VII, p. 174.)

3) Wang Po-min: T'an sung-tai-ti chi fu li-shih-hua ho feng-su-hua, *Wen-wu* [15], 1960, 7, p. 26.

4) Cheng Chen-to: *Chung-kuo ku-tai hui-hua kai shu*, *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [17], 1954, 1, p. 17; Wang Sun: *Ku-tai hui-hua ti hsien-shih-chu-i* [18], op. cit. p. 37—38; Hsü Pang-ta: *Ts'ung hui-hua-kuan ch'en-lie-p'ing k'an wo kuo hui-hua ti fa-chang shih* [19], op. cit. p. 42; Tsang Hua-yün: *T'an Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u* [20], op. p. 53—54. O. Sirén classifies the scroll among those painted in the master's style that still await confirmation of actually being his work. (Sirén, Vol. II, *Annotated Lists of Paintings and Reproductions of Paintings by Chinese Artists*, p. 38.)

5) Sirén, op. cit. in note; 4) Arthur D. Waley: *A Chinese Picture*, *Burlington Magazine* XXX, October 1917, p. 131; L. Hájek: *Chinesische Kunst*, Prague, 1955, p. 88; A. Priest: *Ch'ing Ming Shang Ho, Spring Festival on the River*, New York, 1948; Exhibit reproduced in Ernst Diez, *Shan Shui, Die chinesische Landschaftsmalerei*, Vienna, 1943, Pl. II.

6) Min Chen, *tzu* Cheng-chai [24], 1730—1788; from *Chiang-hsi* [25] (Sirén, Vol. VII, p. 386; *Chung-kuo hua-chia*, p. 507).

7) Huang Pin-hung, Teng Shih: *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, *szu chi ti shih chi* [27], 1936, p. 20; Cf. also A. D. Waley, op. cit. p. 131.

8) Size of the original: 25.5×525 cm; that of our copy: 29.2×701.5 cm.

9) For certain particulars on Chang Tse-tuan's original I am indebted to J. Hejzlar, who studied the picture more closely in the Palace Museum. I refer to his article "The Return of a Legendary Work of Art" in *New Orient*, Bimonthly, Prague, 1962, 1, p. 17.

10) If the mounting were original, this paper would be white, not deliberately adapted to suit the shade of the weathered silk.

11) This information was kindly given to me by Mr. Chang Kuei-t'ung [35] and Kao Chin-t'ou [36], experts in mounting Chinese scrolls working at Yung-pao-chai studio in Peking.

12) Ch'ing-ming, literally "clear and bright" is the name of a Chinese festival which marks the end of the winter and is celebrated on the first spring day.

13) The authors are given in the succession of the text; their names in Chinese characters see fig. 6, 7, 8.

14) Wen Cheng-ming (1470—1559); born in Ch'ang-chou [38], original name Pi [39], *tzu* Cheng-ming [40] later on took another *tzu* Cheng-chung [41] and the *hao* Heng-shan [42]. Scholar, poet, calligraphist and painter. (Sirén, Vol. VII, p. 257; Chung-kuo hua-chia, p. 16.)

15) Lu Shih-tao (c. 1510—1570); born in Ch'ang-chou; *tzu* Tzu-ch'uan [43], *hao* Yüan-chou [44] and Wu-hu [45], pupil of Wen Cheng-ming. (Sirén, Vol. VII, p. 216; Chung-kuo hua-chia, p. 418.)

16) Tsang Hua-yün does not consider the term "shang-ho" for a custom similar to "shang-fen", visiting the tombs, to be altogether accurate, though there is no doubt, as he points out, that this was at that time one of the most widespread of customs. According to him, the meaning of "shang-ho" can be equated with what was later known as "kan-chi" [38] or "kan-hui" [39], to go to market, to attend a fair; he does not, however, exclude the possibility that the term "shang-ho" was used to denote "the upper reaches of the Pien river". (Tsang Hua-yün: T'an Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u, op. cit. p. 55.)

17) Compare for instance the calligraphy on some of his original pictures reproduced in Sirén, Vol. VI, pl. 204, 205, 207, 211, 212.

18) Compare the text of our inscription (fig. 6) with the Li Tung-yang's text quoted by Wang Po-min (cf. Wang Po-min, op. cit. in note,³ p. 27).

19) Li Ssu-hsün (651—716), *tzu* Chien-chien [50]. (Sirén, Vol. II, Annotated Lists of Paintings, p. 19; Chung-kuo hua-chia, p. 184.)

20) Li Chao-tao (activ. c. 670—730); (Sirén, as above, p. 18; Chung-kuo hua-chia, p. 184.)

21) Chao Po-chü (active probably at the beginning of the 12th century); *tzu* Ch'ien-li [53], follower of Li Ssu-hsün. (Sirén, as above, p. 42; Chung-kuo hua-chia, p. 611.)

22) Tung Ch'i-ch'ang [54] (calligraphist and art critic, lived in 1555—1636) wrote in his inscription on Ch'iu Ying's picture Hsien i t'u [55] that "Ch'iu Shih-fu was the rebirth of Chao Po-chü." (Chung-kuo hua-chia, chapt. Ch'iu Ying, p. 10.)

23) Sirén, Vol. IV, p. 211.

24) For the data in this paragraph I am indebted to the experts Chang Kuej-t'ung and Kao Chin-t'ou from Yung-pao-chai studio in Peking.

25) When this article was in print I have received further material confirming the fact that Ch'iu Ying copied Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll. (Kuo Wei-ch'ü: Sung Yüan Ming Ch'ing shu hua-chia nien-piao [56], Peking, 1962; p. 158.)

Supplement

I

Historical note to the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho picture

The Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll to the right is the work of Chang Tse-tuan, a painter of the Sung Academy. What was called shang-ho (Pilgrimage to the River), was an ancient practice similar to our custom of visiting the tombs, and just as vital.

In height the picture does not reach a foot, but it is over twelve feet long. The figures are not more than one inch high, the smallest ones one or two decimals only; all the other things are in keeping with these sizes. We follow them as they come from distant places to near ones, from the simple to the complex, from the open landscape to the city. The mountains are majestic where they are highest, the lower ones are calm and quiet, the depressions are suggestive of emptiness. The water is placid and peaceful, amassed it appears to be deep; the meandering river-bed is long and interrupted by steep waterfalls. There are trees with dry stout branches, green trees abounding in foliage, sturdy and densely grown, so that we cannot see where the woods end.

The men (depicted) are officials, intellectuals, farmers, merchants, physicians, fortune-tellers, Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, servants, sailors, women and prisoners of war. They walk, sit, ask questions, give answers, trade various things; some are shouting, others are shouting back, they are galloping on horseback, carrying burdens from place to place, holding children in their arms or by the hand; others run before the dignitaries and shout to secure their free passage. Some have axes in the hands, saws or some other farmer's tools, others hold cups with wine or dishes with food. Some people have taken off their shirts to get refreshed, those who are tired sleep, those worn out stretch and yawn. People sitting in sedan chairs open the curtains to look around. Some have stretchers made of planks or carts with no wheels and drag them along. Boats with bulky cargo move with utmost strain, step by step.

About the bridge on both banks of the river a crowd of men and women has gathered to enjoy the sight. It seems as if they

chatted and if the sound proceeded from hundreds of mouths at the same time.

Donkeys, mules, horses, water buffaloes and camels are carrying things or lie, rest, drink or feed on grass from sacks, their heads halfway in them.

The buildings are official palaces, municipal bazaars, rural settlements, Buddhist monasteries. There is a lot of clearly discernible windows, doors, hangings, bamboo fences and screens.

The shops are selling all kind of merchandise — wine, food, medicines, grocery. The characters on the sign boards are written so delicately that they almost cannot be told apart. And yet, their calligraphy is subtle and endowed with movement. We see the most variegated shapes of things, whose front and back are equally precise; there is no trace of any mending. Tu Fu would say: "Not a hair is missing." If the painter had not worked for many days and speculated through long nights, had not strived for days, yes months, he would not have completed the picture. We may say it was not easy.

The picture must have been painted before the Hsüan-ho reign, a time abounding in wealth and splendour. This scroll is the one imitated by Ch'iu Shih-fu. When I arrived in the capital, I saw it for the first time in the family of the justice of peace Chu. We enjoyed it the whole day. There is not a man that could express its beauty. Whenever it had been unrolled by the honourable Chu over the "cleaned table at the light window", upon inspection, it so seemed to us as if we entered the capital of Pien, contemplated the river and walked along its banks; we almost felt the onrushing scents and dust touch our faces.

That all is because the entire conception and composition are real and true. There is nothing that would be arbitrary.

At the time of Chia-ching in the first decade of the 4th month in the year 1527 in a T'ing-yün pavilion. (Written by) Wen Cheng-ming Heng-shan of Yen-men, when he first became acquainted with it.

Seals: 1 Wen Cheng-ming yin

2 Heng-shan

3 Cheng-chung

II

Today I have seen that excellent and precious picture. It cannot be compared with the most valuable jadeites of many towns. The seals and characters are made exquisitely; they are extraordinarily beautiful. The brocade of the mounting emits a glow, as if the green colour about were/to burst into light. Over millennia of prosperity and decay we have not seen its equal. Such a work of art, once done, must be preserved for ever.

Since the time of Hsüan-ho we have not met with a painter like this
Only the Yellow River surrounds Pien-chou . . .

Written by Han Feng-tzu Wang Shou

Seals: 1 Nan Chao

2 Ch'ün yü shan-jen

III

Spring is soon to come, with rain showers in the evenings
The young grass, though low, is lush and green and rich
The emperor's courtiers provide fires for the Ch'ing-ming festival
The highest officials are idling, they freely burn paper money
in memory of those who have died

On the field-paths neighing is heard from time to time, red
horses roam buoyantly

Bright swings swing to and fro from the green willow trees
Men and women at leisure remember things past, while peace still
reigned

They are happy in their minds that the present way of living
resembles that of the bygone years.

Written by Yen lu shan-jen Lu Ts'an

Seal: K'e i lei hsin waj tou chin (Over this magnificent work
of art I forgot all worries I ever had).

IV

Throughout the Spring festival — masses of people everywhere
With plenty of din and a lot of beautiful things
The willow trees have burst into pleasant green
The plane-trees sway in the friendly sunshine

Horses rest picketed here and there (?)
People have good time and hide in waggons of pleasant scent
Disappointed (that the day ends) they look back
The sun is setting behind the plain, and the shadows of the trees
are oblique

Written by Tung Hsiang-heng

Seal: Tung Hsiang-heng yin

V

In ancient times people expressed their feelings in paintings. At the beginning it was not easy to attain fame. Only after the Painters' Academy had been inaugurated in the Hsüan-ho period, the best painters were summoned and the standard of their art reached a yet higher degree. Our Shih-fu imitated Chang Tse-tuan's picture Shang-ho; he did it with great skill. His technique is derived from that of the T'ang Li Chiang-chün, his work, however, is even more ingenious. The spectator must have much spirit and spiritual power to be able to appreciate the picture, and even then he cannot discover all, that is brilliant in it. Since the old times it is indeed the best that has been painted. Though it portrays a period of prosperity and wealth, yet it also hides a notion full of apprehension. The one who sees the picture ought to take notice of it.

Wu-hu chü-shih Lu Shih-tao

Seals: 1 Lu shih tzu ch'uan

2 Respectfully inspected by Chiang T'ao-an

[1] 清明上河圖 [2] 張擇端 [3] 正道
[4] 東武 [5] 汴梁 [6] 宋宣和 [7] 中國畫
家人如大辭典 [8] 仇英 [9] 實父 [10] 十
洲 [11] 太倉 [12] 七夕夜市圖 [13] 百業
圖 [14] 耕稼圖 [15] 王伯敏，談宋代的
几幅歷史畫和風俗畫，文物 [16] 閔
封 [17] 鄭振鐸，中國古代繪畫概
述，文物參考資料 [18] 王遜，古代
繪畫的現實主義 [19] 徐邦達，從
繪畫館陳列品看我國繪畫的
發展史 [20] 臧華雲，談清明上河
圖 [21] 實父仇英摹宋張擇端法
[22] 謝堃 [23] 畫畫所見錄 [24] 正齋
[25] 江西 [26] 南通州白蒲鎮汪姓

藏有擇端所畫清明上河圖從
工細中帶有古法在粵東時見仇
英亦有此圖湖南見閔貞亦摹又然
皆不能及 [27] 黃賓虹, 鄧實, 美術
叢書四集第十輯 [28] 工筆 [29] 青綠
[30] 邊絲絹 [31] 米色 [32] 單宣 [33] 麻
紙 [34] 宣紙 [35] 張貴桐 [36] 高進斗
[37] 清明 [38] 長洲 [39] 壁 [40] 徵明 [41]
徵仲 [42] 衡山 [43] 子傳 [44] 元洲
[45] 五湖 [46] 趕集 [47] 趕會 [48] 李東陽
[49] 李思訓 [50] 建見 [51] 李昭道 [52] 趙
伯駒 [53] 千里 [54] 董其昌 [55] 仙奕圖
[56] 郭味蕓, 宋元明清書畫家年表

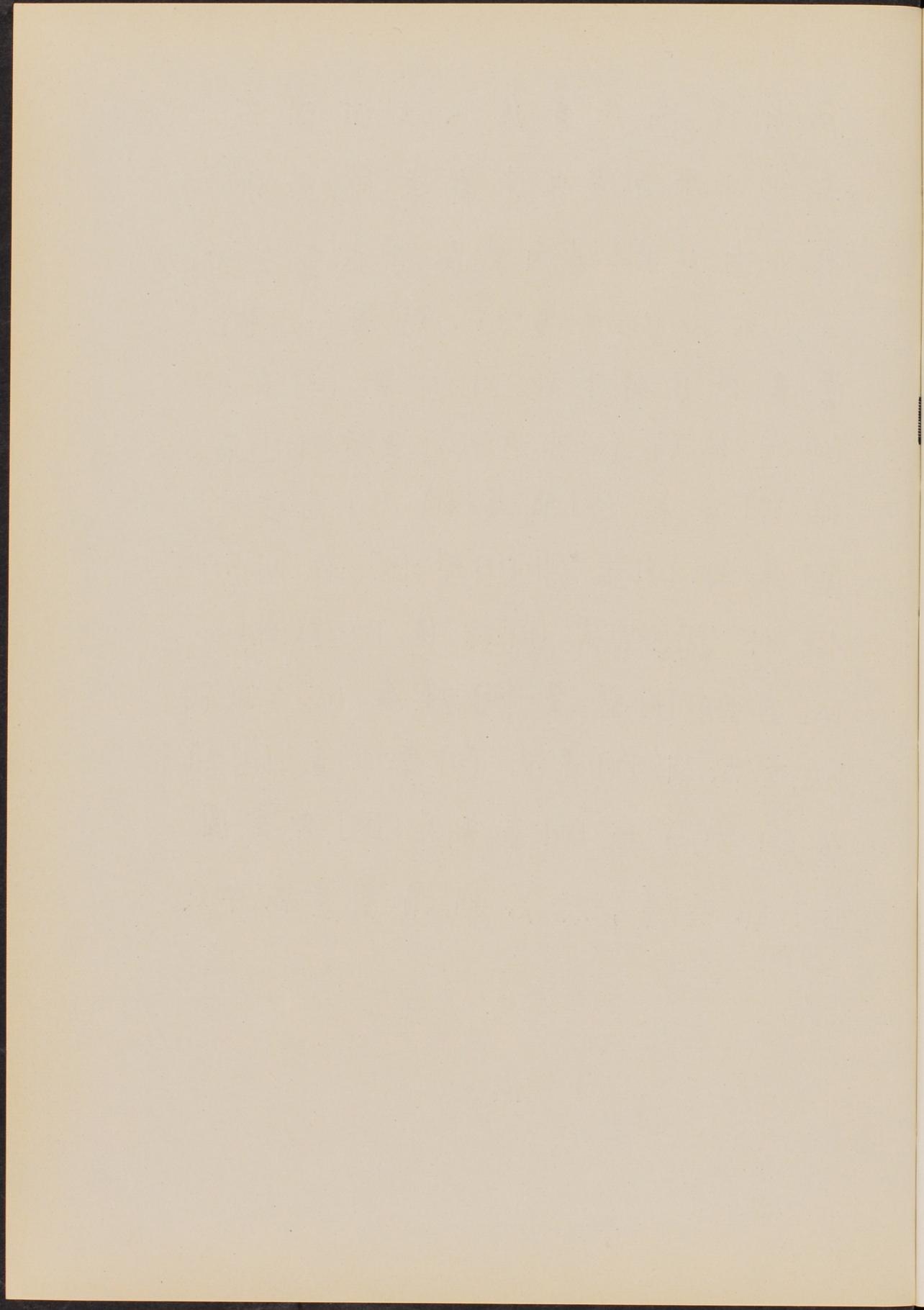




Fig. 1. Part of the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll kept in the Náprstek Museum: The Pien-liang bridge. Photo W. Forman.

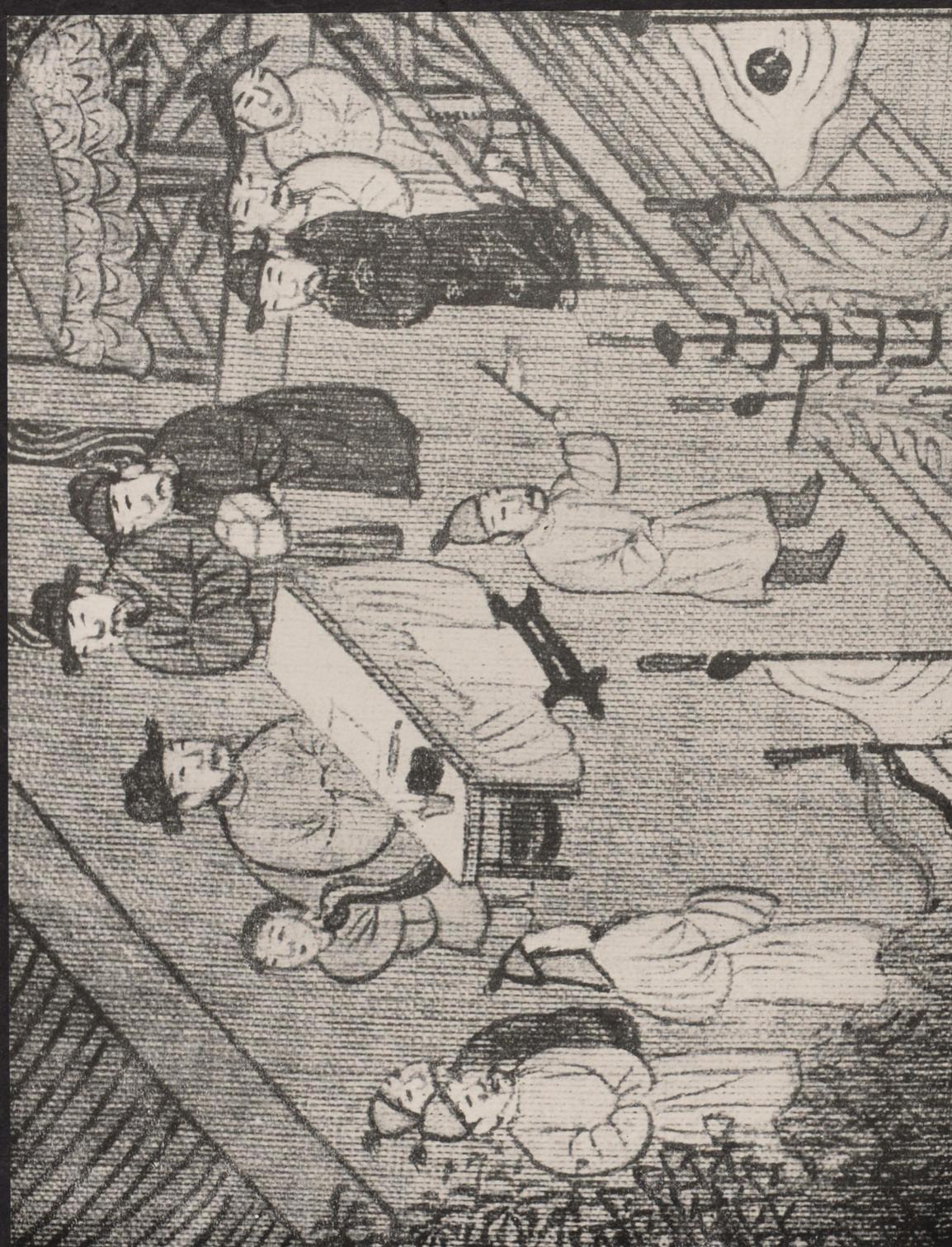


Fig. 2. Detail of the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll kept in the Náprstek Museum. Photo P. Hodan.

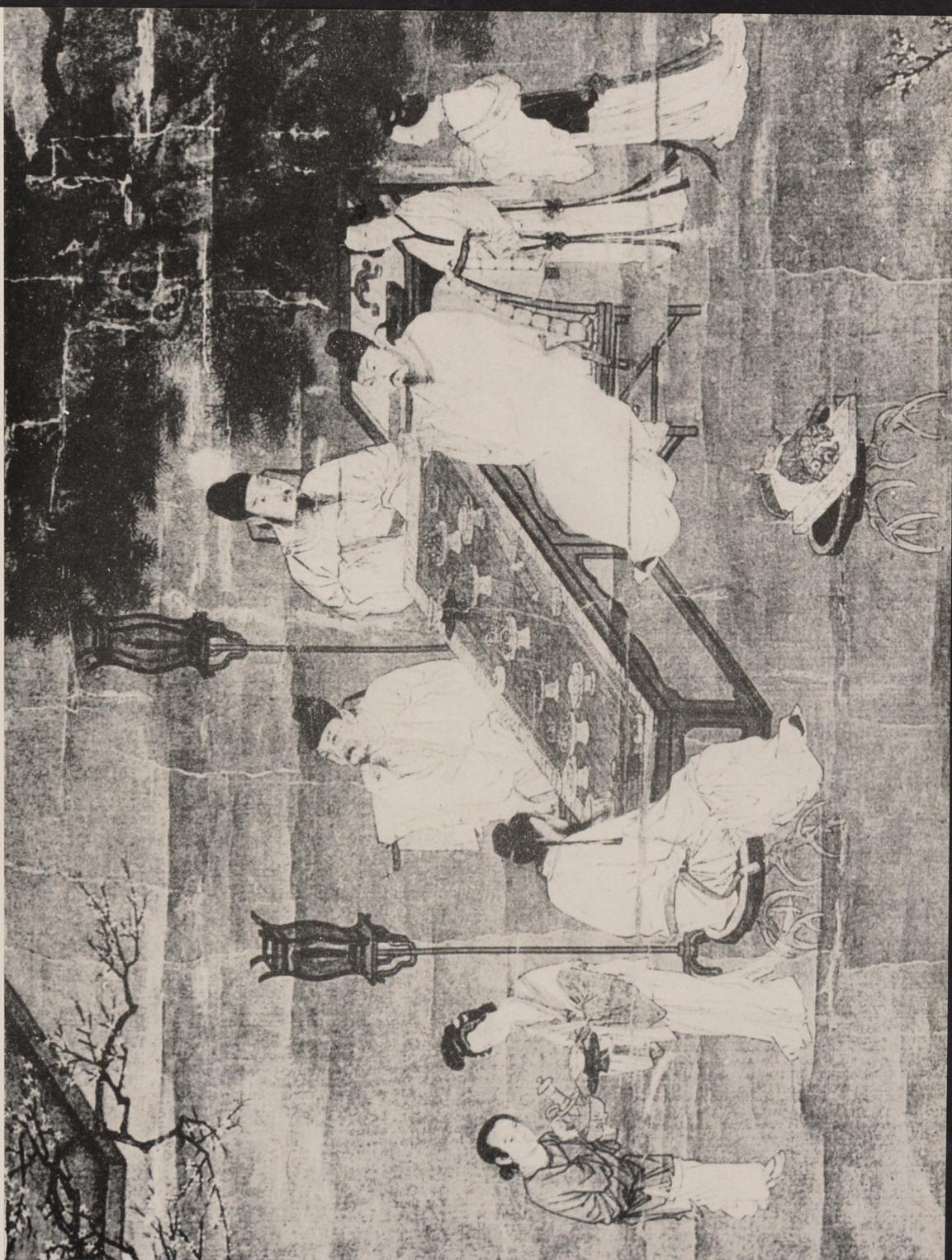


Fig. 3. Detail of the Ch'iu Ying's "Poets Gathering on a Spring Night in the Peach and Pear Garden" picture. Reprint from O. Sirén's book: *Chinese Painting*, vol. VI, pl. 244. Photo P. Hodan.



Fig. 4. Detail of the Ch'ing-ming shang-ho scroll kept in the Náprstek Museum.
Photo P. Hodan.



Fig. 5. Detail of the Ch'iu Ying's "Illustration to the story of the Fisherman Entering the Peach-blossom Garden" handscroll, dated 1530. Reprint from O. Sirén's book: *Chinese Painting*, vol. VI, pl. 239. Photo P. Hodan.

清明巨河圖記



右清明上河圖宋翰林畫史張擇端所作巨河云指蓋真時俗所尚若今之上塚然故其盛如此也圖高不滿尺長二丈有奇人形不盈寸小指纔一二分他物稱是自遠而近直略而詳自郊野及城市則則巍然而高隴然而卑窪然而空北則澹然而平淵然而深迤然而長引突然而激湍澗則槎然枯鬱焚香翹狀蔚然而莫知其所窮人物則宜士農商醫卜僧道胥吏蒼帶纜夫媼女藏獲之行者坐者問者答者授者受呼者應者騎而馳者負者戴者抱而携者縶而前呼者執釜鋸者操釜鍤者持盃聖者袒而風者困而睡者倦而欠伸者有乘轎褰簾以窺者又有以板桑輿森輪箱而陸曳者牽重舟沂急流極力寸進圍橋而岍百夫駐足俯觀若交馳聒叫百口而同聲者驢騾馬牛橐駝之屬或載或卧或息或飲或就輿轆州皆人輿半指屋宇則官府之衙市廛之居謁野之庄寺觀之廬門窓屏嶂籬壁之制間見而層出店肆所繫若酒若饌若藥若襍貨百物皆有顯扁名字筆畫纖細幾坐不可辨識而筆勢簡勁意態生運隨見之殊形尚習之相準不見筆改竄之跡杜少陵所謂毫髮遺憾者非早位夜思日積月累不能到可謂難矣畫當位乎宣政以前豐高豫大之世此卷迺實父仇君所摹予人

嘉靖歲在丁亥孟夏上浣書于停雲館中

雁門文徵明衡並甫識



王之孫國今日兒在城人醒
孫兒倚墨書此絕光怪
嘉錦表生輝
子載真已者未見一付
意獨長留喧和去後無人
色僅是黃河純淨物

通字子王守形

蚤是春時暮雨天可堪芳草夏
芊：內官初賜清明火上相閑分
白打錢紫陌亂嘶紅叱撥綠楊高
暎画秋千游人記得承平事暗喜
風光似昔年

煙霞山人陸粲書



清如水而氣味不寒是年華柳
柳芳色宜於相系日色綠初
結雲綺過以撒香車
惆
悵回廊去原迴烟柳斜

董象恒題



Part IV

古人舉筆相舒性靈之已原不足
顯而宣和時如置畫院選諸名
畫至是工矣豈知寶父筆張
擇端作上河圖精工畫至其源
出於唐小李將軍而工者過之
觀者神力於耗而此者精妙未窮
位千古之大觀維然尚建炎之秋
明盛憂危之意隱然溢於毫末
觀形圖者當心如是鑒

不湖居士陸師道



Part V