LS.LectNotes.8B. The Time of Hui-tsung: Literati Painting

Chao Ling-jang (active ca. 1070-1100.)

Pts we’ve considered who weren’t full-time professionals: Ku K’ai-chih, Wang Wei, maybe Tung Yuan. Now another, who was member of Sung imperial family, fifth-generation descendant of founder Sung T’ai-tsu. Grew up in court environment; educated in classics. Collected old ptgs and callig himself. As ptr, worked in more than one style, or manner. Hui-tsung’s catalog Hsüan-ho hua-p’u writes of him (quoted in Siren II, 71) that his ptgs “represent shady groves in a misty atmosphere with ducks and geese; they have an air of quiet repose…” Said of him that he always ptgd scenery he could see around capital; not able to travel. But also did LS in archaistic, blue-and green manner. (From texts: no safe example known.)

- 8.10.1. River landscape, album leaf, Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

Something new, very modern (centuries earlier than this would happen in Eur. ptg): artist is able to choose his style consciously; can do painting in one style one day, in another tomorrow. Not slow and natural mvt. from one to another, as in traditional “development”. Antiquarianism prominent feature of No. Sung culture. Style-consciousness that goes w. antiquarianism, collecting, affected production of ptg, in which choices of styles became important element. Connoisseurship feeds into art history.

Wang Shen (active ca. 1085)

Another nobleman-artist, not by birth but by marriage: married daughter of Emp. Ying-tsung; lived for a time w/in imperial palace, also served as high official. Important collector: Su Shih, Mi Fu, Li Kung-lin, all knew him. About his LS ptg, 12th cent. writer Teng Ch’un writes: “He followed Li Ch’eng’s method, but also used gold-and-green coloring.” So: like Chao Ling-jang, used different styles at dif. times. Not like trad. artist, who inherits style “belonging to” his local tradition, learns that, perhaps changes it, passes it on to his followers.
- 8.12.1-4? “Light Snow Over a Fishing Village.” 3000 116, Siren 222-23. Barnhart notes presence of “dark-hooded scholar,” and writes that “This is something akin to the romantic LS of 19th cent. Europe, a vision of LS clearly and frankly seen through the eyes of an individual who shapes it into his own image.” Good observation. Consistent with p.v. I am taking: etc. Li-Kuo style LS, changed to fit w/in tech. grasp of cultivated amateur. But:
- 8.12.5.6. Details of fishermen: fakes it. Too rich & aristocratic & busy to spend time among fishermen, or master skills for depicting their lives.
- 8.13.1-7. “Serried Hills Over a Misty River.” Shanghai Museum. 3000 117. Favorite of Dick Barnhart, who writes movingly abt it as “Perhaps the perfect embodiment of this new LS of exile”—Wang Shen was in political disfavor—and as “islands of blue and green, shimmering like a mirage. . .”

No special display of skill here: blue-and-green style adjusted to lower technical skills of aristocrat-amateur artist.

Cf: _detail from “Ming-huang’s Journey.”_ Flat, outlined forms, outlined clouds.

Cf: _detail from ptg attrib. to Chao Po-chû, 12c academy master._ (Will see in next lecture.)

Idea of _archaism._ Interrupts what has been up to now pretty much a _traditional development_ of LS ptg. Collecting and appreciation of old ptgs seemed to demand _appreciation of style_; not just seeing as picture, for pictorial value. Later ptg had escaped that limitation (as artists must have seen it) through great feats of formal unification—making ptg, that is, more immediately believable & acceptable as _picture—up to Fan K’uan etc._ Our Gombrichian “development.” But agst that, now, rise of aristocrat-amateur, scholar-amateur ptg emph. _style—brushwork, facture,_ rather than image, with resulting loss of power of ptg as _image._ Back to more intellectual _reading_ of ptg.

**Reading:** from Ou-yang Hsiu, 1007-1072, _my_ 1958 dissertation pp. 53-4; also Bush&Shih p. 230, slightly different. Great scholar-statesman; one who opposed Wang An-shih. So, close to our group of artists . . . He writes:

“Loneliness and desolation, tranquility and leisureliness—these are the conceptions hard to paint. Even if the painter captures them, the person
seeing his painting won’t necessarily discern them. Flying and running, slow and fast—these are matters of shallow conception, easy to see; but quiet and peace, awesome stillness, feelings of a remote flavor—it is more difficult to give form to these. As for high and low, front and back, near and far, horizontal and vertical layers [that is, planes of height and depth], these belong to the artifices of the professional painter and are nothing that concerns connoisseurship.” So much for the great achievements of Northern Sung monumental landscape—dismissed as not worthy of attention.

Beginnings of Literati Painting.

11\textsuperscript{th} cent., to beg. of 12\textsuperscript{th}: period of peace w northern neighbors, Liao pacified. Productive period in lots of ways: great flourishing of Neo-Confucian philos., poetry, great ptg. In politics, some of greatest statesmen: Ou-yang Hsiu, Su Shih, others. Some of them were almost ideal examples of scholar-gentleman-official (shih-ta-fu) in China. They were poets, calligraphers, collectors, connoisseurs—and ptgs: Their ptgs: not many preserved. I will show most of them, talk a lot abt them. (By contrast, for So. Sung Academy masters, will show a lot, talk little.)

Su Shih, or Su Tung-p’o (1036-1101)

  Colophons by Mi Fu and another. Collection unknown.
- 8.15.1. Another, Shanghai Museum, part of handscroll. Lyric J. 1.5.
- 8.15.1a Su Shih calligraphy, Shanghai Museum.

Famous poet, statesman, calligrapher. (Show example.) As ptr, Su Shih specialized in a small group of subjects: bamboo, old trees, rocks. Ptd in ink, simple pictures, like extention of calligraphy. Choice of subjects partly
symbolic—all these symbolized virtues of ideal man—but also because they suited the limited technical abilities of the amateur artist. His friend Mi Fu wrote of him: “Su Shih ptld old trees with their branches & trunks contorted excessively like dragons, while his wrinkled & sharp rocks were querely tangled like sorrows coiled up in his breast.” Images in ptg seen in terms of human character & feeling. How different this is from Ching Hao, who wrote of old pine tree “as though soaring aloft into the air, its gestures like whose of a writhing dragon . ..” (cf. Bush&Shih 145). For him, old tree has its own inherent nature, or character.

(How forms embody feeling subject for course in aesthetics—I would use Suzanne Langer’s 1953 book Feeling and Form as text. Writing and lecturing abt this in 1950s, I was tempted to liken it to Abstract Expressionism then current among U.S. ptrs. Misleading in some ways, but not totally: feeling expressed in forms apart from any representational function they may have.)

I quoted before, will quote again: Su Shih poem about earlier artists:
“Though Master Wu Tao-tzu was supreme in art,
He can only be regarded as an artisan painter;
Wang Wei soared beyond images
Like an immortal crane released from the cage.” (Bush&Shih 203)

“When one savors Wang Wei’s poems, there are paintings in them,
When one looks at Wang Wei’s pictures, there are poems . ..”
Su Shih set out to make ptg & poetry sister arts, equivalents, one virtually interchangeable into other.

And, endlessly quoted, the opening lines of a poem (Bush&Shih 224):
“If anyone discusses ptg in terms of formal likeness,
His understanding is close to that of a child.”

Return: ptg attrib. to Hsú Hsi, Bamboo, Old Tree, and Rock (trimmed at left: old tree cut out.) Anon., early No. Sung? Obviously, from extant examples, Su Shih’s ptgs can’t be discussed in terms of likeness—expressive rather than pictorially descriptive. As I remarked in introductory lecture, any cultivated Chinese, faced w. choice between these two, would immediately and unhesitatingly choose Su Shih’s. Literati ptrs concocted theories that, among other things, supported their own practice. Noting unusual in that—normal.
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All this still has great attraction for lots of people. Certain positions, or arguments, have rhetorical advantage over others: ("sudden enlightenment" Ch’an vs. “gradual enlightenment.”) Doesn’t mean their side right, other side wrong. Literati claimed these rhetorical positions. Ptgs w poetic content obviously sound better than ptgs w/o; self-
expressive ptg sounds better than other kinds. Doesn’t mean their kind of ptg really superior. Make your own judgments.

Chu Hsi wrote about him (Bush&Shih 202): “After a hundred generations, when people look at this painting [of bamboo and rock], they will be able to see him in their minds.” Early statement of belief that would be endlessly repeated later: When you look at the ptg you don’t see the bamboo and rock, you see the man [who painted it.] That is, you understand the workings of his mind. This was the idea I traced in my “Confucian Elements” article.

Wen T’ung
Close friend of Su Tung-p’o, who wrote admiringly abt him. More serious, probably a better ptr than Su. Specialized in bamboo, estab. school of ink-bamboo. Died young.
- 8.16.1. Large Branch of Bamboo, NPM. Siren 182, CAT 27. Not signed, but seal w. artist’s name. Darker & lighter leaves, for nearer & further. S-curve becomes standard for such ptgs. Easily turned into formula.
8.16.2. Detail. Little hooks on the ends of some strokes: more calligraphy than bamboo?
Not strikingly unorthodox; early example of kind of ptg that would be repeated endlessly by amateur artists, who could learn to do it easily.
- 8.17.1. Another, double album leaf. Siren 183. A bit more spontaneous, but still very much following system. Highly controlled, or disciplined. Brushwork in literati ptg never allowed to become too loose or free.


Mi Fu (not Fei). 1052=1107.
(Letter About a Coral Tree: T&V 7-37.)
- 8.19.3. Mi Fu calligraphy, Shanghai Museum
Book: Peter C. Sturman (U.C., Santa Barbara), Mi Fu : Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China. Yale University Press (1997)

Scholar, profes. connoisseur, calligrapher, collector. Held various posts; was for a time member of Han-lin Academy; appointed as connoisseur in
palace, advisor to Hui-tsung, prob. took part in compiling catalog of imperial collection, Hsüan-ho hua-p’u. Wrote Hua-shih, Shu-shih—"History of Ptg.,” “History of Callig.”—actually collections of commentary: stories, anecdotes, ofen very unorthodox. (Kohara study.) Excerpts from his Hua-shih, judgments of earlier artists (Tung Yüan, Li Ch’eng, Fan K’uan) trans. In Bush&Shih 213-14.

As ptr, considered self to carry on Chiang-nan, Yangtze Delta, local tradition. Recognized Southern tradition of LS, traced back to Tung Yuan. About landscape ptg, he wrote (trans. from Marilynn & Shen Fu, Studies in Connoisseurship, p. 57; another, I think wrong, trans. in Bush&Shih 220-21):

"Likeness of subjects such as oxen, horses, and human beings can be gotten by imitation (mo). But landscape ptg cannot be achieved [by this method]. Landscape [ptg] is a creation of the mind, and is intrinsically a superior art."

No reliable ptg by Mi Fu to show. This one, in Freer Gallery, old and important, commonly used to represent him. Couplet in upper right supposedly in hand of Hui-tsung, his cursive style of writing (I was told by Chang Ta-ch’ien, while looking at this.) Couplet: "Heaven sends down timely rain, Hills and clouds put forth mists." Political theme; such ptgs presented to scholar-officials to praise them...

Silhouetted tree groves in FG, temple roofs, simple rounded hills in fog beyond. Nearly all executed in applications of dots, rather like stippling, but with larger dabs.

Bring back: details from ptgs attrib. to Tung Yuan. Mi Fu’s derives from his understanding of Tung Yuan style? System called by later writers “Mi dots.” Meant to be seen from some distance, not close-up; he praised Tung Yuan’s ptg for that quality . . .

Other LS attrib. to Mi Fu, but don’t seem to me worth considering, e.g. small LS in CAT. Obviously later, don’t tell us anything abt Mi Fu.

Should remember: it was Mi Fu who pronounced LS by Hsü Tao-ning, ptr of great handscroll in Nelson Gal., to be “plebeian,” not worth looking at. Mi Fu’s influence on Hui-tsung, or at least Hui-tsung’s complete swallowing of literati ptg ideas, indicated by his rejection of Kuo Hsi. Bush & Shih 136-7: later 12th cent writer, Teng Ch’un, tells of how his father was serving in Hui-tsung court, looking thru old functional ptgs, sees
mounter using a Kuo Hsi ptg as a rag to wipe a table. (etc.--cartload delivered, hung all over walls of house.)

**Mi Yu-jen** (1074-1151.)


Precocious youth. .. Followed father as LS ptr. (only 22 yrs younger) Had career as minor official; served in prefectural post, in charge of School of Writing. Held office again after establishment of So.Sung, for 24 yrs, so played important role in continuation of literati ptg past No. Sung. In last 10 yrs of life, “met w. imperial favor,” so he ptd less for outsiders. No dtd work from last 12 yrs.

Here is **Mi Yu-jen** writing abt painting (Bush&Shih 205-06):

“Yang Hsiung [Han dyn. philos.] considered written characters to be the depictions of the mind. . . As for the definition of ptg, it is also a depiction of the mind. In the past everyone who was of an exceptional talent worked in this way, but how can the common commercial artisan be expected to understand?” Expres. of lofty superiority, contempt for opposition.

And (Bush&Shih 211): “People know that I am good at ptg and compete to obtain my works, but few realize how I paint. Unless the eye of true perception is in their foreheads, they cannot perceive it, and one cannot look for it in the ptgs of ancient and [other] modern artists. . . “

Obvious that literati artists, able to write abt themselves (as literati), don’t avoid self-praise. Like Su Shih, Mi Yu-jen is taking stands that have rhetorical advantage. Los of people, including most specialists, still persuaded: Sturman writes, early in dis.: “Determining how Mi Yu-jen turned ptg into an art of expression is a major task of this thesis.” I was once similarly persuaded; now I’m more skeptical about the effect literati theory had on Ch ptg.—much that was bad along with the good, thru its severe criticism and censorship of opposition. Great deal lost.


This is earliest ptg we have with poetic insc. by artist, also dtd. Older
masters only signed their works, if that. Now artist writes on it, adds poem, invites admiration for his calligraphy and poetic composition as well as his ptg.

As picture, presents kind of deliberate monotony, avoidance of interesting detail. Like father.

- 8.21 "Mountains in Clouds," former Abe col., Osaka. Skira 92. Signed; insc. mtd above dtd. 1134. More interesting: I chose for Skira book. Deliberate vagueness, suggestiveness, dissolution of solid forms, creates sense of mystery. Band of fog across tree grove: from Chao Ling-jang. Inscribed "Playfully done by Yuan-hui." Question of whether ptg and insc mtd above it (with date) originally belonged together. Sturman considers they probably did; makes long, complex argument abt how ptg might have been done for friend, w. private allusions to old style: here, Li Ch’eng! Maybe (I’m being non-committal: Arch Wenley used to say “Interesting if true!”)


- 8.24.1- “Rare and Wonderful Views of the Hsiao-Hsiang.” Dtd. 1137. (Apologize for dull image.) Sturman considers “his finest extant work”...

PM Beijing, Lyric J 1.7.

Series of “8 Views of Hsiao-Hsiang Region” had been ptd by late 11c scholar-ptr Sung Ti; taken up as scholar-ptr’s “poetic subject.” Freda Murck writes abt this. We’ll see great examples in last lecture, by Ch’an Buddhist ptrs. But if this is new height of poetic ptg, by dif. definition than mine—(argument of Lyric Journey: that it’s in certain ptgs by Academy masters, such as Hsia Kuei (scorned, rejected by literati critics) that real heights of poetic ptg by my def. achieved—near-miraculous depths of poetic feeling.).

Mi Yu-jen’s ptgs came to be greatly in demand, like (later, in late Yuan dyn.) those of Ni Tsan—everybody who aspired to reputation for good taste had to have one. “Poetic” vs. “vulgar” work of professional and Academy masters such as Kuo Hsi. But: Late Sung writer (quoted by Sturman) writes: “One thousand Mi Yu-jen ptgs all sing the same tune.”
Li Kung-lin (1049-1106)

Came from Anhui. Family of scholar-officials. Passed chin-shih exam, held various offices. Retired after 1100 to mt. villa in Lung-mien (Dragon Sleeping) Mts. Collector, expert on old ptgs and calligraphy. Friendly w. Su Shih, Mi Fu, etc. Ptd. figures in pai-miao style: ink line w/o color.

Abt his ptgs, he himself wrote (Bush&Shih 204):
“i make paintings as a poet composes a poem, simply to recite my feelings and express my nature.” Conventional sentiment for his time; doesn’t match up easily w his extant ptgs, at least to my eyes. More serious pt than others--


Yang Pu-chih (1098-1169). Pupil of monk-artist Hua-kuang, ptr of blossoming plum.
- 8.29.5. Small bamboo ptg by him, National Palace Museum.

Wang T'ing-yün (1151-1202).
- 8.30.1. "Old Tree and Bamboo," Fujii Yurikan, Kyoto. Skira 96, T&V 7.21, (Will return this in later lecture when talking abt Chin ptg.)

Ch’iao Chung-ch’ang
Early 12c follower of Li Kung-lin. Handscroll attrib. to him in colophons from early 12c (dtd. 1124) on. Seems reliable. Fine work.

(Preceded by:
-8.32.1.2. Copy by Kano Tan’yu, 1602-1679, of opening of scroll, preserving lost original section: Su Shih at Snow Hall. Article by Masa’aki Itakura in Kokka no. 1270, August 2000; paper by him in 2002 conference volume The History of Ptg in East Asia.)
(Ending, with Su Shih in house: cf. after Wang Wei, Wang-ch’uan Villa rubbing, detail.)

Style of scroll represents new literati ptg mvt at best: old orthodox technique replaced by new kind of tech, w/o such obvious finish, skill. A kind of unostentatious strength in design & execution that Ch. connect w moral strength in ptr—but we know nothing of him. Awareness of past; concern for communicating understanding, sensibility, to others of like mind. No thought of dazzling, or trying to call attn to self by displays of self-conscious unorthodoxy. (This is positive reading, from old notes. Still ...

Ending: add on as talking-head): Much of literati ptg theory as formulated in this period becomes orthodox literati doctrine in later centuries, came to be unchallengeable—at least, couldn’t be questioned w/o exposing writer or artist to charges of low taste and commercialization etc. Rhetorical compulsions & taboos of literati ptg become all-powerful (since literati, by definition, write the books, "control the press," ) continue their dominance to this day. They are what I am presently, in my late years, fighting against on various fronts. (Is this China’s great curse, unease
over allowing competition to central orthodoxies, allowing openness of discussion, enabling a plural society?)

Additional commentary on literati painting (not in lecture): This is from my lecture notes, written ca. 1966:

Wen-jen-hua theory has different aspects, not a coherent, carefully-worked-out doctrine. Some writers say things quite in line w. traditional concepts of ptg. Sometimes emphasize grasping li, inherent principle, of things—not unlike Northern Sung landscapists. Nevertheless, it’s the beginning of a movement that was to revolutionize painting.

Kuo Jo-hsü (Siren II/37-8): Men of noble character and high personal quality will produce ptgs of highest quality. But takes connoisseur [to recognize this.] Not matter of technique.

Based on expressive capacities of brushwork and form. A little like character-reading from handwriting—but on aesthetic plane, more subtle. And doesn’t yield statements abt the man, but sense of understanding. We have it, with van Gogh etc.

Some current theories, fashionable, dissociate work of art entirely from maker—he’s totally irrelevant. Stylish way of thinking, but never has been done in practice, never will be—kind of extreme point in view that considers any concern with painter or circumstances of creation as hopelessly philistine. Chinese would never have taken such notions seriously.

The point, in any case, isn’t that one needs to know something abt the man, but that whatever one derives from work of art is bound up indivisibly w. man (or woman) who made it—to be understood as such.

Some themes w/in literati ptg theory & practice: readings in Bush&Shih:
- Skill vs. awkwardness. (But: see Su Shih, B&S 207: Tao vs. skill)
- Amateur ideal: Su Shih, B&S 196.
- Sources of excellence, superior quality in ptg: B&S 205-6, Mi Yu-jen.
- Representational technique, Huang Po-ssu: B&S 221.
- Resemblance, likeness: Su Shih, B&S 224.
- Brushwork, materials. Chao Hsi-ku on Mi Fu, B&S 217.
- Subject matter; political implications, etc. symbolic messages: these accessible to amateur, less so to professional master. Readings in Murck.
Also, important: Kuo Jo-hsū, *T'u-hua chien-wen chih* (trans. by Alexander Soper as: *Kuo Jo-Hsu's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih)* An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting. Washington D. C. American Council of Learned Societies 1951) Read from p. 15; on status of great ptrs of past. (This development summed up in my *Ptr's Practice* 123-26).

- Attitudes twd old ptg, old masters. Su Shih, B&S 203. Ou-yang Hsiu, B&S 203 top.
- Relat. of ptg & poetry. B&S 203, Su Shih; 196, Wen T'ung.
- Ptg & Taoism/Ch’an: Huang T’ing-chien, B&S 212.
- Awkwardness as positive quality.

**Additional reading:**

Highly recommended:
Supplements, counters my lectures in valuable way.
Optional: James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard U. Press, 1996. I: In Southern Sung Hangchou. Many of the paintings shown and discussed in this and the following lectures are reproduced there, and inscriptions translated etc. Abbrev. as Lyric J.
The Red Cliff, II

In the same year, on the fifteenth of the tenth month, I went on foot from Snow Hall on my way back to Lin-kao, accompanied by two guests. When we passed the slope of Huang-ni the frost and dew had fallen already. The trees were stripped of leaves, our shadows were on the ground; we looked up at the full moon, enjoyed its radiance around us; and as we walked we took turns to sing. At last I said with a sigh:

"I have guests but no wine; and if I did have wine there would be nothing to eat with it. The moon is white and the wind is cool; what shall we do on a fine night like this?"

"Today at twilight," a guest said, "I went out with a net and caught some fish with big mouths and little scales; they look like the perch of Pine River, But where shall we get wine?"

After we reached home I consulted my wife.

"I have a quart of wine," she said, "I have been keeping it for a long time, in case you needed it in some emergency."

So we took the wine and fish and went on another excursion under the Red Cliff. The river flowed noisily, the banks rose sheer for a thousand feet, the moon was small between the high mountains, and stones stood out from the sunken water; even after so few months and days river and mountains were no longer recognisable. I lifted the hem of my coat and stepped ashore. Treading on the steep rocks, parting the dense thickets, I squatted on stones shaped like tigers and leopards, climbed twisted pines like undulating dragons, drew myself up to the perilous nests of perching falcons, looked down into the underwater palace of the River God. Neither of the guests was able to keep up with me.

I called them with a long slicing whistle. The grass and trees stirred and shook, cries in the mountains were answered in the valleys, the wind rose and the water seethed. I felt uneasy and dispirited, frightened by the eeriness of it; I shivered, it was impossible to stay there. We turned back and climbed into the boat, loosed it in midstream, and moored it where it drifted to a stop. At that time it was nearly midnight, and there was silence all around us. Just then a single crane came from the east across the river, with wings turning like cartwheels, white jacketed and black underneath. With
a long dragging wail it dived at our boat and flew on westwards. The guests left at once, and I too retired to sleep. I dreamed of a Taoist monk who passed below Lin-kao swaggering in a feathered robe. He asked me with a bow:

"Did you enjoy your trip to the Red Cliff?"

I asked his name; he looked down and did not answer.

"Ah, I know you! Last night, the thing which flew past me wailing, wasn't it you?"

The Taoist looked back at me smiling, I woke with a start and opened the door to look for him, but did not see him anywhere.