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## THE ROLE OF ART IN THE SOUTHERN SUNG DYNASTIC REVIVAL

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The problem of resuscitating a dynasty after a catastrophic reverse has been successfully resolved by only a few rulers in Chinese history. Emperors who presided over dynastic revival (chung-hsing 中興) form a distinct category in the dynastic histories, providing role models to others in similar circumstances. Conscious of these historical precedents, Sung Kao-tsung (1107-1187; r. 1127-1162), the architect of the Southern Sung revival, drew upon an unusually wide range of resources in order to re-establish the Sung after North China was seized by the Chin. Most striking is his use of cultural and artistic media to promote the acceptance of his political program. Because Kao-tsung eventually gave up trying to recover the territory lost to the Chin, traditional historians have compared him unfavorably with other emperors of dynastic revival, overlooking how successful Kao-tsung's strategy actually was in restoring the power and preserving the legitimacy of the Sung dynasty for another 150 years.<sup>1</sup>

In 1127, the fortunes of the Sung dynasty seemed dismal indeed.<sup>2</sup> The Chin had just sacked Pien-liang (near modern Kaifeng, in Honan), the primary capital, and had carried off some 3,000 members of the imperial household to captivity in the North. Among the unfortunate prisoners were two emperors, Hui-tsung (1082-1135; r. 1100-1125) and his eldest son Ch'in-tsung (1101-1161; r. 1126), the latter on the throne just a few months since his father's abdication. The magnificent treasures in the imperial collection, gathered there primarily by Hui-tsung and catalogued in the last years of his reign, had been looted and scattered beyond recovery. The loss of these cultural artifacts, which included ancient ritual bronze vessels as well as

1. The tsan (evaluation) at the end of the basic annals for Kao-tsung's reign identifies and compares rulers who revived their dynasties. In addition to Kao-tsung, the rulers are identified as Hsiao K'ang of Hsia, Hsüan-wang of Chou, Kuang-wu-ti of Han, Yüan-ti of Chin, and Su-tsung of T'ang. Sung-shih 宋史 32 (Peking: Peking Univ., 1977), pp. 611-613. Hereafter abbreviated SS.
2. The fall of Northern Sung is described in numerous sources. A recent account is given by Samuel L. Chao in "The Day Northern Sung Fell," Chung-yüan Journal, vol. 8 (Dec., 1979): 144-157.

the calligraphy and painting of artists from more recent eras, symbolized the demoralizing collapse of Sung prestige and authority.

As the only royal prince to escape capture, the 20-year-old Kao-tsung assumed the throne in the fifth month of 1127 (June 12, 1127) in the southern capital at Ying-t'ien (near modern Shang-ch'iu, Honan) and led his followers south of the Yangtze River to regroup in preparation for retaking the North.<sup>3</sup> For the first 10 years of his rule, Kao-tsung had no fixed capital but moved from place to place evading threats from the Chin. In these insecure years Kao-tsung also had to placate warring factions of officials and generals who disagreed over strategies for restoring the dynasty. In one extreme case, he was even temporarily deposed by the rebellious commanders Miao Fu 苗傅 and Liu Cheng-yen 劉正彥, who challenged his right to occupy the throne. However, as time passed, Kao-tsung became considerably less ardent in his quest to retake the North and showed more interest in consolidating power in the South. In 1138 he named Lin-an (modern Hangchow, Chekiang) as the official "temporary capital" and proceeded to build palaces and offices there, to all appearances settling in for a long stay. He also restored governmental institutions such as the civil service examinations and official sacrifices. By 1142, he had accepted humiliating conditions of peace with the Chin, in return for which the Chin sent back the bodies of Hui-tsung, Hui-tsung's empress Cheng 鄭氏, and Kao-tsung's empress (née Hsing 邢氏, all of whom had died in captivity during the 1130s. Kao-tsung's mother (née Wei 韋氏), who was still miraculously alive and well, was allowed to join him in the South.

In justifying his acceptance of unfavorable terms from the Chin, Kao-tsung emphasized the importance of *hsiao* 孝, or filial obligation, both with regard to his private relationship with his parents and his public duty to take proper care of the spirits of his dynastic predecessors through correct burial and services in the ancestral temple.<sup>4</sup> Notably absent from

3. For events of the early Southern Sung, see the following: Li Hsin-ch'uan, *Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu*; Hsü Meng-hsin, *San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien*; Hsiung K'o, *Chung-hsing hsiao-chi* 熊克, *中興小紀*. Edition: *Sung-shih tzu-liao ts'ui-pien*, ser. 2 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1968). Hereafter abbreviated CHHC. Liu Cheng, *Huang Sung Chung-hsing liang-ch'ao sheng-cheng* 留正, *皇宋中興兩朝聖政*. Edition: *Sung-shih tzu-liao ts'ui-pien*, ser. 1 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1968). Hereafter abbreviated HSCHLCS. SS 24-28. Also James T. C. Liu, "Southern Sung Political Institutions," draft chapter for the Cambridge History of China.

4. HSCHLCS 24, p. 1467; also CHHC 24, pp. 627-628 and 29, p. 757. The role of *hsiao* is also discussed in James T. C. Liu, "Southern Sung Political Institutions."

師盛秋之際提兵按邊風  
霜已寒征馭良苦如是別  
有事宜可密奏奉朝廷以  
淮西軍叛之後每加過慮  
長江上流一帶緩急之際全  
藉卿軍照管可更或飭所  
留軍馬訓練整齊常為寇  
至新陽江州兩處水軍之  
宜遣散以防意外如卿體  
國豈待多言

宋史卷一百一十五  
高宗本紀十一  
三十二年  
十一月  
丙申

付岳飛

丙

Figure 1

the peace settlement, however, was any mention of Ch'in-tsung, the rightful emperor, who was still alive in the North and whose return to the South would have challenged Kao-tsung's occupancy of the throne.<sup>5</sup> Critics in the war faction must have suspected that Kao-tsung's motives for making peace on unfavorable terms had something to do with his desire to keep the throne. Publicly, however, they blamed Kao-tsung's prime minister Ch'in Kuei 秦檜 (1090-1155) for leading Kao-tsung away from what they saw as his primary obligation, to recover the North. Some people even suspected Ch'in Kuei of being a Chin agent with the mission of subverting the moral resolve of the South, for he had somewhat mysteriously returned from captivity himself in 1130.<sup>6</sup> However, the peace agreement did resolve some of the uncertainties that had existed ever since the fall of the North and fostered a shift in attention to the normal pursuits of peace.

One of the resources upon which Kao-tsung drew in his effort to rebuild the power and prosperity of the Sung was his own prowess at calligraphy. In the *Han-mo chih* 翰墨志, a short treatise that Kao-tsung wrote after retiring from the throne, he claims that he had practiced calligraphy every day for fifty years except when a serious crisis intervened.<sup>7</sup> As a result of assiduously copying the writings of the great calligraphers of the past, Kao-tsung developed a style of his own that was solidly based on tradition and technically sound (Fig. 1). In addition to copying exemplary works of calligraphy in the palace collection, Kao-tsung also enjoyed transcribing texts from the Confucian classics and the histories, claiming that the pastime gave him the opportunity to learn the texts while improving his brushmanship.<sup>8</sup> Kao-tsung frequently bestowed the pieces he had written on his generals, high ministers, and other officials.<sup>9</sup> In some cases, he seems to

5. This consideration is vividly treated in Lin Tien-wai, "Moral Principle versus Political Reality: A Critical Study of the War and Peace Policies in the Shao-hsing Period under the Sung Dynasty," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Jan. 1977): 85-107, esp. pp. 96-98 (in Chinese).

6. HSCHLSC 8, pp. 750-751 and 758-759.

7. Sung Kao-tsung, *Han-mo chih* 翰墨志. Edition *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* ser. 8 (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1975), p. 3006. Hereafter abbreviated HMC.

8. CHHC 30, p. 799.

9. An impressive list appears in Wang Ying-lin, *Yü-hai* 王應麟, 玉海 Edition *Che-chiang shu-chü*, 1883, 34. Hereafter abbreviated as YH. Other bequests may be gleaned from collectors' records, such as Yüeh K'o Pao-chen-chai *fa-shu tsan* 岳珂, 寶真齋法書贊. Edition *I-shu ts'ung-pien* ser. 1, no. 24 (Taipei: Shih-chieh-shu-chü, 1960). Hereafter

have tailored his choice of text to individual recipients, perhaps for quite practical purposes.

In the early years after the fall of the North, Kao-tsung's selections of texts to transcribe and bestow were often pieces intended to inspire the recipient to more fervent efforts in performing his military or civilian duties. Kao-tsung was particularly fond of the official biographies of the T'ang generals P'ei Tu 裴度 and Kuo Tzu-i 郭子儀 and gave his transcriptions of these texts to his own generals to spur them on.<sup>10</sup> For civilian officials he frequently chose passages or poems containing the theme of dynastic revival, such as the *Basic Annals of the Han emperor Kuang-wu-ti* (r. 25-57),<sup>11</sup> and poems in the *Shih-ching* (Classic of Poetry) associated with the Chou emperor Hsüan-wang.<sup>12</sup> By the late 1130s, however, after Lin-an had been designated the temporary capital and Kao-tsung had become more comfortable on his brother's throne, the tenor of his calligraphic bequests changed somewhat. Increasingly the theme of the texts he selected was the duty of the Confucian official to his ruler. One of Kao-tsung's favorite choices was the *Hsiao-ching* (Classic of Filial Piety), which expounds a philosophy of obedience to authority and the fulfillment of moral obligations as the basis for ethical behavior.<sup>13</sup> In view of Kao-tsung's emphasis on filial piety as a motive for accepting unfavorable peace terms in 1142, it is understandable that he might wish to stress the importance of this particular virtue.

Kao-tsung's development as a calligrapher is attested by a series of dated works, as well as by the comments of late 12th-century writers. His youthful style was strongly influenced by the writing of Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), one of the great calligraphers of the late 11th century, whose mature style is characterized by the use of diagonal strokes of exaggerated length, and tremulous and long horizontal strokes.<sup>14</sup> Kao-tsung's

abbreviated PCCFST. Chou Pi-ta, *I-kung t'i-pa* 周必大, 益公題跋. Edition *Sung nien ming-chia t'i-pa hui pien* 宋廿名家題跋彙編, (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1971). Hereafter abbreviated IKTP.

10. See, respectively YH 34, p. 19b and HSCHLSC 8, pp. 731-732.

11. E.g., for the censor Hsü Fu 徐俯 in 1132 recorded in HSCHLSC 11, p. 926; also in YH 34, p. 18.

12. E.g., the poems "Ch'e kung" 車攻 and "Hung-yen" 鴻雁 were bestowed upon prime minister Chao Ting 趙鼎 in 1135; YH 34, p. 19.

13. Kao-tsung's transcriptions of the *Hsiao-ching* were distributed to the *chou* 州 (prefectural) schools in 1143; YH 34, pp. 19a-b.

14. IKTP 6, p. 2b; also YH 34, p. 20. For a detailed analysis of Huang T'ing-chien's style, see Shen C. Y. Fu, "Huang T'ing-chien's Calligraphy

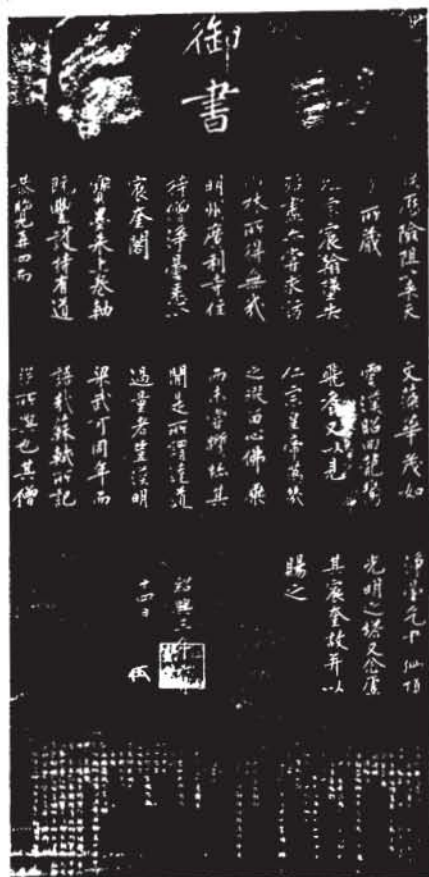


Figure 2

earliest extant work, entitled *Fo-ting kuang-ming-t'a pei* 佛頂光明塔碑, was written for the Ch'an Buddhist temple Kuang-li-ssu 廣利寺 in 1133; it survives in a rubbing taken to Japan in 1241 (Fig. 2).<sup>15</sup> He wrote this commemorative piece to express his gratitude to abbot Ching-t'an 淨曇 of the Kuang-li-ssu for his patriotic generosity in donating to the palace his temple's collection of 53 pieces of calligraphy by the Northern Sung emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1022-1063).<sup>16</sup> The bequest was a response to Kao-tsung's appeal to institutions and private collectors to donate artworks, documents, and ceremonial objects which they owned or were able to procure on the art markets operating on the northern border, in order to replace the imperial collection lost in the fall of Pien-liang.<sup>17</sup> Imperial possession of the artifacts of traditional culture would help to strengthen the legitimacy of the Southern Sung, even though the loss of the ancient heartland suggested that the Sung had lost heavenly sanction to continue to rule.<sup>18</sup> Kao-tsung's efforts were surprisingly successful, for by the end of his reign, the collection that he had built up from nothing was actually larger than that of Hui-tsung.<sup>19</sup>

Kao-tsung's calligraphic style underwent considerable change between 1133 and the late 1130's. Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 (1137-1213) claims that the main reason for this stylistic change was that the Huang T'ing-chien style,

and his *Scroll for Chang Ta-t'ung*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1976, especially chapter 4, pp. 105-106.

15. See Shodō zenshū 書道全集 new series, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1955), pl. 1 and p. 137; also Lou Yüeh, *Kung-k'uei chi* 樓鑰, *攻瑰集* Edition Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊 69 (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1967), pp. 628-629. Hereafter abbreviated KKC.
16. A near-contemporary itemization of the bequest appears in Ma Yung-ch'ing, *Lan-chen tzu* 馬永卿, *嬾真子* (in Yü Ching, *Ju-hsüeh ching-wu* 俞經, *儒學警悟* (ca. 1201), reprinted Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1967, 5, p. 126).
17. Chou Mi, *Ssu-ling shu-hua chi* 周密, *思陵書畫記*. Reproduced and translated in Robert H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 205. Hereafter abbreviated SLSHC. An even more spectacular donation was Lin Yen's 林儼 gift of 2000 calligraphy scrolls, for which he was awarded an official post; HSCHLCS 13, p. 954.
18. This thinking has something of a modern analogy in the emphasis placed by the Nationalist government on retaining control over the cultural treasures of the Palace and Central Museums during World War II and following the Civil War when it took refuge on Taiwan.
19. SLSHC, p. 205.

popular in the North, served the Chin strategy of undermining the Sung with a Chinese-style appeal in the same way as Liu Yü 劉豫, the "Emperor of Ch'i" (1074-1143).<sup>20</sup> This puppet ruler was set up by the Chin to exploit their Chinese subjects more effectively and to encourage defections from the South. Urged to change his writing style, Kao-tsung thereupon practiced the style of Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107), a contemporary of Huang T'ing-chien. Mi Fu had developed his writing style by identifying and studying the best available examples of calligraphy from the Six Dynasties through T'ang periods, and his writing shows more classical elegance and understatement than Huang's.<sup>21</sup> Kao-tsung gathered a great quantity of writings by Mi Fu into the palace collection and was able to have the pieces authenticated by Mi Fu's own son, Mi Yu-jen 米友仁 (1072-1151).<sup>22</sup>

Following Mi Fu's lead, Kao-tsung came to revere the precious and scarce writings of the Six Dynasties, the transitory regimes that ruled south China in succession from 222 to 589. Chief among the calligraphers of that golden age was Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之 (?303-?361), followed by his son Wang Hsien-chih 王獻之 (344-388) and other members of the talented family, including the late sixth-century monk Chih-yung 智永 (Fig. 3). In the course of his reign, Kao-tsung collected a considerable number of writings by these calligraphers, as is attested by the appearance of his seals on works that are still extant today, either in rubbings or in manuscript.<sup>23</sup> In Han-mo chih Kao-tsung claims that he had copied every exemplary model of Six Dynasties, Sui and T'ang calligraphy as a foundation for developing his personal style.<sup>24</sup> Kao-tsung also mentions that he often gave his copies of these masterworks to men in his government in order to promote their development as calligraphers, in the hope that the Southern Sung might eventually come to rival the Six Dynasties in calligraphic attainment.<sup>25</sup> Although Kao-tsung's

20. KKC 69, p. 632. Liu Yü was in power from 1129-1138.

21. See Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), chapter 2.

22. Many examples are listed in PCCFST 19-20.

23. For a list of Six Dynasties' calligraphy on which Kao-tsung's seal appears, see Julia K. Murray, "Sung Kao-tsung, Ma Ho-chih, and the Mao Shih Scrolls: Illustrations of the Classic of Poetry" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1981), pp. 229-231, note 111.

24. HMC, p. 3005.

25. HMC, p. 3007.

copies of older works are almost non-existent today,<sup>26</sup> the scope of his study is suggested by the historical records and connoisseurs' catalogues that describe some of his copies.<sup>27</sup>

Kao-tsung's diligent study and practice of the Wang Hsi-chih style were motivated not only by esthetic considerations, which admittedly were strong, but also by his shrewd sense of history. He was well aware that this style had been promoted and practiced by T'ang T'ai-tsung (r. 626-649), who established an important precedent for imperial patronage of this calligraphic style. T'ang T'ai-tsung had gathered an impressive collection of Wang Hsi-chih's original writings and had had them authenticated by such outstanding connoisseur-calligraphers as Yü Shih-nan 虞世南 (558-638) and Ch'u Sui-liang 褚遂良 (596-638). Furthermore, T'ang T'ai-tsung had ordered his court calligraphers to make minutely accurate tracing copies of these works, which he then bestowed on favored members of the nobility and high officialdom.<sup>28</sup> T'ang T'ai-tsung practiced the Wang Hsi-chih style himself and encouraged others to do likewise. It is even claimed that the original manuscript of Wang's running-script masterpiece Lan-t'ing hsü 蘭亭序 ("Preface to the Gathering at the Orchard Pavilion") was placed in T'ang T'ai-tsung's tomb when he died.<sup>29</sup> The effect of the association between T'ang T'ai-tsung and the writing of Wang Hsi-chih was to confer the stamp of orthodoxy upon Wang's calligraphic style.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the style itself acquired some of the aura of T'ang T'ai-tsung's vigorous reign. Kao-tsung admired T'ang T'ai-tsung, both as a ruler and as a patron of calligraphy; and Southern

26. One prominent exception is Kao-tsung's Chen-ts'ao Ch'ien-tzu-wen 真草千字文 (1000-Character Classic Transcribed in Regular and Cursive Scripts) in the Shanghai Museum. It is based on a prototype by Chih-yung, who is said to have transcribed the popular exercise piece 800 times in parallel columns of regular and cursive scripts. One of the 800 copies was in Kao-tsung's collection (HMC, p. 3016). For discussion and reproductions of Kao-tsung's version, see Nishikawa Yasushi, "Sō Kōsō Shinsō Senjibun" 西川寧, 宋高宗真草千字文, Shohin 書品 no. 208 (April 1970): 2-8 and pls. 9-61 (in Japanese).

27. For a list of such copies, see Murray, "Sung Kao-tsung . . .," pp. 321-232, note 115.

28. IKTP 5, pp. 6b-7b; also PCCFST 7, p. 97; and Ledderose, Mi Fu . . ., p. 27.

29. For a concise discussion of the history of the Lan-t'ing hsü and an introduction to other sources, see Ledderose, Mi Fu . . ., pp. 19-24.

30. Ledderose, Mi Fu . . ., p. 25.



Sung historians recorded numerous occasions on which Kao-tsung alluded to the T'ang emperor.<sup>31</sup>

The associations established by T'ang T'ai-tsung between the Wang calligraphic style and the strong ruler were augmented by Sung T'ai-tsung (r. 976-997), the second emperor of the Northern Sung. In 992 Sung T'ai-tsung commissioned a new collection of model writings by Wang Hsi-chih and certain other calligraphers, which were published in a compendium called *Ch'un-hua-ko t'ieh* 淳化閣帖. Kao-tsung evidently regarded Sung T'ai-tsung as a role model and expressed his belief that patronage of calligraphy in the Sung dynasty had started with the second emperor.<sup>32</sup> In adopting the Wang Hsi-chih style for himself, then, Kao-tsung was fully aware of its past associations with strong rule and the patronage of culture.

At an early stage in his practice of the Wang calligraphic style, Kao-tsung also began disseminating his writings systematically and on a grand scale. Starting in 1135, for instance, he regularly awarded his transcriptions from the *Li-chi* (Book of Rites) to successful candidates in the triennial *chin-shih* examinations.<sup>33</sup> In the period from 1143 to 1146, he personally transcribed the texts of six other classics and had these transcriptions transferred to stone tablets, which were carefully engraved to reproduce the brushwritten originals as closely as possible (Fig. 4).<sup>34</sup> The tablets were erected in the *t'ai-hsüeh* 太學 (imperial university), where they provided authoritative editions of the books on which aspiring officials might be tested in the civil service examinations. Furthermore, rubbings made from these tablets were sent to prefectural schools throughout the realm for the use of local students. Thus, Kao-tsung asserted symbolic control over a fundamental element of traditional culture by means of calligraphy: the classics were read in his handwriting. Moreover, the 1146 "Stone Classics" replaced the edition transcribed by the Northern Sung emperor Jen-tsung in 1054-1055, which had been lost in the fall of Pien-t'iang.<sup>35</sup>

31. For a couple of examples, see YH 34, p. 22; CHHC 30, p. 778; PCCFST 3, p. 32; and HSCHLCSC 11, p. 870.

32. HMC, p. 3008.

33. HSCHLCSC 18, p. 1196; also YH 34, p. 18b.

34. Li Hsin-ch'uan, *Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu* (edition Peking: Chung-hua-shu-chü, 1956), 150, p. 2416; also YH 43, pp. 22-23; and *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 16, pp. 139-141.

35. A few battered stones belonging to the Jen-tsung edition of the "Stone Classics" have been found in the vicinity of Kaifeng; see *Wen-wu* 文物 1962, no. 10, pp. 48-50.

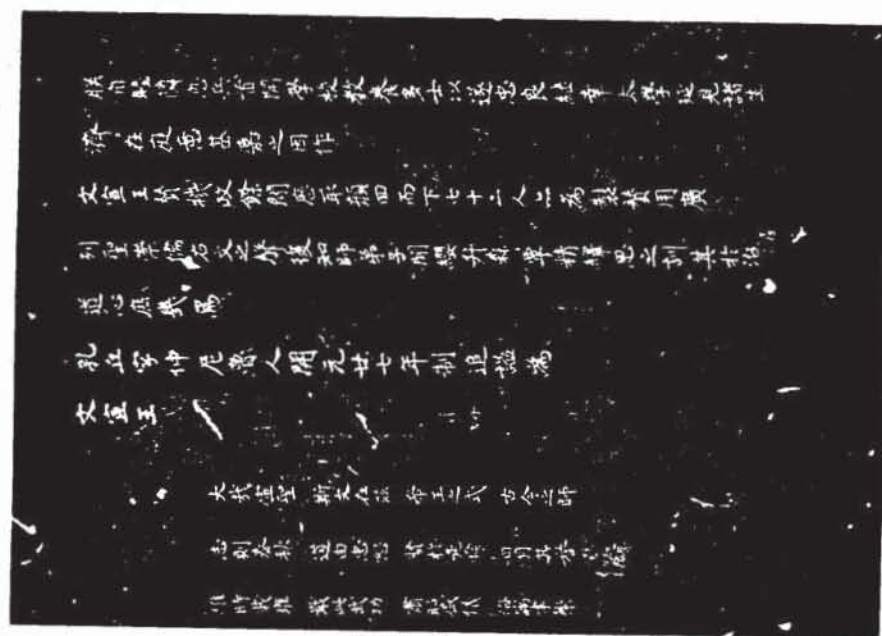


Figure 5



Figure 6



Another highly visible project was Kao-tsung's composition of poetic eulogies to Confucius and each of his 72 disciples, plus a general preface to this set of writings (Fig. 5).<sup>36</sup> These too were engraved on stone and given to the t'ai-hsüeh, first in 1144 and again in January of 1157, apparently because the first set had become incomplete. Along with the eulogies, portraits of the 73 men were also engraved, based on original paintings by a court artist or possibly an older work in the imperial collection (Fig. 6).<sup>37</sup> Ch'in Kuei wrote a colophon for the 1144 set which makes clear its intention to discourage heterodox thinking among the students of the Imperial University, in particular, one suspects, with regard to the terms for peace with the Chin.<sup>38</sup> The portraits served as reminders of proper behavior and attitude for the students, and Kao-tsung's writing of encomia for the set clearly asserts his claim to authority in the realm of Confucian morality. By taking this position, he made it more difficult for those who opposed his policies to claim Confucian morality as a basis for their dissent.

Patronage of painters was another aspect of Kao-tsung's artistic concerns. He encouraged former members of Hui-tsung's painting academy to come to his court and employed many other painters as well. Although he did not personally instruct the painters, as had Hui-tsung, Kao-tsung sometimes participated in special projects with court painters by contributing his calligraphy to their illustrations.<sup>39</sup> He seems particularly to have favored the narrative handscroll, a format for story-telling and textual illustration which gave prominence to the human figure. This type of painting was

36. CHHC 30, p. 808 and 37, p. 953; also Ch'ien Shuo-yu (Hsien-ch'un) Lin-an chih 潛說友, 咸淳臨安志 (Chung-kuo fang-chih ts'ung-shu 中國方志叢書 edition reprinted in Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1970), 11, pp. 129-134.
37. For reproductions and general introduction to the set, see Huang Yung-ch'üan, Li Kung-lin Sheng-hsien t'u shih-k'o 黃永果, 李公麟聖賢圖石刻 (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan she, 1959). Authorship of the portraits is discussed in Jan Fontein and T'ung Wu, Unearthing China's Past (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), cat. no. 120.
38. Ch'in Kuei's colophon was ground off the stone tablet in 1427 by the censor Wu No 吳訥 (1372-1457), who considered its presence an insult to the Sage. Fortunately, however, Wu quotes extensively from Ch'in's colophon in his own. See Huang Yung-ch'üan, Li Kung-lin . . ., last two plates.
39. Numerous examples are recorded in Li O, Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu (1721) 屬鵲, 南宋院畫錄 under the names of individual court painters.

old-fashioned and conservative by comparison with the newly emerging genre of landscape painting, in which human figures usually played a minor role.<sup>40</sup> While paintings of mountain landscapes might indirectly suggest abstract principles and ideals by arousing a lofty response in the viewer, the illustration of figural subjects could be much more concrete in conveying ideas. Given Kao-tsung's apparent interest in influencing people, it is understandable that the didactic potential of the narrative handscroll would appeal to him. Moreover, the illustration of texts from ancient literature or history provided continuity with the past and a reaffirmation of cultural tradition.

Among the classic works of Chinese literature illustrated for Kao-tsung is the Shih-ching, which contains 305 poems composed during the Chou dynasty and was believed to have been edited by Confucius himself.<sup>41</sup> The illustrations were divided among several scrolls, corresponding to chapters in the Shih-ching; each scroll consisted of six to 12 poem texts paired with an appropriate picture. Another classic for which Kao-tsung commissioned illustrations and transcribed the texts is the Hsiao-ching, which was thought to have been composed by Confucius.<sup>42</sup> The 18 chapters of the Hsiao-ching discuss all the types of relationships proper in a Confucian society, with their attendant obligations. In the illustrations, these relationships are depicted in terms of concrete situations. For example, the emperor's duty to his deceased ancestors is represented by a grand and solemn sacrifice in the ancestral temple (chapter 16).

A handscroll entitled Chin Wen-kung fu-kuo t'u 晉文公復國圖 (Duke Wen of Chin Recovers his State) suggests the use of the past to comment upon or influence the present.<sup>43</sup> Taken from the Tso-chuan 左傳 (Com-

40. For a cogent discussion of this evolution, see James F. Cahill, "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," in Arthur F. Wright, editor, The Confucian Persuasion (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 115-140.
41. This series of scrolls forms the subject of my doctoral dissertation; see note 23 above.
42. Originally a handscroll, the work is now incomplete and is mounted as an album in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. It is briefly introduced in Richard M. Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's Hsiao Ching T'u, Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1967), pp. 66-68; reproduced in Figs. 41-55.
43. The handscroll, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is discussed in Wen Fong, Sung and Yuan Paintings (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), pp. 28-37 and 138-139; it is fully reproduced in Hsieh Chih-liu, T'ang Wu-tai Sung Yuan ming-chi 謝稚柳, 唐五代宋元名迹 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1957), pls. 41-57.

mentary of Tso), this story of Duke Wen's struggle to regain control of his state from exile was a precedent invoked when Kao-tsung took the throne in 1127.<sup>44</sup> By sponsoring the illustration of this text, Kao-tsung seems to endorse its historical parallels with his own position. The format of the illustration is once again a handscroll composed of alternating sections of text and painting. The six illustrations are attributed to Li T'ang 李唐 (ca. 1050-ca. 1130s), an elderly painter who had previously served in Hui-tsung's painting academy. In view of the restorationist theme and the involvement of Li T'ang, the work must have been commissioned early in Kao-tsung's reign, before he had decided to make peace with the Chin.

Two other narrative scrolls painted at Kao-tsung's court use the traditional format to illustrate contemporary accounts. One of these is the tendentious Chung-hsing jui-ying t'u 中興瑞應圖 (Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival), a work originally containing 12 sections illustrating supernatural portents of Kao-tsung's imperial destiny.<sup>45</sup> It covers the period from Kao-tsung's birth, when gold light filled the room, to the eve of his enthronement, when he dreamed that Ch'in-tsung remained and gave him his own imperial garment. The adulatory texts were composed by Ts'ao Hsün 曹勳 (1098-1174), one of the connoisseurs at Kao-tsung's court;<sup>46</sup> and the paintings are attributed to Hsiao Chao 蕭照 (12th century), a follower

44. HSCHLCS 1, p. 382.

45. Three fragments from one version of the scroll now belong to the Tientsin Art Museum and are reproduced in T'ien-ching-shih i-shu po-wu-kuan ts'ang hua hsü-chi (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1963), pls. 1-6. Four more sections whose current whereabouts are uncertain are reproduced in Hsieh Chih-liu, T'ang Wu-tai . . . , pls. 65-81.

46. SLSHC, p. 205; the texts are recorded in Ts'ao Hsün's collected works, Sung-yin wen-chi 松隱文集 (preface dated 1190, edition Chia-yeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu 嘉業堂叢書, Wu-hsing, 1920), 29, under the title "Sheng-ju t'u tsan ping hsü 聖瑞圖贊并序". The honorific title by which Ts'ao refers to Kao-tsung in the preface to these texts is one that was conferred by Hsiao-tsung in January of 1171 and was superseded in November of 1175. Until the scroll containing the preface becomes available for study, we cannot be certain that this title actually appears there (indicating a date between 1171 and Ts'ao's death in 1174). It is possible that the title was amended by Ts'ao Hsün's son for inclusion in the collected works, which he compiled between 1174 and 1190. If so, however, we would expect one of Kao-tsung's later honorific titles to have been used. For a chronology of honorific titles awarded to Kao-tsung by Hsiao-tsung, see Wang Ming-ch'ing 王明清, Hui-chu hou-lu 揮麈後錄, in Chang Hai-p'eng 張海鵬 editor, Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan 學津討原 (Shanghai, 1922), ch. 1, p. 7.

of Li T'ang.<sup>47</sup> The other scroll, known as Ying-luan t'u 迎鑾圖 (Welcoming the Imperial Carriage), illustrates the return of the coffins of Hui-tsung et al. and the release of Kao-tsung's mother from captivity in the North.<sup>48</sup> Since Kao-tsung made much of his filial piety as a motive for accepting distasteful peace terms from the Chin, this kind of documentary scroll could be viewed as artistic propaganda. Ts'ao Hsün also wrote the texts for this subject, as he was one of the envoys who was sent to negotiate the return.<sup>49</sup> Even in their fragmentary states, both works display the same kind of visual authority as do illustrations of classical texts; they merely substitute modern subjects for ancient ones.

In both painting and calligraphy, then, Kao-tsung displayed an appreciation of classical elegance and an interest in subtle adaptation of tradition to meet contemporary needs. He identified himself with the authority of well established, conservative styles and enjoyed the aura of orthodoxy this association imparted to him. In addition, Kao-tsung set the tone for officially sponsored styles in painting and calligraphy for the rest of the Southern Sung period. The next several emperors after Kao-tsung imitated his calligraphy and perpetuated its mannerisms. His adopted heir Hsiao-tsung (1127-1194; r. 1162-1189) and the latter's grandson Ning-tsung (1168-1224; r. 1194-1223), and even Ning-tsung's empress Yang 楊氏 (1162-1232) all adopted the style.<sup>50</sup>

Kao-tsung's abdication of the throne in 1162 seems surprising at first, in view of his previous concern with directing the dynastic recovery himself. However, his decision to retire is more understandable when certain

47. See Li O, Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu (edition Hua-shih ts'ung-shu 畫史叢書, reprinted Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan she, 1974), 3, pp. 1661-1667.

48. For reproduction of the painting and a discussion of the grounds for identifying it as an illustration of the return of Kao-tsung's mother, see Hsü Pang-ta, "Sung-jen hua jen-wu ku-shih ying chi 'Ying-luan t'u' k'ao," Wen-wu 1972, no. 8, pp. 61-63. An unpersuasive counter-argument is made by Hsieh Chih-liu in an essay included in his Chien-yü tsa-kao 駁餘雜稿 (Shanghai: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan she, 1979), pp. 122-126.

49. The texts are recorded in Ts'ao Hsün's Sung-yin wen-chi 1, pp. 1-5.

50. See Shodō zenshū, vol. 16; also Nakata Yūjirō and Fu Shen, editors, Chugoku hoshō meisekishū 中國法書名蹟集 (Tokyo: Chūō koronsha, 1981), vol. 2; Hsü Pang-ta, "Nan-Sung ti-hou ti'i-hua shu k'ao-pien," Wen-wu 1981, no. 6, pp. 52-64; and Chiang Chao-shen, "The Identity of Yang Mei-tzu and the Paintings of Ma Yüan," National Palace Museum Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 2 (May 1967): 1-14, and no. 3 (July 1967): 8-14.

factors are taken into account. In 1160, the peace between the Chin and the Southern Sung was temporarily disrupted when the Chin usurper Hai-ling-wang 海陵王 (r. 1149-1161) reopened hostilities. Although Hai-ling-wang was assassinated before too much damage had been inflicted, the renewed turmoil may have diminished Kao-tsung's desire to remain on the throne.<sup>51</sup> Another element that may have influenced him was the news that Ch'in-tsung had finally died in 1161. Finally, in Hsiao-tsung he had a well educated, carefully groomed heir to assume the burdens of rule. A hint of Kao-tsung's incipient desire to abandon his position to pursue the pastimes he loved best may be found as early as December of 1158, when he established the Sun-chai 損齋 (Studio of Decrease).<sup>52</sup> Kao-tsung described this studio as a special place in the palace where he could sit at ease, away from the demands of everyday affairs. He distributed to his ministers an account called the Sun-chai chi, in which he expressed his desire to purify his mind by withdrawing to private mental cultivation in a place without colors, sounds, or idle amusements to distract him from important pursuits. In this austere studio, the classics, histories, and old calligraphy would be his only companions.

After leaving the throne in July of 1162, Kao-tsung lived for another 25 years in the Te-shou-kung 德壽宮 (Palace of Virtuous Longevity), which he built north of the main palace, incorporating Ch'in Kuei's former mansion. There he and Empress Wu 吳氏 (1115-1197), who was also a fine calligrapher,<sup>53</sup> passed their time in artistic and scholarly pursuits. Kao-tsung never tired of copying the great calligraphic models of antiquity; nor did he stop giving his writings to people around him.<sup>54</sup> Kao-tsung was judged by the early Yuan art-critic Chuang Su 莊肅 to be the best calligrapher among all the T'ang and Sung emperors.<sup>55</sup> Historians assessed Kao-tsung more harshly, and he is remembered primarily as an emperor who allowed an evil prime minister to lead him away from his political and moral duty. Considering

51. On one occasion, Kao-tsung blamed his own lack of virtue for the attack; see CHHC 40, pp. 1041-1042.
52. CHHC 38, pp. 978-979; also Ch'ien Shuo-yu, Hsien-ch'un Lin-an chih, 1, pp. 29-30; and Li Hsin-ch'uan, Chien-yen i-tai hsi-nien yao-lu, 180, p. 2988.
53. For the calligraphy of empress Wu, see Hsü Pang-ta, "Nan-Sung . . .," pp. 59-60.
54. For references to Kao-tsung's bequests of calligraphy after his retirement, see IKTP 7, pp. 3b-5; PCCFST 3, pp. 30-31 and 33-35; and KKC 18, p. 191.
55. Chuang Su, Hua-chi pu-i 畫繼補遺 (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu she, 1963), shang, p. 1.

the extent to which Kao-tsung used his favorite pastime, calligraphy, to influence people and events in a direction that he consciously chose, it seems unlikely that he would be so easily manipulated himself. Whether an effort to expel Chin from North China was feasible or not, the modern observer must entertain the possibility that Kao-tsung pursued peaceful coexistence, not because he was deluded by Ch'in Kuei, but because he decided that it was the most realistic policy. The thoroughness with which he prepared his adopted heir to succeed him is indicative of the conscientious way in which he fulfilled his imperial charge. Rather than being made the scapegoat of presumed Sung weakness, he must be given principal credit for reviving Sung fortunes in the face of threatened extinction. This brief discussion has attempted to demonstrate how he made use of his artistic talents in achieving that end.

(Revised and condensed version of a paper presented at the MAR/AAS meeting in Pittsburgh, October 24, 1982; some of this material was originally prepared for the 1980 ACLS Workshop on Chinese Painting held at the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City and will be included in the forthcoming publication of those papers.)

#### Sources and Acknowledgements of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 Sung Kao-tsung, "Rescript to Yüeh Fei," handscroll, Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.
- Fig. 2 Rubbing of Sung Kao-tsung, Fo-ting Kuang-ming-t'a pei (dated 1133). From Shodō zenshū, vol. 16, pl. 1 ("Calligraphy of Asia" Series, Heibonsha Limited, Publishers, Tokyo).
- Fig. 3 Sung Kao-tsung, Copy of Chih-yung's transcription of the Thousand Character Essay in Regular and Cursive Scripts (Chen-ts'ao ch'ien-tzu-wen 真草千字文); detail of opening section of a handscroll in the Shanghai Museum. From Shoseki meihin sokan, no. 188, p.3 (Nigensha Limited, Publishers, Tokyo).
- Fig. 4 Rubbing of Sung Kao-tsung, "Stone Classics:" detail of Lun-yü. From Shodō zenshū, vol. 16, pl. 12 ("Calligraphy of Asia" Series, Heibonsha Limited, Publishers, Tokyo).
- Fig. 5 & 6 Rubbings of Sung Kao-tsung, "Preface to the Encomia for Confucius and His Seventy-two Disciples" and portrait of Confucius. From Huang Yung-ch'uan, Li Kung-lin sheng-hsien t'u shih-k'o (Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, Peking).