Seeing Ghosts in Late Eighteenth-Century China in Luo Pin's 1766 "Guiqu tu" ("Ghost Realm Amusements") Scroll

Seeing Ghosts in Late Eighteenth-Century China

in Luo Pin's 1766 *Guiqu tu* (*Ghost Realm Amusements)* Scroll

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Abstract

This study investigates the origin and reception of an eighteenth-century Chinese painting scroll on the subject of ghosts, *Guiqu tu (Ghost Realm Amusements)* by the Chinese painter Luo Pin (1733-1799). Painted around the year 1766 – at the pinnacle of prosperity of the Qianlong reign and, incidentally at the moment the Qing dynasty began its sharp decline – the scroll depicts eight scenes of ghosts displaying a medley of characters – from the comic to the frightening. The scroll references legends, literary sources, and supposed "real" ghosts, and it also features two skeletons in a landscape that are based on fourteenth-century European engravings by Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564). Art historians have long debated the meaning of *Guiqu tu*, and this study rectifies earlier misunderstandings of interpretations of the scroll by connecting its origins with the practice of painting occasional paintings of the legendary ghost hero, Zhong Kui, during festival holidays. Additionally, Luo Pin's encounter with Western books, a second important source for *Guiqu tu*, is put into the context of the artist's study trip to Hangzhou in 1762. The final part of the thesis explores the ways in which the colophon commentaries reflect the evolution of *Guiqu tu* from sensational novelty in Beijing, to an artwork that continued to generate interest in the last twenty years of the artist's life and beyond. Luo Pin's two reprisals of *Guiqu tu* in 1796 and 1799 are also discussed for their art historical importance. Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, because of its complexity and accumulation of meanings, can function as a bridge between the culture of eighteenth-century China and today's inter-connected world.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Emeritus Philip A. Kuhn for inspiring me to continue my studies in Chinese history. It was in his seminar on the "Emergence of Modern China" where this thesis project began. I am also grateful for the kind and meticulous support of my research advisor, Donald Ostrowski, Ph.D., and for the pleasure of having one of the top professionals in the field, Professor Eugene Y. Wang, serve as my thesis director. I also give my heartfelt thanks to Wlodzimierz Ksiazek for his crucial support during this project.

The appendix contains translations of relevant chapters of Luo Pin's *Wo Xin Lu* (*Record of My Beliefs*), and selected colophons from Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* (*Ghost Realm Amusements)* scroll. These translations are the result of many enjoyable Friday afternoon sessions in the former Rubel Library at Harvard University pouring over Luo Pin's painting with my Classical Chinese tutor, Zhu Hong (who was visiting from China while her husband completed a year-long fellowship). With Zhu Hong's patient and very able guidance, we slowly made sense of the texts, and Luo Pin's ghosts and the world of eighteenth-century China came to life. This thesis is dedicated to the spirit of that collaboration.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude for the unyielding support of my family, especially my parents, Dare and Frank Farrington.

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Introduction

Fig. 1. Anonymous copy of Luo Pin's (1735-1799) *Guiqu tu* (after 1766), Palace Museum, Beijing.[1]

Ghost Realm Amusements, or *Guiqu tu*[2] (1766) (figure 1), by Luo Pin (1733-1799), is an eighteenth-century Chinese painting on the subject of ghosts. In eight separate sketches depicting scenes from the ghost realm, the artist renders pitiable spirits in a variety of guises, from comical to eerie, from plainly human in form to

[1] The image pictured in figure 1 is in the collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing. Because it bears a stamp for "copy," the work was painted by an anonymous "copy artist," most likely after Luo Pin's death. The copyist clearly worked from the original *Guiqu tu*, due to its close resemblance to the "Caifa" version. I thank my Classical Chinese tutor, Zhu Hong (Ph.D., Social Science University of Shanghai), for pointing this out to me.

[2] In Chinese language, *guiqu tu* is made up of three characters: "gui" and "qu" (put together) is a Buddhist term for "ghost realm;" and "tu" means "picture" (in this text, I refer to *tu* as "painting"). Along with meaning "realm," *qu* can also connote: "spontaneous vitality," "zest," or "gusto." See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 34 no. 1, (1996): 34. Therefore, *Guiqu tu* is sometimes translated as "Fascination with Ghosts," or "Ghost Amusements" because of the double meaning of "qu." To maintain the verbal pun as well as the reference to the (Buddhist) ghost realm I decided to use the translation: *Ghost Realm Amusements*.

bizarrely elongated, ballooned, and dwarfed, and painted with vivid colors.[3] The scroll was one of Luo Pin's most cherished possessions.[4] Over the course of the last twenty-five years of his life, the artist kept *Guiqu tu (Ghost Realm Amusements)* (hereinafter referred to by the Chinese name: *Guiqu tu*) with him, soliciting commentaries from many of the most prominent literati of the high Qing.

A. *Guiqu tu* and Its Notoriety in Late Eighteenth-Century China

The one-hundred-and-fifty colophons (the earliest dating from 1766; the latest, 1930) mounted together with the eight sketches on the scroll capture an often lighthearted, though purposeful, debate about ghosts and the shadowy in-between world they inhabit.[5] In the colophons, the wide range of calligraphic styles mirror the individuality of each submission, from simple laudatory remarks, to general musings about ghosts, to long expository essays, to poems in Classical form. With an appeal to the decidedly dark side of human curiosity, this artwork generated a kind of sensationalism hard to match in another painting of its era.

What explains the fascination with Luo Pin's ghosts? Ambitious literati painters typically took on the subjects of landscapes, portraits, bird and flower

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[3] For a detailed description of the meaning of each of the eight *fu* (scenes), see the translation of the Zhang Wentao colophon in the appendix.

[4] James Cahill wrote a footnote to Arthur Waley's anecdote about Luo Pin in his book on 18th-c. poet Yuan Mei. The story of Yuan Mei returning an unflattering portrait of himself to Luo Pin, with the inscription that noted that he hoped Luo Pin would place the portrait in his studio next to his beloved Ghost Scroll, so that when their mutual friends visited, they would be able to see it. See James Cahill, "A Rejected Portrait by Lo P'ing," *Asia Major* 7 (1959): 1-2.

[5] Chan lists thirty-three prominent contemporary colophon contributors, noting: "very few of the literary doyens of the Qianlong era are missing from it." See: Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu," Journal of Oriental Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 35. See also, Kim Karlsson, *Luo Ping: Life, Career, and Art of an Eighteenth-Century Chinese Painter* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2004), 158.

paintings, Buddhist/Taoist themed work, and paintings "in the style of old masters."[6] Luo Pin practiced most of these genres. So why did he choose to present *Guiqu tu* as his main *entrée* into Beijing elite society after leaving his hometown, the southern city of Yangzhou, in order to solidify his reputation in the northern capital? The answer is complex, but the set of factors that generated intense interest in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* scroll reveal a propensity in late eighteenth-century China for the cultured class to contemplate art that deals with the supernatural – a subject that often represents that which is troubled, full of unrest, and even grotesque.

The images and texts of *Guiqu tu* richly encapsulate a snapshot of China's history at a moment when traditional beliefs were being widely questioned among Chinese intellectuals. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the two predominant schools of thought were: neo-Confucianism, typified by such adherents as Chen Hongmou (see Rowe *Saving the World* 2005) whose views were shaped by orthodox interpretations of the Classics; and the school of *kaozheng* or evidentiary reasoning, practiced by a group of Luo Pin's friends and acquaintances, including Ji Yun (the chief editor of the Imperial Manuscript Library project, also known as the *Siku quanshu*, or Four Treasuries),[7] Qian Zai (1708-1717), and Weng Fanggang (1733-1818). Luo Pin's personal beliefs were a syncretism of the different schools of thought of Confucianism, Chan Buddhism, Taoism, as pointed out by Weng Fanggang in the preface to Luo Pin's *Wo Xin Lu (Record of My Beliefs)* (see chapter

[6] For a discussion of the art of eighteenth century, particularly as it relates to subject and style choices of the Yangzhou eccentrics, see Giacalone "The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou" (exhibition catalgogue) (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute of America, 1990), 15-17.

[7] See Ji Yun, *Shadows in a Chinese Landscape*: *Notes of a Confucian Scholar,* trans. David L. Keenan (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), xi-xix.

3). While sharing *Guiqu tu* with viewers, Luo Pin, would have discussed it on these terms, as well as with the tools of evidentiary reasoning, or *kaozheng*.[8]

B. The Chinese Fascination with Ghosts in the Eighteenth Century

Luo Pin painted his odd but original montage of ghosts first as a series of sketches sometime in the mid-1760s at a time when there was a serious fad for recounting *zhiguai* (or stories of the strange) among the elite.[9] The resurgent interest in *zhiguai* in the late eighteenth century was, no doubt, prompted by the wildly popular posthumous publication of Pu Songling's (1644-1715) *Strange Tales from the Leisure Studio* in 1766 (note: *zhiguai* was a popular form of fiction in China since at least the Six Dynasties period (220 CE-580 CE).[10] Along with fiction, a number of collections of books on the supernatural from earlier periods in Chinese history were published in the mid-eighteenth century. One such collection was a large compendium from the Song dynasty, *Extensive Gleanings from the Taiping Reign*, a work with which Luo was "quite familiar."[11] In the years that followed Pu Songling's publication, prominent literary figures caught the zeitgeist and published their own

[8] For an extended discussion of the use of evidentiary research in China, see Richard Elman, "Evidential Research and Natural Studies," *On Their Own Terms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 223-280. See also, Chan, Leo Tak, *The Discourse on Foxes and Ghosts* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 18-19. For a definition of syncretism, as a powerful current in later Chinese Buddhism, Karlsson cites Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 9: as meaning: "the borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by process of selection and reconciliation." Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 133, n.1. See also, Timothy Brook, "Rethinking Syncretism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21 (1993): 13-45.

[9] In Chinese literature, *zhiguai* is a sub-category of fiction, described by Chan as "short anecdotes of sightings of strange occurrences." See Chan, *The Discourses on Foxes and Ghosts*, 6-11.

[10] *Zhiguai* enjoyed popularity in earlier eras, notably during the Six Dynasties See Robert F. Campany, "Ghosts Matter: The Culture of Ghosts in Six Dynasties Zhiguai, *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 13 (Dec. 1991): 15-34.

[11] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, n. 21, 168.

collections, most notably Yuan Mei's (1716-1797) *What the Master Did Not Speak of* (1788) and Ji Yun's (1724-1805) *Random Jottings at the Cottage of Close Scrutiny*.[12] Luo Pin, a personal friend to both Yuan Mei and Ji Yun, was no doubt fully engaged in discussions about ghosts.[13]

Across the spectrum of skeptics and believers (believers were also known as "naturalists"), Luo Pin is counted as a believer. That Luo Pin was famous for his paintings of ghosts was due in no small part to his (seemingly outrageous) claim that he had the ability to see ghosts with his blue-jade colored eyes.[14] As evidence of this, the ghost in the fifth *fu* (or scene) of *Guiqu tu* was reportedly painted from a vision Luo Pin witnessed along the banks of a river at Jiao Mountain (see figure 2). This incident is mentioned in Bai Hua's colophon, located to the right of "Two Skeletons in a Landscape," the eighth *fu* (scene) of *Guiqu tu*; as well as in the 1792 colophon by Zhang Wentao (1765-1814) (see translations in the Appendix), and discussed later.

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[12] English translations of these two collections are published in Waley, *Yuan Mei* 1970; Yuan Mei, *Censored by Confucius* trans. Kam Louie and Louise Edwards (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996); and Ji Yun, *Shadows in a Chinese Landscape*, 1999.

[13]Yuan Mei's famous rejected portrait by Luo Pin of 1781 shows how important *Guiqu tu* was considered to be in its time. Yuan Mei inscribed the painting with the following words: "Since Liangfeng [Luo Pin] considers it to look like me, if it is kept at Liangfeng's place he is bound to extend his admiration of friends to the love of his own painting. In the future, it will be revered, treasured, and protected forever, together with Luo's *Fascination of Ghosts* painting and his *Portrait of Dongxin* [Jin Nong] and *Portrait of Longhong* [Ding Jing]. This again is the good fortune accruing to one self among the two. That is why after it was completed I didn't dare to keep it to myself, but asked Liangfeng to preserve it in my place, so that those everywhere who know me and who know Liangfeng can together carefully examine it. Playfully inscribed by the Old Man of the Sui-yuan, Tsu-ts'ai-tzu [in accordance with] December 7, 1781. See, Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*: *Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 84-91.

[14] See, Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China,* (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1999), 263; James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13-22; Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 156 & 169; and Vickie F. Weinstein, *Painting in Yangzhou 1710-1765* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1972), 133-137.

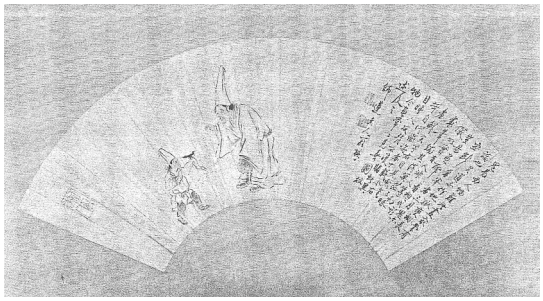

Fig. 2. Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu* (1766) fifth *fu* (detail); Fig. 3. Luo Pin, *Everlasting happiness* (undated)

Despite Luo Pin's overnight success in Beijing due to the initial positive reception of *Guiqu tu*, however, the artist never enjoyed lasting security as a literati painter during the years he was based in Beijing. He eventually took a defensive posture with regards to his claims to be able to see ghosts. In an undated fan painting by Luo Pin called *Two Ghosts,* now in the collection of The Art Museum, Princeton University (see figure 3), Luo Pin inscribed the following: "My right eye used to be able to see ghosts, for which I practiced Buddhist disciplines for ten years. Now my right eye has developed a cataract, and can no longer see these strange beings."[15] Luo Pin's 1791 *Wo Xin Lu (Record of My Beliefs)* (discussed in depth in chapter 3) contains several chapters on ghosts, enlightened beings, and demons, and can be characterized as defensive in tone.

Luo Pin's inspiration for painting *Guiqu tu* can, in some ways, be compared to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein,* which sprouted from her imagination after nights of telling ghost stories as a guest of Lord Byron at his estate along Lake Geneva in Switzerland in the summer of 1816. In a similar vein are the Romantic gothic paintings in post-Enlightenment Europe and America from roughly the same time.

[15] Vito Giacolone, with an essay by Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou," 1990, 67-68; also in Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 64. See also Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 204; and, Cahill, *A Rejected Portrait*, 32-39.

Henry Fuselini's 1781 *The Nightmare* (figure 4) and William Blake 's 1818-20 *The Ghost of the Flea* (figure 5) are good examples of artworks that tap into a taste for the macabre during times when rationality and pragmatism were important social values being espoused by the state.

Fig. 4. Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare* (1781); Fig. 5. William Blake, *Ghost of the Flea* (c. 1819-20)

Two recent art historical studies, one by Sarah Burns, *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake, and the Romantic Imagination* by Martin Myrone (ed.) (London: Tate Publishing, 2006),[16] point to a renewed interest in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American and European Romantic gothic art for insights it provokes to a pervasive anxiety in the collective psyches of those rapidly changing and modernizing societies. I will use a similar

[16] Martin Myrone curated an exhibition at the Tate Britain from February to May 2006 that included 120 paintings by Henry Fuseli (1741-1825), William Blake (1757-1827), and others entitled: "Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake, and the Romantic Imagination". See website http://www.tate.org.uk/britain/exhibitions/gothicnightmares/.

approach to contextualizing Luo Pin's *Ghost Realm Amusements* scroll in Chinese culture of the late eighteenth century.

C. What Happened to *Guiqu tu* in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Luo Pin lived in poverty at the end of his life, staying in a Buddhist dormitory in Beijing and only making it back to Yangzhou shortly before his death. About a year before Luo Pin died, the Yangzhou salt commissioner Zeng Yu (1759-1830), a scholar-official and poet who was Luo Pin's patron in Beijing when he was an assistant-official of the Board of Revenue before being commissioned to Yangzhou in 1792,[17] heard of Luo Pin's financial difficulties and sent Luo Pin's youngest son, Luo Xiaofeng, to Beijing with enough funds to accompany his father back to Yangzhou where he was able to live out his last days.[18]

Contrary to many reports that suggest that Luo Pin died in obscurity, over one thousand people attended his funeral,[19] suggesting that Luo Pin, at the end of his life at least, was recognized for his many accomplishments.

After his death, *Guiqu tu* passed to Luo Xiaofeng. According to a colophon writer who came into possession of the scroll sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, at some point the scroll passed out of possession of Luo Pin's heirs.[20] The preface to the 1970 Caifa publication of *Guiqu tu* mentions that during the Daoguang reign (1820-1850), *Guiqu tu* came to the Ban family of Guangdong, where "it was

[17] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 219.

[18] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 220.

[19] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 220.

[20] See translations in Appendix.

considered, together with *Scene of Gathering Ferns* by Li Tang and *Pear Blossoms Scroll* by Qian Xuan, as the 'Three Unique Pieces of the Art Treasure in Guangdong.'"[21] The Caifa preface also states that in 1909, the Ming Book store in Shanghai published a reproduction of the painting in black and white collotype in reduced size that was "poorly done with the colophon in disorder,"[22] prompting the Caifa company in 1970 to seek permission from the P.T. Huo family from Hong Kong to make a color reproduction of *Guiqu tu* in the original size with all the colophons intact "in order to enable the lovers of art to get a true view of the original."[23] The present location of the scroll is unknown.[24]

In 1883, the grouping of the "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou" (*Yangzhou baguai*) first appeared in Chinese criticism, with Luo Pin as its final adherent. The art critic Li Yufen in 1897 was the first to list the group of Yangzhou painters as Li Fangying (1696-1755), Li Shan (c. 1686-1756), Jin Nong (1687-1764), Zheng Xie (1693-1765), Huang Shen (1687-1768), Gao Xiang (1688-1753), Wang Shishen (1686-1759), and Luo Pin. [25] The *Yangzhou baguai* were disparaged not only for eccentricities in terms their painting styles, but also for their lifestyle choices.[26] As

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[21] Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu* (Caifa publication) 1970, preface.

[22] Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu*, preface.

[23] Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu*, preface.

[24] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 257.

[25] Karlsson notes that Wang Yun's *Yangzhou huayuan lu* (prefaced 1883) was the first time the concept of grouping "eight strange masters" of Yangzhou was published. Wang Yun's contemporary, Li Yufen, was the first to list the eight painters in 1897. Later, Hua Yan, Gao Fenghan, Min Zhen (1730 – ca. 1788), Bian Shoumin (1684-1752), Chen Zhuan (1686-after 1748), and Yang Fa (active ca. 1830-50) were included in the grouping. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 72.

[26] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 71-79. For a thorough discussion of this subject, see Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 1972. Karlsson also notes the preface of Wang Zhende in *Yangzhou bajia huaji* 1994: 1-6.

such, Luo Pin, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was made an example of an artist *not* to be emulated by Chinese painters.[27]

In the 1960s, while China was heading into the Cultural Revolution, European and American scholars first became attracted to the art of the Yangzhou eccentrics, including the paintings of Luo Pin. Exhibitions started to circulate abroad and books and articles appeared on the subject. There were even attempts to link the Eccentrics to the Abstract Expressionists working in New York at the time.[28] In the last twenty years, there has been an explosion of scholarship about Chinese culture in the eighteenth century, much of it centering on the city of Yangzhou.

The legacy of Luo Pin continues to be reinterpreted. In 1960, art historian James Cahill noted that one of Luo Pin's last paintings, *Portrait of the Artist's friend, I-an* (1798) (Private Collection, Washington, DC) "sums up the special virtues of the last phases of [the long evolution of Chinese painting]."[29] Cahill says of the painting of I-an: "the whole expressive character of the picture and its inscription thus depends upon an elaborate dialogue between present and past, between an individual of the highest sensibility and a cultural heritage of which he was perhaps excessively aware,"[30] also noting that "when simple aesthetic values have been so thoroughly replaced by those so very sophisticated, the sustaining of a high level of quality requires artists more sensitive, and endowed with more creative force, than were to

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[27] Ginger Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 9.

[28] See, for example, Nelson I. Wu, "The Toleration of Eccentrics," *ArtNews*, 56 no. 3 (May 1957): 293.

[29] Cahill, *Treasures of Asia: Chinese Painting* (Luzern, Switzerland: d'Art Albert Skira, 1960), 192.

[30] Cahill, *Treasures of Asia: Chinese Painting*, 192.

appear after Lo P'ing [sic]."[31] In 2007, auction records show that Luo Pin's work is being sold in excess of US $500,000,[32] a record that is only going to continue to be broken in the future.

D. Modern Scholarly Interpretations of *Guiqu tu*

In terms of Chinese art historical studies on the meaning of Luo Pin's scroll, there have been a number of modern interpretations. Perhaps most widely accepted is that *Ghost Realm Amusements* is a form of social satire, from an essay published by Zhuang Shen in 1972. In Zhuang Shen's reading, the ghosts and demons were a "symbolic representation" of the "manifold evils of the human world" and the scroll belonged to the category of satiric art.[33] The next major look at the meaning of the scroll came from Leo Tak-hung Chan, who published a journal article on the scroll in 1996 as part of a larger literary study on understanding the significance of the fashion for *zhiguai* in the late eighteenth century. Chan analyzed the lively dialogue evident between the images and texts as a "matching of visual wit and verbal wit" and concluded that Luo Pin's depiction of ghosts was primarily humorous and an attempt to "exorcise such supernatural beings by taking them lightly."[34]

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[31] Cahill, *Treasures of Asia: Chinese Painting*, 194.

[32] See: http://www.zdom.com/top%20art%20auction%20records/.

[33] The essay, Zhuang Shen, "Luo Pin yuqi Guiqu tu," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiushuo jikan*, 44.3 (1972): 432, is discussed in Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*" 1996, 34. For another interpretation of *Guiqu tu* as an example of political satire by the Chinese early modern writer, Lu Xun, who believe Luo Pin "used these eight ghost paintings to ridicule the absurdities of life and to satirize social corruption," see Lu Xun, "Mantan 'manhua," in *Xiaopinwen he manhua*, ed. Chen Wangdao (Shanghai: Shenhua shudia). http://contnt.cdlib.org/xtf/view?dodID=ft29008m5&doc.view=content&chunk.id-nsd0e555&toc.depth=1&anchor.id=0&brand=eschol.

[34] Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*", 46.

Then, in 1999 the art historian, Jonathan Hay, uncovered the source of the final *fu* known as the skeleton landscape (see figure 6). Those two skeletons, fixed in particular poses, as Hay argues, are based on two engravings of skeletons by Andreas Vesalius from a fourteenth-century book of human anatomy, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (see figure 7). The books, or images from the books, were brought to China by the Italian Jesuit missionaries such as Matteo Ricci or Giacomo Rho in the early sixteenth century.[35] Hay concluded that the scroll recorded an awareness of the encroachment of outside; that is, European, influences.[36] Benjamin Elman offers a different reading. As with other examples of Western influences (mainly of science and technology) on the Chinese intelligentsia, the images were not analyzed for their European content, but integrated into existing Chinese idioms.[37] These scholarly explanations did not satisfy my curiosity. The scroll itself is much more complex, as is its impact on our evolving understanding of eighteenth-century Chinese culture. The meaning of *Guiqu tu* goes beyond mere social satire, and it is far more introspective of Chinese metaphysical beliefs about life and death than it is concerned with the world outside the empire.

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[35] See Frederico Masini, ed., *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII Centuries), Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, October 25-27, 1993* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1997). See also Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 13-22. For an discussion of the possible source of the Vesalius engravings in a manuscript known as the "Rho manuscript," see Nicolas Standaert, "A Chinese Translation of Abriose Paré's *Anatomy*," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 21 (1999): 9-33.

[36] The juxtaposition of the two images was first published in: Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," *RES* 35 (Spring 1999): 201-222.

[37] Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 216-221.

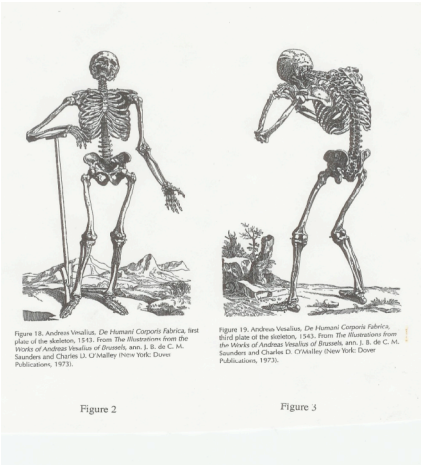

Fig. 6. Luo Pin, "Two skeletons in a landscape" 8th *fu* of *Guiqu tu*. (1766); Fig. 7. Andreas Vesalius, first and third plates on skeletons from *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. (1543)

E. Synopsis of Thesis

This thesis extends the scholarship of Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* scroll with the dual approach of undertaking new translations of key Classical Chinese texts surrounding the scroll and utilizing tools of contemporary visual and critical theory to broaden understandings of the significance of this artwork. I will examine the importance of Luo Pin's *Ghost Realm Amusements* scroll in four parts. First, through a biographical study of Luo Pin's development as an artist, I will look at the factors that led to the origin of the work in the painter's studio in the artistically experimental city of Yangzhou in the mid-1760s. In particular, I will trace contemporary and historical influences in the general ghost-painting genre on Luo Pin that led him to create his original composition sometime around 1766, notably Gong Kai (1222-1307), and Hua Yan (1682-1762).

Next, I will discuss the reception of the scroll over the twenty-year period when the artist lived in Beijing (the mid-1770s through the mid-1790s), using selective original and other translations of the colophons from *Guiqu tu* and other

supporting materials. I will specifically look at the colophons by Ji Yun, Yuan Mei, Weng Fanggang, and poet Zhang Wentao. I intend to show how the colophons of these important figures evidence the way that visual culture was transmitted in late eighteenth-century China.

I will discuss Luo Pin's stated beliefs on ghosts and the supernatural from his 1791 publication *Wo Xin Lu (Record of My Beliefs)*, showing how the work reflects Chinese culture in the 1790s as an oppressive time marked by literary inquisitions, censorship, and a general political climate of constriction at the end of the Qianlong reign.[38] The final part is an analysis of Luo Pin's reworking of the scroll in 1796 and 1799, in the first case to honor one of the colophon writers, poet Zhang Wentao. I will conclude my discussion of the importance of Luo Pin's *Ghost Realm Amusements* scroll with an analysis of Luo Pin's reprisal of all the "characters" of the scroll into one continuous, mist-laden landscape in a rendition of *Guiqu tu* created in the last year of his life, a noteworthy event in the history of Chinese painting.

[38] About Luo Pin's experience in Beijing at the end of his life, Richard Vinograd states: "The imperial realm of the Qianlong emperor, under whose reign Luo Pin spent all but a few years of his life, was mostly inaccessible to Luo, except through his contacts with officials in Peking. The world of scholar-officials and their intellectual environments of orthodoxy and evidential scholarship were part of Luo's later patronage context. . . . The grandiose ambitions of the Qianlong emperor in the cultural sphere were embroiled with problems of authenticity and deception: centrally in the Qianlong literary inquisition, where scrupulous philological research was joined with political repression." See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 125.

II.

Luo Pin's Formative Years in Yangzhou

Throughout his life, Luo Pin used the sobriquet (*hao)* of "Liangfeng," meaning "Twin Peaks," to sign his paintings. The name reflects Luo's strong identification with his family's homeland in Anhui Province (geographically situated about 70 kilometers west of Hangzhou), as "Liangfeng" refers to the two majestic summits, *Tiandu* and *Lianhua* of the famous Yellow Mountain (*Huang Shan*) that dominate the scenery from the Luo ancestral village of Chengkan.[39] The Luo family has a long history in that region, indeed. They not only claim a direct hereditary line to the mythical Yellow Emperor, Huang Di, but the Luo's also once enjoyed feudal rights in that region, known as "the state of Luo" during the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770-256 B.C.E.).[40]

The Luo family relocated to Yangzhou in the mid-sixteenth century during a period of mass migration when, according to Vicki Weinstein, "immigrants

[39] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 15.

[40] Various accounts note Luo Pin's birthplace as Shexian, Anhui Province. However, while acknowledging the Luo ancestral home is in Shexian, Anhui, Kim Karlsson places Luo Pin's actual birthplace as Yangzhou on the seventh day of the first lunar month in the year 1733. Other research into Luo's ancestry are made by Zhang Yuming (1999: 8-9) from *Supplementary Preface for the Ancestor Table of the Luo Family (Luoshi xupu xu),* which was compiled in 1507 by the noted Ming scholar and calligrapher Zhu Yunming (1461-1527). Other accounts are found in local annals, including *Shexian ji* and the *Ancestral Table of the Luo Family of Chenkan, Xinan (Xinan Chengkan Luoshi zongpu)*. (See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 15.)

outnumbered natives twenty to one."[41] Interestingly, many of the most important salt merchant families that dominated Yangzhou society during Luo Pin's lifetime also came from this tiny region full of rugged terrain, probably with the same history of migration. In this context, Luo Pin would have had many social advantages in Yangzhou, by virtue of being born into the Luo family. This, coupled with his natural talents and creativity, set Luo Pin up for a comfortable entrée into Yangzhou society.

Fig. 8 Yangzhou canals

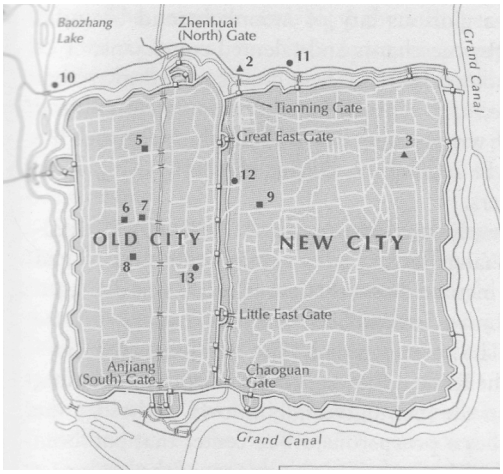

Fig. 9. Map of Yangzhou in the early Qing

A. The City of Yangzhou

Yangzhou is a picturesque, walled-city with a long history. It is located about 70 kilometers northeast of Nanjing along the banks of the Grand Canal and it is famous for its canals and for the "pleasure barges" that navigate the local waterways. Yangzhou is imprinted in the collective memory of China as a place of beautiful people and pleasurable living, immortalized in literature, drama, and poetry. One such well-known poem is the following by Tang poet Du Mu (802-852).

[41] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 8-9. (Weinstein quotes from the Wan-li (1573-1619) edition of the Yang-chou(sic) local history, found in Ho Ping-ti, "Salt Merchants," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 144.

"Getting Something Off My Mind" by Du Mu
Footloose and lost on the rivers and lakes
I went my way carrying wine,
Chu women's waists, slender and fine
Danced lightly on my palm.
After ten long years I woke at last
From a Yangzhou dream—
I had won only fame for careless love
In its blue mansions[42]

Luo Pin was fortunate to come of age in Yangzhou during its heyday for poets and painters in the mid-eighteenth century. The main reason for the rise of Yangzhou as an important metropolis was the fact that the city served as the market center of the Liang-huai salt district that generated enormous wealth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are many studies that show why the salt merchants families were so important to Yangzhou's emergence as a magnate city for artists, poets, and dramatists, but it can be explained simply by the fact that the salt monopoly brought to the city of Yangzhou the largest aggregate wealth anywhere on the globe.[43] In her 1972 Ph.D. dissertation on the Yangzhou Eccentrics, for example, Vicki Weinstein notes two historical sources that describe the social consequences of this enormous influx of wealth, one from a Ming scholar, Xie Zhaozhe (jinshi 1602),[44] and another in a Qing report from the salt censor from 1744, (*Qing Gaozong*

[42] Quoted in Chiu, "The Political Views of Zheng Xie (1673-1765)" (MA thesis for California State University, Long Beach, 1999), 16. The poem can be found in the anthology: *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911,* by Stephen Owens, editor and translator, 1996 by Stephen Owen and the Council for Cultural Planning and Development of the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China. For a more detailed analysis of Yanghzou in the poetic memory of China, see also Tobie S. Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 13-14.

[43] Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls*, 4-5. For a discussion of how painters navigated elite Yangzhou culture in the eighteenth century, see the introduction "Painting as a Commodity in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow," in Ginger Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls*.

[44] Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 7. "Ming scholar Hsieh Chao-che, and chin-shih of 1602, wrote in his Wu tsa tsu, a book that was banned during the Ching period, that: "The rich men of the empire in the regions south of the Yangtze are from Hsin-an [the ancient name of hui-

Shilu).[45] These special factors made Yangzhou an ideal city for a talented artist to be born in the eighteenth century because of the vast resources available for the arts.

In Yangzhou there was a culture of conspicuous consumption and a competition for eccentric living. The vibrant leisure activities of the city while Luo Pin lived there is described in detail in Li Dou's (d. 1817) *Chronicle of the Painted Barges of Yangzhou* society.[46] Li Dou's guidebook notes that there were 17 families

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zhou], in the regions north of that river from Shansi. The great merchants of Hui-chou have made fisheries and salt their occupation and have amassed fortunes amounting to one million taels of silver. . . . Their [the Shansi merchants] wealth even exceed that of the former. This is because the Hui-chou merchants are extravagant with regard to concubines, prostitutes and law-suits, they squander gold like dust. (Hsueh Chao-che, Wu-tsa-tsu (1795 Japanese ed) 4:25b, trans. By Ho Ping-ti, "Salt Merchants," 143-144.

[45] Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 7. Weinstein states: "In 1744 a salt censor appraised the wealth of the Kuangtun merchants as insignificant compared to that of the Liang-huai and Shansi merchants: …in the whole province (Kuangtung) there are only a few rich natives. As to the immigrants such as the Cohong merchants and the salt merchants, although they number several thousands, only several of them are wealthy . . . . They cannot be compared with the merchants of Liang-huai and Shansi who can stand certain economic losses without being materially affected. Ch'ing Kao-tsung shih-lu, (1744) 215:5b, trans. By Ho Ping-ti, "Salt Merchants," 153.

[46] See Li Dou *Yangzhou Huafang Lu* (*Chronicle of the Painted Barges of Yangzhou*), 1795. Two excerpts concerning Li Dou's important book on Yangzhou are included below for the purpose of providing background information. They can be found at the website: http://www.phoenixbonsai.com/Books/pre1800.html.

Zhao Qingquan, a biographer of Li Dou, writes: "A playwright and poet born into a minor land-owning family near this city, Li (d. 1817) was one of the men in Yangzhou who busied themselves documenting aspects of the city as it visibly flowered under the impact of the extraordinary wealth of the salt merchants." (See, Zhao, Qingquan, pg. 41; author name and bio per http://www.renditions.org/renditions/authors/lidou.html).

Antonia Finnane, in her book *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550-1850*, continues: "The book provides much information on life in the city and also valuable reference material on plays and opera music between the Yuan and Qing dynasties. Compilation of the material for *The Painted Barges* commenced in 1764, two years after the third of the Qianlong emperor's Southern Tours. The emperor would make three more tours by the time Li Dou completed his project in 1795, the last year of the Qianlong reign. The emperor's visits, although given pride of place, are incorporated into an urban panorama that features a large and diversified cast of townspeople. The author could have organized his chronicle in the form of a local gazetteer, with different sections on the past, geography, notable buildings, scenic sights, biographies, and writings. Instead, he sensed the organic nature of the city: past and present, people and places, writings and writers, are densely intertwined to produce a dramatically interactive account of urban society. His intimate knowledge of local society paid particular attention to the achievements of otherwise unknown artists and scholars, but his chronicle noticeably avoided engagement with the workaday city of local administration." See Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850*, a Harvard East Asian Monograph, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~asiactr/publications/pdfs/Finnane%20Chapter%20One.pdf#search='Li%20Dou%20Yangzhou'.

who owned garden estates, or *yuanting* in Yangzhou, and nine of them were from the same district, Sexian, Anhui as the Luo family.[47] Wealthy merchants "vied with one another in novelties and eccentricities,"[48] providing such colorful descriptions as a lover of horses "who raised these animals by several hundreds," to a flower lover "who planted orchids everywhere from the gate to the inner studios," to another who kept a household of only ugly servants, to one who erected "wooden nude female statues . . . all mechanically controlled, so as to tease and surprise his guests," to another who spent 3,000 taels on *pu-tao* dolls that choked a river.[49] Perhaps most extravagant of all was the one who threw 10,000 taels of gold foil into the wind: "from the tower on top the Golden Hill he threw down the gold foils which carried by the wind, soon scattered amidst trees and grass and could not be gathered again."[50] This event predates Yves Klein's similar gesture of tossing 20 grams of gold leaf in to the Seine river on February 10, 1962, by over 200 years.[51]

B. Luo Pin's Formative Years

Luo Pin's easy ascendancy in Yangzhou society had much to do with his family legacy. By far the most famous family member in the Luo clan is Luo's great-grandmother, neé Li, known as the "Meritorious Lady Luo," or Luo Liefu. She

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[47] Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 10. Quoted from Li Dou, *Yangzhou Hua Fanglu*, 6:35, trans. by Ho Ping-ti, "Salt Merchants," 155-56.

[48] Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 34.

[49] Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 33.

[50] For a complete description of the eccentricities of the Yangzhou wealthy merchant class translated from the Yangzhou guidebook, see Weinstein, *Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765*, 33-34.

[51] For information on Yves Klein's performance piece, see: http://www.webheaven.co.yu/spiritart/Klein.htm

became famous for her dramatic suicide in the Luo family home when she and her household servants all took their lives rather than be captured by the marauding Manchurian soldiers who sacked the city in 1644.[52] Luo Liefu was written about by many people during Luo's lifetime, including the influential Yangzhou salt merchant, Cheng Mengxing (1678-1747 or later) (who wrote a poetic essay about the incident titled *Notes on the Meritorious Lady Luo (Zheng Luo Liefu shiwen qi)* when Luo was twelve years old), as well as Luo Pin's close friends, Jiang Shiquan (1725-1784) and Weng Fanggang.[53]

Though orphaned as a baby, the young Luo Pin was afforded a proper Classical education by his uncle, Luo Su, a minor official and noted literary scholar, who oversaw Luo Pin's study of "the thirteen subject matters of painting" and the "five thousand volumes."[54] Such rigor would have been expected by his father, Luo Zhi, a 1711 *juren* degree holder, as well as by his grandfather, Luo Guahuan, a county magistrate of Wucheng in Zhejiang Province (an office also held by Luo Su from 1731-1746).[55]

Despite his education, Luo Pin never sat for any of the imperial examinations that would have allowed him to have a career as a scholar-official. This course of avoiding official life was characteristic of many of the scholars coming from Han families in the Jiangnan region, and was caricatured in the famous work of fiction

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[52] Karlsson, *Luo Ping,* 16.

[53] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 16-17.

[54] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 21, from Gu Linwen *Yangzhou bajia shiliao. (Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe*, 1962.)

[55] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 16. (Karlsson characterizes Luo Pin as a "literary family of middle-class scholar-officials. Luo Zhi died before Luo Ping (sic) was one year of age, and was soon followed by his wife. See Liu Yongming, "Guanyu Luo Ping de jiashi," in Xue Yongnian, ed. 1992; 498-501.

from the period, *The Scholars* by Wu Jingzi (1751? -), [56] who was very likely a personal acquaintance of Luo Pin.[57] Given Luo's family history in Yangzhou, there is no doubt that Luo Pin would have been familiar with the political leanings of the *yimin*, or Ming-loyalists, whose adherents generated an undercurrent of Han superiority that survived well into Qianlong reign.[58]

C. Poets, Patrons, and Artists in Luo Pin's Yangzhou

Luo Pin's early talent for poetry brought him recognition by some of Yangzhou's most powerful citizens and members of the cultural elite at a young age. Among these were the Ma brothers, Ma Yueguan (1688-1755) and Ma Yuelu (1697-1766), wealthy salt merchants whose garden estate "the Little Translucent Mountain Lodge" (*Ziaolinglong shan guan*) was the site of important literary salons in the 1740s and 1750s. Luo Pin attended drinking parties at the Ma brother's estate, and, according to Luo Pin's epitaph, Ma established important connections that would serve Luo Pin well throughout his life.[59]

Another salt merchant family important to the arts in Yangzhou was the Cheng family. In the fourth generation of the Cheng family living in Yangzhou came poet and scholar-official, Cheng Mengxing (1678-1747 or later), who retired to

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[56] For a synopsis of the book, see: "The Scholars", or "Ju-lin wai-shih", or "Rulinwaishi" (work by Wu Jingzi) in Encyclopedia Brittanica Online: http://www.britannica.com/eb/topic-527964/The-Scholars.

[57] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 21-22.

[58] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 15-17. For more detailed description of memories of the Yangzhou massacre and its effect on the collective psyche of Ming-loyalist families in the Qing, see Chen Jinling *Luo Liangfeng* 1992, pp. 503-505, and Mote, "The Intellectual Climate of Eighteenth Century China," 1991, 37.

[59] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 23.

Yangzhou after a successful career and founded the famous Bamboo Garden (*Xiao Yuan)*. Like the Ma Brothers' estate, the Cheng family's Bamboo Garden hosted many literary gatherings in the mid-eighteenth century, some of which were attended by Luo Pin, Jin Nong, and many of the other painters of Yangzhou. Cheng Mengxing's son, Cheng Jinfang (1718-1784) (who took over the Bamboo Garden after his father's death), was a friend to Luo Pin in Beijing where they both lived in the 1770s and 1780s, and was presented with the well-known painting by Luo Pin *Drinking in the Bamboo Garden* of 1773 (now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (see figure 18), that memorialized the golden days of Yangzhou culture during the 1740s and 1750s where the wine flowed freely and most creative individuals were competed for by Yangzhou's art patrons.

Equally important to Yangzhou's patrons were the creative artists who were drawn to the city. Luo Pin's artistic practice mirrors the changing mores of Chinese culture in the eighteenth century (Luo Pin's lifespan coincidentally overlapped the entirety of the Qianlong reign). That Luo Pin came of age in Yangzhou in the atmosphere that buoyed painters who followed the individualist spirits of Shitao (1642-1707) and finger-painter Gao Qipei (1660-1734), as well as more "orthodox" painters who followed the Four Wangs, and Dong Qichang, for example.[60]

[60] The "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou" (*Yangzhou Ba Guai)* was a designation of Yangzhou-based painters working in the mid-eighteenth century who were a loosely connected group of artists who were experimental in their painting methods as well as lifestyles. The name did not appear until the mid-nineteenth century, as a categorization of painters who did not follow the "correct" methodology of orthodox Chinese painting practices, and were thus considered lesser artists. The designation of the "eight" painters vary, but they include among them Jin Nong, Wang Shishen, Gao Qipei, Huang Shen, Gao Xiang, Hua Yan, Gao Fenghan, Mind Zhen, Zheng Xie, Li Shan, Luo Pin, and Qin Long. See James Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting* 1976.

Early on, Luo Pin met the scholar-official, Zheng Xie (1693-1765), one of the so-called "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou." As an old friend of Luo's father (there are at least two paintings in the collection of Yangzhou Provincial Museum painted by Luo Pin's father, Luo Zhi, which were inscribed by Zheng Xie), the retired official and painter had a personal interest in introducing the young Luo to Yangzhou society.[61] Along with meeting Zheng Xie, Luo Pin met other important Yangzhou painters, including Fang Shishu (1692-1751), Gao Fenghan (1683-1748), Li Shan (1686-1760?), Wang Shishen (1686-1759), Gao Xiang (1688-1753), Huang Shen (1687-1772), Guan Xining ((1712-1785), and, most importantly, Jin Nong.

In addition to writing poetry (and perhaps inspired by the older painters he encountered), Luo Pin developed a painting practice first by emulating the style of others. For example, Luo Pin finger-painted landscapes after the Kangxi-era Yangzhou "individualist painter" Gao Qipei (1660-1734) who famously turned to his awkward style after losing use of his right hand.[62] Luo Pin also painted in the more refined "orthodox" style of another one of his early teachers, the scholar-painter, calligrapher, and seal engraver Guan Xining (1712-1785), who is credited as being the founder of the Yangzhou orthodox painting tradition.[63] Luo Pin's early

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[61] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 16. Karlsson notes two extant paintings by Luo Zhi, today in the Yangzhou Provincial Museum, that bear inscriptions by Zheng Xie (1693-1765), indicating Luo Pin's connection to one of Yangzhou's most revered scholar painter, poet, and calligrapher. See Liu Yongming, "Guanyu Luo Ping de jiashi" 1992: 498-99.

[62]According to Karlsson, Luo Pin was one of the most important followers of Gao Qipei. This no doubt was due to the fact that he was friends with Gao Qipei's great-nephew, Zhu Xiaochun in the early 1750s. His friendship with Zhu allowed him to see works by Gao Qipei and he was no doubt exposed to many members of the family, all of whom practiced finger-painting in the tradition of Gao Qipei. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 30-32.

[63] Karlsson quotes the critic Wang Yun (1816-after 1883) with crediting Guan Xining with this distinction. Guan Xining was the friend and mentor to other Yangzhou painters, such as Gao Xiang and Wang Shishen. According to Karlsson, Guan Xining's "orthodox" style was taken up by the more famous Fang Shishu. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 33.

experiments in a wide range of styles helped him to eventually create his own unique style, a method advocated by such contemporaries as Fang Shishu.[64]

D. Luo Pin, Fang Wanyi, The Vermilion Grass Poetry Grove and the Thatched Hut of Fragrant Leaves

In 1752, at the age of nineteen, with prodigious talent and possessing the social advantages of his family heritage, Luo Pin married Fang Wanyi (1732-1799). She was the same age as Luo Pin and also had family ties to Anhui Province.[65] After the marriage, the couple moved to a home near the northwest gate of the city. The residence, which became known as the "Vermilion Grass Poetry Grove,"[66] consisted of three main chambers, two rooms at either end of a courtyard, a covered corridor, and a small garden complete with a pond and a pavilion.[67] This home became their studio as well as a lively meeting place for their many friends, the courtyard garden is the setting for Luo Pin's well-known 1760 painting *Jin Nong Sleeping for an Afternoon Nap*.[68]

Fang Wanyi was recognized in Yangzhou for her talents in painting and poetry. Karlsson notes: "some of her lyrics, such as the collection of twelve poems

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[64] As noted by Weinstein, Fang Shishu emulated the style of Guo Xi (c. 1020-1090). She quotes Fang Shishu: "Learning to paint is no different from learning calligraphy. Take [the styles of] Chung Yu, Wang His-chih, Yü Shih-nan, and Liu Kung-ch'üan [sic]: having studied any one of them for a long time, a certain resemblance can be achieved. But the great man, the truly intelligent scholar, does not confine himself to one particular manner. He gathers and studies many different styles, with wide discussions and researches, in order to form a style of his own. This is finally considered an achievement." Wen Fong, trans., "Dong Qichang and the Orthodox Theory" 1968, 19, in Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 157-161.

[65] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 18.

[66] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 48.

[67] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 91.

[68] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 48-49.

entitled *Grieving a Young Maiden (Kugu)*," were said to have been so famous that "everyone in Yangzhou could recite them by heart."[69] Two years after their marriage, Fang Wanyi participated in a literary gathering that was illustrated in a famous but now-lost painting by Guan Xining known as *Reciting Poems in the Female Quarters on a Winter Day* that included Luo's sister, his sister-in-law Sun Jingyou, the younger sister of Yuan Mei, Yuan Tang, and the poetess Xu Deyin.[70]

Luo Pin and Fang Wanyi were admired as a couple by the older generation of Yangzhou literati and there are many examples of commemorative poems in their honor. One such poem was penned by Jin Nong on the occasion of Fang Wanyi's thirtieth birthday in 1761:

> Grateful to this household with its talented woman, a descendant of a great family (the Lady is the grandchild of Fang Bo/Fang Yuanying), who is married to this young gentleman (she is the wife of Luo Ping [sic]). She can not only write poetry, which she chants repeatedly, but she can also paint and write elegant and beautiful calligraphy . . . . In the sixth month of this year it is her birthday, thus her spirit is that of the flowers in the billowing waters of the lotus pond. Her purity can be compared to [these flowers, which are] without stain and dirt. The wind as a skirt, the water as a girdle, they testify that she, in a former life [was one of them].[71]

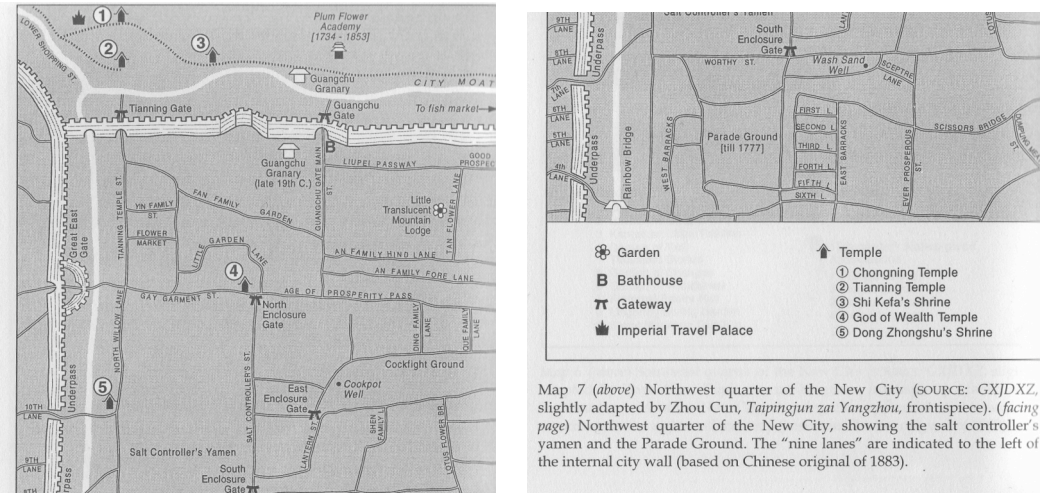
Luo Pin (who sometimes called himself "Monk of the Temple of Flowers") and Fang Wanyi (affectionately called "White Lotus" by her husband) had three children, two boys and a girl who all eventually became painters and worked in the family studio, known as "Thatched Hut with Fragrant Leaves." The family studio became the site of the Luo Family Plum School (*Luoshi meipai*) (see figure 10, showing location in

[69] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 18. Recorded in Fang's obituary by Weng Fanggang, included in his *Fuchu zhai wenji*, cited in Gu Linwen 1962: 142-43.

[70] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 19.

[71] In *YBSJ* 121, quoted in Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 47.

northeastern Yangzhou, north of the Guangchu Gate), which was operational into the mid-nineteenth century.[72]



Map 7 (*above*) Northwest quarter of the New City (SOURCE: *GXJDXZ*, slightly adapted by Zhou Cun, *Taipingjun zai Yangzhou*, frontispiece). (*facing page*) Northwest quarter of the New City, showing the salt controller's yamen and the Parade Ground. The "nine lanes" are indicated to the left of the internal city wall (based on Chinese original of 1883).

Fig. 10 Map of Northwest quarter of Yangzhou in two parts (based on Chinese original of 1883).

[72] Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 95.

III.

Luo Pin's Apprenticeship under Jin Nong, and the Origins of *Guiqu tu*

By the time Luo Pin was in his early twenties, he had already gained acceptance by the artistic community of Yangzhou and had acquired the technical skills to paint in many different styles. The central question remains, what led Luo Pin to paint ghosts? An examination of Luo Pin in the years preceding his painting of *Guiqu tu* makes it clear that Luo Pin's interest in painting ghosts owes much to his apprenticeship under the renowned poet and painter Jin Nong.

Fig. 11 Luo Pin, *Jin Nong reading a Sutra*, (undated); Fig. 12 Luo Pin, *Jin Nong* (undated)

A. Jin Nong – The Man with a Wintry Heart[73]

Jin Nong, perhaps more than any of the Yangzhou painters from the eighteenth century, truly embodied eccentricity.[74] A native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang

[73] According to van der Meyden, Jin Nong's sobriquet *Dongxin* or "cold heart" came to him during a bout with malaria when he remembered a poem by Cui Guofu with the phrase, *dongxin*, meaning, "lonely and cheerless." See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric Scholar and Artist: A study of his social-cultural background," *Oriental Art* 31, no. 2 (1985): 178.

province, Jin Nong grew up in an idyllic environment where scholarship was valued highly. He had the good fortune of meeting two classmates in Hangzhou with equally inquisitive minds who became lifetime friends, the seal-carver Ding Jing (1695-1765) and poet Li E (1692-1752). The three friends were among the 267 individuals across China of exceptional talent asked by their provincial governors in November 1736 to sit for a special imperial examination for the *Buoxue Hongci* degree, "an official rank conferred upon scholars of profound learning."[75] Li E took the examination (and failed), but Ding Jing and Jin Nong declined to participate. According to reports, the two believed they had no chance to be among only 15 people to pass the exam "owing to their scarcely concealed dislike of the Manchu government."[76] Having passed on becoming an official, Jin Nong embarked on a thirty-year adventure as a non-conformist, traveling across the country, collecting antiques and stone-rubbings, and always learning. He supported himself through tutoring, antique dealing, and being a "poet/calligrapher-in-residence," accepting gifts and short-term living stints in garden estates of wealthy patrons throughout the country.

In 1748, at the age of forty and after having gained a reputation for abundant enjoyment of worldly pleasures (one scholar refers to him as a *bon vivant*),[77] Jin Nong

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[74] The Chinese concept of *guai* or "eccentricity" has numerous meanings (as noted by Hans van der Meyden), including: "strange, rude, outrageous, wonderful, remarkable, unrestrained, extraordinary, and uncanny." By all accounts, Jin Nong was all of these things. See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 174.

[75] See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 177. See also, Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 38 & 38 n. 3.

[76] See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 117,

[77] Hans van der Meyden describes Jin Nong, at least in the first two-thirds of his life, as a frequenter of brothels with his friends Zheng Xie, Wang Shishen, Gao Xiang, and others. See van der Meyden "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 176. See also, William Henry Scott, "Yangzhou and Its Eight Eccentrics" 1964, 8. In his article on the Yangzhou Eccentrics, Scott calls Jin Nong "the

"settled" in Yangzhou, devoting himself to a simple lifestyle, embracing Buddhist discipline, and turning his energy to his paintings. He kept a modest room at the Xifang temple in Yangzhou,[78] and for his remaining twenty years, he moved freely in and out of garden estates of wealthy patrons as an honored guest, as well as traveling to Buddhist monasteries in the greater Jiangsu delta region, especially in Yangzhou and Hangzhou.[79]

Starting around the mid-1750's Jin Nong took on Luo Pin as his disciple.[80] The relationship of Jin Nong and Luo Pin, one being at the end of his career and the other at the beginning, was symbiotic in that sense that the older man's experience and the younger man's energy created mutual benefits for the two artists.[81] Jin Nong became a father figure to Luo Pin, frequently visiting Luo Pin's household, and was treated as part of the family.[82] During these years, the two men shared a strong interest in the study of Buddhism. With such close contact and shared interests, Luo Pin came to know intimately the exceptionally creative life of his teacher and mentor,

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naughtiest of the whole school of bad boys" and refers to "wandering life" as "unorthodox as his paintings." See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 152 & 152 n. 11.

[78] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 43.

[79] Li Dou, in "Chronicles of the Pleasure Barges of Yangzhou" (*Yangzhou huafang lu),* 1795, describes the mobility of artists in Yangzhou during the mid-18th century: "Yang-chou's calligraphers and painters are very numerous. Furthermore, they come and go as they please as guests, but belong to no-one. . . . the painters and calligraphers are without a specialization. They all depend on their cleverness." (*YCHFL*, 2:11), quoted in Weinstein, *Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765*, 59. Weinstein notes that Jin Nong was primarily patronized by Jiang Chun, and was a frequent guest of the Cheng family's Bamboo Garden. See Weinstein *Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765*, 111. Hans van der Meyden quotes Jin Nong's contemporary Qian Du: "My fellow-citizen Mr. Jin Dongxin began to study the '*xiesheng'* (painting after nature) style of the Song and Yuan masters when he was forty." See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong - The Life of an Eccentric," 177. Weinstein notes that Jin Nong first started to paint around 1736, Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 112.

[80] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 27.

[81] For a detailed account of Luo Pin's apprenticeship under Jin Nong, see Kim Karlsson's chapter, "Jin Nong: Master and Mentor" in Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 37-69.

[82] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 35 & 47-48.

whose experiments in poetry and painting, referred to in Chinese as *xieyi* or "idea-writing,"[83] are considered forays into "conceptual" art.[84]

Attesting to Jin Nong's originality is his instantly recognizable calligraphic style based on ancient stelae inscriptions of the Han-period (206 B.C.E. – 220) and Northern Wei-period (386-534), which was directly inspired by his extensive collections of stone rubbings.[85] He eventually owned over one thousand bronze and stone vessels, "102 famous ink-slabs" (for which he took on a sobriquet "owner of 102 ink-slabs"), and numerous art treasures.[86] The many studies that illuminate the innovations of Jin Nong's paintings, notably Weinstein (1972), van der Meyden (1985), and Hsü (2001), make it understandable why Luo Pin is remembered as a student of Jin Nong. No less importantly, though, Luo Pin's exposure to Jin Nong's vast social connections allowed the young artist access to a complex network of eighteenth-century cultural forces and personalities that served him for the rest of his life.[87]

In 1759, Xiang Jun (fl. 1758-1767), a young, gifted poet and painter, joined Luo Pin as a second apprentice to Jin Nong, and the three of them worked closely

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[83] Hans van der Meyer quotes the 18th century connoisseur Wang Yu, who describes *xieyi* or idea writing in the following way: "The wonderful points in painting are not to be found in luxuriant beauty, but in refined strength; they are not in the exactness of the execution, but in its spontaneous ease. Luxuriant beauty and the fine execution can be produced, by effort, whereas spontaneous ease and refined strength depend on the resonance of the spirit and the structural design, which cannot be forced." van der Meyden, "Jin Nong - The Life of an Eccentric," 180, from Wang Yu, *Dongzhuang lun hua, juan I,* 12. circa mid-eighteenth century.

[84] See Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," 202. For a discussion of Jin Nong and Luo Pin's collaborations, see Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self,* 112-115.

[85] From the time he left home in 1707 to 1748, Jin Nong traveled extensively across China. See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow, 1710-1765," 110-111.

[86] See van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 177.

[87] Kim Karlsson credits Jin Nong for supplying, posthumously, the connections in Beijing that allowed Luo Pin introductions to important people who would become his patrons in the capital. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 161.

together for the next ten years. Luo Pin's substantial professional output from his "Thatched Roof of Fragrant Leaves" studio, which specialized in paintings of plum blossoms, continued to hone his technical skills in painting. This practical development was augmented by viewing and studying important paintings and works of calligraphy (many from collections in Yangzhou); reading books on the subjects of history, poetry, philosophy, and religion; and, equally importantly, with travels. Jin Nong describes this time:

> Presenting their poems, traveling to my gate, there were two Gentlemen. Both of them, Luo Pin and Xiang Jun, studied the body of my poetry. While Pin acquired the excellence of my seven-character verses, Jun attained the refinement of my five-character poems. Being in the prime of their lives, the two disciples indulge unceasingly in reciting my poems; there is not a day on which they are not dogging my footsteps (and staff), conducting business [with me] as close relatives. When the two disciples saw my paintings, they repeatedly copied them, too.[88]

Another letter by Jin Nong illuminates his admiration for Luo Pin:

> The Monk of the Flower once lived in the Temple of Flowers;[89] in this life he has come to me as a poetry student. Adhering to a vegetarian diet, he lives quietly, shutting his door [to the outer world]. [Content with] chanting poems he does not pay visit to high officials. His purity and superiority separate him from the affairs of the world. Dressed in the square robe [of a Buddhist priest], he is a reflection of the vast gardens of the Buddha.[90]

It is well-established that Luo Pin and Xiang Jun executed commissions for Jin Nong during these years that were in turn inscribed by the elder artist and sold as his own paintings, especially such sellable works for the Yangzhou "consumer market" (i.e.,

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[88] Included in *Dongxin xiansheng huamei tiji*. See *YBSJ* 168, from Karlsson, *Luo Ping,* 2004, 43.

[89] Around 1759, Luo Pin had a dream in which he remembered a previous reincarnation when he was a temple abbot in a monastery called the Temple of Flowers, and from that time occasionally called himself "Monk of the Temple of Flowers" (*Hua si zhi seng).* See Karlsson, *Luo Ping,* 2004, 18 & 132.

[90] From *YBSJ* 113, cited in Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 47.

wealthy patrons from salt merchant families) as plum blossoms, bamboo, and orchids.[91]

The paintings that are more relevant to this study, however, are the paintings by Luo Pin and Jin Nong that engage in a dialogue with Chinese paintings from past masters. These conceptually sophisticated works either remained in possession of the artists or were given to close friends. Self-portraits, portraits of close friends, plum blossom, bamboo, or orchid paintings inscribed for friends, paintings copying old master paintings, and paintings on Buddhist themes all fall into this category. In the case of Jin Nong, the past masters that he expressly notes his works to be in communication with include many of the greatest painters in China's history, such as Gu Kaizhi (341-402), Wang Wei (699-759), Wu Daozi (active ca. 760-780), Zhao Menggu, Ma Hezhi (active Song dynasty), Ni Tsan, and Chen Hongshou, to name but a few.[92]

Jin Nong's interests spanned much of Chinese art history, but he was especially drawn to the Yuan masters. This affinity can be attributed the many obvious parallels of the Yuan dynasty to the Qing, where a foreign "barbarian" rule – Mongolian in the case of the Yuan, and Manchurian in the case of the Qing – superceded a Han-Chinese regime. Jin Nong related to historical figures who would be considered *yimin* or "left-over subjects" loyal to the deposed rule of the preceding

[91] For a discussion of the practice of "ghost painting," especially Luo Pin and Xiang Jun's paintings for Jin Nong, see, for example, "Master of a Painters' Workshop and Art Dealing in Yangchow," in Hsü, *Bushels of Pearls*, 198-205.

[92] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping* 2004, 145 & 145 n. 86 (see also Oertling, "Ting Yun-p'eng: A Chinese Artist of the Late Ming Dynasty" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980), 164), and Richard M. Barnhardt, "Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei, Taiwan: National Palace Museum, 1972), 143-210.

dynasty. One of the most well-known painters of the Yuan dynasty is Gong Kai who, in terms of visual arts, imbedded into his paintings of Zhong Kai cryptic messages of political critique.

Gong Kai's most well-known paintings in the vein of veiled critique came in the form of paintings of Zhong Kui, the "demon queller," perhaps the most common subject of ghosts to appear in the history of Chinese painting. Jin Nong and a few of his colleagues, such as Hua Yan and Li Fangyin, and, of course, Luo Pin, painted important Zhong Kui paintings. An examination of the topic can help to illuminate the connection between Zhong Kui paintings and Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, and shed light on why *Guiqu tu* has been long considered a form of social satire and a vehicle for political critique.

B. Zhong Kui and the Literati Tradition of Ghost Paintings

Similar to other world cultures, certain yearly festivals in China have traditional customs and rituals that were developed to ward off troublesome ghostly spirits. The most important of these festivals in China is the New Year's Festival. Leading up to the New Year, there are numerous days of feasting and firecrackers are set off to scare away evil spirits.[93] Pasted to the doorways of every household are images of the two Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.) guardian gods, Shen Shu and

[93] According to Stephen Little, "Firecrackers were also used in exorcistic practices to expel demons; see Dirk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975), 219-220: "Prior to the invention and development of gunpowder and firecrackers (mostly Song dynasty onward), the practice in medieval China had been to throw sections of bamboo into a bonfire so they would become heated and explode. The purpose, as we are explicitly told in the sixth century *Record of the Annual Seasons in Central China*, was, in the case of the [La] Exorcism, to drive away evil demons." See also Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* 1975, 219-220. (quoted in Stephen Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qui Ying," *Artibus Asiae* 46 no. 1/2 (1985): 20 & 20 n. 80.)

Yu Lu, who keep bad ghosts from crossing the threshold.[94] Also posted to doors are images of the legendary demon-queller, Zhong Kui. Late thirteenth-century descriptions of festivities on Hangzhou describe the occasion, which continued to be practiced in China throughout the eighteenth century and beyond:

> The end of the twelfth month, popularly called "the day the month is over and year is done" is termed *chuye* (the eve of change). The official and commoner families, whether of great or small households, prepare wine, sweep the gates and beams, remove the dust and dirt, clean the halls and doors, change the door guardians, and hang (pictures of) Zhong Kui.[95]

Another festival during which it is customary to display Zhong Kui paintings is during the *duan wu* or Dragon Boat Festival on the Double-Fifth (the fifth day of the fifth month) (especially in certain cities, such as Hangzhou, the site of the first Dragon boat races).[96]

The Zhong Kui legend originated in the Tang dynasty when the famed court painter, Wu Daozi (712-775) was asked by the Emperor Minghuang to paint a vision of a dream he experienced. Zhen Yao-wen (active Ming dynasty) chronicled the legend of Zhong Kui in his *Tian-zhong zhi* (*Record of the Heavens*), in which he quotes the fictional tale from *Tang i-shi* (*Unofficial History of the Tang)*:

> When Emperor Ming-huang of the Tang (r. 712-756) was suffering from malaria, a large demon wearing a tattered cap, a long blue scholar's robe, an official belt, and boots appeared in his dream. The demon presented himself as the advanced scholar Zhong Kui from Zhongnan. He told the emperor that he had sat for the degree examination, but did not pass. In despair, he dashed himself against the terrace steps, upon which he died. When the emperor awoke from this dream, he was miraculously cured of the disease. He immediately summoned the renowned court artist Wu Daozi (fl. Ca 712-775) to

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[94] Stephen Little writes: "Shen Shu and Yu Lu are the two door guardians of the Han dynasty; see Dirk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975), 82, 128-129; see also E.T.C. Werner, *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (Shanghai, 1932), 420.

[95] See Sherman E. Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, Demons and the New Year," *Artibus Asiae,* 52 no. 1/2 (1993): 221.

[96] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 23, n. 91.

> capture the likeness of this strange vision with brush and ink. The legend of Zhong Kui the Demon Queller was thus born and subsequently transmitted and embellished over the centuries. At that time, however, it had already become customary at the end of the year for artists in the Han-lin Academy to submit paintings of Zhong Kui to the emperor, who would bestow them upon worthy officials. Later, among common folk, it was the practice to post pictures of Zhong Kui on front doors as auspicious signs for the New Year.[97]

The subject of Zhong Kui was painted by Wu Daozi numerous times in his lifetime, and his works inspired later painters to take up the subject as well. From that collective practice, a complex mythology about the life of Zhong Kui was developed. In depictions of Zhong Kui by Wu Daozi and other painters, it is clear that after being posthumously promoted by Minghuang, Zhong Kui became a kind of constable in the spirit world, keeping troublesome spirits under control by rounding them up and "gouging their eyes out," "batting them on the head," or imprisoning them.[98] The spirit-world hero had a retinue of spirit deputies and servants under his charge who assisted him in his daily life, some looking like skeletons, ghoulish spirits, and others like demons. They carried his belongings when he traveled, assisted him in hunting trips by carrying falcons and spears, or entertained him with music and food when he rested. Zhong Kui also had a younger sister who was his

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[97] Liu Fang-ju, "Blessings for the New Year,"165. Also, Little explains that Zhong Kui has also been traced to a *jinshi* who lived during Wude period (618-627) who committee suicide by dashing his head on the steps after believing he failed an imperial examination, see Little, "The Demon-Queller," 23.

[98] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 24 & 24, n. 94. Little quotes Gu Yanwu from his *Ri zhi lu* (see *Echo*, 13-16) which explains that Zhong Kui originated from its homophone *zhong kui*, a bat used since at least Han China (202 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.) as a weapon for expelling evil spirits. Little also describes a Shu court (late 8th century) Zhong Kui painting contest in which a painter was asked to repaint a Zhong Kui painting by Wu Daozi gauging out the eye of a demon, who cleverly created a new composition so as not to sully the masterpiece by Wu Daozi by explaining to the emperor: "In the Zhong Kui painting by Wu Daozi all the force of the body is concentrated with the gaze upon that second finger, not upon the thumb. That is why I did not dare to alter it. The painting which His Majesty's subject has just made so as not equal the ancient master's but all the strength of its body is wholly concentrated upon its thumb; and so I have ventured to present it as a different picture." (from Little, "The Demon Queller," 25 & 25 n.101.)

companion, sitting next to him during night parties, and whom he eventually accompanied as she was carried off by sedan procession to be married.[99]

As a patron saint of scholars, Zhong Kui was a favorite subject of the Chinese literati, especially those who failed to hold official posts. Beginning in the 9th century, the elite developed a more private practice of gathering at special parties dedicated to composing poetry and paintings on the subject of Zhong Kui for their own amusement.[100] Art historian Stephen Lawton argues convincingly that at different periods, specifically the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) (described as "the greatest epoch of Zhong Kui representation,"[101] with such famous painters as Gong Kai and Yan Hui painting masterpieces of the genre), Zhong Kui paintings could be a vehicle for political criticism.[102] Lawton writes: "On one level Gong Kai intended viewers who were loyal to the deposed Song regime to draw a parallel between Zhong Kui's ability to expel demons and their own deeply felt concern for ridding China of foreign rule."[103]

In the Ming dynasty, the paintings of Zhong Kui in a Wintry Grove (*Zhong Kui Hanli* (dated 1535) (note: in Chinese, *hanli* (wintry grove) is a homonym for *Hanlin* [Academy]),[104] painted by Qui Ying (1501-1522/3), Wen Zhengming (1470-

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[99] For a discussion of the paintings of Gong Kai, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Siyah Qalem and Gong Kai," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 59-71.

[100] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 23.

[101] See Lawton's argument on the political critique by Gong Kai in Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*, No. 35, 142-149, esp. 145, also cited in Little, "The Demon Queller," 33-34.

[102] Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt explains Gong Kai's position of being "a *yimin*, or 'leftover subject,' a former literatus in self-imposed exile . . . . when he retreated to Hangzhou after the Song dynasty (960-1276) fell to the Mongols in the later 1270s . . . . to devote himself seriously to writing and painting." See Shatzman Steinhardt, "Siyah Qalem and Gong Kai," 1.

[103] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 34.

[104] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 40.

1559), and their circle of friends, were a symbol of all scholars "who have retired or refused service in the bureaucracy."[105] Stephen Little describes a specific party that occurred on New Year's Day, January 23, 1544, in his excellent article, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qiu Ying," which relates how a group of artists/friends moved from Qui Ying's home with a freshly (collaboratively) finished Zhong Kui painting to Wen Zhengming's home in Suzhou. When Wen Zhengming saw the work, he "spontaneously inscribed a Yuan-era poem at the top."[106] Little's bringing to life the New Year's party in 1544 can be transposed onto the occasions in the eighteenth century when Zhong Kui paintings came about, as the works were made not merely for entertainment purposes, but also to voice the political convictions of the artists.

C. Zhong Kui in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, Especially in Works by Jin Nong, Hua Yan, and Luo Pin

Given the history of Zhong Kui paintings, it is no surprise that the subject was taken up by artists in the mid-eighteenth century. Many of the "Yangzhou painters" known to Luo Pin painted Zhong Kui, and he very well could have seen or heard of such works as Huang Shen's 1732 *Portrait of Zhong Kui* now in the Yangzhou Provincial Museum,[107] and Li Fangying's (1695-1754) *Zhong Kui holding an Umbrella*.[108] Even Luo Pin's early hero, Gao Qipei, painted numerous Zhong Kui

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[105] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 25 & Fig. 1, Fig. 2, & Fig. 17. Little discusses Zhong Kui paintings in a Wintry Grove "Zhong Kui Hanli" or example, Qui Ying's (c. 1495-1552/3) and Lu Zhi (1496-1576) *Zhong Kui* (dated 1544), see figs.1-2; or Wen Zhengming's *Zhonggui Hanli* (dated 1535), see fig. 17.

[106] See Little, "The Demon Queller," 1985, 5-128.

[107] This painting is reproduced in Hsü, *Bushels of Pearls*, fig. 6.8, 195.

[108] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow, 1710-1765", 137, n. 67.

paintings.[109] In short, the practice of painting Zhong Kui was shared among those artists Luo Pin most admired in the mid-eighteenth century, and it was a subject that not only his teacher Jin Nong took on, but that Luo Pin painted as well.

Jin Nong's experiments with Zhong Kui paintings were closely connected to his relationship with the master painter, Hua Yan (sometimes counted as one of the *Yangzhou Baguai* or "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou").[110] Though arguably the most refined and technically skilled painter of the "Yangzhou eccentrics" grouping, Hua Yan was reclusive, and perhaps due to his social withdrawal, he only received his deservedly lofty reputation after his death.[111] It is clear that, as a painter, he was greatly respected by Jin Nong, which explains why Jin Nong made sure that his two students, Luo Pin and Xiang Jun, studied his work.[112] According to the connoisseur and critic Wu Hufan (1894-1968), Luo Pin was an "assiduous student" of Hua Yan's work, with many examples of Luo Pin copying the senior artist's compositions, most notably "Brushfire by the Han River" in the 1774 *Album of Poems by Jiang Kui* which is very similar to Hua Yan's *Brushfire with Animals Fleeing* showing a deer and two rabbits escaping a fire.[113]

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[109] Gao's 1703 album *Album of Figures* in the Shanghai Museum, depicts various demons and supernatural beings. As it has been discussed in chapter one, Luo Pin was a major follower of Gao Qipei and could have seen this album in person through his connections to Gao Qipei's descendents in Yangzhou.

[110] Despite coming from a very poor family, Hua Yan was brought to the attention of the Qianlong Emperor in his early twenties because of his extraordinarily high intelligence. He was reportedly on the spot granted a minor post as an official, but never actually served, probably due to family obligations, and he settled in Hangzhou to devote his life to painting. For a good synopsis of the importance of the art of Hua Yan, see Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 230-233.

[111] Most studies of the Yangzhou eccentrics mention this fact.

[112] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 84-86, & 156-157.

[113] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 84.

Fig. 13. Luo Pin, *Drunken Zhong Kui* (1762); Fig. 14. Hua Yan, *Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister* (1749)

Hua Yan's most important Zhong Kui paintings, *Zhong Kui Attended by Demons*, (in the collection of the Taiwan National Palace Museum),[114] and *Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister* (1749) (see figure 14), are direct references for Luo Pin's own Zhong Kui paintings.[115] *Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister* of 1749 (figure 14) is an elegant rendering of a ghostly sedan procession moving through a cloudy realm, with the usual raucous demons accompanying Zhong Kui and his sister. Hua Yan's technique of wetting the paper in order to achieve a foggy effect was later copied by Luo Pin in *Guiqu tu*.[116] Another Zhong Kui painting by Hua Yan, *Drunken Zhong Kui*, was acquired by the Ma brothers of Yangzhou, and was studied and copied by Luo Pin for his own painting of the same name in1762 after Hua Yan's death.[117]

[114] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 137, no. 67. The Hua Yan painting in the Taiwan National Museum is also reproduced in *Gugong shu hua zhi*, vol. 33, indexed in Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 7:344.

[115] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 84 & 84 n. 38.

[116] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 84.

[117] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 84 n. 37.

Jin Nong's Zhong Kui paintings are generally more humorous than those of Hua Yan. In Jin Nong's compositions, the ghost hero is shown standing in a stupor, sleeping by a tree, and sleepily sitting in a boat, obviously inebriated in each case.[118] The symbolism of Zhong Kui portrayed as a drunkard most likely mirrored the festive atmosphere of the festival parties that surrounded the occasions of painting Zhong Kui paintings. Although Jin Nong claimed to have "invented" depicting Zhong Kui drunk, there was precedence in Yan Geng's (late 13th century – early 14th century) *Drunken Zhong Kui and his Sister,* now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[119] Luo Pin, like Jin Nong, also painted many versions of Zhong Kui in a drunken state: in one case the hero is half-conscious and must be supported by two attendants as he walk in a landscape over a bridge, and another he is leaning against a tree.[120]

It has been established that the two friends, Jin Nong and Hua Yan, together viewed two Yuan-era masterpieces on the subject of Zhong Kui, one by Gong Kai, known as *Zhong Kui Traveling* (now in the collection of the Freer Gallery, Washington, DC), and the other, a painting by his contemporary Yan Hui, *The Lantern Night Excursion of Zhong Kui and His Sister* (also known as *The New Year's Excursion of Zhong Kui*).[121] These two works (and perhaps others of similar quality

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[118] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow, 1710-1765," 137.

[119] See Sherman Lee, "Zhong Kui" fig. 5. In this painting, Zhong Kui is being supported by two demons who are shown holding up Zhong Kui by holding his arms around their shoulders in a pose later used by Luo Pin in his own *Drunken Zhong Kui* of 1762. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, fig. 13.

[120] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, Abb. 35.

[121] For an article on this subject, including images, see Sherman E. Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, Demons and the New Year," 211-227, Figs. 1a-6. For an in-depth discussion of the history of Zhong Kui paintings leading up to Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, see Zhuang Shen, 409-419. These two works (and perhaps others of similar quality and interest) had been in the collection of Gao Shiqi (1645-1704) and the end of the Kangxi reign. An important critic and collector himself, Gao Shiqi had purchased the

and interest) had been in the collection of Gao Shiqi (1645-1704) at the end of the Kangxi reign and were passed to his son around 1712.[122] The next known appearance of the scrolls is in a monastery, the *Daoguan dingyu* in 1837,[123] so it is unclear under what exact circumstances Jin Nong and Hua Yan came to see the paintings by Gong Kai and Yan Hui in the mid-eighteenth century, but there is no doubt that especially Gong Kai's *Zhong Kui Traveling* (now in the collection of the Freer Gallery), which was studied by Jin Nong, is a crucial link to understanding what led Luo Pin to paint ghosts.

In 1759, Jin Nong painted a work entitled "Guiqu tu" (incidentally the same name as Luo Pin's later album of ghosts) as part of an album now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, called *Album of Landscape and Figures*.[124] Jin Nong's "Guiqu tu" (according to Karlsson) depicts "an assembly of strange creatures in part

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two works as a pair in 1700. When he died, his collection was passed to his son, Gao Dai, who himself passed away around 1712. (See Little, 35, n. 157.) Gao Shiqi compiled a record of the works of art he had seen in 1693, *Jiang cun xi ao xia lu*, which included the relative market values of the paintings he had personally seen. Gao Shiqi was one of the Kangxi emperor's secretaries, in charge of stamping seals and writing colophons on paintings in the imperial collection. He also edited a catalogue of the Kangxi emperor's collection, called *Peiwen zhai shuhuapu (Kangxi Imperial Compendium),* preface, 1708. (See Little, "The Demon Queller," 24.) For more information on Gao Shiqi, see "Gao Shiqi," in *Allegemeines Künstlerlexikon* (Münichen, Leipzig.saur), 48 (2006), (English version forthcoming). See also, Little, 35, n. 157. Little writes: "It is noteworthy that the Yan Hui and Gong Kai handscrolls were both owned by the collector-connoisseurs An Guo (1480-1543) and Gao Shiqi (1645-1704)." See Sherman E. Lee, "Yen Hui: The Lantern Night Excursion of Chung K'uei," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 48 (February 1962): 36-42 & 41, n. 2.

[122] See Lee, "The Demon Queller," 41, n. 2.

[123] I wish to thank Mr. Ma Xiaohe from the Yenching Library at Harvard University for providing the following information on the whereabouts of Gong Kai's *Zhong Kui Traveling* from 1700 to 1880: *Xu-zhai ming hua lu (Zhongguo shu hua quan shu*, 12: 389). Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (清初钱塘（今属杭州）人) bought *Zhongshan chu xing tu* in 6th month of Kangxi geng-chen (1700). Kangxi ren-wu (1702) Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 saw it. Then Qiangtang 錢塘 Xu Naipu 許乃普 saw it in Daoguang ding-you (1837).

[124] For a reproduction of the Jin Nong's "Guiqu tu," see *YHSQJN (Complete Collection of the Calligraphy and Painting of the Yangzhou School: Jin Nong)* 1999.

concealed within blurred foliate."[125] It has been argued that Jin Nong's interest in painting ghosts and demons, outside the Zhong Kui paintings, was inspired by his viewing paintings by "old masters" in the ghost genre during his early travels, before meeting Luo Pin. Art historian Marshall Wu speculates that Jin Nong and Luo Pin's interest in painting ghosts may have originated in Jin Nong's first trip to the capital in 1725 when he studied a painting by Du Fenglian (active sixteenth century), *Scenes from Hell*. In *Dongxin xiangshen suibi* (*Master Dongxin's Writings*), Jin Nong expounds on this picture, comparing it to another he once viewed, *Punishing the Evil Doers*.[126] However, Jin Nong's stated influences in producing the "Guiqu tu" from *Album of Landscape and Figures* in 1759 are Gong Kai (Jin Nong's inscription on his 1759 "Guiqu tu" states that the picture emulates "the example of the famous ghost painter Gong Kai (1222-c.1304),"[127] no doubt, specifically, Gong Kai's *Zhong Kui Traveling*.

Jin Nong, in his original visual composition "Guiqu tu," decided to focus on the supporting characters of the Zhong Kui legend. With the hero out of the picture, the viewer is forced to contemplate the demons and other normally peripheral ghosts, asking what is the nature of *their* existence? Whereas Hua Yan's paintings of the ghost realm, particularly the Zhong Kui paintings, inspired Luo Pin in terms of style through Hua Yan's examples of technical innovations (especially in creating a world

[125] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 52 &157.

[126] See Wu, "The toleration of eccentrics," 1992: 360, note 3. For Jin Nong's account, see *YBSJ*: Zhang Yuming *Yangzhu baguai shiwenji* (*Collected Writings by the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou)* 1996, 232. See also Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 157 & n. 118, 157.

[127] See Leo-Tak Hung Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu,*" 47 n. 6.

of mist and fog through the process of wetting the paper), Jin Nong's "Guiqu tu" most certainly provided Luo Pin with the inspiration for the content for his own *Guiqu tu*.

After looking at Jin Nong, Hua Yan, and Luo Pin's experiments with their own versions of Zhong Kui paintings, a look at how intellectuals accessed private collections, whether visual art, books, or antiques, can shed light on way in which visual culture was transmitted in eighteenth-century China, and specifically can explain how Luo Pin would have come to view important paintings and manuscripts that influenced *Guiqu tu*.

D. Chinese Book, Antique, and Art Collections in the Eighteenth Century

While Yangzhou was the center of theatre and drama and experimental painting in the mid-eighteenth century, Hangzhou was a destination city for scholars. Jin Nong, himself a native of Hangzhou, traveled there often. There were a number of important private libraries in Hangzhou that during the mid-eighteenth century were built up, and sometimes dispersed (depending on the fortunes of the owners). The largest were owned by a group of seven friends who lived in close proximity to one another, in the south-western section of the old walled city in Hangzhou.[128] The powerful Yangzhou salt merchant, Ma Yuan, for example, acquired in 1733 the entire contents of the *Pinghua zhai* (Pinghua Library) collection of Wu Chao (1676-1733),

[128] Nancy Lee Swan lists the seven library owners and their libraries as: Pai Qing Tang, founded by Wu Chien (1733-1813), Xitu shanfang, founded by Wang Shi, Wang of Wulin's Zhen chi-tang, Mr. Wang of the Fei-hung tang, Mr. Pao of the Chi-puzi chai, Mr. Wu of the Ping hua chai, Mr. Sun of the Sou-sung tang, and Mr. Wang of the Xi tu shan fang. (note Wade-giles spelling.) See Nancy Lee Swann, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1 no. 3/4 (1932): 365-366. For a discussion of the geographical location of the libraries, see Swan, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," 390.

one of the seven famous library owners of Hangzhou.[129] Wu Chao's son, Wu Zhenqian (1729-1803), was incidentally one of the early colophon writers for *Guiqu tu* in 1772.[130]

Jin Nong would have been familiar with the important private libraries, antique collections, and art collections in Hangzhou. It is no wonder that Jin Nong sent Luo Pin and Xiang Jun to that city for a three-month sojourn in 1762 for the express purpose of study. According to Karlsson, the two apprentices carried numerous letters of reference from Jin Nong that would facilitate access to various collections. On this trip, the two young artists met the charismatic Chan Buddhist monk, Zhuanyu (? – 1767) of the Jingci temple in Hangzhou. Luo Pin also traveled to other Buddhist monasteries during this trip, as evidenced by his colophon on the 1791 painting *The Sleeping Monk – Meditation Pavilion in a Bamboo Grove* in which Luo Pin writes: "I had some thirty years previously lodged at Hangzhou in the Muan Monastery at Mount Liang on the East River. I was intimately associated with Elder Nangeng in Chan Buddhist writing and painting. Xiaolian is Nangeng's grandson."[131]

This trip was formative for both Luo Pin and Xiang Jun. Along with practicing Buddhist discipline at the temples, they also visited private libraries and collections, and, importantly, worked on their paintings. One of the "seven intimate

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[129] See Weinstein, *Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765* 1972, 56. Note: Wu Chao's son was Wu Yuzhi (*juren* 1770). For a discussion of the seven library owners of Hangzhou, see: Nancy Lee Swan, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," 1932. For a discussion of the important collections of Geng Zhaozhong (1640-1686) and his son Geng Jiazuo, and the late Qing collector, Wu Rongguang, see Thomas Lawton, "Notes on Geng Zhaozheng," *Translations of Art* (*Renditions,* No. 6), Seattle & London, 1976, 144-151.

[130] See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," 1996, 38. Tangentially, Wu Zhenqian's son, Wu Yuzhi (*juren* 1770), was also acquainted with Luo Pin and, together with Yuan Mei, inscribed a painting by Luo Pin *Remains of the Plank Bridge* with a colophon in 1781. See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 189.

[131] See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 109.

library owners" of Hangzhou, Wang Zhishu (c. 1728-c.1800), was a close friend of the famous poet Li E (1692-1752), as mentioned earlier, one of Jin Nong's closest friend from childhood. It is highly likely that Jin Nong would have visited Wang's library through an introduction by Li E. Nancy Lee Swan's 1932 study of the seven Hangzhou bibliophiles shows that these close social friends practiced an active inter-library loan system among each other. Visiting scholars to any one of the seven libraries would have possibly had access to some borrowed or copied books to study from other collections.[132] There was also an active practice of copying and exchanging rare and important books between different scholars and bibliophiles in different cities, particularly in the Jiangsu region. Given these facts, it follows that this trip exposed Luo Pin to new experiences, most notably in the exposure to Western books, as will be discussed later.

E. Relative Whereabouts and Major Events of Hua Yan, Jin Nong, Luo Pin and Xiang Jun, 1740-1799

Although it is difficult to recreate the exact details of the lives of our painters in the eighteenth-century, what can be established is the relative whereabouts of Jin Nong, Hua Yan, and Luo Pin, based on colophons and poems that put them at certain locations in the last two decades of their lives. With Hua Yan based in Hangzhou, Jin Nong well connected in the Zhejiang/Jinjiang constellation of cities, and Luo Pin being actively engaged in his apprenticeship, all of them traveled in and out of Yangzhou. There are any number of possibilities for them viewing important paintings and books that are relevant to *Guiqu tu*. The connections can be established

[132] See Nancy Swan Lee, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," 381-383.

with the following chart, which also traces Luo Pin's movements and landmark events up to his death:

1740-45:	Hua Yan in Yangzhou[133]
1742:	Hua Yan mentions Jin Nong (twice) in letters[134]
1748:	Jin Nong a guest of Xu family in Yangzhou;[135] Jin Nong "retires" to Yangzhou
1749:	Hua Yan paints *Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister*[136]
1750:	Hua Yan guest of Cheng family's Bamboo Garden in Yangzhou[137]
1752:	Li E dies
1756:	Luo Pin becomes student of Jin Nong;[138] Hua Yan dies
1759:	Jin Nong paints album *Sixteen Luohans;* Luo Pin's eldest son, Yunshao, born; Jin Nong dedicates self-portrait to Luo Pin;[139] Jin Nong paints "Gui qu tu" ("Ghost Amusements") in *Album of Landscapes and Figures*[140]
1760:	Luo Pin paints *Portrait of Jin Nong's Noon Nap beneath Banana Palms*, which is inscribed by Jin Nong in the same year; Jin Nong paints *Shakyamuni* and *Buddha*[141]
1761:	Jin Nong, Luo Pin, and Fang Wanyi produce a joint album of Flowers;[142] Jin Nong paints *The Radiant Moon* based on Sino-European diagrams included in *Gujin tushu jicheng* (*The*

[133] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 116.

[134] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 113.

[135] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 110-111.

[136] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 85.

[137] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 116.

[138] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 27.

[139] See Karlsson, 28. Jin Nong inscribed the now lost self-portrait with the following: "Ping studies poetry with me and can be called a student advanced in scholarship. He also loves to paint. He began by imitating my river road wild plums. Continuing, he also studied my [paintings of] figures and bred horses, strange trees, and rockeries. His brushwork is correct and clever, without the slightest defect." Translation from Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 113.

[140] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 157.

[141] For reproductions of these paintings, see Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity and Empire," 211-213.

[142] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 48. An Orchid painting by Fang Wanyi, as well as three leaves by Luo Pin are reproduced in *YHSQLP*, no. 1-4. Jin Nong's paintings are reproduced in *YHSQJN* vol. 2, no. 198-202.

Synthesis of Books and Illustrations Past and Present) of 1728[143]

1762: Luo Pin paints *Drunken Zhong Kui* based on similar version by Hua Yan owned by the Ma Brothers;[144] Luo Pin and Xiang Jun set off for Hangzhou in late winter, staying at West Lake for two months;[145] Luo Pin meets the monk Zhuanyu (? – 1767); Luo Pin meets Ding Jing;[146] Luo Pin paints *Portrait of Mr. Ding Jingshen* (Ding Jing);[147] Ding Jing inscribes *Portrait of Jin Nong's Noon Nap beneath Banana Palms*;[148] Luo Pin and Xiang Jun produce "Figures" based on an images from a European book illustrating biblical stories (such as Geronimo Nadal's 1593 *Evangelicae Historicae Imagines* (*Images from Bible Stories*) as part of a joint album: *Album of Landscapes, Human Figures, and Flowers;*[149] Jin Nong personally presents to the Qianlong emperor in Hangzhou during his Southern Inspection Tour a collection of his writing;[150] Lu Jianceng, a scholar-official and major Yangzhou cultural patron, is dismissed as the Lianghuai Salt Commissioner of Yangzhou in major corruption scandal

1763: Jin Nong dies in Hangzhou; Luo Pin escorts Jin Nong's coffin back to Zhejiang;[151] Luo Pin paints *Portrait of Chan Master Tan*[152]

1764: Ding Jing dies; Luo Pin travels to Jiangsu, Luo Pin visits Jiao mountain, and on banks of Changjiang river near Zhenjiang,

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[143] See Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 217 & 217 n. 72. See also Hay, "Culture, ethnicity, and empire," 214-215.

[144] See Zhuang Shen, 418. (Karlsson, 84 n. 37.)

[145] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 43.

[146] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 44.

[147] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 44 & 44 n.20.

[148] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 49. Richard Vinograd discusses Ding Jing's colophon alluding to Jin Nong's sexual life, that states: "Jin had a lax and uninhibited attitude toward love affairs – specially homosexual ones." See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 95.

[149] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping* 157. See also Jonathan Hay "Culture, ethnicity, and empire," 1999, 218. Hay compares the images in the album with ethnic types in the imperially printed *Huang Qing shigong tu* of 1761, showing similarities of scimitar and bare feet, for example that tie the two works together.

[150] See Hay, "Culture, ethnicity, and empire," 219. Hay notes: "On the host-guest relationship in Qianlong-period diplomatic relations, see James L. Havia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

[151] See Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 201.

[152] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 147.

sees a vision of a river spirit, which is depicted in the fifth *fu* of *Guiqu tu*

1765: Luo Pin travels to Anhui and Jiangxi

1766: Luo Pin paints two companion albums, "Ghost Heroes" and "Rikshas, Hakkas, and Demons; Luo Pin mounts *Guiqu tu* on a handscroll; *Guiqu tu* inscribed by Shen Dacheng[153]

1768: Luo Jianceng dies in prison, awaiting the death penalty on corruption charges; Yangzhou as cultural center falls into major decline[154]

1771: Luo Pin makes first trip to Beijing

1772: Luo Pin meets Weng Fanggang at the residence of Qian Zai[155]

1773: Luo Pin paints *Drinking in the Bamboo Garden* for Cheng Jinfang: Luo Pin leaves Beijing for Tianjin and visits Mount Tai; Luo Pin returns to Yangzhou; Luo Pin befriends Yangzhou playwright Jiang Shiquan who adds a colophon to *Guiqu tu;* establishment of the *Siku quanshu* commission[156]

1774: Luo Pin paints *Album of Poems by Jiang Kui*, including "Brushfire by the Han River" (based on Hua Yan's earlier *Brushfire with Animals Fleeing)*

1777: Luo Pin travels to Nanchang, Jiangxi

1779: Luo Pin makes second trip to Beijing; Wang Fanyi dies

1780: Luo Pin paints *Self Portrait: Coir Raincoat and Rainhat of Bamboo Splits*; Luo Pin visits Yuan Mei in Nanjing, staying at Yuan Mei's *Sui yuan* (Garden of Contentment)

1781: Luo Pin paints portrait of Yuan Mei; Yuan Mei inscribes portrait of Yuan Mei, famously rejecting it and sending it back to Luo Pin

1790: Luo Pin returns to Beijing with his second son, Luo Xiaofeng

1791: Luo Pin publishes *Wo Xinlu* during stay at Buddhist monastery near Liulichang in Beijing[157]

1794: Zhang Wentao adds his poem to *Guiqu tu*

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[153] See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 120.

[154] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping* 2004, 109-110. Karlsson writes: "According to Zhang Yunming (1999:15-16), this incident had a considerable impact not only on the intellectual climate of the city but also on all forms of cultural activity. See also Mote 1991: 53.

[155] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 165.

[156] See Nancy Lee Swan, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," 373.

[157] See Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 201.

1796: Luo Pin paints copy of *Guiqu tu* with Zhang Wentao's poem[158]

1798: Luo Pin returns to Yangzhou; Luo Pin paints final version of *Guiqu tu*

1799: Luo Pin dies

F. Jin Nong, Luo Pin, Xiang Jun and Their Encounters with Western Books

From the evidence presented above, it can be argued that, along with the inspiration of Zhong Kui paintings, and through the influence of Jin Nong's interest in the ghost painting genre, a third and crucial influence for *Guiqu tu* is Luo Pin's encounter with Western books. As already introduced, the basis for the final, and perhaps most import *fu (*scene) of *Guiqu tu* depicting two skeletons in a landscape (see figures 6 & 7) has been shown to be based on the engravings of human anatomy from the sixteenth-century masterpiece by Andreas Vesalius *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (*The Fabric of the Human Anatomy,* or, as it is more familiarly known, *Fabrica*) of 1543,[159] brought to China by the Jesuit missionaries in the early seventeenth-century.[160] Historian Nicolas Standaert argued in 1999 that Luo Pin's skeleton landscape was rather based on a copy of Vesalius's engravings in the book *Anatomie* by Paré, copied and translated into Chinese by the Jesuit Giacomo Rho (1592-1638), who arrived in China in 1621 and who had studied at Collegio Romano's Academy of Mathematics in Rome with other Jesuits who were sent to China in the seventeenth century.[161] The scroll, known as the Rho manuscript, was in

[158] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping* 2004, 152. The *Guiqu tu* version with the Zhang Wentao poem is published in Wang Fengzhu, and Shou Jiyin, eds. 1992: 336.

[159] See Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," 215-222.

[160] See Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," 16-222.

[161] See Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 87.

circulation in a library in Zhejiang of China in the mid-eighteenth-century. [162] Therefore, the Rho manuscript (or a copy of it) is most likely the work that Luo Pin actually saw (rather than a copy of Vesalius's *Fabrica*); and the document from which he sketched the skeleton landscape for *Guiqu tu*. [163]

From the above chart, it can be fairly established that Luo Pin most likely saw images from Andreas Vesalius's *Fabrica* for the first time in 1762 on his study trip to Hangzhou with Xiang Jun. It is during that trip when the two saw Jerome Nadal's book depicting biblical scenes that was the basis of "Figures" in their joint album of the same year.[164] Jin Nong, Luo Pin, and Xiang Jun not only took interest in seeing the Western books on culture, science, medicine, and religion, but they also incorporated images from those books into paintings.[165]

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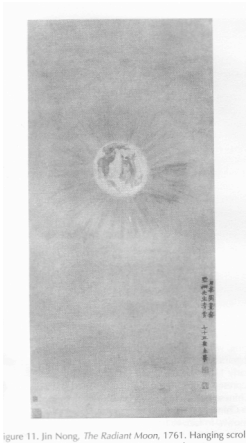
[162] Adrian Dudink, "Lubelli's Wanmin simo tu (Picture of the Four Last Things of All People), ca. 1683," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 18 (2006): 1-19.

[163] See Nicolas Standaert, "A Chinese Translation of Ambrios Parés' *Anatomy*," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 21 (1999): 9-33.

[164] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 157.

[165] See, R. Malek, "China Historical Materials of Science and Technology," vol. 25, no. 4 (2004): 372. (Abstract): Zhong Xing Jie (Explanation of the Transits of Stars), which was copied in the early Qing dynasty is a hand-copied collection of papers and illustrations on astronomy and geography that Malek concludes collects materials from both China and the West. The anonymous manuscript contains notations of dates from 1598 to 1645, and it includes images of the earth as a sphere. This manuscript is most likely the basis for Jin Nong's 1761 *Radiant Moon*. Jin Nong also painted a landscape painting with sexual innuendos that was inscribed with a reference to a "Western peep show." The image, with its translated colophon is reproduced in Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush* 1985.



igure 11. Jin Nong, *The Radiant Moon*, 1761. Hanging scrol

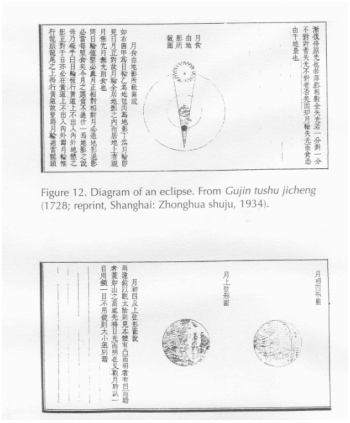


Figure 12. Diagram of an eclipse. From *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1728; reprint, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934).

Figure 16. Luo Ping, leaf 3 of *Album of Landscapes, Figures, and Flowers* (by Luo Ping [5 leaves] and Xiang Jun [5 leaves]), 1762. Ink on paper, 28.9 x 34.1 cm. Wong Nan-p'ing Collection, Seattle Art Museum. Purchased with funds from Bonnie and Gaither Kodis, Robert M. Arnold, Jane and David Davis, William H. Gates, Lyn and Gerald Grinstein, Janet Ketcham, C. Calvert Knudsen, Gaye and Jim Pigott, Vinton H. and Amelia J. Sommerville, Susan H. and William P. Vititoe, and Bagley and Virginia Wright.

Fig. 15, Jin Nong *Radiant Moon*; Fig. 16. Charts. Fig. 17. Luo Pin *Figures*

There is evidence of a picture attributed to Lubellis, another Jesuit missionary in China, which links the Vesalius engravings on the human anatomy to drawings on celestial navigation brought to China by the Jesuits. There are five *tondi (circular pictures)* on the sheet: death, judgment, heaven, purgatory and hell, which are based on Vesalius/Valverde (the skeleton representing death) and at least the pictures of heaven and judgment reproduce well-known pictures of Nadal/Wierix.[166]

The other direct evidence of Jin Nong's encounter with Western books is from his 1761 painting *Radiant Moon*. Hay argues that Jin Nong's unusual moonscape showing the topography of the moon with light rays jutting out behind it are based on contemporaneous (that is from the late Ming to early Qing) renderings of celestial movements and diagrams of lunar topography with Chinese notations based on European books, such as *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1728) (see figures 15, 16, and 17).[167] The same Giacome Rho who brought with him to China medical books on the human

[166] Dudink, "Lubellis' Wanmin simo tu," 1-19. There is a republication of this manuscript (the entire sheet is 143 by 24 inches), published in Maggs Bros. Catalogue 1102 (London, 1989), 25 (no. 618) of Lubelli's picture (handscroll).

[167] See Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," 215.

anatomy also brought works on celestial navigation. These included diagrams explaining "a new orientation to the cosmos drawn from the work of Tycho Brahe, which replaced the Ptolemaic system with a geoheliocentric one in which the sun and its planets revolved around the earth."[168] If Jin Nong traveled to Hangzhou in 1761 and was exposed to Western books showing planetary movements, it is possible that he also came across the Rho manuscript with images based on Vesalius's depictions of human anatomy. When Jin Nong sent his two students to Hangzhou at the end of 1762, he most certainly would have arranged for his students to study the same fascinating books.

G. Luo Pin after the death of Jin Nong; and Conclusions on the Origin of *Guiqu tu*

The death of Jin Nong in 1764 must have come as a tremendous blow to Luo Pin. As Jin Nong had no children of his own, Luo Pin assumed the filial duties of a son and accompanied his teacher's coffin to Zhejiang.[169] After the funeral, and after taking care of Jin's affairs, Luo Pin committed himself (along with Xiang Jun) to completing the task of compiling Jin Nong's collected works, which had begun in 1763 with a major publication of Jin Nong's *qu* poetry, *Dongxin xiansheng zi du qu* (The poetry of Master Dongxin's), followed by a compilation of more of Jin's work: *Collected Inscriptions of Buddhist Paintings*. In the decade after Jin Nong's death, Luo Pin and Xiang Jun traveled extensively, retracing their master's footsteps in order to comprehensively gather as many sources on their teacher's life as possible.

[168] See Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 95.

[169] See Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 201.

This effort culminated in the *Continued Collection of Master Dongxin's Writings (Dongxin xiansheng xuji)*, published in Tianjin in 1773.[170]

Luo Pin during these years was likewise consumed with securing the artistic legacy of his teacher. The younger artist would have been keenly aware of his master's late obsessions concerning the immortality of art. Especially at the end of his life, Jin Nong expressed in numerous poems and paintings his fear that he would be forgotten by history. In the end, Jin Nong's lifelong disdain for the Manchurian power structure ultimately hurt him, as he deeply regretted not gaining official recognition by the Emperor for his artistic contributions at the end of his life, even when he was able to gain audience with the Qianlong Emperor himself in Hangzhou during the southern inspection tour of 1762.[171]

It is not insignificant that it was during this period of mourning that *Guiqu tu* was painted. The timeframe when Luo Pin painted the sketches on ghosts that became *Guiqu tu* can be narrowed to sometime between 1764 and 1766. This can be established by dating the occurrence of Luo Pin's vision seeing a river spirit near Jiao

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[170] Hans van der Meyen notes, "After Jin Nong's death, the sensitive Luo Ping traveled all over China and visited numerous friends of his respected teacher. Out of fear that the scattered works of Jin might be lost in the course of time, he studied their collections and copied his master's poems and paintings; they were later compiled in a book, entitled *Dongxin Xiansheng Xuji*, "Mr. Dongxin's Supplementary Collection." See Hans van der Meyden, "Jin Nong – The Life of an Eccentric," 183. See also Karlsson, *Luo Ping,* 47.

[171] Jin Nong personally presented a collection of his writings to the Qianlong Emperor during his Southern Tour through Hangzhou in 1762. See Hay, "Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire," 219. See also, Jin Nong's inscription on a painting of plum prunus, *Blossoming Prunus*, dated 1759, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on which Jin Nong writes: "How could I win my way into the imperial court and present my works for viewing by His Majesty?," in Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush* 1985, 199, fig. 62. Ginger Hsü also discusses Jin Nong's regrets at not gaining official recognition at the end of his life, in Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls*, 188.

Mountain (near the city of Zhejiang) to 1764,[172] (the subject of the fifth *fu* of *Guiqu tu*, discussed in the introduction) on the early end; to 1766, the date of the first colophon (by Shen Dacheng) to appear on *Guiqu tu*, marking the late end.[173] Luo Pin's sketches of ghosts, already shown to be inspired by Jin Nong's own "Guiqu tu" from his album of 1759, was made as a companion piece to another album called *Guixiong tu* or "Ghost Heroes," which is now lost.[174]

If Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* was copied after Jin Nong's "Guiqu tu," then it must be made clear the Luo Pin was copying the *spirit* of his master's work – not a likeness of the image. As art historian Vicky Weinstein has pointed out, the Yanghzou painters such as Jin Nong were very much concerned with continuing the lineage of transmitting the "spirit" of masters from the past,[175] and Luo Pin would have wanted to accomplish that most urgently for his teacher, Jin Nong, in the years following his death. Under these circumstances, Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* should be viewed as capturing the *spirit* of Jin Nong's previous work by virtue of the fact that it was about asking: what is the true nature of a ghost's existence?

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[172] Luo Pin's trip to Jiao Mountain was during a trip to Zhejiang and surrounding areas for the purpose of visiting the stone engravings from the Han dynasty that Jin Nong had traced at that site for his collection.

[173] See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 120.

[174] According to Leo Tak-hung Chan, the lengthy scroll was noted as lost by Xu Naizhao (*jinshi*, 1815), in 1851. Xu's colophon on *Guiqu tu* said that he "came across the painting in Guangdong in 1824, and then again in 1851." He stated that he believed *Guixiong tu* "formed a pair" with *Guiqu tu*. See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," 34.

[175] Weinstein quotes a colophon by Jin Nong: "Wang Yuzheng of the Tang painted bamboo using the *xuangguo* (paired hooks) method. The master of Shu, Mr. Li of Jiangnan continued his influence, doing the jinsuo dao. In the Sung, Shiwu xiansheng, Dong pozhushi [Su Shi] made changes, doing the *po mo* (splashed ink) class. If in the Yuan period, Zhao of Wusong, the duke of Wei [Zhao Mengfu] and his wife [Kuan Daosheng], and Li Kan of Zhezhiu all were descended from this, at the same time there was Chang Xun of Beiqun who initiated the *dao le* (outlined painting, to be filled in with color) method . . . Today, I return to tracing Yu-cheng's precious idea. . ." (from Jin Nong, "Tong-hsin Tsa-hua t'i-chi," in *Meishu ts'ung-shu* 11: 171-172. [note: Jinsuo dao is the name of a coin, shaped like a knife and inlaid with gold, issued by Wang Meng in 2 B.C.E.] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 158-159.

The choice of reifying Jin Nong's motley collection of ghosts was timely – not only because Luo Pin had death on his mind following such an enormous personal loss, but also because the fad for telling *zhiguai* (or ghost stories) became wildly popular among the literate classes in 1766 upon the publication of Pu Songling's *Strange Tales from the Leisure Studio* (discussed in the introduction).[176]

Whatever the exact circumstances of the painting of *Guiqu tu*, it is clear that by 1766, Luo Pin was very interested in ghosts; and by the end of the decade, he was determined to make a name for himself in the capital, and it was because of *Guiqu tu* that he was able to accomplish just that.

[176] Leo Tak-hung Chan describes the practice of recounting *zhiguai* during this time-period in detail in his 1998 book, *The Discourses on Foxes and Ghosts*. 1998.

IV.

The Reception of *Guiqu tu* in Beijing

Around the time Luo Pin penned the sketches of ghosts for *Guiqu tu*, he must have been keenly aware not only of the void left by the passing many of the city's intellectual giants;[177] but also of the dimming of Yangzhou's cultural life that so drastically changed by the middle 1760s due to major imperial crackdowns on the once high-flying lifestyles of the city's wealthy salt merchants in the form of corruption cases and heavy tax burdens.[178] With three young children at home (the eldest was only about six in 1766), and his teacher gone, Luo Pin needed to secure his professional standing in order to provide security for himself and his family.

A. The Factors That Led Luo Pin to Leave Yangzhou for Beijing

In earlier years, when the economy was good in Yangzhou, Luo Pin appeared to enjoy a comfortable income. For example, he was paid several hundred taels of

[177] Luo Pin's *Album of Figures and Landscapes* (now in the Palace Museum, Beijing) pays tribute to many of the Yangzhou painters (see figure 12 for the leaf memorializing Jin Nong with reference to a landscape by Ni Zan).

[178] One of the last surviving merchants who had the means to patronize the arts in Yangzhou was Jiang Chun, one of Jin Nong's patrons. He helped to fund the Qianlong emperor's six southern tours to Yanghzou between 1751 and 1784, so much so that he had all but lost his fortune by the end of the 1760s. See Karlsson *Luo Ping*, 110-111. Philip Kuhn's book on the Sorcery Scare of 1768, *Soulstealers* 1990, mentions the Qianlong emperor's attempt to reign in the corruption of the lower Yangtze region. See Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 70-72, 127.

silver to paint Buddhist icons on the walls of Chongming Temple in Yangzhou.[179] His "Thatched Hut of Fragrant Leaves" studio produced many magnificent paintings, particularly of plum blossoms, in the years leading up to his departure for Beijing, which provided his family with a steady stream of cash.

By the mid-to-late 1760s, however, the economy had constricted so quickly in Yangzhou that it must have greatly affected artists like Luo Pin who relied on a rich clientele. In 1775, the dramatist Li Dou published his detailed account of the social history of Yangzhou: *Chronicle of the Painted Barges of Yangzhou*, a work that recounted, with exquisite detail, the golden days of the city. One commentator of this book aptly notes: "In retrospect, [Li Dou's] chronicle also marked the end of an era in which the dream of Yangzhou was recorded and the beginning of an age when it would be remembered.[180] It was precisely at the deflated state of life in Yangzhou that Luo Pin set off to seek new fortunes in Beijing.

B. The Sensational Debut of *Guiqu tu* in Beijing

In 1771, Luo Pin arrived in the northern capital with a long list of references from Jin Nong to look up. Luo Pin was still in the mode of compiling his teacher's writings, and had good reason to call on the former acquaintances and friends of his teacher for that purpose. One of the early contacts he made was Qian Zai (1708-1793), an old friend of Jin Nong's from Zhejiang province, who introduced Luo Pin

[179] See, Fu Baosen, *Jixinan Shihua* cited in *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* ch. 436, p. 36. Cited in Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush* 1985, 201, 205 n. 5.

[180] See (http://www.phoenixbonsai.com/Books/pre1800.html).

to many important people in Beijing.[181] Of the most powerful connections he made during in his first trip was with the very influential Ying Lian, a member of the Plain Yellow Banner of the Imperial Household Division (part of the Manchurian nobility) who was the Grand Secretary from 1776 to 1783.[182] Luo Pin was artist-in-residence at Ying Lian's Duwang Garden. This exceptional mansion was the subject of a number of poems and paintings by Luo Pin, given in exchange for room & board. The artist likened the Duwang Garden to "the paradise of immortals, the ideal world of happiness and longevity."[183]

Along with researching Jin Nong's history in the capital, Luo Pin used the trip to secure his own artistic name. Beijing was, after all, the place where any ambitious painter eventually went to seek recognition and approval. Luo Pin brought with him examples of his best paintings, including *Guiqu tu*, and it took no time for word to spread around the capital that a painter from the south had arrived with a scroll that he claimed to show what ghosts were really like!

According to reports, people flocked to view Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*.[184] The interest in ghosts may have been primed by the hysteria-causing Sorcery Scare of 1768. This event, apparently involving some nefarious ghosts from Zhejiang, according to Kuhn, "affected the society of twelve great provinces and was felt in peasant huts and imperial palaces."[185] Luo Pin, as an arrivé from the South was soon

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[181] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 162.

[182] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 163.

[183] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 163 n. 12, from *YBSJ* 303. As a side note, Ying Lian was grandfather of the court eunuch, Heshan (1750-1799) who all but controlled the court at the end of the Qianlong reign.

[184] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 167-168.

[185] See Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 1.

"the talk of the town," and was invited to social gatherings where he came in contact with some of the most important players in Beijing society, among them Weng Fanggang (whom he had known in Yangzhou, as he had composed a poem in honor of Luo Pin's grandmother), and Ji Yun, two officials who would become Luo Pin's very important "sponsors" in Beijing in the last two decades of his life.

Crucial to the understanding of Fascination with Ghosts scroll is appreciating how it was viewed, discussed, and commented upon.

Figure 18. Luo Pin,*"Drinking in Bamboo Garden"* (c. 1773)

Above is an image painted by Luo Pin that recalled an evening long ago in the Cheng family's Bamboo Garden in Yangzhou. Luo Pin painted "*Drinking in the Bamboo Garden*" on his second trip to Beijing in 1773, which was painted for Cheng Jinfang (1718-1784), the then owner of the Bamboo Garden (which he had inherited from his father), who was living in the capital and who had reacquainted with Luo Pin there. A second painting by Luo Pin that depicts a literati gathering is of Yingzhou Hall in Beijing, given to another one of Luo Pin's Beijing patrons, Fa Shishan (1753-1813), the Mongolian literatus whose family also belonged to the Plain Yellow

Banner of the Imperial Household Division. Fa Shishan contributed a colophon to *Guiqu tu* in 1791,[186] and it appears that Luo Pin exchanged the favor by painting the work *Yingzhou Hall* in 1792, depicting a typical daily scene inside Fa Shishan's inner quarters.[187]

These two paintings give us the visual setting for literati gatherings, an important part of the social rituals of late eighteenth-century China. In such a setting, after wine and refreshments were served, participants viewed art and antiques, recited poetry, and sometimes brought out ink and paper and spontaneously composed memorials of the day, or verses of poetry, either from memory or extemporaneously. This intellectual activity tested the acumen of those present. Any participant was expected to perform the elaborate social "dance" that drew on all the skills honed during the many years of rigorous Classical study for the imperial examination system.

It can be imagined that on such an occasion, the discussion would turn to recounting stories of the supernatural, particularly if Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* was being displayed. A person such as Luo Pin could talk about the nature of ghosts, how they operate in the world, and other metaphysical musings. Special people would be invited to write poems or commentaries, or general reflections of their encounter with the painting, which would later be professionally mounted and attached to the end of the scroll.

By the end of Luo Pin's second trip to Beijing in the late 1770s, he had managed to solicit colophons from a number of important figures, adding much to the

[186] See Leo Tak-Hung Chan, "In Dalliance with Ghosts," 38.

[187] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, abbt. 54.

"value" of *Guiqu tu*. What is embodied in the scroll is not only the artist's imaginative visual defense of his own personal beliefs, but a multi-voiced and temporally extended debate about ghosts inspired by Luo Pin's art among skeptics, naturalists, and super-naturalists alike. The scroll thus both aesthetically and textually captures the embattlement of Classically informed Chinese beliefs and practices against new ideas coming from outside sources at a critical juncture in Chinese history. Just as Luo Pin's pictorial strategies are formally innovative and experimental, the commentaries are also fascinating records of contemporary discourses about visual art.

The colophons capture the shifting mood of the ghost debate. A 1772 colophon by Jin Nong's old friend, Qian Zai, for example, makes a suggestion that "Luo should read Ruan Zhan's *Wugui lun* (*Theory of the Non-Existence of Ghosts)* and study the figures of Buddhist saints of Li Gonglin instead of painting ghosts," which he clearly thought unsuitable subjects for a respectable painter.[188] In another colophon, Cao Renhu (1731-1787), after listing the greatest ghost painters of all time, praises Luo Pin as a "Zen master in painting" for his "ability to capture the funny side of ghosts on the spur of the moment."[189] Zhou Yousheng (b. 1749), after commenting that Luo Pin's use of his own eyes to see ghosts is a far superior method than the common superstitious practice of using a rhinoceros-horn torch, jovially adds: "I am worried that, some day, when you [Luo] enter the other realm, /Ghosts would beg you for paintings of men!"[190]

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[188] See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," 42.

[189] See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," 42.

[190] See Chan, "Humor and the Fantastic in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*," 42.

Another commentator on *Guiqu tu* was Ji Yun. He was not only the chief editor of *Siku quanshu* "the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries" (the imperially sponsored project to classify 10,000 volumes that commenced just as Luo Pin arrived in Beijing), but he also later served as the President of the Board of War. Interestingly, in his leisure time, Ji Yun compiled *zhiguai* (stories of the strange), as did at least four other contributors to Luo Pin's ghost scroll. *Zhiguai* stories were an important source of income for the writers. Therefore a scroll purportedly documenting the images of real ghosts would have indeed been a curiosity for those who engaged in telling stories of the strange.

C. Ghosts in China

In order to understand Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, it is helpful to gain an understanding about how ghosts were viewed in China, both in the distant past and in the eighteenth-century worldview. Historian Daniel K. Gardner, in his 1995 "Ghosts and Spirits in the Sung Neo-Confucian World," focuses on the writings of Song-era philosopher Zhu Xi (1130-1200), one of the most important neo-Confucian thinkers. Gardner gives the Chinese metaphysical explanations for ghosts as being souls whose *qi* (i.e., breath of life, or essential essence) has failed to disperse properly upon death. He writes: "Human beings are born with a certain amount of *qi*, and with its dissipation, they naturally die. But there are some people who meet sudden or untimely deaths, and whose *qi* is not yet exhausted and lingers on; and there are other people who refuse to submit to death – particularly those who die by punishment –

and consequently when they die their *qi* does not immediately and fully disperse."[191] Gardner shows how, in his texts, Zhu Xi "is as much 'spiritualizing' nature as he is 'naturalizing' the numinous;" and the "conventional boundaries between the natural and spirit realms that prevail in the West have little relevance in Zhu Xi's philosophical vision, where the two realms are intermingled and indistinguishable."[192] The supernatural continued to be taken for granted as part of the universal order well after Song times.

Fast forward to the eighteenth century, when the prevalent mode of scholarship, the *kao zheng* school of thought,[193] required that all discussions in history, poetry, and even metaphysical and philosophical ideas required evidentiary reasoning – or proof. No longer was a tacit acceptance of ghosts acceptable – that passivity was instead replaced by a desire to find rational, logical explanations for ghostly phenomena. The fact that supernatural occurrences caused by ghosts and spirits could still be produced as evidence in legal cases, and accepted by the judiciary shows that belief in ghosts was generally socially acceptable in the mid-eighteenth century in China.[194] By the mid-1760s, however, perhaps with influx of

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[191] Gardner, "Ghosts and Spirits in the Sung Neo-Confucian World," 602.

[192] Gardner, "Ghosts and Spirits in the Sung Neo-Confucian World," 610.

[193] Richard Vinograd explains: The dominant mode of scholarship, known as *kao zheng*, or evidential research, involved sharply critical pursuits, including philological paleographic, and connoisseurship activities of all kinds, which often resulted in questioning the authenticity of formerly canonical texts. The attitude of doubt became central to scholarship, and the even-minded pursuit of forgeries through philological techniques became one of the key preoccupations of intellectuals. That such intellectual developments took place in an atmosphere of repression in which texts questioned by evidential scholarship were enshrined as official orthodoxy only adds to our sense of a pervasive disillusionment. See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 72.

[194] Johanna Waley-Cohen writes: "The judicial recognition of supernatural occurrences, including the intervention of ghosts and spirits and revelations that take place in dreams or waking hallucinations is a feature of mid-Qing legal culture." See Waley-Cohen, "Politics and the Supernatural in Mid-Qing Legal Culture," *Modern China* 19, no. 3 (July 1993): 330-353. Philip Kuhn's book on the Sorcery

new ideas from Enlightenment Europe, the "proving and disproving" of the reality of ghosts became a favorite pastime of the elite.[195]

As mentioned earlier, Luo Pin was himself a "believer" (as opposed to a "skeptic"); and he not only believed in the existence of ghosts, he claimed to have the ability to see ghosts with his own eyes.[196] A sample of Luo Pin's own words on his belief in ghosts is illuminating:

> Whenever there are people, there are ghosts. Some are malicious spirits who died evilly and have long remained, lingering in lonely and empty dwellings. Ghosts, who wander erratically, usually in a wall's shade when the sun is high before noon, but going everywhere in the shadows of later afternoon, can penetrate through walls and never enter doors or windows. These will shun people for they fear the breath of life. No matter where they are, they cannot harm. Ghosts will usually congregate in places where the smoke of people's fires is thick. One sees few in isolated or wild areas. They will gather by kitchen stoves, as if to approach the fragrance of food. They also like to enter dirty toilets. I do not know why, but perhaps they derive something from these faint traces of living beings. In all houses and cities, ghosts flicker about ceaselessly. When they meet the rich and powerful, they hug the walls and crawl like snakes. When they meet the poor and weak, they will tap their shoulders and tread forth, leading them everywhere. I, Liangfeng, feel sympathy for them and have described their appearance on a long scroll.[197]

With such vivid ideas about how ghosts operate in the world, it is no wonder that he decided to paint them.

One point worth mentioning is that a main current of intellectual thought of this time centered on the tension between capturing "truth" and being able to capture

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Scare of 1768 mentions the Qianlong emperor's personal involvement in the case, as he saw the necessity of keeping in check the mass-hysteria caused by the Sorcery scare of 1768, in which people feared that their queues (Manchu-imposed ponytails for all men) would be clipped by mischievous, if not nefarious, spirits. The provinces in central China had a combined population of 200 million, and social unrest due to a scare of ghost could have been devastating to the social order. See Kuhn, *Soulstealers* 1& 235, n. 1.

[195] See Chan, *Foxes and Ghosts: Ji Yun and Eighteenth Century Literati Storytelling*, 1-39.

[196] See Sullivan, *The Arts of China,* 1999, 263; Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 13-22; Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 156 & 169; and Weinstein, *Painting in Yangzhou 1710-1765*, 133-137.

[197]This translation by Hsio-yen Shih, (from *Individualists and Eccentrics*, 73), was reprinted in Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 136.

a physical likeness. According to Weinstein, the gap between reality and the ideal that was an "inevitability of the Confucian social system" (traditionally filled in times of political chaos by Taoism or Buddhism), was "deeper and had more unusual ramifications during the Qianlong reign period (1739-1799).[198] This need to find the "truth" of Luo Pin's claims about his beliefs in ghosts (which appeared to come under attack in the early 1790s), is one of the motivations for writing his beliefs, including of the existence of ghosts, in *Wo Xin Lu* (*Record of My Beliefs)*.

D. Luo Pin's *Wo Xin Lu* (Record of My Beliefs) and His Life in Beijing

After Luo Pin's initial success in Beijing, he returned to Yangzhou and from there, traveled to other parts of China such as an important trip to Mount Tai. In 1779, shortly after departing Yangzhou to return to the capital, he heard the devastating news that his wife had died of a serious illness. With little resources, he was forced to ask for the assistance of a salt merchant in Yangzhou, Wang Jie, to carry out Fang Wanyi's funeral arrangements, and to provide for their three young "helpless" children who awaited their father's return "with eagerness."[199] Luo Pin appeared to be deeply affected by the sudden loss of his wife, which may account for his later depression, and may offer an explanation as to why he decided to live away from Yangzhou for the greater part of his remaining twenty years.

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[198] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 153. See also, K.C. Liu, "Introduction to New Views on Ch'ing History: A Symposium," 186-187; Ho Ping-ti, "The Significance of the Ch'ing," 192-93; Harold L. Kahn, "The Politics of Filiatility: Justification for Imperial Action in Eighteenth Century China," 197-203, all in *Journal of Asian Studies* 26 (Feb., 1967).

[199] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 102-105, 179.

Once back in Beijing, Luo Pin took up residence at the Guanyin Temple, a Buddhist monastery in the Liulichang district,[200] painting occasionally, but increasing becoming more reclusive and eccentric. He reportedly was a subject of gossip for "going about only in old clothes."[201] Luo Pin's 1791 book, *Wo Xin Lu* (*Record of My Beliefs)* is a collection of essays that attempt to prove the reality of supernatural phenomena, including ghosts, demons, immortal beings, heaven and hell, reincarnation, and the afterlife. Luo Pin probably undertook the project at the urging of Weng Fanggang, one of Luo Pin's important patrons in Beijing. In the preface of *Wo Xin Lu* (*Record of My Beliefs)*, Luo Pin states:

> Recently, I focused on the theory of the heart and nature. I picked out things from Buddhist Canons that also can be taken from Confucianism. I have combined theories of the two traditions to find the words of the heart. I collected such words into a book. This book is named "Record of My Beliefs." The truth of Confucianism and Buddhism should not be distinguished and held as different beliefs.[202]

Each of the essays build on evidentiary reasoning that draws on history, the Classics, the Buddhist Canons, common knowledge, and art history. Luo Pin's synthesis of Confucian and Buddhist thought (as described by Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown) "represents the ardent voice of a believer who fuses Confucian moral teaching with Buddhist cosmology in a manner, not so much philosophical as 'popularizing'."[203] Vinograd characterizes the book in the following way: "The text affirms the reality of ghostly and spirit phenomena, the verifiability of former and future existences and

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[200] See Karlsson, *Luo Ping*, 195.

[201] See Weinstein, "Painting in Yang-chow 1710-1765," 134.

[202] Luo Pin, *Wo Xin Lu (Record of My Beliefs)* preface, 8.

[203] Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 201.

reincarnations, and the preciousness of human existence, among other broadly philosophical and religious matters. Luo's essays reflect a syncretic viewpoint, adding elements of Confucian thought and popular folklore to a fundamentally Buddhist worldview. The approach is largely anecdotal, rather than systematically argued, and Luo relied much on textual citations as proof of the existence of phenomena.[204] Thus, *Wo Xin Lu (Record of My Beliefs)* is not only Luo Pin's defense of the existence of ghosts, but it is a fusion of Confucianism and Buddhism.

Under strict neo-Confucian standards (which became more pronounced as the eighteenth century neared its end), the discussion of ghosts, demons, and the supernatural were subjects, in the words of Confucius himself, "Not to be spoken of." Luo Pin himself acknowledged this in *Wo Xin Lu*:

> Confucius didn't talk about strange things, but not because the supernatural did not exist. He just didn't speak of them. This is because, if the supernatural and strange things were talked about, people would be confused or afraid. Such talk could disorder the brain. That would draw people out of the moral order and focus on the wrong things. Confucius did not say, "There is no such thing as the supernatural." He just said: "Don't talk about it."[205]

Luo Pin's defense of ghosts took the form of evidentiary reasoning. He reasoned, for example, that because the Emperor Yu (Founder of the Xia dynasty in 2205 B.C.E.) had nine tripods containing images of ghosts and immortals, then "people met ghosts and therefore knew what ghosts looked like." He reasoned ghosts would be created out of nothing simply for the purpose of scaring people. He went on to give other examples, such how could there be 64 different kinds of hungry ghosts categorized in the Buddhist cannon if there were no such thing as ghosts, or

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[204] Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 123.

[205] See Luo Pin's chapter on ghosts, from *Wo Xin Lu,* translated in the appendix.

how could there be a custom of naming of different types of spirits, such as tiger spirits and light spirits, without such spirits being real. He also compared hungry spirits in the ghost realm to hungry and desperate people in the real world – stating that because both are hungry, restless, and dispirited, their reasons for causing trouble are the same.[206] Other proofs came from literature and history in which people claimed to have seen ghosts. Finally, Luo Pin said: *"There is not a place between heaven and earth where ghosts and immortals can't be seen. They exist in the spirits of mountains and trees; and in the spirits of rivers and hills. There is not a place that doesn't have these things. Those who can't see them, I'm afraid, are hindered by reason, and their eyes cannot see*."[207]

Luo Pin continued to express his sincere belief in ghosts. In his later life, Luo Pin painted a fan painting with two friendly ghosts, called "Everlasting happiness," (see figure 3), on which he inscribed the following colophon:

> How can we say ghosts are easy to paint? It is rare indeed for one to conceive their forms in such a way that would be real enough to suggest living creatures who yet are not human or to conjure up their visages in a manner to evoke the mystery of the chthonic and the infernal.[208]

Ghosts, who in Chinese lore were troubled souls *without* bodies caught in an in-between place doomed to a wretched existence among the living, found themselves, in Luo Pin's paintings, *with* bodies, however normal looking or deformed. In the quest for veracity, at least in painting, Luo Pin's ghosts, it can be said, are indeed real.

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[206] See footnote #210 for a discussion of this subject.

[207] Luo Pin, *Wo Xin Lu* preface 1791.

[208] Giacolone, Vito, with an essay by Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou," (exhibition catalogue), 1990, 67-68; also in Chou and Brown, *The Elegant Brush*, 64.

V.

Luo Pin's Reprisals of *Guiqu Tu* in 1796 and 1799

Fig. 19. Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu* (1796), Hong Kong Museum of Art (detail).

In 1796, Luo Pin painted a new version of *Guiqu tu* (see figure 19) (now in the Xubai Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art.) The long hand-scroll is rendered somewhat roughly in black ink on paper, and it reprises all of the ghost characters from Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* in one continuous mist-laden landscape. Each "scene" is accompanied by the corresponding verse from the poem that a young poet, Zhang Wentao (1765-1814), penned in 1794, and that was inscribed on Luo Pin's original *Guiqu tu*.

A. Zhang Wentao's Poem for Guiqu tu and Luo Pin's 1796 Painting That Honors It

The first seven of the scenes in *Guiqu tu* all depict ghosts interacting with other ghosts in a smoky ghostly realm (derived from Buddhist cosmology). Each

scene illustrates particular anecdotes, as mentioned in Zhang Wentao's poem.[209] Many of the beings wear shabby clothing and are barefoot, looking like downtrodden beggars.[210] An exception is the picture of a well-dressed couple who, according to the commentaries, are lovers being escorted by a third ghost wearing a tall white hat and umbrella to the underworld. The female wears bright red slippers on her bound feet, marking her and her lover as members of the leisure class. Even though the male ghost holds a "fragrant orchid" to sooth the journey, Zhang Wentao remarks: "Love in such gloomy surroundings is pitiable."[211] The other figures are deformed in various ways – either elongated, having enormous heads or stretched out arms or dwarf-life proportions and hunchbacks.

Each of the verses help to describe the artist's intention in painting each scene, as Luo Pin no doubt would have discussed each *fu* in depth with Zhang Wentao before the thirty-years-younger poet composed his poem. Of Luo Pin's two ghosts in the first scene, Zhang Wentao asks: "We can hardly see their lines and bodies, so how could the fragment of a corpse come into something real?" He answers: "We can paint and describe their spirit."[212] Perhaps the most vivid example

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[209] For a complete translation of Zhang Wentao's poem, see the last section of the appendix.

[210] It is notable that ghosts have many characteristics of people with mental illness in the real world, which Luo Pin makes reference to in *Wo Xin Lu* when he states: "Let me ask, we all know about "Chang wang" (ghosts who are mad, unsettled, or unhappy because they are not given regular offerings of sacrifice). In neighborhoods in the city, in the middle of the rustic countryside, there is this type of ghost who can be found who can do bad things to people and cause harm because he is not given sacrifices and can cause people not to feel comfortable in their homes. Yet still in the living world, there are also people with no real work who need food, who get into trouble, and who carry sticks that can attack people. For example, this kind of ghost is hungry. Because he is hungry, this is why he becomes dispirited." See the chapter, "Ghosts," in the translation of *Wo Xin Lu* in the appendix.

[211] See translations of 3rd *fu* of Zhang Wentao's poem in the appendix.

[212] See translations of 1st *fu* of Zhang Wentao's poem in the appendix.

of this is the coupling of the image by Luo Pin and the poetic description by Zhang Wentao of the Jiao mountain river spirit (see figure 2):

> With an elongated body and long, scattered mane of hair, the whole body is pure green. With eyes like a hawk, and bloody mouth, he flies through the clouds. This is what Liang Feng saw at Jiao Mountain by himself. Perhaps it's a kind of water spirit, not a ghost. It is magnificent that the whirling white fog extends at the waist. The elongated person with long flowing hair walks on air. The body condenses the green blood. He can jump a thousand *zhang*. His mouth is so red, like a red cloud chewing in its jaw the five vermin. This big demon surely will detest the narrow heaven, as his spirit is strange. Instead, they laugh at the dim ghost. Meeting in the dark night at Jiao Mountain, he will blame Luo Pin for painting his spirit with wind under his brush.[213]

From Zhang Wentao's descriptions it is clear that he was familiar with Luo Pin's recantation of seeing the ghost at Jiao Mountain, but his description is mixed with cultural references of the ghostly world, such as "chewing in its jaw the five vermin." The retelling of the anecdote must have happened many times, but by the 1790s, being able to contribute a colophon to the painting was the real event, and Zhang Wentao's careful observation of each of the eight scenes, including this one, underscores the importance of the poet's participation in the on-going appreciation of the scroll.

In the 8th and final *fu*, the skeleton landscape, the mist has cleared. This is the most significant *fu* in Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, and, as such, it merits printing Zhang Wentao's lines in full:

> The more rotten and bad smelling the stench [around a grave], the more magic. Two skeletons are left on the side of the road. Facing each other, they do not think about the fact that humans have bones or that ghosts are without skin. Even when the skeletons gradually decay, they are still capable of threat or intimidation. As a ghost, you only exist in black soil, green woods, and forest. There is no happiness or meaning of life. Such an existence must be miserable. There is no need to try to fight or struggle to sing the poetry of Bao jia.

[213] Zhang Wentao, poem for *Guiqu tu*, 1794. See the last section of translations in the appendix.

Zhang Wentao's explanation of the last scene leaves no doubt that the "skeleton landscape" depicts ghosts in the real world, not in the ghost realm. A very interesting aspect of the engravings in Vesalius' *Fabrica*, from which we now know Luo Pin's "skeleton landscape" is derived, is that the figures (if lined up next to each other) are set in a single panoramic romantic Italian Renaissance landscape.[214] Luo Pin would not have missed this detail, and the fact that the skeletons where placed in a landscape is the key element that inspired Luo Pin to create a new composition in a Chinese landscape. The fact that Vesalius used artists from Titian's studio who were therefore among the most skilled draftsmen of the day, show why *Fabrica*, along with being "the first great modern achievement in observational science,"[215] has such enormous artistic appeal.[216] Luo Pin's borrowing of such an important image in Western art to create his own rendering of ghosts is part of the reason why Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu* is such a fascinating painting.

Fig. 20. Luo Pin, *Guiqu tu*, 1799. Hong Kong Museum of Art (detail).

[214] Leo Duff, "The Vesalius Drawings," in Vesalius and Simpson *Vesalius in the 21st Century*, 2000, 5.

[215] Farrington, "Notices of Books," (review of C. Singer and C. Rabin. "A Prelude to Modern Science, being a Discussion of the History, Sources and Circumstances of the Tabulae Anatomicae Sex of Vesalius.) 1948, 164.

[216] Leo Duff, "The Vesalius Drawings," in Vesalius and Simpson, *Vesalius in the 21st Century*, 4 & 5.

B. The "Curtain Call" of Luo Pin's Ghosts in His "Swan Song" *Guiqu tu* of 1799

As mentioned in the introduction, Luo Pin did return to Yangzhou for his final year. There, during what was a very productive and most likely happy time, Luo Pin made some of the most powerful paintings of his life, including a final rendition of *Guiqu tu* (see figure 19). This colorful, joyous painting on silk, showing soft-hued billowing clouds of the ghost realm, reprised again the now familiar characters of *Guiqu tu*. Like the nineteenth century French paintings by Manet analyzed by art historian Michael Fried, Luo Pin's last *Guiqu tu* painting contains a theatricality that makes us, the viewer, very aware of its staged presence, almost as if the *Guiqu tu* ghosts had been raucously called back on-stage for one last curtain call. It is as if Luo Pin, in one final gesture, was also taking a bow for giving life to an assemblage of ghosts that would intrigue viewers for generations to come.

Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, which he used to defend his beliefs in the reality of ghosts, in some ways, can be seen as a defense of China's traditional beliefs, a long legacy that began to seriously break down at the very end of Luo Pin's life. The twilight of the eighteenth century, according to some historians, marks the beginning of modern China. Luo Pin's *Guiqu tu*, its ghost paintings along with its colophons, can be seen as one of the last traditional Chinese paintings.

VI.

Appendix I. Translations by Kate Farrington and Zhu Hong

Wo Xin Lu. *Record of My Beliefs*. *(*1791) is a book that Luo Pin wrote and published with the help of his son, Luo Xiaofeng, in 1791.[217] The book begins with two introductions by Luo Pin's contemporaries, followed by a preface by Luo Pin himself. The first chapter by Luo Pin is a general introduction. The rest of the book is arranged as a series of chapters on particular topics. The contents are as follows:

I. Selected Translations from Luo Pin's 1791 book *Wo Xin Lu* (Record of My Beliefs):

A. Preface by Commentator

[217] Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 123.

B. Second Preface by Commentator
C. Luo Pin's own Preface and Introduction
D. Chapter 10: "Supernatural Spirits - Immortals"
E. Chapter 11: "Ghosts"
F. Chapter 12 "Demons"

A. Preface by Commentator

When Buddhists came from the West, they did not rely on printed words. After this, the explanation of Pure Land Buddhism was like cacophony. The words seemed mad. This is because if you want to teach somebody Buddhism, you have to just teach it. [Going from teacher to student] the main ideas of the original Pure Land Buddhism were never lost.

In the Song & Yuan dynasties, Chan Buddhism became popular Buddhism. Just try explaining this kind of theory of Buddhism makes one tongue-tied. There are so many different people explaining the theories with their own words, and each explanation is slightly different. In this way, the original meaning of Buddhism got muddier over time.

In the Song dynasty, Master Lian Chi found another way to unlock the secrets of Buddhism. He tried his best to explain all the subtleties of the theory. The Mi Tou monks [who learned his theories] would go to Pure Land. The reason why they were able to go to Pure Land comes from the sincerity of their thoughts, since all the thoughts of the mind are in a continuum, like the fragrance of lotus blossoms – and this describes Pure Land.

This is what Confucius said: If you have sincere thoughts, you will get what you want. Luo Pin believes in Buddhism but didn't become a monk. First he studied Confucianism and then he became aware of, and believed in, Buddhism. He became aware of and then testified to the nature of the world, and then was able to write this book.

B. Second Preface by Jiang Fan

Jin Nong had all kinds of beliefs in his mind. To debate with his teacher, Luo Pin used the Buddhist thought as basis for his arguments and for his explanations of the world. He also used the words of the Confucian Classics as metaphors to explain his beliefs. Alas! The best theory will combine these threads with no conflicting discrepancies.

If you read philosophy and get different conclusions, you will be an offender, The teachings of Buddha which ferry believers to bliss while sitting on the points of needles. Believe in others, or believe in me. Using what I believe to try to get other

people to believe, just like mixing water to milk. Just as the magnate can attract the stone, so this book has a lot of effects of perfecting these two theories, its effects are so great. Surely, it should exist together along with Fazeng and Sui jinglu. I am so happy, and so excited. I appreciate this book very much, so I wrote this preface. Jiang Fan, Pan Lingyun, Wang Chan.

C. Luo Pin's Preface

The theory of life is something that Confucius rarely spoke of – and on this subject, there is little written of. Buddha talked a lot about the theory of life – and on this subject there is much written.

Monk Han Shan said: If I believe but others don't believe, this is not that they don't believe, it is that they haven't believed it yet.

Others believe something that I don't believe. This is not that I don't believe it is worth believing. The others believe that the words are true, if the word truly meets the heart and is the truth, nothing will not be believed, and nobody will not believe it. Together (Confucianism and Buddhism) have the same nature. The One is the Second, the Second is the First. I believe them. Even there are still some people who don't believe me, I still believe what I believe, even though there are still those who don't believe me.

Even those who try their best to use the strongest words to say what they believe, at last if their heart does not believe it, it will not be sincere. If you believe in yourself, others will be easily fooled. The honest people will be better and better day by day. And the people who are fooled will get worse and worse day by day. Wisdom and knowledge can show light on that which is confusion. Puzzlement can come out of all kinds of things. Those who get to the truth, they will use the light to shine on the many thousands of puzzling things. To throw light on the puzzlement, it depends on wisdom, not knowledge. It will exist in a single source – it will not be puzzled. The reason why people are puzzled by thousands of things [is because of] theory and explanation. (*Zhu chan du li*). If you throw the light of wisdom on such things, you will be an independent thinker.

Recently, I focused on the theory of the heart and nature. I picked out things from Buddhist Canons which also can be taken from Confucianism. I have combined theories of the two traditions to find the words of the heart. I collected such words into a book. This book is named "Record of My Beliefs."

The truth of Confucianism & Buddhism should not be distinguished or held as different beliefs. This is the preface. 56th year of Qianlong reign (1791). Luo Pin wrote this preface at the monk dormitory of the Liu Li Chang at the Capital of Beijing.

D. Ghosts and Supernatural Spirits (Immortals)

About ghosts and supernatural spirits, no matter today or in ancient times, one thing is clear: ghosts are ghosts; and supernatural spirits are supernatural spirits. People often mistakenly put them together, but in order to fully understand the whole aspect of the case, a person needs to utilize both feeling and reason.

The Song scholars concluded that the "*qi*" of both ghosts and supernatural beings were interchangeable. Because of this effect, they concluded that "*qi*" moved in and out silently for both ghosts and immortals. So, they denied ghosts had real existence.

There is not a place between heaven and earth where ghosts and immortals can't be seen. They exist in the spirits of mountains and trees; and in the spirits of rivers and hills. There is not a place that doesn't have these things. Those who can't see them, I'm afraid, are hindered by reason, and their eyes cannot see. They also therefore cannot see them using research.

Then, accordingly, in my opinion, Yin and Yang (the two "*qi's*") come out in two different images. They change their forms and content.

The Yin and Yang in the earth will sprout mushrooms of different colors. And there will be a lot of worms that make their house in the mushrooms. Just as in this, in the heaven, in the sky there are different colors, just as in the rainbow. Think of a donkey's head. Now think of the donkey putting his head down to drink from a brook. These are changes. How can the image be described? The *I-Ching* says: In both forms in heaven and forms in earth, changes can be seen.

In ancient times, Emperor Yu (Founder of the Xia Dynasty, 2205 B.C.) had nine tripods containing images of ghosts and immortals. If people put figures of ghosts on the tripods, then people met ghosts and therefore knew what ghosts looked like. How could it be that ghosts would be created out of nothing simply for the purpose of scaring people?

There are many discussions about hearing, seeing, and experiencing ghosts, but like coins on a chain, but are all bound by the same thread and therefore have the same conclusion.

E. Ghosts

Why in ancient times, people believed in ghosts and immortals, but today people find it difficult to believe in them?

Now, in history we can't find a single generation in which reason is not spoken of. In history, we draw strength where there is strength, rightness where there

is rightness, and can find reason in stories. Under heaven, all living things have two kinds of energy (Yin and Yang). Does reason also have two kinds of energy? If you read little, you feel strange about a lot of things. But please read the 17 books of history, including "Wen Xian Tong Cao", "Taiping Guan Zhi", "Taiping Huang Ji", and other such books. Read them carefully. Then come to your own conclusions in the right way.

Talking about common ghosts, they must deal with matters of daily life such as eating and drinking. There is not even a bit of strangeness about that. Pick apart carefully the problem, discuss it with reason, and then you will comfortably be able to resolve it.

In the book, Li Jing Canon, it says: There is something called a ghost that exists after a person dies. Clearly, there are these kinds of things called ghosts. First the ghost must exist, otherwise there would be no name for "ghost". In other words, if there was no such thing as ghosts, then when somebody dies, they would just die and that would be it. With no such thing as ghosts, why create this name?

Confucius said: Make sacrifices for ghosts so that the ghosts will be happy. That means that clearly ghosts must exist, if they can enjoy sacrifices by people, then Confucius can add this word - *xiang* (to enjoy). If not, just give a memory of food, why supply real food unless there is somebody who arrives to enjoy the food?

Another example can be found in Cai Chen Shujing (Cai Chen's Encyclopedia). It says: In the Shang dynasty, ghosts were quite fashionable. If there is no such thing as ghosts, how could there be customs in the Shang to esteem the ghosts?

Li Jing Zhu says: The common people drive out strong ghosts. If there are no ghosts, then why is there a name to keep ghosts out of the border? In village customs, there is a special name for an aura at night that denotes a fire ghost, "*ling*." If there are no such things as ghosts, how do you explain the name "*ling*"? If someone gets killed by a tiger, the ghost is a "*chang*" ghost, meaning it has the soul of a tiger. If there is no such thing as ghosts, how to do you explain the name "*chang*"?

There are ghosts and immortal spirits in the world. Why do we say so? Li Jing Zhu has reason and many times said he saw ghosts. So clearly, then, he has seen them: it is not forced or absurd.

Shei Shang says the body and the spirit are separated so the ghost comes into being. The wise man means clearly that if somebody says there are no ghosts, he is foolish. What rich truth can be found in what he says. Actually, reason is the origin of this.

Buddhists often speak of hungry ghosts. In all of their prayers and discussions, there are 64 different types of spirits. Only the wisest and most learned

Buddhist can distinguish them all. If ghosts possess no image and no body, how would there be 64 different types of hungry ghosts? The 64 types of hungry ghosts that the Buddhists speak of can be wrapped together like a ball of thread, refuting the theory that there are no such things as ghosts.

Let me ask, we all know about "Chang wang" (ghosts who are mad, unsettled, or unhappy because they are not given regular offerings of sacrifice). In neighborhoods in the city, in the middle of the rustic countryside, there is this type of ghost who can be found who can do bad things to people and cause harm because he is not given sacrifices and can cause people not to feel comfortable in their homes. Yet still in the living world, there are also people with no real work who need food, who get into trouble, and who carry sticks that can attack people. For example, this kind of ghost is hungry. Because he is hungry, this is why he becomes dispirited.

Chuzi also has something to say about ghosts. If the ghosts have some place to settle down, they will not do evil things.

Every year, in every province and district, on July 15th there is Qing Ming Jie, or Ghost Festival. On the 1st of October, the Cheng Huang Shen, people will always come to the table of the altar and give sacrifices of money and food. Why would our country do these things without benefits? It is just like the candle giving light in the dark. (Ghost has a physical body).

Nowadays, the Buddhist will give food to hungry ghosts. Just for the common people, this is indisputable truth. There are lots of people who study the minutiae in history about the effects of giving food to hungry ghosts, so many that the ink pad would run out of ink trying to write all of them down. These scribes only write down a few of them in order to prove what is not wrong.

There was a Song scholar, Zhang Jiangfu who was from Hai Shang. He heard a lot of noise of chickens at night. He got up to have a look. So he looked and saw bright lanterns everywhere. Then he asked the monk in the temple, the monk said, "There is a war going on here." When the weather is cloudy and there is no sun, you can see lots of lanterns. The word is reasonable, so how could he be wrong?

Wei wu zi loved his wife very much. So he asked his son to let her remarry after he died. But when he was very sick, he asked his son to bury the woman alongside him. When Wei wu zi died, his son let the woman get married. He said, when a person is sick, his brain is not clear, so I will not obey his order when he is in such a state of confusion. I obeyed the good order.

There is a war between Qing and Jing, his son could go off to war to fight. At night, he had a dream. In the dream, there was an old man who said: "I am the father of the woman you allowed to get married. You used the right order of your father, so I will reward you. This story was written in Zhue Zhuan. How could it be wrong?

Ruan Zhan wrote an article "There are no ghosts." He said that only reason can distinguish right and wrong. That is what he thought. Suddenly, there came a guest to visit who said: "Ghosts and mortals, whether in the past or now, they continue to be the subject of discussion by people. How could you say there is no such thing as ghosts?

The ghosts said: "I am the ghost." Then he changed into a strange being and disappeared. These things were written in the Jing. How could it be false?

Confucius didn't talk about strange things, but not because the supernatural did not exist. He just didn't speak of them. This is because, if the supernatural and strange things were talked about, people would be confused or afraid. Such talk could disorder the brain. That would draw people out of the moral order and focus on the wrong things. Confucius did not say, "There is no such thing as the supernatural." He just said: "Don't talk about it."

What is not known is how the supernatural precisely flows and changes. Between the two worlds of air and earth, the supernatural can be set free with all kinds of change. Even if there is no feather on top of the brush, to brush, to sweep, even a broken pot or broken rice bowls, all can show their supernatural ability.

The book: "Zhi de" contains a story that talked about a great battle that destroyed the Heavenly palace. Only after the King of Chu paid his respect to the names of the dead, then the dead would close their eyes. He said, in this book, there are two stories written that theorize about this story. He knows that the supernatural, according to what he said, the natural vs. the supernatural, the daylight vs. the night, the winter vs. the summer, going vs. coming; high vs. low; more vs. less; big vs. small. In a sense, the natural is defined the supernatural – i.e. that which it is not.

Concerning Taoists and immortals, who is Zhang Zhi ren? He is the same kind of ordinary person like us. He has the same dress, the same outlook. He drinks the same wine, has the same sleeping habits. All things are the same. He got money from the court in different dynasties, during all his lives. He lived from the Hang, Tang, Song, Ming dynasties, and he never changed. He lived the same kind of moral life as Confucius. There is no other person in history like him who would work so hard dry out evil things from the ocean. If not so, the ghosts come out, the common people have no time to be quiet. Who says there is no such thing as the supernatural? That is also false. Confucius only didn't talk about it. When did he forbid people to talk about strange things? He didn't for people.

In the Book of Songs there is a poem about it, so Confucius did not get rid of it. What did he mean? The blackbird flies down, and Confucius didn't get rid of it. Why? Guo Yu's book has a story. A person went down into a well and found a clay pot with a sheep or a goat on it. Confucius said, the supernatural essence of wood and stone, called Kuai wan, the spirit of water is called "dragon spirit", the supernatural essence of earth is called Fen Yang. Confucius says why. Just to express his

affirmation. The wise men know everything. They study and research everything. They try to answer all questions. Only they didn't always talk about things, so that is why he called it: "The things the master will not speak of" because he wanted to protect moral order, set up the right way of living, and make that theory outstanding in people.

F. Demons.

Buddhists often talk about demons. Since the beginning of time between heaven and earth, it is envy of people that causes demons to harm people. Only when people's knowledge is lacking, are people easily provoked. That is, ghosts envy people who have full knowledge. Under Confucianism, the learned people themselves are split among themselves. The demons get the chance to creep into that very small space and disrupt them or provoke them, this is one kind of case. In another case, even though people have nothing to do with troubled spirits, but the demons hurt them anyway.

Taoists use alchemy to make medicine, but some people think that in the body there is a kind of vessel. When Taoists use the "*qi*" from that inner vessel to conquer the heavenly palace they can live a long and fortunate life. They fight for it, destroy the heavenly palace, then they own heavenly property. Sometimes the demons fight for a kind of elixir, this kind of demon has a long life. The property is so big, the power of them is so strong, these kind of demons come from this kind of reincarnations of several lives. He did a lot of good things, but at once, he did bad things. He even wanted to kill people. They want many things.

The Buddhist canon contains 50 kinds of demons from hell. These 50 kinds of demons from hell because of their nature, it is very difficult to get rid of them. In fact, because of the 5 *yins*, covered from the most deep to the smallest things, that is the reason it is hard to get rid of them. Even in heaven, the demons are difficult to control. The Buddhist canon didn't show that they did not exist. Clearly, all of them existed: there is no one who cannot be controlled by them. Just, give examples of strange spirits to improve the demons. There is a monk who told me "Zhong Nan Shan is the most difficult place to live. How big is it? The area is 1,000 *li* square. – very big. There is land for farming and planting. The learned people put the hoe on their shoulder. They go into the mountain. But strange spirits come very often.

So, whether in daytime or at night, there will always be somebody strange-looking. There will be some beautiful girls, even there will be strange ghosts who will turn their looks into the person's father, son, brother, or friend to try to persuade them. If you only don't answer him, or react to him definitely, then nothing will happen. If you answer even one word, or let a single thought flash in your brain (even very quickly), then you will be hurt by him (that is, you will fall into his tricks). You will be hurt by the demon because there you would go far into the vast mountain,

every ugly stone, or dying tree and dead wood. They receive the sunshine and the moonlight, so people think they will accept magic power for thousands and thousands of years, so they come into being this type of ghost.

But they are only small ghosts. They cannot do bad things. Misfortune and disaster are on the right path for people who have knowledge.

To compare to the canons of the Da Cheng Buddhism, there are some curses. Why do they say curse? Because he is afraid in the afterlife, the people who believe in Buddhism, the demon ghost would deem to destroy them, so they say, every kind of curse.

Leng canon says, if you didn't sit in the monastery with using this kind of curse, it would make your mind and body [move] far away from the strange spirit. If you do not do it, things will not be right. So you must do these kinds of things in the right way. The Buddhist canon [mentions this curse in relation to] Shidi Boddhisatva: even this Bodhisattva uses this curse to protect himself. Then why not us common people?

You Shi guan says: All the strange spirits provoke, disturb the studying monks in the monastery, you should read aloud the curse which is in the Da cheng to fight off all the strange spirits. Even if you open your eyes to come out of your trance, you should also read silently this curse.

Guandong mei wrote an article and argument about 3 kinds of strange spirits. This article was written for the monk, Chi Shui. He regretted before he died. What is the 3 strange spirits who kill, steal, and rape. The theory explained, there are 3 kinds of bad things that come into being. Talking about the strange spirits did not distinguish from the theory about the 10 kinds of strange spirits of hell, which Wai said in the Lun Chang canon. You will know that this kind of strange spirit is one who fights with the Buddhists.

In terms of the three strange spirits of the Big Taoist, they exist in the high, medium, and low worlds. When I talk about three kinds of strange spirits, it is according to the strange spirits in the Daoist cnnon. That originated from ourselves. The four kinds of bad things that come out of the mouth, this kind of strange spirit cannot fight with Buddhist yet, but just fights with the righteous gods and people in heaven in the world. Of all these kind of evil and strange spirits, according to the Daoist canon, which try to analyze Po Yi by the Taoist canon, the cruelest is the murderous spirit. The murderous king is what the Buddhist call Tiansui luo. The king can fight with the god in heaven. Beyond the king, there are 3 types of *luo*. They also can do bad things among ghosts, human beings, and animals. They can do bad things to living beings.

This kind of curse (cleaning Tang) – must be said aloud.

The king of spirits can grab your hands of my place, and serve this kind of curse. This strange spirit only creates disturbances in the heavenly realm – rarely does it create disturbances among people, so people didn't worry about him.

The second spirit is dirty. It is called the raping spirit. In the temple of --, except the officials and believers who are fortunate and who have kindness and morality, the others cannot come into the temple. Women don't dare go into the temple. If you go in this kind of strange spirit will use their power to destroy their family. Also they can take the spirits of the women to the tower or temple and rape them. This kind of demon can do these kinds of rapes. Also, they didn't obey the heavenly order. Why the spirit didn't kill these kinds of strange spirits?

II. Selected translations from Caifa version of *Gui Qu Tu*.
   A. Bai Hua's commentary
   B. Yuan Mei poem
   C. Zhang Wentao's poem

A. Bai Hua's Commentary (to right of skeleton landscape in Caifa version)

Taoist people can call Luo Pin a true believer. In his early years, he studied painting with Jin Nong. Although Jin Nong was so haughty, Luo Pin could serve him, because Jin Nong was so capable. Indeed, Luo Pin is too lazy to paint people, but even so, he will paint ghosts.

Luo Pin, in the long quiet night, sat beside the river and listened. He saw a ghost with an enormous head. He looked at him in the eye. The ghost had green hair that covered its head, and his body was divided into parts. This is how the image in the 5th fu came to him. He announced that the other 7 paintings are as dim as a cloud and are not clear. In another fu, one ghost holds its stomach and another flexes his foot. Next to it, someone used a paper fan to fan his face. The children ghosts came out. The purple color reflects on the young ghost's clothes. In the world they cried, a pair of skeletons had so many tears like a shower. I feel sorry and pity that he sells his paintings to such an ocean of people. You better sell the ghosts to get much more money in your belt. Earlier, you could have gotten 3,000 teals for your ghost paintings, now you can only get 300. That is how Luo Pin stopped painting and was happy just to prepare his dinner.

There are three things interesting about ghosts, and Buddhism can explain it. The land where the Buddha tree grows (India), there are lots of lights. Do some better then you must repent to giant demons of Buddhism, and make sacrifices. I cannot paint ghosts or say anything about ghosts. The water in the ink-stone turned to ice. I'm only worried that ghosts and spirits are afraid of Luo Pin painting them. From now on, if you go before the light, they will not go out to be seen. Luo Pin asked him to write down on paintings, the painting is very strange. All the others who write on this scroll are suitable for the painting. After I read them aloud again

and again, there is nothing left for me to say. I just say who is it he followed, how did he learn such things as he sat beside a river and said such things. --Bai Hua, Wusheng province.

B. Colophon of Yuan Mei

I wrote a book about strange ghosts called "What the Master would not speak of." After seeing this book of ghosts at this place, I would say there is no one who knows this as much about ghosts as you and I do. When one paints a woman, one must paint a beautiful woman. But a woman who is not beautiful will not make the city wall fall down.[218] To paint a ghost, one must make it ugly.

C. Colophon of Zhang Wentao

Chuan shan shi cao:[219]

1st *fu* (scene)
Black *qi* envelopes two ghosts. Very faintly, you see a head and a face, and another who looks over his shoulder. We can't distinguish most of their bodies within the black fog and thick smoke: we cannot see clearly. We can hardly see their lines and bodies, so how could the fragment of the corpse come into something real? We can paint and describe their spirit.

With a flash of the spirit light, there is another kind of body. Don't be afraid when you plow the mud, there may be hidden strange pieces.[220] You should take pity on them, in the ghost kingdom, for few ghosts are whole. An incomplete soul gradually will scatter, and it is difficult to put it back in order. Let the poor souls follow the sour wind to the wheel of birth and death.

2nd *fu*
One ghost is bald and barefoot, wearing shabby clothes and poor trousers. He holds fists up like a fighter moving ahead. One ghost with a thin face and thin body, with two hands holding his belly, wearing a red tassel cap, follows after him. It looks like a master and slave.

At the night platform, who can tell from the high class from the low class? A pair of vague impressions sway – they are absolutely worthy of our compassion. They are

[218] Yuan Mei's reference to a beautiful woman making "the city wall fall down" is a literary reference.

[219] Zhang Wentao took on the penname of "Chuan Shan," which is the same one used by Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692), an important philosopher from the Ming dynasty.

[220] This is a kind of change talked about in the *I Ching* (*Book of Changes)*.

miserable. The dog with the hat jumps and dances, following after the master – [he is the] "hair-washed monkey."[221]

3rd fu
A beautiful woman wearing a red robe, her left hand dragging a long sleeve, her right hand is holding the arm of a man. The man holds a fragrant orchid to please her. Love in such gloomy surroundings is pitiable. They go into the cold fog together. There is another ghost with a long cap and white robe, holding an umbrella and waving a fan to see them off.

4th *fu*
The short ghosts stands with a long stick, his head is as big as his body. There is another small ghost with red clothes, drawing back his head. Serving by his right side is a servant ghost holding a gourd.

In an ancient legend, there was a dwarf with a long stick whose name is Jiao Yao. Jiao Yao used a yellow gourd with wine in it. I suppose that Hell is the deepest place in the world. In true society, everyone should kowtow. Use the bamboo stick to get the cicada.

5th *fu* [Jiao Mountain river spirit]
With an elongated body and long, scattered mane of hair, the whole body is pure green. With eyes like a hawk, and bloody mouth, he flies through the clouds. This is what Liang Feng saw at Jiao Mountain by himself. Perhaps it's a kind of water spirit, not a ghost. It is magnificent that the whirling white fog extends at the waist. The elongated person with long flowing hair walks on air. The body condenses the green blood. He can jump a thousand *zhang*. His mouth is so red, like a red cloud chewing in its jaw the five vermin. This big demon surely will detest the narrow heaven, as his spirit is strange. Instead, they laugh at the dim ghost. Meeting in the dark night at Jiao Mountain, he will blame Luo Pin for painting his spirit with wind under his brush.

6th *fu*
There are 3 ghosts. One ghost, his head is as big as a hillock, is big and clumsy. His body is just as big as his head. And the two hands are put under the chin. It crawls forward after the two ghosts. The ghost has with green hair looks like he is flying; his fingers are spread like a sieve. Another ghost, the head is shaped like a peach. The upper part is sharp, and the lower part is fat. Drawing his palm, he looks backwards. The both of them look like they are frightened, and trying to escape. The head is heavy like a mountain. He tried to go forward, the other ghosts still laugh at the poor ghost. How many people would have their hair stand up for no reason? Your

[221] A monkey with a person's head or lowlife is a way of making fun of officials.

depictions of ghosts are very changeable. Big hands that wave in the air appear to fan-out the road. The fat cheeks are added with a beard carelessly. [We] laugh at the officials. With those kinds of heads and clothes, after going through the door of death, is their appearance really so different from one another?

7th *fu #1*
They are still impressive, although there is no hair. Although the servants' hearts had been lost, their souls are still clever. They jump or fly with a nimble foot, and the trace of the foot shows no tiredness. The ghosts don't compete to be taller or shorter, but they are still happy and carefree. They still are very lovely and charming, although they are dwarfs. We admire someplace where the head can be placed, we admire where it would let them put their head. The tiny dwarfs visually have habits of bowing at the waist.

7th *fu #2*
I send a message to the kind of rich person who wears broad silk: if you meet this kind of person, it is hard to distinguish whether it is a ghost or a horse, so just ride with it.

8th *fu* [Skeleton landscape]
The more rotten and bad smelling the stench [around a grave], the more magic. Two skeletons are left on the side of the road. Facing each other, they do not think about the fact that humans have bones or that ghosts are without skin. Even when the skeletons gradually decay, they are still capable of threat or intimidation. As a ghost, you only exist in black soil, green woods, and forest. There is no happiness or meaning of life. Such an existence must be miserable. There is no need to try to fight or struggle to sing the poetry of Bao jia.

Chuan shan ji, recorded for Liang feng.[222]

[222] Zhang Wentao uses pennames here. He means: Zhang Wentao recorded [this poem] for Luo Pin.

Appendix II: List of Figures

1. Anonymous
   Ghost Realm Amusements (copy of *Guiqu tu* by Luo Pin (1735-1799))
   Not dated. Horizontal scroll, ink and colors on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing.
   Bibliography: *Yangzhou hua pai shu hua quian, ren bian ji Xing Lihong, she ying Feng Weilei*. Tianjin: Tianjin ren min mei shu chu ban she, 1999.

2. Luo Pin (1735-1799)
   "Ghost at Jiao Mountain" (detail)
   Fifth section of *Ghost Realm Amusements*, (circa 1766), horizontal scroll, ink and colors on paper, present section 27.6 cm x 43.1 cm. Formerly P.T. Huo Collection, Hong Kong, present collection unknown.
   Bibliography: YHSQLP no. 224.

3. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
   "Two ghosts" (or "Everlasting happiness")
   Not dated. Fan, ink and color on paper. 27.5 x 61.5 cm. Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University, Anonymous Loan.
   Bibliography: James Cahill, "A Rejected Portrait by Lo P'ing: Pictorial footnote to Waley's Yuan Mei," Asia Major, n.s., vol. VII, parts I-III, pl. III.

4. Johann Heinrich Fuseli (Henry Fuseli) (1741-1825)
   "The Nightmare"
   (1781) Oil on canvas, 127 x 102 cm. Collection: Detroit Institute of the Arts.
   Bibliography: Myrone (ed.) *Gothic Nightmares*.

5. William Blake (1757-1827)
   "The Ghost of A Flea"
   (c. 1819-20). Oil on canvas. Collection: Tate Britain, London.
   Bibliography: Myrone (ed.) *Gothic Nightmares*.

6. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
   "Two Skeletons in a Landscape"
   Eighth section of *Ghost Realm Amusements*, (after 1762), horizontal scroll, ink and colors on paper, present section 27.6 x 20.8 cm. Formerly P.T. Huo Collection, Hong Kong, present collection unknown.
   Bibliography: YHSQLP no. 22.

7. Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564)

De Humani Corporis Fabrica, first and third plates of the skeleton, 1543.
Bibliography: *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels*, ann. J. B. de C.M. Sanders and Charles D. O'Malley (New York: Dover Publications, 1973).

8. Photograph of Yangzhou Canal by Mark Rosenberger
"Yangzhou am Morgen"
Yangzhou am morgen.JPG, selbst fotografiert, 14.11.2005 by Mark Rosenberger
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yangzhou.

9. Map of Yangzhou in the early Qing
"Yangzhou in the early Qing"
Yangzhou in the early Qing, with inset map of northern Jiangsu.
Bibliography: Jonathan Hay, *Shitao* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

10. Map of Northwest quarter of the New City of Yangzhou
Map 7, Northwest quarter of the New City, (based on Chinese original of 1883.) Source: *Guangxu Jingjiang xianzhi* (Guanquan county gazetteer, 1885).
Bibliography: Antonia Finnane. *Speaking of Yangzhou* 2004, 184.

11. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
Portrait of Jin Nong Reading a Sutra
Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 113.7 x 59.3 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
Bibliography: *Yiyuan duoying* (1982) 18:40.

12. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
"Jin Nong"
From *Album of Figures and Landscapes*, ink and colors on paper, each leaf 24.3 30.7 cm, leaf 2
Bibliography: Palace Museum, Beijing.

13. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
Drunken Zhong Kui
1762. Vertical scroll, ink and colors on paper, 57 39 cm
Bibliography: Palace Museum, Beijing.

14. Hua Yan (1682-1762)
Zhong Kui Marrying off his Sister
1749. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk.
Bibliography: Nanjing Museum, Nanjing.

15. Jin Nong (1687-1764)

The Radiant Moon
1761. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 116 x 54 cm.
Bibliography: Palace Museum, Beijing, Beijing. From Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, Pennsylvania: International Arts Council, 1988), p. 98.

16. Diagram of an eclipse.
"Diagram of an eclipse"
1728.
Bibliography: From *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1728; reprint, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934).

17. Diagram of lunar topography.
"Diagram of lunar topography"
1728.
Bibliography: From *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1728; reprint, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934).

18. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
Drinking in the Bamboo Garden
1773. Vertical scroll, ink and colors on paper, 80 54.6 cm, leaf 5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1913. (13.220.34).
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19. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
Guiqu tu (reprisal)
1796. Horizontal scroll, ink on paper. The Xubai Collection, Hong Kong Museum of Art.
Bibliography: The Hong Kong Museum of Art.

20. Luo Pin (1733-1799)
Guiqu tu (reprisal)
1799. Horizontal scroll, ink and colors on paper. The Xubai Collection, Hong Kong Museum of Art.
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YBSJ	Zhang Yuming, et al. *Yangzhou baguai shiwenji (Collected Writings by the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou)*. Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1996.
YHSQJN	*Yangzhou huapai shuhua qianji: Jin Nong (Complete Collection of the Calligraphy and Painting of the Yangzhou School: Jin Nong*). 1999. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999.
YHSQLP	*Yangzhou huapai shuhua quanji: Luo Ping* (*Complete Collection of Calligraphy and Painting of the Yangzhou School: Luo Ping*). Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999.
XCHLSZP	*Ancestral Table of the Luo Family of Chenkan, Xinan (Xinan Chengkan Luoshi zongpi*.
YZHFL	Li Dou, *Yangzhou Huafang Lu* (*Account of Yangzhou's Pleasure Boats / Chronicle of the Painted Barges of Yangzhou*), 1795.

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