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# BODHIDHARMA CROSSING THE YANGTZE RIVER ON A REED

*A Painting in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection in Zurich*

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In the Charles A. Drenowatz collection of Chinese paintings in Zurich (see No. XXI [1967] of this journal, pp. 1-19),<sup>1</sup> one of the finest figure paintings is a hanging scroll, *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze River on a Reed*, signed and dated by Ting Yün-p'eng, a late sixteenth-century artist (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Although the painting has been exhibited and reproduced previously,<sup>3</sup> its excellent quality and deep meaning deserve a more thorough and comprehensive discussion. The painting reveals one of the less well-known aspects of the artist and yields a new insight into his development; further, it occupies an interesting place in the history of Ch'an (Zen) painting in China.

The composition of this painting is quite simple. The Yangtze River is depicted as a series of rolling waves that stretch from the bottom to the top of the scroll, with mist covering some parts of the upper portion. In the middle of the river Bodhidharma is seen riding on a reed, his fluttering garment blown towards the right by the wind. Shown in a three-quarter view, he stands in an erect position towards the right side. His eyes look ahead, but do not seem to be fixed on anything; rather, they display an inward preoccupation. Although his large round face and his slightly tilted eyes and brows appear to be quite Chinese, the high, hooked nose and the broad, bearded jaw

1. Since this painting was only recently acquired by Mr. Drenowatz, there is no mention of it in that article.

2. This painting is in ink and colors on paper, measuring 98 × 35 cm.

3. This painting was published in *An Exhibition of Authenticated Chinese Painting*, C.T. Loo Gallery, N.Y., 1948, no. 23, and *A Loan Exhibition of Chinese Painting*, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, May-June 1956, text by Tseng Hsien-ch'i, no. 32. The date for this painting given in that catalogue, 1634, is incorrect. It should be 1574.

suggest a somewhat foreign facial type. His strong vertical position cuts out a figure upright and unwavering, a symbol of firmness, stability, and conviction, against a background of horizontality composed of the rolling waves and misty streaks. Even the long, narrow format, typical of the sixteenth century, seems to echo the pose of the figure. This contrast between the vertical and the horizontal, the stable and the fluid, emphasizes the basic intent of the artist's approach.

The subject has a history of its own in Chinese Buddhism. Bodhidharma, who is generally known as the First Patriarch of Ch'an Buddhism, came to China from India at the beginning of the sixth century. From Canton he was invited to Nanking for an interview with Emperor Wu (464-549) of the Liang Dynasty. The visit ended unsuccessfully, however, for the Emperor was not convinced by Bodhidharma's new ideas. Disappointed, he crossed the Yangtze River and went north, eventually establishing himself as a well-known monk in the kingdom of Northern Wei and attracting quite a large following. The painting depicts his miraculous crossing of the river by riding on a single reed stalk.<sup>4</sup>

As is the case with many of the world's legendary religious leaders, the story of Bodhidharma's life is a mixture of fact and fiction. Although modern scholarship has established the fact that there was an Indian (or Persian) monk by that name who came to China in the early sixth century, it is doubtful that he had anything to do with the establishment of Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>5</sup> It is most likely, that, in order to create a history for their sect, the Ch'an masters of the formative period (the

4. The history of Bodhidharma is extremely complex. The general sketch in this paragraph is based on the tradition as known from Sung to today. For a more detailed discussion of this problem, see the following studies: Hu Shih, 'P'u-t'i-ta-mo kao,' in *Hu Shih wen ts'un*, III (Taipei, 1953), p. 293-304; Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York, 1967), Introduction; Shindai J. Sekiguchi, *A Study of Daruma* (Tokyo, 1968).

5. For a more detailed treatment of this problem, see the article by Hu Shih and the book by Sekiguchi mentioned in the last note. Both agree that the historical Bodhidharma had little to do with Ch'an Buddhism, though he was later, from the T'ang dynasty on, regarded as the founder of this sect in China.

beginning of the eighth century) tried to establish a link with India by naming Bodhidharma as a founding figure. As a result, Bodhidharma became the First Patriarch of the sect in China, and Hui-neng (638–713), the most important master in the formative period, the Sixth. In the next phase of this reconstruction, all the patriarchs acquired superhuman status, and all were said to be capable of performing miracles. But it was around Bodhidharma that many famous legends grew, such as his meditating in front of a rock for nine years, his leaving one shoe in his grave, and his crossing the river on a reed.<sup>6</sup> The latter episode was the most dramatic and appealing, and it is no wonder that this story was most often used in the representation of Bodhidharma in art.

None of the texts dating before the late eighth century mentions the Indian monk's visit to Emperor Wu of Liang and his subsequent crossing of the Yangtze. In fact, most of the early records report him at Loyang and refer to his connection with Shao-lin Temple there. The visit to Emperor Wu first appears in some late eighth-century texts.<sup>7</sup> The story of Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangtze on a reed, however, was probably created some time in the ninth or tenth century, a period in which many other similar episodes were dramatized into near miracles. It thus appears that Bodhidharma was transformed into

6. By the time of the Sung dynasty, many of these stories had become a part of the legend. See the *Ching-te ch'uan teng lu* (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp Compiled during the Ching-te Period, 1004–07) by Monk Tao-yüan, SPTK ed., 3: 1b–9b. However, even in this standard biography of Ch'an figures in China, there is no reference to the episode of his crossing the river on a reed. But in paintings of Southern Sung and Yüan and in corresponding periods in Japan, these subjects are often found. A good example is the catalogue of the Ashikaga shoguns, which includes many works on the subject of Bodhidharma.

7. In the earliest references to Bodhidharma, such as the *Loyang chia-lan chi* by Yang Hsüan-chih, finished in 547 and the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* by Monk Tao-hsüan, who died in 667, there was no mention at all of the episode of the confrontation between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu of Liang Dynasty. The earliest reference to this story is found in a book, *Ch'uan-fa chi*, of the eighth century, which is now lost, but which has been quoted by a Japanese monk Saicho (767–822) who introduced Tendai Buddhism to Japan in 788. See Hu Shih, pp. 299–302.



an important figure in the early history of Ch'an only after the middle of T'ang, and that the story of his river-crossing was the result of later legendary development.<sup>8</sup>

The earliest reference to this story in a major Buddhist text is found in *Pi-yen chi* (sometimes known as *Pi-yen lu*), written by an early twelfth-century monk, Fu-kuo Yüan-wu, as a set of commentaries to a book by Hsüeh-tou Chung-hsien (980–1052). The *Pi-yen chi*, however, was later burned by Yüan-wu's disciple, Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163), who was trying to emphasize Ch'an's freedom from dependence on scriptures. Fragments of this book were later collected to form the extant version, which is now included as a part of the *Wu-teng hui yüan*, a standard Sung text of Ch'an ideas.<sup>9</sup> In this text one passage says:

'Since the emperor (Wu of Liang) was not agreeable, he (Bodhidharma) left the country. Feeling deeply mortified, this old man crossed the river and went to the Kingdom of Wei. Later it was said that he had snapped a reed and crossed the water (on it). Perhaps this was not entirely accurate, but a form of praising him.'<sup>10</sup>

This statement implies that, at the time the book was written, in 1125, a legend concerning Bodhidharma's miraculous crossing of the Yangtze had already become a popular tradition. While the common people might have accepted this story on its face value, leading monks, though discounting its reliability, took it as a kind of commendation

8. Although the first appearance of Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangtze on a reed cannot be pinpointed to any particular time it is probably safe to say that the great persecution of Buddhism all over China in 845 had a great deal to do with the changes in Buddhism. Before that date, Buddhism had been a great intellectual as well as religious force in China. After the persecution, Buddhism went into a sharp decline, eventually surviving only in the more intuitive and less institutionalized Ch'an and in the more superstitious Pure Land Sect. As a result, the magical and legendary stories of major Buddhist figures became popular. This seems to be also the case with some of the episodes of Bodhidharma.

9. I am grateful to Professor Shimada Shujiro and to Shimizu Yoshiaki of Princeton University who first called my attention to this text. The *Pi-yen chi* text is the *Hekigan-shū teihon*, ed. by Itō Yūten (Risō-sha, Tokyo, 1963). Other information concerning this text can be found in *Fu hsüeh ta tz'u t'ien*, Taipei, 1960, p. 412, and Ch'en Yün, *Chung-kuo Fu-chiao shih-chi kai-lun* (Introduction to Historical Sources of Chinese Buddhism), (Peking, 1962), pp. 98–105.

10. *Hekigan-shū teihon*, p. 4.



Fig. 1. Ting Yün-p'eng, *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze River on a Reed*, dated 1574, Charles A. Drenowatz collection, Zurich.

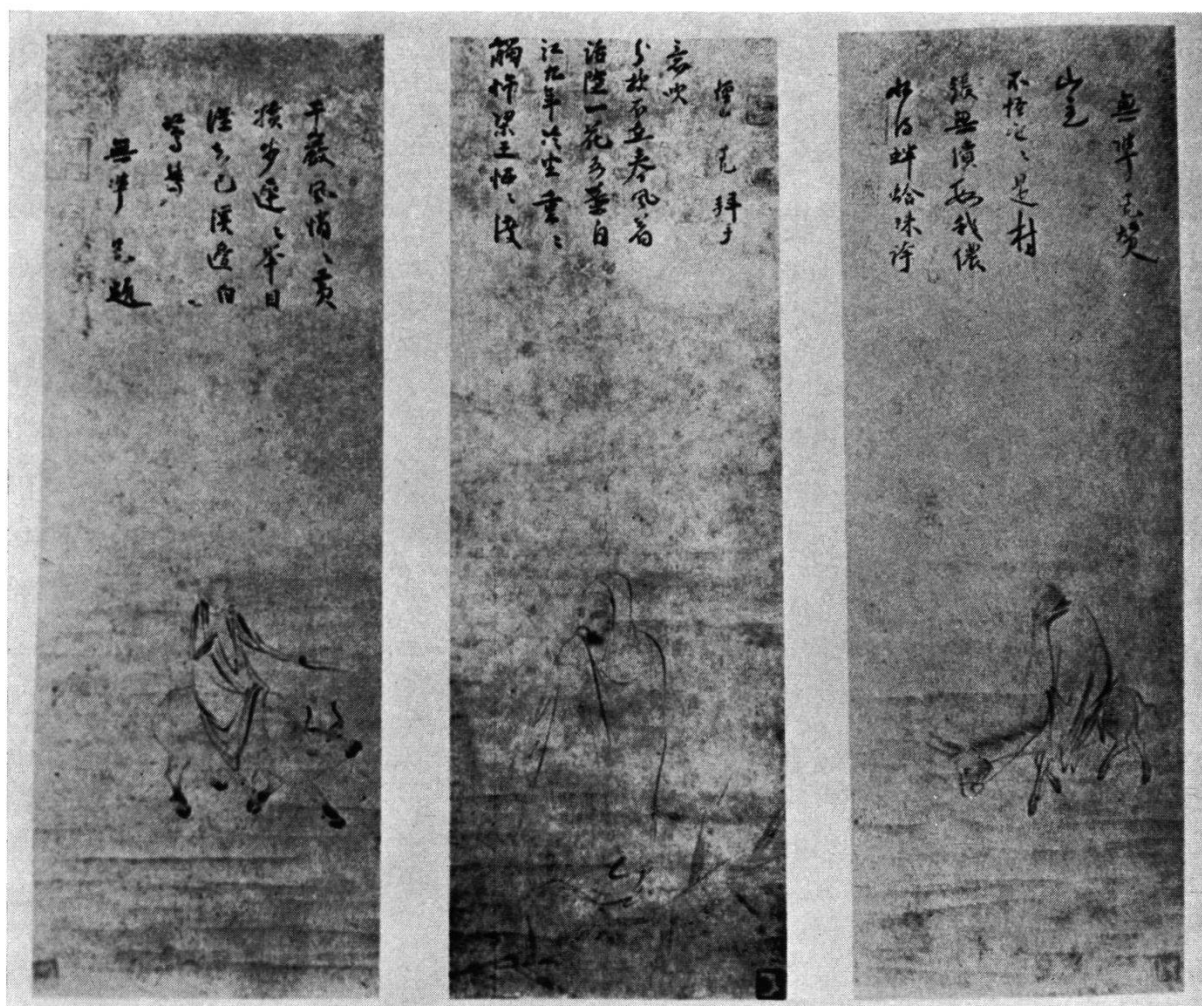


Fig. 2. *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, with an inscription by Wu-chün Shin-fan (1178–1249), Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. (From *Guide to the Tokugawa Art Museum*, pl. 10.)



Fig. 3. *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, with an inscription by Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263–1323), Masagi Art Museum, Izumi-ōtsu, ōsaka Prefecture.





Fig. 4. Yin-to-lo, *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, Yüan Dynasty, Asano Collection, Tokyo. (From *Asano Kōshaku Kahō E-tu*, pl. 16.)



Fig. 5. *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, with an inscription by Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (1288–1363), Cleveland Museum of Art.





Fig. 6. Emperor Ch'eng-hua, *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, dated 1480, Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 7. Fumon Mukan, *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, Kamakura Period, Taman Collection, Osaka.  
(From *Catalogue of the Oriental Art Exhibition from the Taman Collection*, Osaka Municipal  
Museum, 1969, no. 37.)

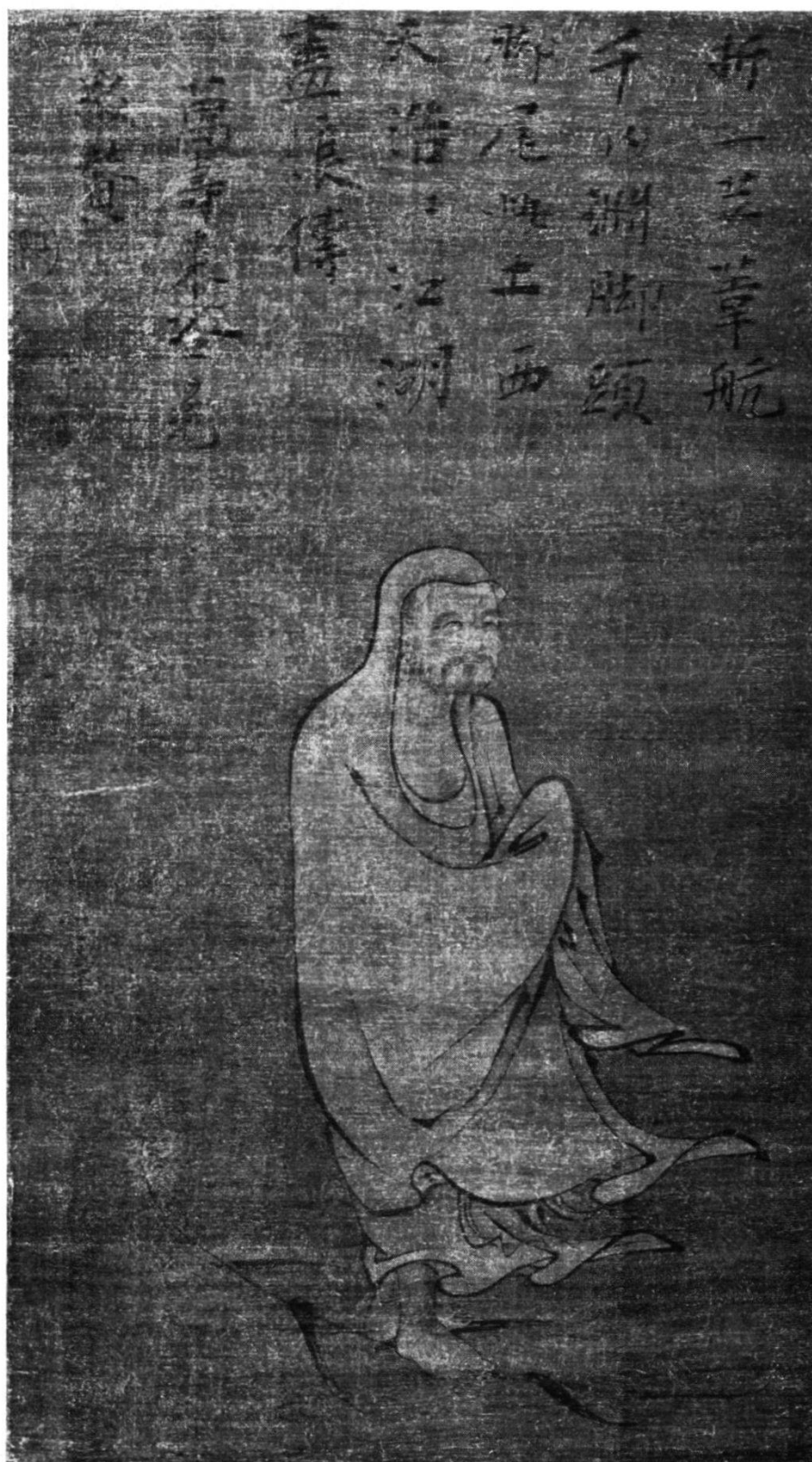


Fig. 8. *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, with an inscription by Tōkoku Myōyō, Kamakura Period, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.



Fig. 9. *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, with an inscription by Kojan Itsukyō (ca. 1284–1360), Gyokuzoin, Kyoto. (From T. Matsushita, *Suiboku-ga*, pl. 30.)





Fig. 10. Sun K'o-hung (1532-1610), *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, J.P. Dubosc collection, Paris.  
(From W. Speiser et al., *Chinese Art*, pl. 61.)



fig. 11. Cheng Chung (early 17th century), *Bodhidharma on a Reed*. (From *Chung-kuo ming hua chi*, vol. II.)





Fig. 12. Shingo (16th century), *Bodhidharma on a Reed*. (From T. Matsushita, *Suiboku, Painting of the Muromachi Period*, pl. 117.)

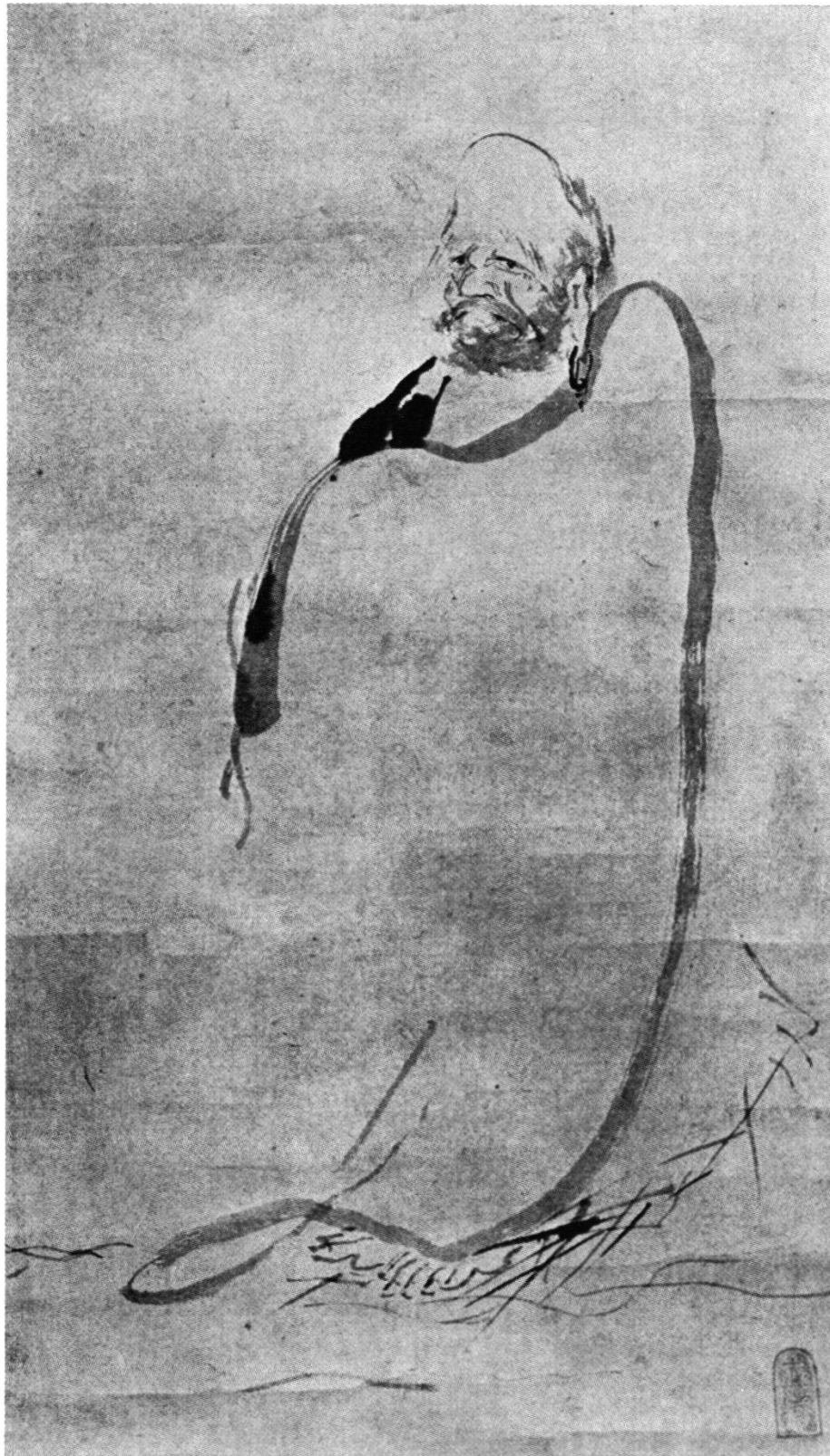


Fig. 13. Miyamoto Musashi (Niten, 1584–1645), *Bodhidharma on a Reed*, Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. (From *Guide to the Tokugawa Art Museum*, pl. 12.)



Fig. 14. Wei Chiu-ting (14th century), *The Nymph of the River Lo Walking on the Waves*, Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 15. Yen Hui, attributed to (14th century), *Taoist Immortal Chung Li-ch'üan*, formerly Tanaka Collection, Japan. (From *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, IX.)

of the patriarch's extraordinary power. This seems to be the attitude of those who painted this subject and of those who inscribed such paintings in the Sung and Yüan periods.

At present, extant representations of Bodhidharma, mostly in Japanese collections, date from as early as the Northern Sung period.<sup>11</sup> The earliest depictions of the crossing of the Yangtze, however, appeared only in the Southern Sung. Probably the earliest of these is the one at the Tokugawa Art Museum in Nagoya (fig. 2), the central piece of a triptych that includes pictures of two Ch'an figures, Yü-shan-chu, riding on a donkey on the right, and Cheng-huang-niu, riding on a water buffalo on the left.<sup>12</sup> The date of the triptych can be ascertained by the presence in all three scrolls of inscriptions by Wu-chun Shih-fan (1178-1249), chief abbot of the temple on Mt. Ching, a mountain outside of Hangchow, which was the first of the Five Sacred Mountains of Ch'an Buddhism in China. The inscription places this painting of Bodhidharma as at least contemporary with such leading Ch'an painters of the Southern Sung period as Mu-ch'i and Liang K'ai, though neither of them is known to have done a painting of this subject. Its extremely simplified style is also closely related to that of their works.

In this painting, the artist uses only lines to define the subject. Bodhidharma is shown in a few lines in the lower half of the painting, with a garment that covers his head and all the body except his feet. The most impressive detail is the head, which is done by fine brushwork and, probably, with some special techniques of the Ch'an monks, such as the use of rags or sugar-cane fibres. The face, covered by

11. See the essay by Shimada Shūjiro dealing with a painting of Bodhidharma in the Freer Gallery, in *Japanese Painting in Western Collections*, I (Tokyo, 1969), pl. 69. He mentions some paintings of the patriarch datable to 1054 and 1062.

12. This is reproduced in *Guide to the Tokugawa Art Museum*, Nagoya, [p. 10], and *Exhibition of the Tokugawa Art Museum Collection*, Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Osaka, 1968), pl. 24. This is one of the most important sets of paintings recorded in the collection of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, who ruled Japan during 1449-74. See. T. Matsushita, *Suiboku-ga (Nihon no Bijutsu*, No. 13), (Tokyo, 1967), p. 113.



a thick beard, displays a prominent lower jaw. The most appealing details are the eyes, with large eyeballs and a forward stare. It is an Indian face with amazing features. Below him is a large branch of reed. There is no background and no depiction of water except for a few lines. The poem written by Wu-chun reads as follows:

觸忤梁王，淒淒渡江。  
九年冷坐，重重話墮。  
一花五葉自分披，  
不在春風着意吹。

'He rudely offended the Emperor of Liang,  
And in deep sorrow he crossed the river.  
For nine years he sat meditating in the cold,  
And repeatedly he defeated his opponents in debate.  
One flower and five leaves all grow well on their own,  
Unaffected by the intentional blows of the spring wind.'

The meaning of the first two lines is self-evident. The third line refers to the story of his meditating while facing a wall for nine years, while the fourth seems to allude to the spread of his following in north China.<sup>13</sup> The one flower echoes the origin of Ch'an, in which Buddha first conveyed the idea of Ch'an (Sanskrit: *dhyāna*) to his cousin Kāśyapa through a smile at a flower he was holding, and the five leaves indicate the five sects of Ch'an which had come into existence at least by the Southern Sung period.<sup>14</sup>

It is important to bear in mind that this subject became popular during the latter part of Southern Sung, in the thirteenth century, when Ch'an Buddhism was very influential. Although Ch'an temples

13. Because of some ambiguities in the characters in the fourth line, the meaning given for that verse is somewhat speculative.

14. The five leaves refer to the five sects of Ch'an already well-established in the Sung period, including Wei-yang, Yün-men, Fa-yen, Ts'ao-tung and Lin-chi. The spring wind in the last line does not seem to allude specifically to any well-known idea, but probably refers only to the more worldly existence.



were found in many parts of China, those located in the Chiang-nan area acquired particular significance during the Southern Sung, when the capital was established in Hangchow. Around 1200 the famous Five Sacred Mountains and Ten Sacred Temples of Ch'an were designated, with those around Hangchow the most important.<sup>15</sup> During the Southern Sung period, a new approach to Ch'an, the *kung-an* (Japanese: *kōan*), a method of question and answer based on paradoxical episodes, was developed in the Lin-chi Sect of Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, some Ch'an painters developed a type of painting utilizing extremely simplified brushwork and unconventional technique to depict the stories of famous monks in the history of Ch'an. It seems possible that the subject of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed was considered to be particularly appropriate to the time because of its paradoxical nature.

For: how can a person float on the water by simply standing on a reed? This, in itself, is an interesting Ch'an question. The Buddhist disregard for worldly values, the immateriality of Ch'an, its emphasis on mind over body, and many other levels of meaning can be distilled from this particular story of Bodhidharma. As a result, it was frequently portrayed by monks during the Sung and Yüan periods. Extant paintings in China and in Japan can testify to the popularity of the subject. In addition to the one mentioned above, there are several of Yüan date. The earliest is by Li Yao-fu, a painter mentioned only in the *Kundaikan Sayūchōki*, the famous catalogue of Chinese objects in the collections of three Ashikaga shoguns, with an inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317), a Chinese monk who became an abbot in Nanzenji in Kyoto.<sup>17</sup>

15. For some general discussion of this phase of Ch'an Buddhism, see Kimiya Yasuhiko, *Chung jih chiao-tung shih* (A History of Exchanges between China and Japan), translated into Chinese by Ch'en Chieh, IV (Taipei, 1965), pp. 15–37.

16. For a discussion of this aspect of Ch'an, see Heinrich Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism* (London, 1963), chap. 8.

17. The painting is now in the Princeton Art Museum. It is published in Yasuichi Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, translated by John Bester (Tokyo, 1970), fig. 17 (p. 64). See also the paintings of the same subject by Fūgai (fig. 58, p. 103) and Hakuin (fig. 72, p. 117) in the same book.

Another painting now in the Masagi Museum near Osaka (fig. 3) is executed in the same sketchy brushwork and in the same simple manner. It bears a poem written by Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263-1323), one of the most revered monks in early Yüan and an abbot of a temple on Mt. T'ien-mu in Chekiang province:

長江萬里，航以一葦。  
更問如何，單傳直指。  
今後有誰人共乘。

'Down the ten thousand *li* of the Yangtze River  
[He] rode only on a reed.  
If one should ask how,  
[It is] a single transmission, pointing directly [to the heart].<sup>18</sup>  
From now on, who will ride with him?'

At least three other paintings of this subject done in the same Ch'an tradition are known. One by Yin-to-lo is in the Asano collection (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> There is no inscription on the painting, but there is the same strong, peculiar brushwork found in other works by that artist, who was probably an Indian monk in the early Yüan period. This painting resembles that with Wu-chun's inscription, except that Bodhidharma is depicted as a bald-headed figure whose garment does not cover his head and that the figure is shown in profile facing left. Again, the garment is done by simple but powerful strokes, and the head shows the same intensity of expression as in the previous picture. The second

18. This line undoubtedly points to the basic ideas of Ch'an as embodied in a poem usually attributed to Bodhidharma, but more likely by a T'ang monk. The poem reads:

'A special tradition outside the scriptures;  
No dependence upon words and letters;  
Direct pointing at the soul of man;  
Seeing into one's own nature, and the attainment of Buddhahood.'

(Translation based on Dumoulin, p. 67)

19. Published in *Asano Kōshaku Kahō E-fu* (Catalogue of Marquis Asano's Collection) (Tokyo, 1917), pl. 16.

painting is now in the Cleveland Museum (fig. 5).<sup>20</sup> Although unsigned, it also has an inscription, by a monk in Soochow, Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (1288-1363), which reads:

蘆花風起浪頭高。  
 少室岩前去路遙。  
 却外一花開五葉。  
 脚跟正好喫藤條。

'Winds rise from the reed flowers, the waves are high,  
 It's a long way to go beyond the cliff of the Shao-shih mountain.  
 Above the worlds of kalpas a flower is opening into five petals,  
 So that your barefoot heels are just fine for the whipping rattans.'<sup>21</sup>

In the painting, the patriarch is shown in a three-quarter view facing left, with emphasis on the head. The garment and the reed are in typical Ch'an simplified tradition. A third painting of the same subject executed by Emperor Ch'eng-hua (fig. 6)<sup>22</sup> in 1480, though with some new elements, manifests the traditional Ch'an approach. The figure is still similarly depicted, with the face having an intense expression and protruding eyeballs and the garment done in simple but strong brushwork. However, he is now given a halo, an entirely new feature, and, even though no background is introduced, some movement of water is suggested. Most interesting is the new posture of Bodhidharma: while the body seems to move to the right, the head turns to look backward towards the left. In this way, the aesthetic representation of Bodhidharma's river-crossing has come down from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in China, mainly in the simplified style of Ch'an tradition.

20. See Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty* (Cleveland, 1968), cat. no. 209.

21. The translation is from the catalogue listed in the last note. Shao-shih is the name of the mountain where Bodhidharma meditated for nine years.

22. See Palace Museum Archive, No. 5513 (MV103). Emperor Ch'eng-hua ruled from 1465 to 1487.

A development somewhat parallel to the Chinese trend can be found in Japan. During this period Chinese Ch'an influence on Japanese culture was very strong; many Japanese monks came to China, especially to the areas of Hangchow and Soochow, to study Ch'an. A number of Chinese monks were invited to Japan and came to exert great influence during the Muromachi period.<sup>23</sup> It is thus not surprising to find the subject of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze as popular in that island country as in China. The earliest example was painted by a monk, Fumon Mukan (fig. 7), who came to China during 1251-62 and was connected with Tōfuku-ji and later Nanzen-ji in Kyoto. His painting, now in the Taman collection, is also in the typical Zen tradition.<sup>24</sup> His use of brushwork is close to that of Yin-to-lo, but he strives also for his own individuality in expression. Bodhidharma is seen in profile, moving rapidly toward the right, with the wind pushing from behind, as shown by the fluttering of the drapery. Again the main focus is the head, and the outstanding features are the deep-set eyes with protruding eyeballs, bald head, heavy beard, and outstretched chin. He appears to be more self-assured than in the other paintings. Fumon undoubtedly borrowed this subject directly from some of the works he must have seen around Hangchow, which he visited during his stay in China.

One of the excellent pieces on this subject in Japan is the painting with an inscription by Tōkoku Myōyō of Mansu-ji (fig. 8).<sup>25</sup> As Shimada has indicated, the identity of this monk cannot be ascertained, but the Mansuji may have been the one located in Bungo prefecture in Kyūshū, and Tōkoku may have been the one mentioned in a poem by the Chinese monk Ming-chi Ch'u-chin, who came to Japan in 1329

23. For the background of these activities, see Kimiya, vols. IV and V.

24. Published in *Taman collection: Tōyō Bijutsu Ten* (Catalogue of an Exhibition of Oriental Art in the Taman Collection), Osaka Municipal Museum (1969) no. 37. Fumon was the third abbot of Tōfuku-ji and the founding priest of Nanzen-ji in Kyoto. References to him can be found in Kimiya, IV, p. 21; T. Tamamura (annotator), *Fusō Gōzan Ki* (Records of the Five Sacred Mountains of Japan), Kamakura Education Committee 1963, p. 206; and Shibata, *Honchō Kōsō Den* (Tokyo, 1935), pp. 357-60.

25. See Shimada, I, pl. 69.

and died in 1336. In any case, Shimada attributed this painting as safely to the early part of the fourteenth century. The painting, on silk, is now in the Freer Gallery; it is, again, in the Zen tradition. Shown in the three-quarter view facing the right, this Bodhidharma appears less intense than the others, more mild and human. His garment, done in varying lines, covers his head and most of his body and it flutters in the wind. Still, there is no background and there is very little depiction of water.

All of these paintings, both Chinese and Japanese, seem to have come from the same source, a Ch'an prototype which probably was done early in the Southern Sung period, and in a very sketchy manner. While most of the artists, who were probably connected with Ch'an temples in China or Japan, tried to show originality in creating variations from the prototype, they seem nonetheless to be still part of the Ch'an tradition of painting in the Southern Sung period. However, some of these Bodhidharmas seem to have derived from an earlier source. No matter how bold the strokes are in the depiction of garment, the manner of the wind-swept drapery must have derived from the tradition of the T'ang painter Wu Tao-tzu. The intense expression of the face, with its deep-set eyes, protruding eyeballs, bushy beard and outstretched chin, seems also to echo the realistic T'ang figure style in Buddhist painting. Yet, as we have indicated above, the story of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed seems to have originated only in Sung. Thus, it would have been impossible for Wu Tao-tzu to have painted a picture of this subject; still, there must have been some prototypical T'ang figures, probably those representing lohans, which served as models for later works. Indeed, one of the quite popular subjects of Buddhist paintings was 'Lohans Crossing the Sea,' which can be found among the list of works by Wu Tao-tzu, Lu Leng-chia, and some other figures.<sup>26</sup> It seems possible that some of the

26. See, for example, a reference in Chou Mi, *Yün yen kuo yen lu* (MSTS ed.), II/2/1/24b: Lu Leng-chia, *Lohan Crossing the Sea*; 27b: Wang Wei, *A Monk Walking on Water*; and II/2/2/2a: Wu Tao-tzu, *A Heavenly King Riding Across the Sea*.



Sung painters borrowed this subject in order to create the image of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed.

This earlier tradition must have been in color, on silk, with the figure more statically represented but with stronger definition of the water and the background. One painting found in Japan seems to reflect a prototype of this kind. It is a silk painting painted in colors, now in the Gyokuzō-in, with an inscription by the monk Kojan Itsukyō (ca. 1284–1360), who was connected with Tenryū-ji and Tōfuku-ji in Kyoto (fig. 9).<sup>27</sup> Here, the figure, in a three-quarter view toward the left, is shown wearing a red garment that covers the head, and it is rendered in contour lines of varying width. The face has that intense look, but it is given in greater detail, with knitted and heavy brows, deep-set eyes, protruding eyeballs, and thick beard. Even some attempt at modelling can be discerned. The undergarment is white and the background, though mainly empty, does contain the waves of the river in the lower portion. The differences in style between this painting and the others strongly suggest that it must have been based on an earlier tradition in China.

The painting in the Drenowatz collection seems also to belong to this older tradition rather than to Ch'an tradition described above. The elaboration of details, both in the figure and in the background, sets it apart from the Ch'an style. Furthermore, the full, round face of the patriarch, the smaller size of the beard, and the mild expression on the face, all show its differences. The patriarch's body is solid and full, while the reed is lost in the water, hardly noticeable. Even though his garment flutters towards the right in the wind, he remains upright and stable. The waves, now depicted with the careful detail, typical of T'ang and Sung paintings such as those early landscapes and their surviving examples in the waters of Ma Yüan, Li Sung, and Chou Ch'en (as in Ma Yüan, *Water Album*, Palace Museum, Peking; Li Sung, *The*

27. Published in T. Matsushita, *Suiboku-ga*, pl. 30. Materials on Kojan Itsukoyo can be found in Shibata, p. 435, and T. Tamamura, p. 85.



*Red Cliffs*, Nelson Gallery and Chou Ch'en, *Northern Sea* in the Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City), stretch from the foreground all the way to the distance, with the mist gradually covering the distant part of the river, as if to symbolize the Buddhist idea of freedom from the bonds of the material world.

On the other hand, in certain aspects the Drenowatz painting resembles those of the Ch'an tradition. The most obvious similarity is the pose of the figure. The three-quarter view turning toward the right finds its parallels in the painting in the Masagi Museum and the one in the Freer Gallery. The work by Emperor Ch'eng-hua is also very close, although the head now turns back towards the left. As a variation, the painting in the Tokugawa Museum and that in the Gyokuzō-in simply turn the figure around to depict a three-quarter view towards the left. In most of these representations, the garment covers the head, as in the case of the Drenowatz painting. But the most important iconographic detail common to a majority of them is the *mudrā*. Bodhidharma has his two hands together, slightly raised, in front of him. Although in all these pictures the hands are concealed under the sleeves, they should be in the gesture of 'hiding forms' (Chinese: Yin-hsing-yin; Japanese: ongyō-in), in which the left hand forms the fist with the right hand on top, with fingers extended more or less horizontally. In the Drenowatz painting, Ting Yün-p'eng reverses the left and right hands, but still intends to represent this *mudrā*. The meaning of this gesture, which is to hide the form (of the body) and to subtract oneself from the view of the others, is clearest in the following quotation from the *Marishitengyō*:

'At that time, the Buddha spoke thus to the monks: "There is a goddess called Marishi. She has great supernatural (and superhuman) powers. She is forever passing in front of the gods of the sun and moon, yet they cannot see her, though she can see the sun. Men cannot perceive or recognize her; they cannot capture or bind her; they cannot hurt or deceive her; they cannot take her possessions; they cannot condemn or punish her and those who are resentful cannot obtain her aid.'" (Then) the Buddha spoke to the monks saying: "If you know Marishi-ten's name and constantly keep it in mind, men cannot perceive or recognize you, neither can they catch,

bind, or hurt you. Moreover, people cannot deceive you. Your property will not be taken and you will not be condemned or punished; yet her help will not be had by those who are resentful.' ' ' 28

It is not difficult to see why this mudrā is used here for Bodhidharma, for at this time he is fleeing from the Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty. By assuming this stance the patriarch is hidden and protected, but has even more significance:

'Think of this mudrā as the body of Marishi Bosatsu, and of your own self as being held hidden within the heart of Marishi-ten Bosatsu. Concentrate with all your might, ceaselessly ... (Only) if one is respectful and sincere and puts forth one's heart, then one will certainly obtain the awesome protection of the divinity and be invisible to all resentful and evil people, and able to avoid all disasters.'

Marishi is also the Queen of the Sky and the light which supports the sun and moon. Here, Bodhidharma is able to use the gesture as a means of calling upon her protection from the resentful ones and of hiding within her heart.

From the discussion above, it is clear that all these paintings of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze derive from a single iconographic tradition, which may have begun in the Sung period, based on some of the ohan-crossing-the-sea paintings made famous by Wu Tao-tzu. However, most of the Sung and Yüan representations of this subject, and some of the Japanese variants in the Muromachi period, seem to have been modeled after a type connected with the Ch'an paintings, which had greatly simplified the original composition, eliminated a large number of details, and turned it into an aesthetic statement that paralleled the *kōan* and certain other practices of Ch'an during the Southern Sung period. In contrast, in spite of its late date, the Ting Yün-p'eng painting reaches back to the early period, possibly T'ang, in its manner of representation. This seems to be a part of the move-

28. For references to the mudrā, see E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japan Buddhist Sculpture* (New York, 1960). Discussion of this particular mudrā is based on pp. 117-118 of this book, as are the quoted passages. Cf. also a discussion of similar gesture in connection with Liang K'ai's *Sakyamuni Coming Out of the Mountain* by Dietrich Seckel, in 'Shakyamunis Rückkehr aus den Bergen', *Asiatische Studien*, XVIII/XIX (1965), pp. 35-72.

ment during the sixteenth century, both in literature and art, to return to the classical expression of the past. Whether Wu Tao-tzu did paint in this subject or not is not a major problem, for Ting Yün-p'eng simply took up a style that he considered to be archaic in his own time. The elaborate formulation of the waves, the use of varying lines to depict the draperies, the fluttering of the garment, and the solidity of the figure all refer back to the Wu Tao-tzu tradition.

Yet not all the details of this painting fit into the T'ang tradition. The very delicate fine lines seem to be more in the style of Li Kung-lin than of Wu. The mist in the upper half of the picture is more typical of the Southern Sung than of the earlier time. Most particularly noticeable in this respect is the face of Bodhidharma. Whereas most of the paintings portray the patriarch in the T'ang realistic tradition, with deep-set eyes, protruding eyeballs, heavy beard, outstretched chin, and very plastic face, the Drenowatz painting shows a full, round face with small, tilted eyes and brows, small mouth, and limited beard, a Chinese rather than an Indian face, though, as indicated above, there are also some foreign features. Instead of an intense and dramatic expression, his face bears a calm and placid look, emotionally uninvolved, and concentrating on an inward expression. This kind of face appears also in the Freer painting, but is more strongly conveyed here in the Drenowatz picture. It is the Ming interpretation of a traditional theme that brings about the change in representation.

Three other paintings of the same subject show the persistence of this trend in late Ming. One of them, by Sun K'o-hung (1532-1610), formerly in the Kuwana collection, Japan, now in the J.P. Dubosc collection, Paris (fig. 10), depicts the subject in a style close to that of Ting Yün-p'eng's painting, although there are fewer descriptive details and the face is more Indian.<sup>29</sup> Another, by Cheng Chung

29. Published in *Kyuka Inshitsu Kanzō Garoku* (Kuwana Collection), (Kyoto, 1920), pl. 34, and W. Speiser et al., *Chinese Art* (Painting, Calligraphy, Stone Rubbing, Wood Engraving), (Universe Books, New York, 1964), pp. 130-31.

(fig. 11), contains the same elements, but the pose is much more powerful and dramatic.<sup>30</sup> Bodhidharma is shown in profile, facing left; his garment appears to resemble a cloak, thus giving a strong sense of volume to the painting; and the reed and waves seem more agitated than is usual. A third picture, by Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639), is also related to these three in style, although he expresses his own individuality in the strong triangular movement of the drapery and in the very proud expression of the face.<sup>31</sup> All four reflect the movement among Chinese painters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries away from the Ch'an manner and back to the T'ang style of representation.

In Japan, however, the case is quite different. One painting contemporary with Ting Yün-p'eng's work, by Shingo, a sixteenth-century artist (fig. 12), reveals the Japanese adherence to the Zen style in the exaggerated features of the face, the eccentric brushwork in the garment, and the beginning of some stylization in the waves.<sup>32</sup> It is typical of the Japanese attempt to combine the Zen tradition with the native Japanese decorative interest, a union reflected in the development of the Kano School style during the sixteenth century. A second painting of this subject, by Fugai Ekun (1568-1650), is entirely executed in the Zen manner, with very fluid brushwork.<sup>33</sup> A third painting, by Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) (better known as Niten), also in the Tokugawa Museum in Nagoya (fig. 13), is even more clearly in the tradition of Zen painting on this subject, and there are many others who perpetuated this trend in Japan.<sup>34</sup> Thus, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Chinese and Japanese seem to

30. Published in *Chung-kuo ming-hua chi*, II (Yu-cheng Book Co., Shanghai, 1909), and *Shina Nanga Taisei*, (Tōkyo, 1935-37), pl. 76.

31. Published in *Shina Nanga Taisei*, VII, 56 (left).

32. Published in T. Matsushita, *Suiboku Painting of the Muromachi Period*, (Tōkyo, 1960), pl. 117.

33. Published in Kurt Brasch, *Zenga* (Tōkyo, 1961), pl. 37; Heinz Brasch, *Oriental Art* (1960), Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 59; and *Peinture à l'encre du Japon* (Collection Heinz Brasch, Zurich), Collections Baur (Geneve, 1968), no. 2.

34. Compare Kurt Brasch, *Zenga*, figs. 47, 92, 130, 148 and 168.

have followed quite different courses in the portrayal of the same subject.

Although biographical materials about Ting Yün-p'eng are meagre, a number of documents suggest that he was born around 1547 in Hsiuning, in southern Anhwei province, into a family noted for medicine.<sup>35</sup> Since his father was also a good painter, Ting Yün-p'eng was able to learn at home everything he could about painting. When he was around the age of thirty (ca. 1577-78), he went to live in a Ch'an monastery in Sung-chiang and he also served as tutor in the home of a certain Mr. Ku, an official probably related to the famous Ku Chieng-i.<sup>36</sup> It was probably through the Ku family that he came to know Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and some other connoisseurs who lived in this famous city. The years that he spent in Sung-chiang seem to have been most important in shaping his ideas. It was during this period that a group of young intellectuals such as Mo Shih-lung, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'en Chi-ju, all Ting's contemporaries, were beginning to formulate those theories about literati painting which later became dominant. Although Ting does not seem to have taken up many of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's ideas, the latter always held the former in very high regard. In some of his inscriptions on Ting's paintings, Tung praises him as a superb craftsman, 'matching the work of Heaven'. Indeed, Tung became such a great admirer of Ting's work after watching him execute a Lohan painting in the former's own studio that he gave him a seal with three characters, 'Hao-sheng-kuan' (Study Where Every Hair of the Brush Confers Life).<sup>37</sup>

One aspect of the theories developed by the group in Sung-chiang

35. Major references on Ting Yün-p'eng include Chiang Shao-shu, *Wu sheng shih shih*, 4/67; Hsü Hsin, *Ming hua lu*, 1/4; Lan Ying and Hsieh Pin, *T'u hui pao chien, hsü tsüan*, 1/4 (all in *Hua shih ts'ung-shu*, ed. by Yü An-lan, Shanghai, 1962). In Western languages, the major source is O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, V (New York, 1956), pp. 59-61.

36. This is based on a colophon written by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang on a scroll by Ting Yün-p'eng, *The Five Forms of Kuan-yin*, now at the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

37. Cf. Sirén, V, p. 60.



district was the return to ancient masters for inspirations in painting. This theory probably inspired Ting Yün-p'eng's interest in the works of T'ang figure painters, especially Wu Tao-tzu. At the same time, Ting's close association with a Ch'an monastery in Sung-chiang was probably instrumental in leading him toward religious subjects. In fact, his usual identification of himself as 'Buddhist disciple' shows he must have been a devout Buddhist. In an album, dated 1577-78, depicting the Sixteen Lohans now in the Palace Museum, the name of Ting Yün-t'u appears, following the term 'fa-seng' (a monk who has taken the vows).<sup>38</sup> Although the name is different, Ting Yün-p'eng is not known to have had a brother painter by the name of Yün-t'u; Ting's name was probably changed for a period because of some kind of taboo. In a colophon of 1578, Wang Chih-teng, a well-known calligrapher, refers to Ting by his intimate name, Nan-yü. This inscription proves that Ting was actually a monk in his youth, probably in the Ma-ch'i Temple in Sung-chiang also mentioned in the inscription. It was natural, therefore, for him to paint quite a number of works on Buddhist subjects.<sup>39</sup>

The Drenowatz painting has the following inscription by the artist:

'In the year *chia-hsu* [1574], in the first month, the Buddhist disciple Ting Yün-p'eng respectfully painted.'

This inscription tends to confirm the possibility of his being a monk at this time, in 1574, before he was thirty years old. At the same time, it establishes that this is probably the earliest of his paintings extant. Several of his paintings of the same period can be mentioned. The album of Sixteen Lohans in the Palace Museum referred to above, and dated 1577-78, is very close in style to the Drenowatz painting. A handscroll, the *Five Forms of Kuan-yin*, at the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City,<sup>40</sup> shows a brush technique as delicate as that of the Drenowatz Bodhi-

38. This album is recorded in *Ku-kung shu hua lu*, V, pp. 100-101.

39. See the note above.

40. This is reproduced partly in Siren, VI, pl. 309.

dharma. Though the painting is unsigned and undated, there is an inscription on the upper right corner:

'When Ting Nan-yü painted this picture, he was in my (district) Sung (-Chiang) serving as a tutor for Kuang-lu-ta-fu [official title] Ku Cheng-hsin. He was thirty some years old. So he was extremely skillful and marvellous. After that he was not able to paint in the *neng* [skillful] type, but worked in the old-age brushwork in response to free requests (from other people), like the poems written by Tu-ling [Tu Fu, T'ang poet, 712-770] after he went to Shu [Szechuan]. Ch'i-ch'ang.'

According to this inscription, the painting should be dated around 1580. It also confirms the fact that Ting Yün-p'eng was staying in Sung-chiang during that period. In fact, the official, Ku Cheng-hsin, was probably the same Ku Chung-hsiu mentioned in the album above for whom Ting painted the Lohans. A fourth painting related in style is a handscroll, *The Lotus Society, After Li Lung-mien*, in the P.H. Wong collection of Hong Kong.<sup>41</sup> It bears an inscription at the end:

'In an autumn day in the year *keng-ch'en* of Wan-li [1580] painted in the Hsiu-shih-chai [studio of Elegant Rocks] of Mo T'ing-han [Mo Shih-lung] of Sung-chiang. Yün-p'eng.'

This inscription also confirms Ting's presence in Sung-chiang at that time and his friendship with both Mo Shih-lung and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. A fifth painting in the same style is *Yin-chen Lohan Leaving the Mountain*, formerly in the Chang Heng collection, which is dated 1585.<sup>42</sup> Like the Lotus Society scroll, this painting is primarily landscape executed with exquisite details. Still, both paintings depict Buddhist subjects, thus providing a link with the other three paintings.

To return to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's assertion, this period of Ting Yün-p'eng's work on Buddhist subjects, accomplished when he was

41. This painting, quite important for the study of Li Kung-lin and Ting Yün-p'eng, has never been published.

42. This was reproduced in *Sōgen Minshin Meiga Taikan*, Tōkyō, 1931, pl. 160 and *Tsin, T'ang, Wu-tai, Sung, Yüan, Ming, Ch'ing ming chia shu hua chi* (Ministry of Education, Nanking, 1943), pl. 166.

connected with a Ch'an temple in Sung-chiang, seems to be the most exciting phase of his art. Ting was a great craftsman, capable of handling a beautiful line and elaborate details in the *pai-miao* manner, as in the Drenowatz painting. Later in his life, Ting Yün-p'eng turned to more elaborate use of colors and of heavy lines in the depiction of landscape. In aesthetic quality, those later works certainly cannot compete with this group of early works done around the time of the artist's thirtieth year. The later works also exhibit a shift from the skillful to the bland, with a technique marked by what Tung Ch'ich'ang referred to as 'dry-tree' Ch'an characteristics.<sup>43</sup>

In a colophon to Ting's 1577-78 album, Ch'en Chi-ju commented that 'This old gentleman [Ting] took as his sources the Six Dynasties, T'ang and Sung, absolutely leaving not a single hair's trace of mundane images'.<sup>44</sup> This statement suggests that Ting learned much from such people as Ku K'ai-chih, Wu Tao-tzu and Li Kung-lin. While the extant works of Ku do not allow us much opportunity for comparison, a possible prototype of this tradition still extant is a late Yüan painting, Wei Chiu-ting's *The Nymph of the River Lo Walking on the Waves*, in the Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 14)<sup>45</sup>, which is derived from some of the scrolls of the same subject by Ku K'ai-chih (copies of these Ku scrolls are now in the Freer Gallery and in the Palace Museum in Peking). In spite of the differences in subject matter, the composition of the two works is quite similar. It is also probable that during Ting's own time an old painting in the Wu Tao-tzu tradition dealing with the Bodhidharma subject still survived in Sung-chiang. A painting similar in subject matter and perhaps indicative of the Wu Tao-tzu tradition is the

43. See, for example, his *Bodhidharma*, dated 1591, in W. Speiser et al., *Chinese Art* (N.Y., 1964), p. 53, and *Bodhidharma Facing the Rocky Wall*, dated 1614, in *Shina Nanga Taisei*, VII, pl. 53 (right).

44. See the album in note 38 above.

45. This is in *Ku-kung shu hua lu*, V, p. 191-192. The painting is not signed, but bears a colophon dated 1368 by Ni Tsan saying that it was by Wei Chiu-ting. Wei was a pupil of Wang Chen-p'eng, who served in the Yüan court doing very skillful paintings of the activities in the palace.

*Taoist Immortal Chung Li-ch'üan* attributed to Yen Hui (Yüan dynasty), formerly in the Tanaka collection in Japan (fig. 15).<sup>46</sup> The knit brows, protruding eyeballs, long mustache and beard, and dynamic movement all reflect the T'ang realism in figure painting, for which Wu Tao-tzu was famous. But perhaps more suggestive of that T'ang painter is the wind-swept drapery, depicted by a flowing brush, against a background of water as well defined as that of the Ting Yün-p'eng picture. In fact, a painting of this type, on the very subject of Bodhidharma we have been discussing, datable to the early fourteenth century because of an inscription by the above-mentioned monk, I-shan I-ning, has recently been published.<sup>46a</sup> Executed mainly in ink with slight colors on silk, this painting, now in Jōdōji, Shizuoka prefecture, portrays the patriarch as a massive, brawny figure, with a huge head with impressive features, in a contrapposto pose. Clearly, his militant attitude, his holding a trident, the big halo around his head, and the depiction in naturalistic details and flowing lines, do not seem to agree with the personality of Bodhidharma as described in the legendary accounts or visualized in most of the paintings discussed above. Rather, they appear to be direct borrowings from T'ang representations of guardian kings in the Wu Tao-tzu tradition, along the same line as the Taoist immortal shown above. A combination of these two traditions, through the influence of *pai-miao* of Li Kung-lin, leads to the exquisite work of Ting Yün-p'eng. Though he lacked the archaism of Ku K'ai-chih and the dynamism of Wu Tao-tzu, he was able to synthesize elements of their style into something of his own.

The Drenowatz painting was formerly in the collection of Emperor Ch'ien-lung of the eighteenth century, but somehow it was not recorded in the catalogue, *Mi-tien chu lin*, although there is a seal indicating its inclusion there. Of the five imperial seals on top of the painting, at

46. This is reproduced in *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, IX.

46 a. Published in Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting et Calligraphy* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1970), cat. no. 22, pp. 53-56.

least four are identical with those reproduced in the Contag-Wang seal book.<sup>47</sup> Only the 'Ch'ien-lung yü lan chih pao' seal is different. A number of collectors' seals are located in the lower left corner, including one of Chang Heng, a twentieth-century connoisseur.

Ting Yün-p'eng's painting of Bodhidharma may have been the earliest of a series of paintings on this subject in the Sung-chiang area during late Ming. A number of paintings on the subject are known to have been executed there in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two of them, one by Sun K'o-hung and the other by Ch'en Chi-ju were mentioned above. Two other paintings of the same subject by late Ming painters are recorded in the Palace Museum catalogue, one by Ch'eng Chia-sui, also from Anhwei but living just south of Sung-chiang in Chia-ting, and the other by Hsing Kuo-hsien, a figure painter of Sung-chiang.<sup>48</sup> The tradition of Buddhist figure painting was also continued by several later artists.

In sum, the *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze River on a Reed* in the Drenowatz collection can be seen as a representative work of a very interesting interlude in the development of Chinese Ch'an painting. The Ch'an style that prevailed in Sung and Yüan, as exemplified by several Chinese and Japanese paintings mentioned above, was rejected by the literati artist of the Yüan period, who criticized some Ch'an painters as 'crude and vicious'.<sup>49</sup> So strong was the literati theory that even some of the Ch'an monks in middle Yüan such as P'u-ming<sup>50</sup>, turned to painting orchids and bamboos in the style of the scholar-gentlemen rather than in the Ch'an tradition. Following this theory, Ming artists adopted and intensified the Yüan interest in looking back to

47. See Victoria Contag and Wang chi-ch'ien, *Seals of Chinese Painters and Collectors of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods*, revised ed. (Hong Kong, 1966), p. 581, no. 12; p. 582, no. 28; p. 583, nos. 39 and 51.

48. See *Mi-tien chu lin*, 2/63a and 2/66a.

49. This term is used for Ch'an painters by T'ang Hou, *Hua chien* (ac. 1330), 1959 Peking ed., p. 54 and Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u hui pao chien* (prefaced 1365), 1956 Taipei ed., pp. 74-75.

50. See my article, 'The Oberlin Orchid and the Problem of P'u-ming,' *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, XVI (1962), pp. 49-76.



classical masters of T'ang and early Sung for inspiration. In the late sixteenth century, during the reign of Wan-li (1573-1619), a number of artists, including Ting Yün-p'eng, Wu Pin, and some others, chose Wu Tao-tzu and Li Kung-lin as their models in depicting Kung-yins, Lohans, Bodhidharmas and other Buddhist figures in strictly classical language, rejecting the spontaneous and eccentric style of earlier Ch'an works. However, the trend toward the archaic was soon modified by the new theories of literati painting developed in Sung-chiang, and a new direction, with great emphasis on landscape executed in calligraphic brushwork based on classical modes, was established. Under the impact of these new ideas, both Ting Yün-p'eng and Wu Pin gradually turned more to landscape in their later works, though they still tried to maintain some archaic forms. Wu Pin's later works blossomed into a synthesis of strange, dreamy and nostalgic landscapes. But Ting Yün-p'eng's later paintings do not seem to be so accomplished as his earlier scrolls. In this light, the Drenowatz painting, the Kuan-yin scroll at the Nelson gallery of Art, and several other works remain the masterpieces of this superb craftsman. Since, however, this skillful style seems inappropriate to such basic ideas of Ch'an Buddhism as simplicity, freedom and concentration, Ting Yün-p'eng did not attract a great following and his early technique was not incorporated into the new Ch'an style but remained his own. It was only later, during the political upheavals after the collapse of Ming, that a group of Ch'an monks, Chu Ta and Tao-chi among them, developed a new style, capable of expressing the spontaneity and vitality so essential to its ideas.

LIST OF IMPORTANT CHINESE AND JAPANESE TERMS  
AND NAMES

Asano 淺野

Asano Kōshaku Kahō E-fu 淺野侯爵家室繪譜

Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政

Bodhidharma 達磨

Bungo 豐後

Chang Heng 張珩

Ch'en Chi-ju 陳繼儒

Ch'en Chieh 陳捷

Ch'en Yün 陳垣

Cheng Chung 鄭重

Cheng-huang-niu 政黃牛

Ch'eng Chia-sui 程嘉燧

Ch'eng-hua, Emperor 成化

Chia-ting 嘉定

Chiang Shao-shu 姜紹書

Ch'ien-lung yü lan chih pao 乾隆御覽寶

Ching, Mt. 徑山

Ching-te ch'uan teng lu 景德傳燈錄

Chou Ch'en 周臣

Chou Mi 周密

Chu Ta 朱牟

Ch'uan-fa-chi 傳法記

Chung-feng Ming-pen 中峯明本

Chung Jih chiao-t'ung shih 中日交通史

Chung-kuo Fu-chiao shih-chi kai-lun 中國佛教史籍概論

Chung Li-ch'üan 鍾離權

fa-seng 髮僧

Fa-yen 法眼

Fu-hsüeh ta tz'u t'ien 佛學大辭典

Fu-kuo Yüan-wu 佛果圓悟

Fugai Ekun 風外慧董

Fumon Mukan 普門無闕

Fusō gozan ki 扶桑五山記

Gyokuzō-in 玉藏院

Hao-sheng-kuan 毫生館

Hekigan-shū teihon 碧巖集定本

Honchō kōsō den 本朝高僧傳

Hsia Wen-yen 夏文彥

Hsieh Pin 謝彬

Hsing Kuo-hsien 邢國賢

Hsiu-ning 休寧

Hsiu-shih-chai 秀石齋

Hsü Hsin 徐沁

Hsü kao-seng-chuan 續高僧傳

Hsüeh-tou Chung-hsien 雪竇重顯

Hu Shih 胡適

Hu Shih wen ts'un 胡適文存

Hua Chien 畫鑒

Hua shih ts'ung shu 畫史叢書

I-shan I-ning 一山一寧

Itō Yūten 伊藤猷典

Kimiya, Yasuniko 木宮泰彦

Kojan Itsukyō 固山一峯

Ku Cheng-hsin 顧正心

Ku Cheng-i 顧正誼

Ku Chung-hsiu 顧仲修

Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之

Ku-kung shu hua lu 故宮書畫錄

Kundaikan Sayūchōki 君台觀左右帳記

Kuang-lu-ta-fu 光祿大夫

Kung-an 公案

Kyuka Inshitsu Kanzō Garoku 九華印室鑑藏圖

Lan Ying 藍瑛

Li Kung-lin (Lung-mien) 李公麟(龍眠)

Li Sung 李嵩

Li Yao-fu 李堯夫

Liang K'ai 梁楷

Liao-an Ch'ing-yü 了庵清欲

Lin-chi 臨濟

Loyang 洛陽

Loyang chia-lan chi 洛陽伽藍記

Lu Leng-chia 廬楞伽

Ma-ch'i Temple 馬嶠寺

Ma Yüan 馬遠

Mansu-ji 萬壽寺

Masagi Museum 正木美術館

Matsushita, Takaaki 松下隆章

Mi-tien chu lin 秘殿珠林

Ming-chi Ch'u-chun 明極楚俊

Ming hua lu 明画錄

Miyamoto Musashi 宮本武藏

Mo Shih-lung (T'ing-han) 莫士龍 (廷韓)

Mu-ch'i 牧谿

Nan-yü 南羽

Nanzenji 南禪寺

Niten 二天

pai-miao 白描

Pi-yen chi 碧巖集 (錄)

P'u-ming 普明

P'u-t'i-ta-mo kao 菩提達摩考

Saicho 最澄

Sekiguchi, Shindai J. 關口真大

Shao-lin Temple 少林寺

Shiban 師蠻

Shimada, Shujiro 島田修二郎

Shina Nanga Taisei 支那南画大成

Shingo 神豪

Sōgen Minshin Meiga Taikan 宋元明清名画大觀

Suiboku-ga 水墨画

Sun K'o-hung 孫克弘

Sung-chiang 松江

Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲

Tamamura, Takeji 玉村竹二

Taman 田万

T'ang Hou 湯垕

Tao-chi 道濟

Tao-hsüan 道宣

Tao-yüan 道原

Tendai 天台

Tenryū-ji 天龍寺

T'ien-mu, Mt. 天目山

Ting Yün-p'eng 丁雲鵬

Ting Yün-t'u 丁雲圖

Tōfuku-ji 東福寺

Tōkoku Myōgyō 東谷妙堯

Tokugawa Art Museum 徳川美術館

Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan 東洋美術大觀

Ts'ao-tung 曹洞

Tsin, T'ang, Wu-tai, Sung, Yüan, Ming,  
Ch'ing ming-chia shu hua chi

晉唐五代宋之明清名家書畫集

Wu-chun Shih-fan 無準師範

Wu Pin 吳彬

Tu Fu 杜甫

Wu sheng shih shih 無聲詩史

Tu-ling 杜陵

Wu Tao-tzu 吳道子

T'u hui pao chien 圖繪寶鑑

Wu-teng hui-yüan 五燈會元

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌

Yang Hsüan-chih 楊銓之

Wang Chen-p'eng 王振鵬

Yen Hui 顏輝

Wang Chi-teng 王穉登

Yin-hsing-yin 隱形印

Wang Wei 王維

Yin-to-lo 因陀羅

Wei Chiu-ting 衛九鼎

Yün-men 雲門

Wei-yang 馮仰

Yü-shan-chu 郁山主

Wong, P.H. 黃寶熙

Yün yen kuo yen lu 雲烟過眼錄

Wu, Emperor, of Liang 梁武帝

Zenga 禪画