

Lei Yuqing, Cai Min\*

## The Research and Examination of *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* and Other Related Works by Shen Zhou

**Abstract:** As the leader of Wu School of Painting, Shen Zhou's works have been counterfeited many times in his contemporary and the future generations. In addition to *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* collected in Boston Museum of Art, there are six other works under the name of Shen Zhou: *The Mid-Autumn Poetry* collected in Taipei Palace Museum, *Appreciation of the Moon at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa* sold at Pauli and Sotheby auction, *Feast Under the Moon* in the Palace Museum, *Drawing of the Moon and Swallow* sold at Jiade auction and *Drawing of the Tianping Mountain* in Shanghai Museum. From the time of painting as well as the inscriptions and postscripts by the painter himself, these six works all have similarities with *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. However, through the research, the author infers that all these seven works are fake. The study of this series of related works provides a reference for establishing standards of appraising Shen Zhou's painting and calligraphy works. Due to the interpenetration between counterfeiting activities and texts, the reference value of historical documents in authenticity identification is also worth examining and weighting.

**Key words:** Shen Zhou; *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*; Counterfeit paintings

**INTRODUCTION** Shen Zhou (1427-1509), also named as Qi Nan or Shi Tian, was born in Xiangcheng Village, Changzhou county, Suzhou Prefecture. In his later years, he entitled himself as Whited Stone the Old Man. In the mid-Ming Dynasty, Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming, Tang Yin and Qiu Ying were the four most famous painters which were called "The Four Great Masters of Wu School of Painting". Shen Zhou was the oldest among the Four and he had many disciples, Wen Zhengming and Tang Yin included. Thus Shen Zhou is always regarded as the leader of the Wu School. However, due to the numerous fakes of Shen Zhou's paintings in his contemporary and later generations, it is quite inconvenient to study his style of painting and calligraphy. The seven works discussed in this paper are all under the name of Shen Zhou. From the

table below, we can see that they are closely related in terms of the time of creation as well as the inscriptions and postscripts.

Title of works	Time of Creation
<i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i>	<b>In 1486, the Mid-Autumn Festival in the 22nd year during the reign of Chenghua</b> According to the postscript by Shen Zhou "Both Shu'an and I are sixty years old."
<i>The Mid-Autumn Poetry</i>	<b>In 1489, the day after the Mid-Autumn Festival in the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi</b> According to the postscript by Shen Zhou "Writing in the Shuang'e Tower on the 16 <sup>th</sup> , August of the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi."
<i>Drawing of the Tianping Mountain</i>	<b>In 1489, the autumn of the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi</b> According to the postscript by Shen Zhou "In the autumn of the 2nd year of Hongzhi, Shen Zhou writes the previous works in the Half Boat Study of Yuansi the Imperial Doctor."
<i>Appreciation of the Moon at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa (Poly version)</i>	<b>In 1486, the Mid-Autumn Festival in the 22nd year during the reign of Chenghua</b> According to the postscript by Shen Zhou "I have already been sixty years old."
<i>Appreciation of the Moon at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa (Sotheby version)</i>	<b>In 1486, the Mid-Autumn Festival in the 22nd year during the reign of Chenghua</b> According to the postscript by Shen Zhou "I have already been sixty years old."
<i>Feast Under the Moon</i> (in the Palace Museum)	<b>In 1489, the day before the Mid-Autumn Festival in the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi</b> According to the painting and calligraphy appraisal group of the Palace Museum.
<i>Drawing of the Moon and Swallow (Jade)</i>	<b>In 1489, the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi</b> According to "Both Wang and I are sixty-three years old."

Table 1: The Time of Creation of the Seven Works

Title of Works	Postscripts
<p data-bbox="621 209 869 279"><i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></p>	<p data-bbox="904 209 1013 231">Postscript 1:</p> <p data-bbox="904 257 1489 1290">When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn moon as usual instead of appreciating it. When they are mature, they see the rarity of the Mid-Autumn Moon so they toast to the moon as a means of commemorating. How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? As time goes by, the moon keeps the same, but men are no more the same ones. The youngsters do not see the difference here, they are felicitous when they appreciate the Moon with their family; But elders know that though the moon seems to be the same, it is never the same, how fast time passes! It is now the eve of Mid-Autumn Festival, but guests are already here, they are eager to appreciate the moon and express themselves; Standing still in the court, with thin clothes, people feel the chill brought by the dew, they can see the cold outline of the moon through the eaves; The wind blows the clouds into a mess, they disappear like the dust being wiped out; The clouds are envious of the people down below, they behave and communicate with so much etiquette and fraternity; People insist themselves that he be the first one to chant the poems of Li Po, they sigh they elapsed youth and the inevitable aging; The youth and aging cannot coexist, raise the glasses, they see the moon reflected in the wine, and drink up in one gulp; Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old, how we long to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.</p> <p data-bbox="904 1316 1013 1338">Postscript 2:</p> <p data-bbox="904 1365 1489 1720">On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I had a feast in my countryside house to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes just captured from the Jianxi River were fresh. The blue sky was fine and the Mid-Autumn moon was bright. All the four of us have become white-haired men. Raising the cups, we were toasting to each other. Talking about the stories in the countryside made us laugh happily. Let's drink to our heart's content and forget time. The dew was only touching my cap on the head.</p>
<p data-bbox="621 1753 835 1775"><i>The Mid-Autumn Poetry</i></p>	<p data-bbox="904 1753 1489 1917">When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn Moon as usual instead of appreciating it. When they are mature, they see the rarity of the Mid-Autumn Moon so they toast to the moon as a means of commemorating. How many times are left for the elders to</p>

	<p>appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? As time goes by, the moon keeps the same, but men are no more the same ones. The youngsters do not see the difference here, they are felicitous when they appreciate the Moon with their family; But elders know that though the moon seems to be the same, it is never the same, how fast time passes! It is now the eve of Mid-Autumn Festival, but guests are already here, they are eager to appreciate the moon and express themselves; Standing still in the court, with thin clothes, people feel the chill brought by the dew, they can see the cold outline of the moon through the eaves; The wind blows the clouds into a mess, they disappear like the dust being wiped out; The clouds are envious of the people down below, they behave and communicate with so much etiquette and fraternity; People insist themselves that he be the first one to chant the poems of Li Po, they sigh they elapsed youth and the inevitable aging; The youth and aging can't coexist, raise the glasses, they see the moon reflected in the wine, and drink up in one gulp; Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old, how we long to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.</p> <p><b>Note: It's identical to the postscript 2 in <i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></b></p>
<p><i>Drawing of The Tianping Mountain</i></p>	<p>Postscript 1:</p> <p>When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn Moon as usual instead of appreciating it. When they are mature, they see the rarity of the Mid-Autumn Moon so they toast to the moon as a means of commemorating. How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? As time goes by, the moon keeps the same, but men are no more the same ones. The youngsters do not see the difference here, they are felicitous when they appreciate the Moon with their family; But elders know that though the moon seems to be the same, it is never the same, how fast time passes! It is now the eve of Mid-Autumn Festival, but guests are already here, they are eager to appreciate the moon and express themselves; Standing still in the court, with thin clothes, people feel the chill brought by the dew, they can see the cold outline of the moon through the eaves; The wind blows the clouds into a mess, they disappear like the dust being wiped out; The clouds are envious of the people down below, they behave and communicate</p>

	<p>with so much etiquette and fraternity; People insist themselves that he be the first one to chant the poems of Li Po, they sigh they elapsed youth and the inevitable aging; The youth and aging cannot coexist, raise the glasses, they see the moon reflected in the wine, and drink up in one gulp; Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old, how we long to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.</p> <p>Postscript 2:</p> <p>On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I got together in a cottage to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes just captured from the Jianxi River were fresh. The sky was fine and the moon was bright. All five of us have become white-haired and we toasted again and again Talking about the stories in the countryside made us laugh happily. Let's drink to our heart's content and forget time. The dew was only touching my cap on the head.</p> <p><b>Notes: they are identical to the postscript 1 and 2 in <i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></b></p>
<p><i>The Moon Appreciation at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa (Poly version)</i></p>	<p>When people are young, they don't recognize the Mid-Autumn moon and watch it as usual. When they become mature, they have a strong attachment to the moon and thus to the Mid-Autumn Festival. How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? As time goes by, the moon keeps the same, but men are no more the same ones. Let us take pleasure in drinking the wine in the pot and please do not refuse.</p> <p>The full moon is just like the reunion of old friends, but their separation is like the moonset. The old friends gradually become less and less, and few can accompany me walking under the moon. After reciting Li Po's poems of asking about the moon, I am shocked to find that the youth has passed away and I am not young any more. The youth and aging can't coexist originally, so I pick up the cup with the moon reflected in it and drink the wine in one gulp. I have already been sixty years old this year and hope to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.</p> <p><b>Notes: it is similar with the first postscript in <i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></b></p>
<p><i>The Moon Appreciation at Mid-Autumn Festival in</i></p>	<p>Young people don't recognize the Mid-Autumn Moon but see it have no difference from the usual one. In contrast, the old men prefer the moon and yearn for the Mid-Autumn Festival. How many</p>

<p><i>Youzhu Villa</i> (Sotheby version)</p>	<p>times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn Moon in their rest life? Time passes and never comes back. It is the natural law of all times. People are different while the moon still remains the same. There is wine already poured into the pot, so let's just have fun and do not decline. Full moon is just like the reunion of old friends, whereas their departures are similar to moon on the wane. In my eyes, I feel that my old friends are becoming less and less. Traveling at night while appreciating the moon, whom I can blame for? Reciting the poems of Li Bai which asked the moon, I am so shocked at my white hair and lost youth. But do not mind our lost youth and white hair too much, let's just raise our glasses and drink up the wine in one gulp. I am on the verge of sixty years old and I want to borrow another forty years from the Immortal.</p> <p><b>Notes: it is similar with the first postscript in <i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></b></p>
<p><i>Drawing of The Moon Banquet</i> (in Palace Museum)</p>	<p>It is invisible.</p>
<p><i>Drawing of The Moon Swallow</i> (Jiade)</p>	<p>On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I got together in a cottage to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes just captured from the Jianxi River were fresh. The sky was fine and the moon was bright. All five of us have become white-haired and we toasted again and again Talking about the stories in the countryside made us laugh happily. Let's drink to our heart's content and forget time. The dew was only touching my cap on the head.</p> <p><b>Notes: it is similar with the second postscript in <i>Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival</i></b></p>

Table 2: The Comparison Between the Inscriptions of the Seven Works

The academic circles have paid little attention to the connection between these seven works, and there also have been few articles studying one of them separately. It was a pity that Mr. Gao Juhan, a famous deceased art historian, appreciated and expounded *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* as a genuine work without further research and examination. Li Junyi, the Doctor of Arizona State University, in his dissertation *The Immortal Brush: Daoism and the Art of Shen Zhou (1427-1509)*, mentioned *The Moon Appreciation at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa* collected by Roy and

Marilyn Papp couple, but he discussed the Taoist elements and Shen Zhou's Taoist thoughts in it without textual research on the picture. In his doctoral dissertation *The Doctoral World of Shen Zhou* (China Academy of Fine Arts, 2011), Luo Zhongfeng referred to that "Shen Zhou's attachment to the good times is particularly prone to occur in the Mid-Autumn Festival when the literati gather together to chant and discuss poems". *The Moon Appreciation at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa* he quoted in this paper was also the collection of the Papp couple and it was photocopied on *Journeys on Paper and Silk*.

For the convenience of discussion, this paper will make a group of the three works with the same postscript "When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn Moon as usual instead of appreciating it," and of the two paintings *Appreciation of the Moon at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa* with the postscript "When people are young, they don't recognize the Mid-Autumn moon." Then the *Drawing of the Moon and Swallow* (or *Feast Under the Moon*) were made a group because of their only postscript with the first sentence being "On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I got together in a cottage to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes just captured from the Jianxi River were fresh."

Fig. 1 *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* (part)

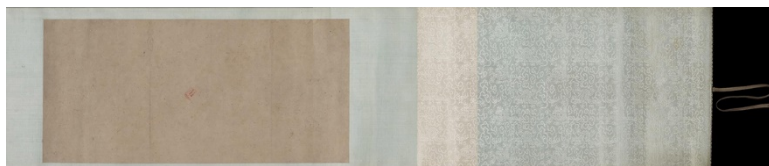


Fig. 2 *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* (the main part of the painting)



### THE GROUP OF "WHEN PEOPLE ARE YOUNG, THEY WATCH THE MID-AUTUMN MOON AS USUAL"

*DRAWING OF THE MOON ON THE EVE OF MID-AUTUMN FESTIVAL*, collected in the Boston Museum of Art, is generally considered being painted in the Mid-Autumn Festival when Shen Zhou was sixty years old (the 22nd year during the reign of Cheng Hua, 1486) according to the sentence "Shu'an and I are over sixty years old" in the postscript. In the painting, the first part is blank without one word on it and the picture composition focus on the right

side: In a cottage with one side open and the other three sides enclosed, four people sit at a table chatting and appreciate the moon. A child servant stands at the table with a wine pot. Outside there is a crane sleeping soundly, which seems to be waiting for its master to return home together. There are several trees on the slope outside the fence, and another room leads to the courtyard. The left side of the picture is almost completely blank. Apart from a bright moon hanging high in the night sky, there are only a few clusters of low vegetation painted at the bottom of the picture.

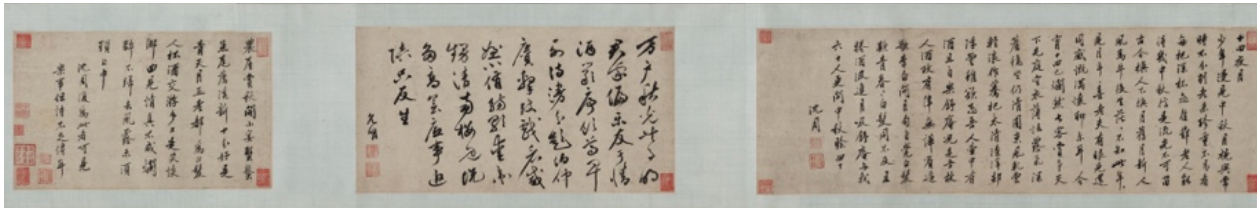


Fig.3 Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival (postscriptS)

The three postscripts at the end of the scroll are inscribed on three separate sheets. The first one is a seven-word poem entitled “The Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival” by the author himself, and on it there are two seals, one with the intagliated characters of “Qi Nan” and another with the characters of “Shi Tian” carved in relief. The poem is as follows:

When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn Moon as usual instead of appreciating it. When they are mature, they see the rarity of the Mid-Autumn Moon so they toast to the moon as a means of commemorating. How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? As time goes by, the moon keeps the same, but men are no more the same ones. The youngsters do not see the difference here, they are felicitous when they appreciate the Moon with their family; But elders know that though the moon seems to be the same, it is never the same, how fast time passes! It is now the eve of Mid-Autumn Festival, but guests are already here, they are eager to appreciate the moon and express themselves; Standing still in the court, with thin clothes, people feel the chill brought by the dew, they can see the cold outline of the moon through the eaves; The wind blows the clouds into a mess, they disappear like the dust being wiped out; The clouds are envious of the people down below, they behave and communicate with so much etiquette and fraternity; People insist themselves that he be the first one to chant the poems of Li Po, they sigh they elapsed youth and the inevitable aging; The youth and aging can't coexist, raise the glasses, they see the moon reflected



in the wine, and drink up in one gulp; Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old, how we long to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.

Following that is the poem inscribed by Zhu Yunming and it is sealed with the intagliated Chinese characters “Zhi Shan” and “Xi Zhe”. The poem was written as follows:

Every family is enjoying the moon together on the night of Mid-Autumn Festival, but you prefer staying with friends. At the banquet, people are arranged strictly in the order of superiority and inferiority; and while drinking, everyone makes a poem and it's difficult to distinguish which one is good and which one is bad. Nearby, children are also playing, drinking and singing. Nan Mei once said that party like this should be held frequently and this can deepen our friendship.

The last postscript is also a poem written by Shen Zhou, and the seal is the same as the previous one. The poem is as follows:

On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I got together in a cottage to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes just captured from the Jianxi River were fresh. The sky was fine and the moon was bright. All five of us have become white-haired and we toasted again and again. Talking about the stories in the countryside made us laugh happily. Let's drink to our heart's content and forget time. The dew was only touching my cap on the head.

According to other seals of collection on it, the picture scroll was firstly collected by Sun Ai (1452 - ?), a painter of Ming Dynasty. Sun, also named as Shijie or The Old Man of Xichuan, was from Changshu, Jiangsu province and once learned poetry from Shen Zhou. Later, this drawing was handed down to Luo Xiaochuan, another painter of Ming Dynasty. He was a native of Yuzhang (now Nanchang, Jiangxi province) in Ming Dynasty and the author of *Tsui Ping Collection*. Subsequently, the scroll was collected by Wu Zhen. Wu, also named as Zhousheng, was born in Shexian county (now in Anhui province) in Nanzhili. He was a calligraphy seal carver in Tianqi Chongzhen of Ming Dynasty and inscribed the *Qingtangjian Model Calligraphy*. And then it was collected by Cheng Zhengkui (1604-1676), the painter and calligrapher in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty. Cheng was from Guanyin Lake, Xiaochang county, Hubei province, and he was also named as Duanbo, Juling, the Taoist of Qingxi, The Old Man of Qingxi and The Old Official of Qingxi. Some of his works were handed down from generation to generation, for example *A Horizontal View of the Country* and the 28 volumes of *Posthumous Manuscript*

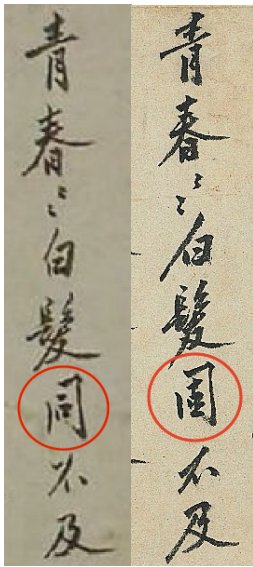


Fig.4 “青春白髮同不及” in the postscript of *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*

“青春白髮固不及” in the postscript of *The Mid-Autumn Poetry*

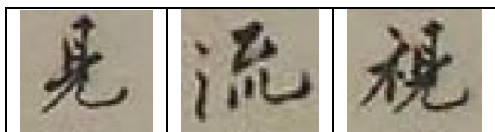


Fig.5 A part of *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. Weak in the hook stroke.

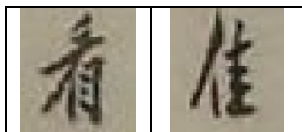


Fig.6 A part of *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. Odd in shape

of *Qingxi*. Finally, the painting was passed down to Wu E of Qing Dynasty. Wu, also named as Qingcheng, was from Xiushui (now Jiaxing, Zhejiang province) and was one of the disciples of Bao Ji. He was good at painting flowers, birds, landscape and portraying ladies.<sup>1</sup>

When talking about *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* in “Chapter VI The Problem of Zhu Yunming”, in his *The Study of Overseas Calligraphy*, Mr. Fu Shen said, “There are three postscripts mounted separately at the end of Shen Zhou's landscape paintings. Two of them were written by Shen Zhou himself and the other by Zhu Yunming, and none of them was dated. But judging from the content of poems by Shen Zhou, it should be written around 1847 and Zhu Yunming may inscribe his poems later than that. Although these postscripts were mounted separately, the ink and paper used, the size and overall situation of the calligraphic works were roughly the same. Since that paintings and postscripts by Shen Zhou are authentic, Zhu Yunming’s postscripts can also be confirmed to be so” (Shen C.Y. Fu, 2013: 198). Mr. Fu Shen judges the Zhu Yunming’s postscripts to be true on the premise that Shen Zhou’s postscripts are authentic work, but the writer questions the premise of the presumption, that is the authenticity of postscripts by Shen Zhou.

In the first postscript by Shen Zhou, there is a line “青春白髮同不及”(The youth and aging cannot coexist), and the same line in both *The Mid-Autumn Poetry* and *The Tianping Mountain Picture* was written to be “青春白髮固不及”(But do not mind our lost youth and white hair too much). The phrase “同不及” are totally incompatible with the meaning of the poem, which makes people feel puzzled, and the two characters “同” and “固” are similar in shape, so it is doubtful whether the forger wrongly wrote the character while copying it.

The postscripts by Shen Zhou at the end of the *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* is estimated to account for 24cm in length, while the main part of the painting is 30.5cm in length, with a difference of 6.5cm. It is obvious that the paper on which the postscripts were written is narrower than the main part. Generally speaking, if there is still room left in the main part, the painter will write the postscripts directly after the picture; if

<sup>1</sup> Hu Guanghua. *Overseas Collection of Chinese Famous Paintings* • volume 6 • Ming Dynasty (the last half), Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 1998, p.10. This painting has been collected successively by Sun Ai, Luo Xiaochuan, Cheng Zhengkui, Wu E and Wu Zhen. After sorting out the ages, the correct sequence should be Sun Ai, Luo Xiaochuan, Wu Zhen, Cheng Zhengkui and Wu E.

there is no spare space, it is easy for him to find paper of the same size and attach it to the main part. But it is rare for a painter to inscribe poems on paper with such an inconsistent size. What's more, in the postscripts, some characters such as “见” “流” and “视” are weak in the hook stroke, the vertical strokes of certain characters like “年” “中” “却” are all tilted and curved as well as “看” and “佳” are odd in shape, all of which may cause people doubt the authenticity of the painting.



Fig.7 *The Mid-Autumn Poetry*  
By Shen Zhou  
Ming Dynasty  
31.9x232cm, handscroll  
Taipei Palace Museum

THE SCROLL OF *THE MID-AUTUMN POETRY* *The Mid-Autumn Poetry* collected in Taipei Palace Museum is a horizontal scroll written with running scripts and the inscription on it is the long poem with the first sentence being “When people are young, they watch the Mid-Autumn Moon as usual instead of appreciating it”. At the end of this scroll Shen Zhou inscribed that “Written by Shen Zhou, a Changzhou native, in the Shuang’e tower on the 16<sup>th</sup>, August of the 2nd year of Hongzhi (1489)”. In the leading part is the inscriptions “The Serene Moon. Ruitu” by Zhang Ruitu and it is stamped with the seals of “The Owner of Baihao Temple” in intagliated characters and of “The Seal of Ruitu” carved in relief. Following that is the poem written by Songhong (the year of birth and death is unknown) to respond to that by Shen Zhou, and it is stamped with three seals of “The Study of Wu Yi” (“yi” refers to the mood particle in Chinese and “Wu” means five. Songhong got this name because he used five “yi” in his poem), “The Seal of Songhong” and “Wuyi Hermit” in intagliated characters. The inscription is as follows:

I inscribe this to reply to Shen Zhou’s moon poems. How many times in a year can one see the bright moon overhead? And the moon tonight is different from that at ordinary times. In this Mid-Autumn Festival, the

bright full moon hanging high and shining in the sky and how can't one appreciate it? The moon illuminates the whole sky and there is no cloud, which makes it look like a mirror. According to the legend, Chang'e, the wife of Hou Yi (the Celestial Archer), stole the immortal medicine from him and fled to the moon after eating it. And Man Fen felt uneasy about the ventilation of the glass screen, just as the buffalo in Jianghuai area mistook the moon for the sun and lied down to pant. Life is changeable, and there is sometimes sadness and sometimes happiness.

Let's toast the moon, drink the wine in one gulp, and compose the poems loudly. Life is short, and it's full of gains and losses, so there's no need to care about which one of them comes earlier. It needn't to bother people to mend the moon with the fairy axe because tonight it's bright and full looking through the window. Several flakes of cloud appear and the sky turn dark again; it seems that the cloud won't disperse. How can temporary darkness obscure the light of the sun? And the poverty of life can't prevent our happiness. How can I appreciate the bright moon and magnificent scenery? In harmony with the elegant songs, we recite loudly the poems in praise of the moonlit on the spring river. Few people can sing the highbrow songs, but the moonlight can sprinkle all the mountains and seas. Next year I will be 46 years old and can appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon for another 60 years.

In the March of Chongzhen (1638), I occasionally heard this song in Yanling city but unfortunately there was not a drawing to match it. On the fifth day after the Mid-Autumn Festival, I got this painting from one of my friends, then I quickly wrote down this poem on it and combined them together. But there has already been outstanding works before this, which made me feel ashamed of myself. Later, I learned from my fellow townsman, Song Hong.

According to the postscripts by Song Hong, we know that after collecting the scroll during the reign of Chongzhen, Song once combined the drawing obtained from his friend with this poem. But it is a pity that the drawing is now nowhere to be found. There are no other collection seals on the scroll except that stamped by the Internal Affairs Department of Qing Dynasty, so it may be that they were removed when the Department re-mounted the painting.

The calligraphy in this scroll seems to be similar to that of Shen Zhou, but if you observe closely, you will find that the strokes are too thin and stiff and that the stereotyped characteristic of "smooth horizontal and vertical strokes"



Fig. 8 The Copy of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (part)  
By Shen Zhou  
Ming Dynasty  
36.8 × 855cm, light colored on paper  
The Palace Museum

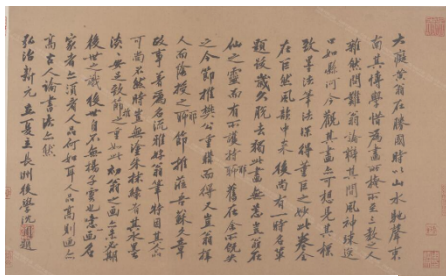


Fig. 9 *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (part)  
Huang Gongwang,  
Yuan Dynasty,  
33x639.9 cm, handscroll, ink on paper  
post scribed by Shen Zhou,  
Taipei Palace Museum



Fig.10

is too obvious. Besides, it seems to have an overwhelming posture. Seeing from the horizontal strokes of some characters, the forger writes heavily, then raises his brush quickly to form an abrupt square stroke before the horizontal ones or shakes to form a style of writing with trembling gesture. This is quite different from Shen Zhou's writing habit – writing with brush tip and letting the tip be exposed beyond the last stroke.<sup>1</sup> “Although many counterfeit works can imitate the long left falling stroke and right falling stroke in shape, they always fail to grasp the implicit, joyful and self-satisfying nature of Shen Zhou's writing.”<sup>2</sup>

Compared with that, in the 23rd year during the reign of Chenghua (1487) when 61-year-old Shen Zhou finished *The Copy of Huang Gongwang's Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, his writing of inscriptions was rather mature and of Huang Tingjian's style. It is characterized by the tapering at the end of the stroke, and that every word tilts to the left, without the previous situation of wavering between the style of Su Shi as well as Huang Tingjian and the early style. In addition, the font structure is more natural. The following year, his style of inscriptions written in Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (the second half of the painting) was basically the same as that in *The Copy of Huang Gongwang's Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*. In it, the early divergent structure was replaced by the more compact one—all strokes of a Chinese character are concentrated in the middle and then extend around.

*DRAWING OF THE TIANPING MOUNTAIN* At the end of *The Tianping Mountain* collected in Shanghai Museum<sup>3</sup>, Shen Zhou inscribed five poems written previously, two of which were identical to that in *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. After the postscript Shen inscribed that “In the autumn of the 2nd year during the reign Hongzhi, Shen Zhou inscribes the poems written previously in the Ban Fang Study of Yuansi the Imperial Doctor”, which shows that this piece of work was also made in the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi (1489). In the leading part there are four characters “Bu Jian Wo You” (Traveling vicariously through pictures is equally pleasant) in running scripts and the inscriptions written by Huang Chongling in April,

<sup>1</sup> Chen Genmin. *On the Evolution of Shen Zhou's Calligraphy Style and Others*, Journal of Hangzhou Teacher's College (Social Science Edition), No. 6, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Xu Xiaohu. Searching the Authentic Works of Shen Zhou's Writing: Establishing Identification Criteria through Scientific Methods, *Traditional Chinese Painter (Ancient Chinese Art)*.

<sup>3</sup> By Chinese Ancient Calligraphy and Painting Appraisal Group. *Illustration List of Chinese Ancient Calligraphy and Painting works* • Volume 2, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2008, p. 356. It records that the painting is collected in Shanghai Museum, but according to the new search website of national cultural relics lists, the painting is kept in Liaoning Museum.



Fig. 11 *Drawing of the Tianping Mountain*

By Shen Zhou  
Ming Dynasty  
24.5x117.7cm, ink on paper  
Shanghai Museum.

the 15th year of Chongzhen (1642). In the main part of the painting, there are clusters of weed trees on the right slope, in the middle ground two people sit on the edge of the cliff chatting happily and farther away there are several peaks. After the picture are five previous works inscribed by Shen Zhou, one of which is *Climbing the Zhixing Mountain*:<sup>1</sup>

Zhi Dun, an accomplished monk of Jin Dynasty, has explained the Buddhist Scripture in this mountain for a long time. Here, cold springs and mountain streams crisscross each other. The warbler and blossoming suggest the coming of the spring and the nature seems to know the Buddhist doctrine. There is no crane seen in this place but the pavilion is named after it. Xu Xun and I explained the same Scripture with different means and only the streams and mountain can make me feel excited.

The second poem is titled The Tianping Mountain:

The Tianping mountain should be included in the “Records of Famous Mountains”, but the ancestral temples under it is more famous. Where is the Shi Ji (historical records by Sima Qian) hidden and with such a great mind, who can defeat the army led by Fan Zhongyan? On the high screen was the setting sun, clouds, trees with flowers and birds. I want to go to Long Men (the east gate of the capital of Chu state) and shout loudly, and there is no one in the world can play wonderful music.<sup>2</sup>

The third and fourth are the poems with the first sentence respectively being “Appreciating the moon with Pu Shu’an on the eve of Mid-Autumn Festival” and “On the Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I got together in a cottage to appreciate the full moon.” which is identical to the second postscript inscribed by Shen on *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. The fifth poem is untitled:<sup>3</sup>

Liu Caochuang once wrote a poem titled *The Song of Bronze Sparrow Inkstone*, which read “I ask my son to open the box, take the sword and smash the inkstone into pieces with no trace left.” After reading it, I know that Liu’s hatred for Cao Cao is very strong and overflowing with words. I myself am a coward who dare not say such a thing like smashing the

<sup>1</sup> Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty). *The Selected Poems of Shitian* • Vol. 3 • *Buddhist and Taoist Temple*. A re-engraved version by An Guo in Zhengde period of Ming Dynasty. Zhi Dun, an accomplished monk of Jin Dynasty, has explained the Buddhist Scripture in this mountain for a long time. Here, cold springs and mountain streams crisscross each other. The warbler and blossoming suggest the coming of the spring and the nature seems to know the Buddhist doctrine. There is no crane seen in this place but the pavilion is named after it. Xu Xun and I explained the same Scripture with different means and only the streams and mountain can make me feel excited.

<sup>2</sup> Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty). *The Selected Poems of Shitian* • Vol. 2 • *Landscape*. A re-engraved version by An Guo in Zhengde period of Ming Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty). *The Selected Poems of Shitian*, Vol. 5: *Meditation on the Past*. A re-engraved version by An Guo in Zhengde period of Ming Dynasty. The title is *Don't Smash the Bronze Inkstone*.

inkstone, so I just write a poem to express my anger and hope that the ink slab can be kept.

What's the use of drawing the sword and breaking the inkstone into pieces? And it's really not worth smashing it just because of Cao Cao. It's better to take up your brush and record his evil behaviors on the historical book. Cao Cao intends to hide the truth in the whole Spring and Autumn period; but how can he escape from the fair comments from the people. The tile mark can be kept in the Han Dynasty, but in his mind, Cao has betrayed his own country. I hope that the inkstone can be kept forever, and with it we can write down what Cao has done, which is like spreading the ink over his face. The rebel of Han Dynasty will be punished according to the law and he will be condemned by later generations in spite of his previous glory. The ancients said that we shouldn't refuse a person's opinion just because of his defects; if the opinion can be adopted, the inkstone can also be kept. The common people can identify the usurper; it's Cao who is sinful and should be punished but the ink slab is innocent. Alas! Please don't convict the inkstone and Cao together; the reason why I write this poem is to keep it from being smashed into pieces.

At the end of the postscripts, Shen wrote "In the autumn of the 2nd year during the reign of Hongzhi, Shen Zhou writes the previous works in the Half Boat Study of Yuansi the Imperial Doctor". According to textual research, the "Yuansi the Imperial Doctor" in it refers to Zhou Geng (1443-1489). In the volume 54 of *Records of Gusu*, Literature, it said: "Zhou Geng, whose original name was Zhou Jing, was also known as Yuansi. He was born in Wu county and his family members have been doctors for generations. Zhou was the nephew of Wu kang<sup>1</sup> who once wrote an epitaph for Zhou kang named *Zhou, the Yuanpan (an officer in charge of medical matters) of the Imperial Academy of Medicine in Nanjing*, which read: "On the day of Xinhai, February, the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Hongzhi (1489), Yuansi Yuanpan died in Nanjing."<sup>2</sup> According to Chen Yuan's *New Moon and Intercalary Months Table of Twenty Dynastic Histories*, it was February 17 that day, so it's impossible for Shen Zhou to write this poem in Zhou Kang's study in that autumn of the same year.

What's more, the "Half Boat Study" is not the name of Zhou Geng's study, but that of Chen Ju's (1440-1506). Chen Ju, also known as Yuru and

---

<sup>1</sup> Li Dongyang (Ming Dynasty). *Collection of Huai Lu Tang*, vol. 13: *Congratulations on Zhou Yuansi of Getting a Boy with the Melon*. Under the title there is a note: Yuansi is the nephew of Bao Weng (the alternative name of Wu Kuan).

<sup>2</sup> Wu Kuan (Ming Dynasty). *Collection of Poems by Bao Weng*, vol. 72.

Chengzhai, named his study Half Boat. He was from Cheung Chau, being the jinshi (the successful candidate in the highest imperial examination) of the 14th year of Chenghua and also one of the disciples of Li Xiya. When Wu Kuan was in the Hanlin Academy, he once discussed poetry and writing together with Li and then deigned to learn from him<sup>1</sup> who was the grandfather of Chen Daofu, a famous painter in Ming Dynasty. From this, it's a great mistake to write "Half Boat Study of Yuansi the Imperial Doctor" here. But we don't know whether it's the unintentional error of the forger or the "blank door" he deliberately left to the future generations. Although *The Taiping Mountain* is undoubtedly a counterfeit, it has provided us with a "standard", which has reference significance in identifying other forgeries.



Fig. 12 *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa*  
 By Shen Zhou  
 Ming dynasty  
 Center of the painting: 34×136cm  
 Preface and postscripts: 34×1120cm  
 Painting on paper with color  
 The lot of Poly Auction in 2010

### THE GROUP OF “WHEN PEOPLE ARE YOUNG, THEY DON’T RECOGNIZE THE MID-AUTUMN MOON”

POLY VERSION OF APPRECIATING THE MID-AUTUMN MOON IN YOUZHU VILLA This scroll is the lot on Beijing Poly Autumn Auction in 2010 without mentioning the year of creation. However in the record of *Annals of Shen Zhou’s Painting Works*, after this scroll it is written: “According to the poem sentence inscribed in this scroll that ‘I have already been sixty years old’, this work was composed in that very year (namely when Shen Zhou was sixty years old and the twenty-second year during the reign of Chenghua in 1486)” (Tian Hong, 2012: 163). The title was written by Li Yingzhen “Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa. Zhenbo”. In front of center of the drawing, there is a note of “The authentic work of Mr. Shen Qinan. Shanzhou”. This drawing is followed by Shen Zhou’s inscribed poem beginning with “When people are young, they don’t recognize the Mid-Autumn Moon”. Prior to this postscript, there is a long square seal with intagliated characters “The

<sup>1</sup> Qian Qianyi (Qing Dynasty). *Biographies of the Collected Poems of All Dynasties*, Bing volume (the sixth part) *The Vice-General Chen Ju*. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1983.



Residence of Water and Cloud” in front and a same seal with characters of “Old Man Named White Stone” at the back. Shen Zhou’s poem is written as follows:

Young people don’t recognize the Mid-Autumn Moon but see it have no difference from the usual one. In contrast, the old men have a preference for the moon and yearn for the Mid-Autumn Festival. How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn Moon in their rest life? Time passes and never comes back. It is the natural law of all times. People are different while the moon still remains the same. There is wine already poured into the pot, so let’s just have fun and do not decline. Full moon is just like the reunion of old friends, whereas their departures are similar to moon on the wane. In my eyes, I feel that my old friends are becoming less and less. Traveling at night while appreciating the moon, whom I can blame for? Reciting the poems of Li Bai which asked the moon, I am so shocked at my white hair and lost youth. But do not mind our lost youth and white hair too much, let’s just raise our glasses and drink up the wine in one gulp. I have already been sixty years old and I want to borrow another forty years from the Immortal.

It is followed by the postscripts written by Sun Chengze (1592—1676) which ends up with “Having read in Yanshan Room next to the osmanthus blossoms on the eve of Mid-Autumn in the year of Jiyou”. Through Sun Chengze’s whole life, he experienced the year of “Jiyou” twice. One was the thirty-seventh year during the reign of Wanli (1609) and the other was the twenty-third year during the reign of Yongli (1669). It was not likely for Sun to collect this scroll at the age of eighteen. Thus, it is speculated that his postscripts were written in the twenty-third year during the reign of Yongli. Sun Chengze, whose courtesy name was Erbei, styled himself Beihai or Tuigu. Coming from Yidu, Shandong Province, he served as a statesman and collector in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. He was the author of some books such as *Gengzi Xiao Xia Ji*. His postscripts were written as follows:

Mr. Shitian’s moon appreciation works on Mid-Autumn Festival can be said to have three wonders, whose drawings are like that of Li Tang’s, whose poems are like that of Bai Juyi’s and whose calligraphy is like that of Huang Tingjian’s. Whenever Mr. Shitian meets with the excellent scenery, he will always sit down and complete a painting. In my opinion, all the works I have seen like *Seeing the Flowers in East Garden*, *Boiling the Snow in Mountain Houses*, *Appreciating the Plum Blossoms in Zhutang*



Fig. 13 The postscripts written by Sun Chengze in *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa Poly Version*. & The contrast between Sun Chengze's seals in this version and the specimen seal impression in *Chinese Calligraphers and Painters' Seal Recognition*

*Temple* as well as *Traveling the Tiger Hill in Winter* are descriptions of the scenery that is hard to depict but rather vivid as if the scenery is presented in front of our eyes. Mr. Shitian's works can be compared to Du Fu's poems which record the poet's journey from Chengdu to Xi'an. In terms of the famous paintings coming down from dynasty to dynasty, there are thousands of such works since the dynasties of Tang and Song, while drawing works by the Four Greatest Painters in the Yuan dynasty become extremely less, and the representative same kind of work in the Ming dynasty is only this one.

After Sun's postscripts, there is a seal with intagliated characters of "Descendants of Changyi" and characters of "The Seal of Sun Chengze" on a seal carved in relief. In other parts of this scroll, Sun also stamped a seal with characters of "The Old Cottage of Tuigu" carved in relief as well as a seal with intagliated characters of "The Seal of Sun Chengze". Comparing Sun's stamped seals with the conventional signs in *Chinese Calligraphers and Painters' Seal Recognition*, these seals should be genuine. Besides, Sun's *Gengzi Xiao Xia Ji* definitely recorded that he had collected this scroll. Thus the fact that this scroll was once handed down to Sun Chengze can be proved. From his postscripts "In terms of the famous paintings coming down from dynasty to dynasty, there are thousands of such works since the dynasties of Tang and Song, while drawing works by the Four Greatest Painters in the Yuan dynasty become extremely less, and the representative same kind of work in the Ming dynasty is only this one", we can see that in Sun's opinion, this scroll was originally collected by the royal family of the Ming dynasty. However, there can't be found any marks showing collection by the Court of Ming on this scroll.

After Sun Chengze's postscripts, there are the postscripts written by contemporary collectors Zhang Yunzhong and Hui Xiaotong as well as the stamped seals of "Yunzhong Long Luck", "Works Created after Zhang Zhihe Was over Sixty Years Old", "Buluo Unknown" (indistinguishable script), "Xiaotong Longevity" and "Snow Fishing". Zhang Yunzhong (1880-?) was a collector from the Imperial City. Hui Xiaotong (1902-1979) joined in the Chinese Painting Society in 1920. From the postscripts of Mr. Zhang and Mr. Hui, we can see that this scroll was collected not by Zhang Yunzhong, but by Hui Xiaotong instead. When Mr. Zhang learned about the news, he entrusted his friend Jia Jichuan to borrow this scroll from Mr. Hui and wrote down his own postscripts after reading this scroll. As for Mr. Hui Xiaotong, his

postscripts were written after Mr. Zhang's when he re-displayed this scroll for another time after twelve years.

In addition to the seals of people writing down postscripts, there are another two square seals stamped by Wen Yunxin (unclear information about the year of birth and death) with intagliated characters of "Collected by the Connoisseur Wen Yunxin in Taiyuan" and "Appreciated by Yunxin". Wen Yunxin, coming from Taiyuan in late Qing dynasty, was the author of one volume from *Ci of the Jade Dressing Table*. This scroll was recorded and included in the following books from Sun Chengze's *Gengzi Xiao Xia Ji* and John Calvin Ferguson's *The Catalogue of Famous Painting through the Ages* to Chen Zhenghong's *The Chronicle of Shen Zhou's Life* and his *The Chronological Catalogue of Shen Zhou's Painting Works*. From the seal impressions, written postscripts and recorded books, we can infer that the transmission and collection relationship of this work probably goes like this: it was originally collected by Sun Chengze in early Qing dynasty, then handed down to Wen Yunxin and Wen Zhonghan who were father and son in late Qing dynasty and finally passed to the hands of Hui Xiaotong in contemporary period.

Fig.14 *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa*

By Shen Zhou

Ming dynasty

Center of the painting: 29.3x92cm

Preface and postscripts: 29x1020cm

Hand-scroll with ink on paper.

Sotheby's lot in 2016. Previously collected by the couple of Roy and Marilyn Papp.

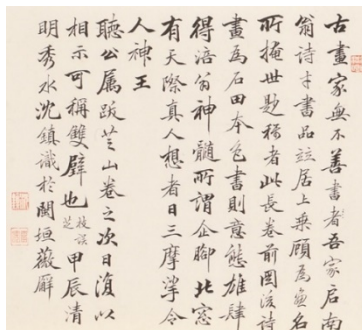


Fig.15 Shen Zhen's postscripts in Sotheby's Version

*APPRECIATING THE MID-AUTUMN MOON IN YOUZHU VILLA*  
*SOTHEBY'S VERSION* Sotheby's lot of *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa* in 2016 is also attributed to Shen Zhou. Though this version shares exactly the same title as well as preface and postscripts written by Shen Zhou with Poly version, their drawing contents are widely different. This scroll was once collected by the couple of Roy and Marilyn Papp. Its title is also written by Li Yingzhen as "Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa. Zhenbo", with the seal of "Room of Yulan Magnolia" stamped below. After this, it is followed by Shen Zhou's postscripts, whose contents are nearly identical with that of Poly version. After Shen Zhou's postscripts, there are the

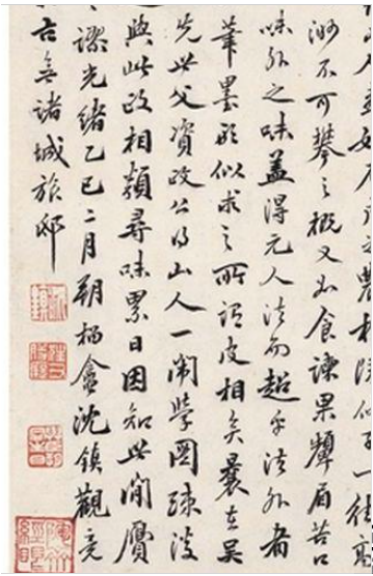


Fig. 16 Shen Zhen's postscripts in Sotheby's Version.  
Hua Yan's Album of Landscapes.  
Xiling Seal Engravers' Society, the Spring  
Auction in 2015. Center of the painting:  
24×16cm×8; The postscripts: 27×16cm.

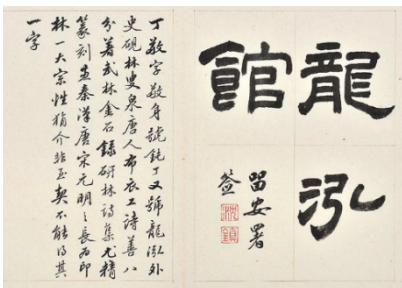


Fig. 17 *The Album of Seal Impressions by Seven Masters in Xiling Seal Club*.  
Xiling Seal Engravers' Society, the Autumn  
Auction in 2015.  
The edition of official stone seals in late  
Qing dynasty.  
23×13.2cm.

postscripts written by Shen Zhen as well as two different kinds of seals: one with the intagliated Chinese characters of “Shen Zhen” and the other with the Chinese characters of “Liu An” carved in relief. Shen Zhen, whose courtesy name was Shenxing and who styled himself as Liu An or Liu’an, came from Xiushui (the present Jiaxing) in Zhejiang Province and was a contemporary seal engraver. He cooperated with Fu Shi and compiled *The Album of Seal Impressions by Six Masters in Xiling Seal Club*. However, Shen Zhen’s calligraphy in this work shows great difference comparing with that in his postscripts in Hua Yan’s *Album of Landscapes* and the notes he wrote in *The Album of Seal Impressions by Seven Masters in Xiling Seal Club* as well as the biography of Six Masters. Calligraphy in the latter two works appears graceful and elegant with tight and restrained character structure. In contrast, the calligraphy of Shen Zhen’s postscripts in Sotheby’s version of *Youzhu Villa* is weak and without enough force. Besides, the character structure is loose with disproportionate size. It seems that there exists certain gap in terms of calligraphy qualities among these works.

What’s more, the seal impressions of “Shen Zhen” in this scroll and that in Hua Yan’s *Album of Landscapes* are similar at first glance. However upon further comparison and contrast, we can find that they are slightly different. It is unlikely for the same painter to own two extremely similar seals at the same time. So there exists a high possibility that one of them is suspected of a fraud.

In addition to the appreciating seals stamped by people who wrote down postscripts, there is also a rectangular seal with characters of “Appreciated by Study of Plum Blossom” carved in relief and a square seal with intagliated characters of “Wang’s Treasured Calligraphy and Drawings” in the separation part in front of the center of this painting. From the seals of “Wang’s Treasured Calligraphy and Drawings” and “Calligraphy and Paintings Inscribed in Stele and Collected by Wang’s Study of Plum Blossom” in *Rubbings of Orchid Pavilion Preface from the Tablet Inscriptions in Dingwu in the Song Dynasty*, we can consequently infer that the above two seals were stamped by Wang Renjun (1866—1913). Wang Renjun, styled himself Zhouxu with the courtesy name of Ganzheng, was a scholar of epigraphy coming from Wu County in Jiangsu Province in the late Qing dynasty. Below the former separation part, there is a seal with Chinese characters of “The Secret Seal of Ma Bancha” stamped by Ma Yuelu (1711—1799). Ma Yuelu, styled himself Bancha with the courtesy name of Peixi, was a book collector from Qimen City in Anhui Province in the Qing dynasty. In the latter separation part, there is a seal with



Fig. 18 The left side: the square seal with intagliated Chinese characters of “Shen Zhen” in Sotheby’s Version.

The right side: the square seal with intagliated Chinese characters of “Shen Zhen” in Hua Yan’s *Album of Landscapes*.

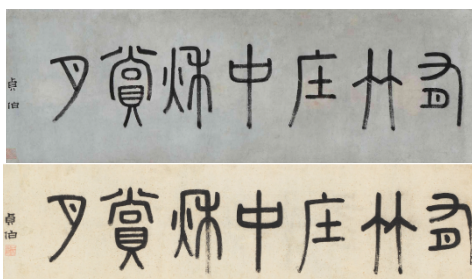


Fig.19 The title of *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa* Poly Version (Detail)

Fig.20 The title of *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa* Sotheby’s Version (Detail).

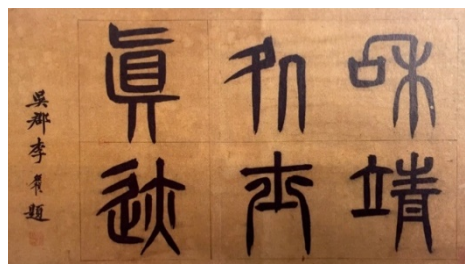


Fig.21 *Two Calligraphy Models of Personal Letter* (Detail)

By Lin Bu

Song dynasty

The title written by Li Yingzhen

42.3x60.6cm, writing on paper

Taipei Palace Museum

characters of “The Family Seal of Calligraphy and Paintings Collected by Zou in Dantu”. But the person owning this seal hasn’t been tested. So the transmission and collection situation of this scroll can be generally inferred as follows: after being collected by Ma Yuelu in the Qing dynasty, it was passed down to Wang Renjun in the late Qing dynasty and then went to the hands of Shen Zhen in contemporary period.

COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS Both the two scrolls of *Youzhu Villa* have the same title with seven lesser seal Chinese characters of “Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa” written by Li Yingzhen, whose styles are very similar to each other. Actually, Li Yingzhen didn’t have so many calligraphies works handed down to posterity and his seal characters were even less. Lin Bu’s *Two Calligraphy Models of Personal Letter* collected in Taipei Palace Museum has a title written by Li Yingzhen and we can make a comparison between them. In *Two Calligraphy Models of Personal Letter*, the title puts an emphasis on edges and corners in characters’ turning point and shows obvious striking effects when it was finished. With strong and powerful characters, it is widely acknowledged as an authentic work (Shen C.Y. Fu, 2013: 43). In contrast, title style in the two scrolls of *Youzhu Villa* differs greatly with that in Lin Bu’s *Two Calligraphy Models of Personal Letter*. Both of them have returning brushes at the first and last stroke of a character. The strokes are even but also weak at the same time.

What’s more, the same mistake appears in both the two pieces of *Youzhu Villa* as follows: “Appreciating the moon at Mid-Autumn Festival, I was composing and reciting poems together with many of friends such as Mr. Pu Ruzheng. Ruzheng was just working on a small painting and then writing down his poems at the end of this low”. As a matter of fact, here it should be written the Chinese character of “纸” (paper) rather than the wrong one of “低” (low). Such error is not likely to happen when the original author writes postscripts, but extremely similar to the mistake that the forger makes during the process of copying.

Besides, in Sotheby’s version of *Youzhu Villa*, the Chinese character of “人” (men) in the verse of “The old men have a preference for the moon” seemed to be omitted at first and then was added later on.<sup>1</sup> It is highly suspicious that the two scrolls of *Youzhu Villa* should have exactly the same

<sup>1</sup> Xu Xiaohu. *Searching the Authentic Works of Shen Zhou’s Writing: Establishing Identification Criteria through Scientific Methods and Traditional Chinese Painter (Ancient Chinese Art)*. In her opinion, there is fault in nearly every one of Shen Zhou’s works. In the authentic works of Shen Zhou’s calligraphy, the cases of mistakes and corrections are not rare.

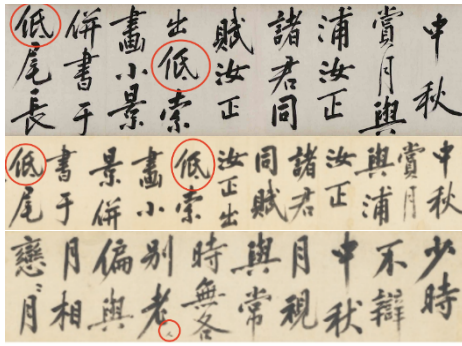


Fig.22 Postscripts written by Shen Zhou in *Youzhu Villa* Version (Detail)

Fig.23 Postscripts written by Shen Zhou in *Youzhu Villa* Sotheby's Version (Detail)

Fig.24 *Youzhu Villa* Sotheby's Version (Detail)  
The postscripts where the Chinese character of "人" (men) is left out after that of "老" (old).

postscripts. It is a rather unusual situation that artists would write down the same thing in two different volumes of works.

After the age of fifty, Shen Zhou gradually developed and formed apparent personal features in his painting works, which was called the "Rough Shen" style based on his study from Wu Zhen in the Yuan dynasty. With reference to the information in postscripts, both of the two scrolls were composed in the year when Shen Zhou was 60 years old and belonged to the works at the beginning of his late time (Cahill, 2015: 81). In terms of the Poly version, this work starts with rocks at right corner and stretches through a small bridge to the Ping'an Pavilion covered by bamboo forests. In the pavilion, two literati are toasting to each other. On the bridge, there is a crane standing and watching the two men drinking silently. Mountain road turns and twists round the hills. The servant boy is just walking on the road. It seems that he is hurrying to bring wine and food for his masters. The left side of this drawing is mountains and rocks in which a temple is hidden and waterfall flows down. In spite of this, its brush is between not too thick or not too thin. The outlines portraying stones were rather stiff and rigid. The description parts of mountains were scraped by iron. Distributions of bamboo forests are too symmetrical and weak. The hues are strong but appear vulgar. Figures depicted are dull without liveliness. Qualities of the paper used appear coarse and inferior.

Fig. 25 *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon* in *Youzhu Villa* Poly Version (Center of the painting)



In terms of Sotheby's version, there is a corner of distant mountain on the right side of this drawing. Then bamboo forests draw the audience's sights from far away to near views. Under the luxuriant bamboo forests, there is a thatched hut in which three persons are drinking to the moon. Through a wooden bridge, the hut is connected to the opposite slope bank. As to this work, its brushes are thin and superficial. No matter whether it is the scraping method and dotting moss, or thatched hut and bamboo forest, all of them appear weak and feeble. Neither of them has the usual style of Shen Zhou's works. Taking the depiction of bamboo forest as an example, after the comparison between these two scrolls with Shen Zhou's *The Slender Bamboo on Lofty Mountain*



Fig. 26 *Appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon in Youzhu Villa* Sotheby's Version (Center of the painting)



Left  
Fig. 27 Poly Version  
(Detail)



Right  
Fig. 28 Sotheby's Version



Fig.29 *The Slender Bamboo on Lofty Mountain*  
By Shen Zhou  
112.5×27.4cm  
Drawing on paper, ink painting without color  
Taipei Palace Museum.

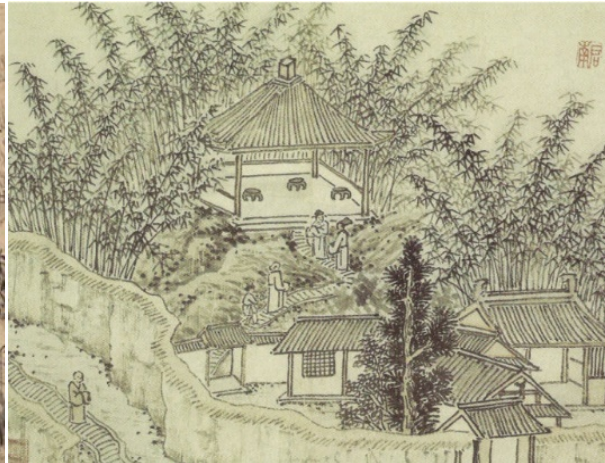


Fig.30 *The eleventh of Illustrated Book of Twelve Scenic Spots in Tiger Hill*  
By Shen Zhou  
31.1×40.2cm  
Painting on paper with light color.  
Cleveland Museum of Art in USA.

and his *Illustrated Book of Twelve Scenic Spots in Tiger Hill*, we can make an immediate judgment on their qualities.

**FEAST UNDER THE MOON TWIN VERSIONS** According to the Illustration List of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works, Shen Zhou's *Feast Under the Moon* (also named *Drawing of The Moon and Swallow* or *Drawing of The Moon and Swallow Connected with Calligraphy Scroll*)<sup>1</sup> is collected by the Palace Museum in Beijing. From this book, the author of this paper can only obtain an incomplete black-and-white photograph of this work, which has neither title nor postscripts except for center of the painting. What's more, relevant information to this drawing can't be found on the website of National Collection List of Cultural Relics, either.<sup>2</sup> The identification group of calligraphy and painting works infers that this work was composed on the eve of the 15<sup>th</sup> day of lunar August in the year of Jiyou (1489) during the reign of Hongzhi, namely the night before Mid-Autumn Festival.<sup>3</sup>

Fig.31 *Feast Under the Moon* (with alternative name of *Chatting to the Moon* or *Drawing of The Moon and Swallow Connected with Calligraphy Scroll*)

By Shen Zhou  
Ming dynasty  
28.7x154cm  
Hand-scroll with ink on paper.  
The Palace Museum.



Fig.32 *Feast Under the Moon*

By Shen Zhou  
Ming dynasty  
29x154cm, 28x218cm  
Hand-scroll with ink on paper.  
The lot of China Guardian Auctions.

<sup>1</sup> The Identification Group of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works: *Illustration List of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works · One*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2008, p317, it is *Chatting to the Moon*; Tian Hong & Tian Lin: *The Chronological Catalogue of Shen Zhou's Painting Works*, Tianjin: Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2012, p227, it is named *The Picture Scroll of Feast Under the Moon*; Liu Juan: *The Chronology of Great Works of Calligraphy and Painting Handed down from the Dynasties of Song, Yuan to Ming and Qing*, Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1997, it is called *Drawing of The Moon and Swallow Connected with Calligraphy Scroll*.

<sup>2</sup> The website of National Collection List of Cultural Relics: <http://gl.s.gov.cn/collection-of-cultur-relics/index.html>

<sup>3</sup> In *Illustration List of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works · One* compiled by the Identification Group of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works, this printed painting neither have preface or title nor leave out enough blank space for writing postscripts. Why making its creation time in the second year during the reign of Hongzhi remains unknown unless we can get access to the complete work.



Record of *Feast Under the Moon*, which is the lot of the ninth Guardian Season Auction in 2007, shares the same size of center of the painting and almost identical drawing content with that of the Palace version. For this reason, this Guardian version and that Palace version are called the Twin Versions. In front of this version, there is a note written in the following way: “Elaborate work of Mr. Shen Qinan, collected by Ling Sun”. In the title part, there is an essay as well as a poem of five-character regulated verses both written by Shen Zhou. In front of these words, there is a subtitle giving information about the author and writing date which reads as follows: “Record of *Feast Under the Moon* is written by Shen Zhou in Changzhou on the eve prior to August 15<sup>th</sup> of lunar month in the year of Jiyou during the reign of Hongzhi”. Writing time of this version is the same with that Palace version of *Feast Under the Moon*. After this essay and poem, there are two seals with characters of “The Elder in Bamboo Villa” and “Shen Qinan” carved in relief. His essay is written as follows:

When the moon came out and was shining brightly, I asked the servants to take out all the wines and put them in order. Together with my friend Pu Shu’an and seven of his students like Wu Ruixiang, we sat down under the south windows (seemingly) in Quanqing Hall.<sup>1</sup> At that time, Shu’an was reciting Li Bai’s poem named *Asking the Moon While Drinking* with a voice full of excitement. Hearing his chants, we all toasted to him and joined his chanting. At the point when music was just playing, an unexpected cloud came suddenly from the east side and hid the Mid-Autumn moon. Fearing that this would disappoint my guests, I composed a poem with seven characters in every verse to divert their attention. Then Shu’an also composed a poem to reply mine. At that moment, we were absorbed in appreciating poetry instead of enjoying the shaded moon. The moon and the men were indifferent to each other. Later the cloud drifted away and we still yearned for appreciating the full moon. So we resumed drinking until it turned to the second watch of the night. Next day was the day of Mid-Autumn Festival and we came to Youzhu Villa at that night. The villa was situated in field with a broad horizon for moon appreciation. The guests coming at that night included Mr. Du Liangyu, Mr. Wang Ruhe and Mr. Jin Meng’ou. Those friends like Zhang Zhongxiang had gathered here since yesterday. Right now the moon hadn’t come out, so I greeted

---

<sup>1</sup> Quanqing Hall is the ancestral property of Shen Zhou, where the right side is Autumn Rooms and the left side is East Yard.

them by drinking a toast to the setting sun. Sitting in the east side, Zhongxiang faced the moonrise directly. At first sight, it was far away under the tree. Climbing gradually, the moon showed its half and then went beyond the tree. Pointing to the moon, Zhongxiang laughed and said: "The moon knows that we are waiting for her so she comes out and joins our gathering." The clear moonlight was like mercury sprinkled on the ground. Under its reflection, the cup full of wine looked as if it were empty. Then the dew began taking its part and silently fell down, warning us of his existence. Mr. Du, Mr. Wang and I had already been past the age of sixty-three. Shu'an and Meng'ou were especially the elder. All of us didn't think we could endure the coldness at night. After appreciating the moon and recollecting the past old days, it was unavoidable for us to sigh with wistful emotions. Under such circumstances, I advocated my composing a Tang verse with eight lines, which was subsequently followed by the poems created by Shu'an, Meng'ou, Liangyu and my son Yunhong. Our doing so was not for the gathering only at this moment. As the saying goes, "Why not holding a candle to travel at night?" Although it may sound a little ridiculous, it seemed to be the voice spoken for the old men because people could never realize the transient happiness unless they had reached an elder age. For the rest of my life, even though I held a candle and travelled at night, how could I be merry and drive all worries away? Furthermore, in today's pleasant situation of such moon, such guests, such gathering and such poems, what was the need for me to hold a handle at night and seek the hidden pleasure? In terms of gatherings, it was suitable for them to have some purposes. As for the gathering this night, I counted on it to record what we had written down. These poems were left here for the traces of our entertainment once in every year. My poem was written as follows:

At Mid-Autumn Festival, my friends and I had a feast in my countryside house to appreciate the full moon. Crabs and fishes were fresh which were just captured from the Jianxi River. The blue sky was fine and the Mid-Autumn moon was bright. All the four of us had become white-haired men. Raising the cups, we were toasting to each other. Talking about the stories in the countryside made us laugh happily. So let's drink to our heart's content and forget time. The dew was only touching my cap on the head.

After this scroll, it is followed by the postscripts of Jin Lu (whose year of birth and death are not clear) in the Qing dynasty without any official seals. Jin

Lu, also named Jin Cheng, who styled himself Shidu or Shoufeng, had a literary name of Wanxiang, Naiyun, Jingcun or Shoufeng. Born in Changshu, Jiangsu Province, he was living in Hangzhou and adept at both landscapes and ink plum blossom. His poem reads as follows:

The sky was blue, clouds were white and moonlight was bright. Dewdrops fell down in abundance as if they were cleaning the sky. In spite of the white hair, our minds were still alive. The transparent moonlight seemed to know the thoughts in our deep heart. Drinking a cup of wine with my old friends like the previous years, I would always get drunk. The Mid-Autumn night in August this year was fine. This happy moment wasn't like other occasions. So do not talk about the late night and let's heartily have fun.

The subsequent is Du Huan's poem, which is ended with the signature of "Du Huan in Melon Patch" and stamped two seals: one with the intagliated characters of "Du Liangyu" and the other with the characters of "Melon Patch" carved in relief. His poem was written like this:

There were no clouds in the sky except for bright moonlight. Elder people like us had a preference for the clear sky. Once the tide was on the flow on east side, when did we ever arrange to have a sight? However if our friends gave me a toast, I would never decline. In the gathering this night, the four of us laughed in delight. Recalling the past Mid-Autumns, how many times was it fine? I didn't have much talent but had the chance of attending this feast, which made me feel a little ashamed. In my opinion, our drinking could still keep going on despite the second watch of night.

In the end, there were two poems composed by Shen Yunhong, the son of Shen Zhou, followed by two stamped seals: one with characters of "Yunhong" carved in relief and the other with intagliated characters of "Shen Weishi". The poems are:

Getting together with my friends and appreciating the full moon at Mid-Autumn Festival were the routine year after year. However as for the situation of this year, I obtained some especially new pleasure. In the boundless clear sky, a silent moon was hanging there properly. Looking at the people around me, almost all of them were ordinary men whose hair had turned white. The exchange of toasts among friends lingered on and on until the arrival of midnight. Although the table was cleaned in a hurry, our sincere friendship was genuine. Once the moon set behind the western

rocks, I knew that a year would be soon passed. In the near future, I would ask for leave and go on a vacation by coach.

On this Mid-Autumn night, there was a bright moon hanging in the sky. Seeing such pleasant scenery, the highly-respected poet Mr. Shen suggested composing some poems to commemorate this gathering. In the center of such clear sky, the moon was shining brightly and reflecting the shadows of mountains and seas. People in the countryside had a reunion with their families and we friends gathered here remembering our friendship in former times. My friends, you needn't to regret a cup of wine or have too much sentimental feeling. We should know that wherever we were, we were sharing the same moon at Mid-Autumn night. Even in the thatched cottages, I could have a gathering with my old friends. Recalling the past good days, three elders couldn't help dropping tears down until the arrival of dawn.

In this place, there are several other different kinds of seals including those with the characters of "Appreciated by Shen Youxin" carved in relief, the intagliated characters of "Appreciated by Xiang Molin", as well as the characters of "Xiang Yuanbian", "Secret Book of Mr. Meng" and "Examined by Different People" carved in relief.

According to the seams between paper, we can see that the above three postscripts were written on different paper. Because of either the disordered mount sequence in later time or other unknown reasons, Jin Lu's postscripts in the Qing dynasty should be placed in the first place. Besides, Du Huan's postscripts also deserve our attention. It ends up with the signature of "Du Huan in Melon Patch" and bears the seal of "Du Liangyu". However, "Liangyu" (Nice Jade) is not the courtesy name of Du Huan, but that of Du Rong. This point can be proved by those accounts from *Collection of Zhu's Works · Biography of Du Liangyu* as follows: "Along with my friend Du Yi, my nephew came to ask my opinion about writing a biography of his father Liangyu as part of the family biographies. But what he wanted to show also included a record of Mr. Shen Qinan. Since Liangyu and Mr. Shen were both my friends who frequently met each other... I invited Mr. Shen to come here and we had a talk about Liangyu as follows: Liangyu was actually named Du Rong, whose courtesy name was Liangyu. His families lived in the East Loumen for generations. At the end of Yuan dynasty, they moved to Xiangcheng so as to escape from the war disaster. Liangyu had been devoted to study since his early years and was once a student of Mr. Chen Kuan and



Fig.33

Mr. Ma Hao. His diligent attitudes toward study didn't decline in spite of the old ages. In ordinary days, Liangyu always led a self-sufficient and frugal life. Through his lifetime, he kept working hard all the time rather than changed his life style when he became rich... Mr. Shen was one of Liangyu's literati friends who both admired and respected each other. As time went by, their friendship didn't wither, either. In his late days, Liangyu took interest in managing gardens. At the back of his yard, there was a broad hectare of land for him to plant and harvest the melons... In terms of everything about the melon planting, Liangyu always had a deep understanding without exception."<sup>1</sup> In addition, from the clear statements in Shen Zhou's essay that "Mr. Du, Mr. Wang and I had already been past the age of sixty-three. Shu'an and Meng'ou were especially the elder", we can see that there are definitely "five elders" in total. Whereas in his poem, it is truly contradictory that Shen Zhou should write "All of the four elders are white-haired men".

In terms of painting composition, the Guardian version of *Feast Under the Moon* is similar to *Drawing of The Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*. Both of them have the drawing structure of left emptiness and right solidity. For the right half of center of the painting, two works share basically identical drawing structure, with cottages and trees strewn at random. In this scroll, there are added groves of close shot. The back part leaves no blank space any more, but adds mountains from near places to far away ones. Compared with the Palace version of *Feast Under the Moon*, the brush and ink in the lot of Record of *Feast Under the Moon* are more stagnant and stiff. The distant hills have no light-ink strokes but are tinted the instant it is slightly sketched the outline. The strong triteness in this artistic work is totally different from Shen Zhou's painting style. In addition, its calligraphy is deliberately imitating the flat style, which Shen Zhou integrated with that of Su Shi's in his middle years, and the writing is not fluent. The central lines of many rows in the postscripts are dislocated. For example, the central line in the first row is deviated towards the left side every three Chinese characters. As a result, the central line of this whole row is not coherent, but deviating towards the left side too much. In Shen Zhou's calligraphy works, though there exists such situation that the whole row slants, the central line of every row remains consistent with the axis of each single character. Besides, Shen Zhou had been practicing the cabinet style since his early years and the starting point of each

<sup>1</sup> (Ming dynasty) Zhu Yunming: the remaining ten volumes of *Collection of Zhu's Works*, a handwritten copy during the reign of Jiajing in the Ming dynasty.

character was mainly sharp. Although his calligraphy style experienced alterations through several periods of time, some features of writing habits kept stable. However, as for this version, each character is written down with great force and without the traces of sharp points. For these reasons, the Guardian version is suspected of being counterfeit to a large extent.

**THE COMPILATION OF THE MASTERPIECES CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS THROUGH THE AGES** Yu Fengqing (Ming) was born between 1573 to 1575 and he died between the year 1640 to 1642. *Prefaces and Postscripts of Calligraphy and Painting* was his masterpiece, of which the former part was finished in the Seventh year of Chong Zhen of Ming Dynasty, however, the time of completion of the latter part is unknown, but surely before his death. In Volume Ten *Shi Tian Bamboo Slips* was recorded as “Gua Zhou”, whose contents are slightly different from those recorded in *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival*, but they are basically the same:

When people are young, they see the Mid-Autumn Moonlight as usual instead of appreciating it; When they are mature, they see the rarity of the Mid-Autumn Moon, so they toast to the moon as a means of commemorating; How many times are left for the elders to appreciate the Mid-Autumn moon as they are aging? Time passes and never goes back; It is the law of all time, the people are different while the moon always keeps indifferent; The youngsters do not see the difference here, they are felicitous when they appreciate the Moon with their family; But elders know that though the moon seems to be the same, it is never the same, how fast time passes! It is now 14<sup>th</sup> of August, one day before Mid-Autumn Festival, but guests are already here, they are eager to appreciate the moon and express themselves; Standing still in the court, with thin clothes, people feel the chill brought by the dew, they can see the cold outline of the moon through the eaves; The winds blow the clouds into a mess, they disappear like the dust being wiped out; The clouds are envious of the people down below, they behave and communicate with so much etiquette and fraternity; People insist themselves that he be the first one to chant the poems of Li Po, they sigh their elapsed youth and the inevitable aging; The youth and aging cannot coexist, raise the glasses, they see the moon reflected in the wine, and drink up in one gulp; Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old, how we long to borrow another 40 years from the Immortal.

Wang Keyu (1587-?), a Ming Dynasty scholar, finished his *Coral's Net* in the 16th year of Chong Zhen. In the preface and postscript of the model calligraphy in Volume Fourteen, there is *Shi Tian's Cursive Handwriting of Poem in Mid-Autumn Day*, which is also recorded as “Gua Zhou”. The contents are the same as those in *Prefaces and Postscripts of Calligraphy and Painting*.

Sun Chengze's (1592-1676) *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji* was finished in the 16th year of Shun Zhi of Qing Dynasty (1659), containing the information of the work *Appreciation of the Moon at Mid-Autumn Festival in Youzhu Villa*:

Master Shi Tian owned a bamboo villa, and he well arranged the bamboos there when he got spare time. This picture is depicting Shi Tian and Pu Ruzheng, who were appreciating the Mid-Autumn Moon at Ping An Pavilion in the villa. The brushing was rather pure and fresh. In the back of the picture were long poems that were very skillfully composed, which were worth being collected in the anthologies of Bai and Su. The characters are as big as a bowl, indicating that it may be Huang Tingjian's representative work.

Bian Yongyu's (Qing)(1645-1712) *An Examination of Collections of Paintings and Calligraphy of Peiwen Zhai* was finished in the 21<sup>st</sup> year during the reign of Kang Xi of Qing Dynasty, Volume Twenty-Four: Calligraphy. Twenty-Four has recoded *Shi Tian's Poems Composed on Mid-Autumn Festival*, whose structure is cursive “Gua Fu”. The contents of the poem are the same as those recorded in Wang Keyu's work, presumably the contents were copied from Wang's work.

Ni Tao was born in the 8th year of Kang Xi of Qing Dynasty, and died in the 16th or 17th (1751 or 1752) year of Qian Long of Qing Dynasty. His *Liu Yi Zhi Yi Lu (Record on One of the Six Skills)* was finalized in the 11th year of Qian Long of Qing Dynasty<sup>1</sup> (1746). Volume Three Hundred and Eighty-Eight—Calligraphy:78 of Different Dynasties—The original handwriting or painting of masters of Ming Dynasty recorded *Shen Shi Tian's Poems Composed on Mid-Autumn Festival*, whose structure is cursive “Gua Fu”, while the contents are the same as those recorded in Yu Fengqing's and Wang Keyu's works. The author here does not know whether or not the “Gua Zhou” mentioned here was the same one suggested beforehand.

According to the selected contents compiled, we can speculate that except for the now existing seven works, there was once also a missing “Gua Fu” in

---

<sup>1</sup> Qian Weiqiang, *Ni Tao's Study on “Liu Yi Zhi Yi Lu”*, Ph.D dissertation of China Academy of Fine Arts, 2013.

cursive writing named after “Shen Zhou”, which is a pity. In the catalogs of the paintings, besides Sun Chengze’s own collection, the sentence “When people are young, they see the Mid-Autumn Moonlight as usual instead of appreciating it” in all the compilations are the same. It is due to the fact that Yu Fengqing included *Shi Tian Bamboo Slips* in his work *Prefaces and Postscripts of Calligraphy and Painting*, the newcomers tend to copy the recording of this sentence in their own works.

**THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACES AND POSTSCRIPTS OF *THE ANTHOLOGY OF SHEN ZHOU’S POEMS AND ESSAYS*** About the different editions and circulations of Shen Zhou’s poetry and prose works, scholars have made a lot of researches and elaboration<sup>1</sup>, the author here only makes a brief supplement:

*The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* was not separated, but a whole. There were postscripts contributed by “Bai Tie” and “Chen Zhan” respectively<sup>2</sup>. Still, there was a sentence “□ (cannot be recognized) starving” recorded in the poem written in Youzhu Villa in the Bing Wu Year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty, and a poem composed by Wen Zhengming. But still there are two works whose authors are unknown. *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* collected poems ranging from the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Zheng Tong of Ming Dynasty, when Shen Zhou was 23 years old, to the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty, when Shen Zhou was 57 years old, the number of the poems included reaching more than 1300. From the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty (1473), that is when Shen Zhou was 47 years old, he started to designate the year of composing. *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* was divided into four volumes, 185 pages in total, with an appendix composed by three pages of poems. National Library and Zhejiang Library have collected Zhang Zongxiang’s handwritten copy, while Nankai University and Zhejiang Normal University have enshrined the copies of the original version. In volume 1333 of the sub-category “Other Anthologies”

---

<sup>1</sup> The most representative scholar might be Wang Rongmin: *The Research and elaboration on Shen Zhou’s “The Manuscripts of Shi Tian”* in the National Library, *Journal of the National Library of China*, Vol. 2. 1997; Wu Gangyi, *Researches on the Style and Material of Shen Zhou’s Landscape Painting*, Ph.D. dissertation of Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2002; Tang Zhibo, *On the Works of Shen Zhen*, *Library Theory and Practice*. Vol. 8, p 29-32, 2012; Tang Zhibo, *Examinations on Compilation and Printing of Shen Zhou’s Poetry Collections*, *Gu Dian Wen Xian Yan Jiu*, Vol. 00, 2013; Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty), proofread by Zhang Xiuling & Han Xingying, edited by Wang Weiping, *The Anthology of Shen Zhou*, Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House. 2013; Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty), proofread by Tang Zhibo, *The Anthology of Shen Zhou*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Tang Zhibo believes the name refers to Miao Yuezao of Qing Dynasty, but Wang Rongmin and Wu Gangyi disagree. See Wang Rongmin, *The Research and elaboration on Shen Zhou’s “The Manuscripts of Shi Tian”* in the National Library, *Journal of the National Library of China*, Vol. 2. 1997; Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty), proofread by Tang Zhibo, *The Anthology of Shen Zhou*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang People’s Fine Arts Publishing House. 2013. The preface part; Wu Gangyi, *Researches on the Style and Material of Shen Zhou’s Landscape Painting*, Ph.D dissertation of Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2002.



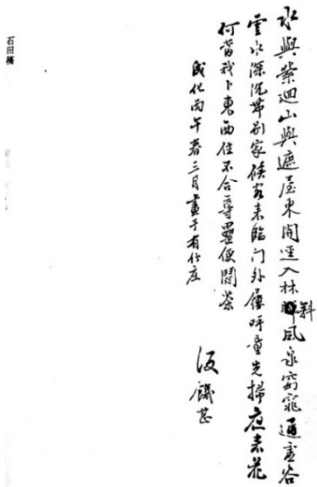


Fig.34 The Preface to *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*

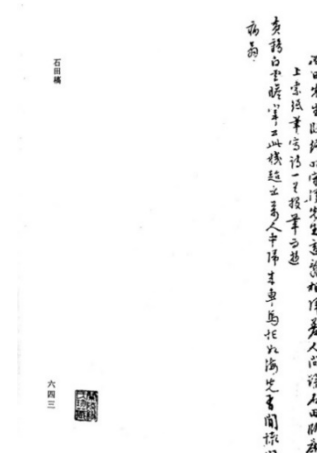


Fig.35 *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*

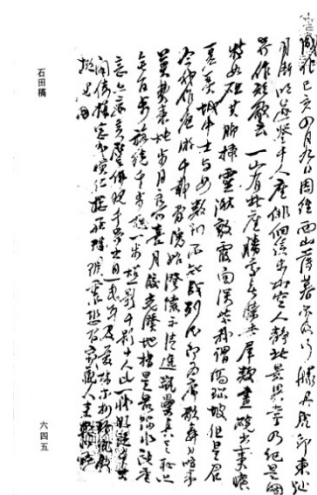


Fig.36 *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*

in “Anthology” Part of the monumental work *Supplementations of Si Ku Quan Shu*, published by Shanghai Classics Publishing House, a copy of *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* was also included. The handwritten copy of Zhang Zongxiang said: “The original work was perhaps finished by Shi Tian’s pupil, but the comments and annotations were Shi Tian’s own handwriting.” But Wu Gangyi, after comparing the handwriting in *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* with that in the *Prefaces and Postscripts*, deemed that *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* was not the handwriting of Shen Zhou. What’s more, the handwritten manuscript did not contain any traces of Shen Zhou’s annotations. So, it is speculated that Zhang Zongxiang’s handwritten copy was the original draft of *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* before it is sent to the press for printing. And the author here seconds with Wu Gangyi.

The block-printed edition of *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* (three volumes) was finished by Huang Huai Ji Yi Tang, which is the earliest existing edition of Shen Zhou’s anthology, and it is finished when Shen Zhou was still alive. The National Library, Shanghai Library, Nanjing Library and Tianjin Library all have this collection. This book mentioned here has no chronology, division nor contents, its words are illegible. The edition collected in The National Library contained four prefaces written by Peng Li, Wu Kuan, Tong Xuan and Li Dongyang respectively and two postscripts written by Jin Yi and Huang Huai. The editions collected in other libraries include only two prefaces written by Peng Li and Tong Xuan, and the same postscripts. According to the postscripts we can speculate that the book *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* was finished by Huang Huai, who managed to compile this block-printed edition of the anthology of Shen Zhou’s poems based on the transcriptions of his late father Huang Zhen and the recorded poems of Shen Zhou of whom Huang Huai himself was a follower. Shen Zhou, on the Bing Chen day of Hong Zhi (1496) of Ming Dynasty, composed the work *Cover Painting Bestowed Upon Huang Huai*, which served as a gift sent to Huan. From the postscript of this work we know that the father of Huang Huai was from Jia Ding and styled himself as Ru Ding (see appendix *Cover Painting Bestowed Upon Huang Huai*). At the then time, Peng Li was incidentally appointed as Provincial Governor (an official position in Ming Dynasty) of Su Zhou Prefecture. Peng Li was willing to publish the anthology of Shen Zhou, so he ordered the magistrate of Jia Ding county to help Shen Zhou with the curving and printing.

As for the edition collected in The National Library, at the bottom of the layout of the prefaces written by Peng Li, Tong Xuan and Wu Kuan all carved

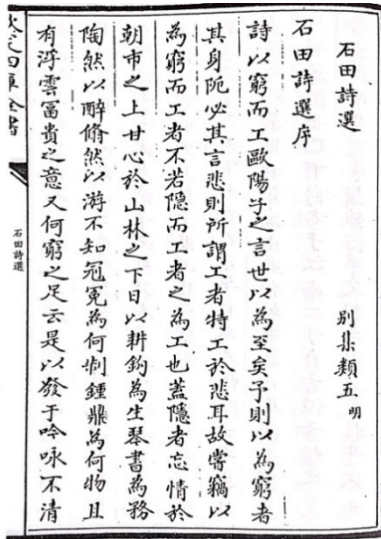


Fig.37 *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian*

the words as follows “By Huang Huai of Qing Pu, Kui Hai Year of Hong Zhi”. But the bottom of the layout of Li Dongyang’s preface was blank, it is supposed that the latter’s were supplemented instead of originally carved. And according to the time of Tong Xuan’s signature, Li Dongyang’s preface was finished in June in Jia Chen year of Ming Dynasty (1484), prior to the completion of the block-printed edition, which was the 16th year of Hong Zhi of Ming Dynasty (1503). The author also consulted *The Anthology of Master Shi Tian* by Chen Renxi, in his work, the preface by Qian Yunzhi noted as follows:

The posthumous edition of Master Shen Zhou’s anthology has three sources: one was finished in Jia Chen year of Ming Dynasty and Minister of Po Yang—Tong Xuan contributed the preface; one was finished in Kui Hai year of Hong Zhi of Ming Dynasty, the Officer of An Cheng contributed the preface; still, one was finished in Bing Yin year of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty, by the Wen Ding (an official position) named Wu Kuan, who was from the same county as that of Shen Zhou.

From the above information we know that Tong Xuan’s preface was formerly the

preface in Shen Zhou’s poem anthology. This version originally was finished in Jia Chen Year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty but was missing afterwards. It is thanks to Huang Huai, who made it possible for Tong Xuan’s preface to be circulated. On the other hand, Wu Kuan’s preface was finished in the 13<sup>rd</sup> year (Geng Shen Year, 1500) of Hong Zhi of Ming Dynasty, but it was not sent to press until the first year of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty. It is possible that when Huang Huai was ready to print Shen Zhou’s anthology in the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Hong Zhi, then Shen Zhou handed over to Huang Huai the prefaces of Wu Kuan and Tong Xuan.

*The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* (ten volumes) was reprinted by An Guo in the year of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty. Each half-written page contains eleven lines, twenty-two words, with white edges dubbed at the margin and single bound around, but no “Yu Wei” (a design exclusive to block-printed books). At the upper part of the volume reads “Composed by Shen Zhou form Chang Zhou, reprinted by An Guo from Wu Xi”. This edition has prefaces written by Wu Kuan and Li Dongyang, and a postscript written by Zhang Fu in the 17<sup>th</sup> year (1504) of Hong Zhi of Ming Dynasty. According to the postscript of Zhang Fu we know it was Hua Cheng who was in charge of the printing and publishing businesses during the ruling of Hong Zhi. An Guo

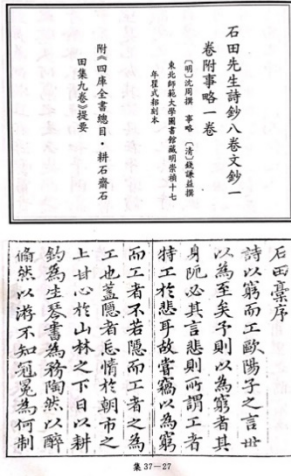


Fig.38 Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian

reprinted the edition during the time period of Zheng De and supplemented some other poems composed by Shen Zhou at the same period. This edition is collected by both Shanghai Library and Yunnan University Library. This book does not designate the category nor the chronology but include thirty-one sections such as “astronomy” and “season”, etc. *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* included in *Si Ku Quan Shu* was based on the above-mentioned Zheng De version. However, it was incomplete because the reprinted *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* was fragmentary, and the taboos at the then time also made it imperfect. People hereby have to complete it based on textual materials. In the preface to *The Anthology of Shen Zhou*, Mr. Tang Zhibo said: “*Si Ku Quan Shu* does not include the prefaces written by Wu Kuan and Li Dongyang”. But *Addendum to Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, a book published by Beijing Library, has completed the work based on Wen Jin Ge’s version of *Si Ku Quan Shu*, *Preface to The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* by Wu Kuan and *Second Preface to The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* by Li Dongyang were included in it. In Volume 1285 in the “Anthology” part of *Wen Lan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu* (which version was compiled and published under imperial order), published by Hangzhou Publishing House, prefaces written by the editorial staff and Wu Kuan respectively were contained, and so was the postscript written by Zhang Fu. Mr. Tang Zhibo said: “It is possible that the two prefaces were written in different times contributed to different versions...but in this version they were included in the same anthology. In the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Hong Zhi of Ming Dynasty, Hua Rude might have cited the preface written by Wu Kuan when he published his work, and in the period of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty, An Guo added the preface written by Li Dongyang when he reprinted the work.” This statement makes more sense to me.

There is a four-volume-block-printed edition of *The Collected Works of Shi Tian* by Chen Renxi in the 43rd year (1615) of Wan Li of Ming Dynasty. This whole book was categorized by genre, the former part was proofread by a scholar of younger generation, namely Gong Fu (an official title) Qian Yunzhi and carved by Chen Renxi, this part also contained two prefaces written by them. Museums such as National Museum and Shanghai Museum have collected this edition, the postscript of the edition collected in Shanghai Museum was written by Tian Xiang (a scholar of Qing Dynasty), whose work makes this edition better than the other ones. Fudan University Library collects the stone-carved edition by Sao Ye Shan Fang and the block-printed edition by Chen Renxi, but the latter edition only contains three volumes of “Qi Lv”

(eight-line poem with seven characters per line and rigorous prosodic rules), Sun Yat-Sen University also collects the stone-carved edition by Sao Ye Shan Fang, Peking University has the block-printed edition by Chen Renxi, including two packs, twelve volumes, and the copied edition by the Master of North Building, though only two volumes exist. The Chinese University of Hong Kong and Tsinghua University also collect the block-printed edition by Chen Renxi.

The eight-volume *The Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian* and one-volume *The Selected Works of Writings of Master Shi Tian*. In the 17th year of Chong Zhen of Ming Dynasty (1644), there was a block-printed edition by Qu Shisi. This edition is collected in National Library, Northeast Normal University Library and Shanghai Library. *Series of Index to Si Ku Quan Shu* is a copy from the edition collected in Northeast Normal University Library. Its former part contains prefaces written respectively by Wu Kuan, Li Dongyang and Qian Qianyi, as well as the postscript written by Qu Shisi. This book is chronologized according to the ancient style and modern style respectively, with an appendix of biographical sketch written by Qian Qianyi. According to Qian, this edition was finished after he and Cheng Jiasui had carefully consulted a dozen of anthologies of Shen Zhou and made a lot of supplementations, in addition, this edition was compiled based on chronological order.

The Anthologies of Shen Shi Tian, not separated. The block-printed edition of Great Poems of One Hundred Poets· Shen Shi Tian by Yu Xian is collected in Zhejiang Library. According to what Tang Zhibo said in his Examinations on Compilation and Printing of Shen Zhou's Poetry Collections, Great Poems of One Hundred Poets· Shen Shi Tian was based on The Selected Poems of Shi Tian. The preface was written by Yu Xian in the early summer of Bing Yin year of Jia Jing of Ming Dynasty. The number of the poems included in this book reaches more than 100, The preface is excerpted as follows:

Shen Shitian was famous for his poems as well as his paintings, but his paintings were more acclaimed. The poems are more often collected by the progeny of Lu Luwang. The number of the poems in the work reached more than a hundred. Master Shi Tian lives in the period of Xuan Zong of Ming Dynasty, whose given name is Zhou and courtesy name is Qi Nan. He died when he was about 80 years old, which is around the period of Zheng De. Throughout his life, he had been disciplined with himself and

held filial piety towards parents and loyalty towards friends. The government officials tried to invite him to be an official in charge of editing, but he rejected on the pretext of bad health. It is said that people in Chang Zhou, be they scholars or mediocre, deserved to be called “secluded virtuous person”, including even the most restless ones.

Besides, the extant works of Shen Zhou include *Ke Zuo Xin Wen of Shi Tian*, a seven-volume copy from Ming Dynasty, *Ke Zuo Xin Wen of Shi Tian*, an eleven-volume copy from Qing Dynasty; A volume of the original *Ke Zuo Xin Wen of Shi Tian*; A Volume of the original *Shen Shi Ke Tan*, from the period of Jia Jing of Ming Dynasty; a volume of *Miscellany of Shi Tian*; two volumes of *Yin Chuang Xiao Hui*, though only the first volume is extant; a volume of *The Chronicle of Master Du Dongyuan*. The works listed above are not closely related to this essay, so the author will not elaborate on them.

*The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* (three volumes) and *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* (ten volumes) both include *Poems Composed collectively by Pu Ruzheng and others on the Mid-Autumn Day*, in which the sentence was “When one was young, he cannot recognize the Mid-Autumn Moon”. But these two works do not designate the date, so we cannot know the date of the composition of the poem. But according to the sentence “Shu An and I myself are over 60 years old”, the poem is likely to be composed in the 22nd year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty (1486). On the other hand, after making a thorough search of all the works of Shen Zhou, we do not find sentences like “When people are young, they see the Mid-Autumn Moonlight...”, “We hold a small party in the villa to appreciate the beauty of the Mid-Autumn Festival” and “We gather around in the villa to appreciate the upcoming Mid-Autumn Festival”.

**CONCLUSION** Through the analysis of the calligraphy style and the researches of the relevant literature, it can be inferred that the seven related works centered on the *Drawing of the Moon on the Eve of Mid-Autumn Festival* are all fake. Except for the seven works mentioned, there may also be other works related to this series. According to *The Chronicle of Shen Zhou's Life* and his poems with time indicators, Shen Zhou once composed *Meeting of Three Friends* in Ji You year of Cheng Hua of Ming Dynasty, when Shen Zhou was 60 years old. The “three” included his other two friends Wang Ruhe and Du Liangyu. But this work only mentions celebrations of birthday instead of appreciation of the Mid-Autumn Moon. And once again, based on *The Chronicle of Shen Zhou's Life*, we know that in the second year of Hong Zhi, Shen Zhou was ill abed, in a depressed state, he seldom went out with his

friends. He went to join his friend Pu Ruzheng a few times when winter came, even in these occasions he did not mention the appreciation of Mid-Autumn Moon, either. So, whether this series of works is related to the two events mentioned above remains to be examined in detail.

The postscript poems and poems included in the fake poem anthologies, no matter which ones first come into being or which influence the others, remind researchers of the scientific use of textual materials as the basis in the authentication procedures. Cases that the works are authentic, and poems and essays are also collected in anthologies are not rare, the drawing *Farewell in Jing Jiang* collected in The Palace Museum is a case in point. According to the preface and postscript of the drawing, it was finished by Shen Zhou in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Hong Zhi (1491) at the invitation of Wen Zhengming, at which time Wu Weiqian was the Prefecture Chief of Wu Men. This drawing has a preface on it, supposedly it is genuine. The poem in the drawing is also included by *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*, both the draft version and the three-volume version, and by *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian*. In the *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* the name of the poem is “Wu Weiqian as the Prefecture Chief of Xu Zhou”, in *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* and three volume version *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*, the name of the poem is “Wu Weiqian in Xu Zhou”

The collection of poems and essays published and printed after Shen Zhou’s death also includes poems from his paintings and calligraphy. Based on the prefaces to *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian*, we know that An Guo, in the year of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty, supplemented some poems composed by Shen Zhou at that time. By the time of the publication of the supplemented version, Shen Zhou had already passed away. Since An Guo was not a close student of Shen Zhou, the origins of those supplemented poems are suspectable. Comparing the authenticity of Shen Zhou’s calligraphy and painting with the postscript poems collected in *Selected Poems*, it is possible for An Guo to include the newly discovered poems with calligraphy and painting inscriptions in the process of supplementation, and a large part of these newly collected poems are from fake works, which are included altogether because the editor cannot distinguish them. For example, the drawing *Chun Xiu Qiao Lin* was thought to be a fake by Xu Bangda and Wu Gan, but the poem in it was included in *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian*; the drawing *Qiu Shan Qing Xiao* was fake both in its painting and calligraphy, but the poem in it is included in *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian*. *The Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian* was finished after Qian Qianyi and Cheng Jiasui had carefully consulted a dozen of

anthologies of Shen Zhou and made a lot of supplementations. But this work was not convincing when regarding the origins of Shen Zhou's poems. For instance, drawing *Lin Mei Taoist Priest in Xi Shan* is thought to be fake in its calligraphy and painting, *The Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian*, however, included it with the title of "Shan Xing." However, not all the collection of poems and essays after Shen Zhou's death is fake, Liaoning Provincial Museum collects the drawing *A Thousand People Touring at Night*, the poem in it was included in the three-volume version of *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian*, *The Selected Poem of Shi Tian*, *The Collected Works of Shi Tian* and *The Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian*. This work, judged by the style of the painting itself and the orderly description and circulation chronology, is obviously an authentic work of Shen Zhou.

Not all the inscriptions and postscripts of Shen Zhou's calligraphy and painting are included in his poetry anthology. Drawings like *The Slender Bamboo on Lofty Mountain*, *Can Tian Te Xiu* and *Qiu Xuan Wu Jiu* be all collected in Taipei Palace Museum, they are surely the authentic works of Shen Zhou. But the poems in those paintings are not included in any anthologies of Shen Zhou. So, sentences like "When people are young, they see the Mid-Autumn Moonlight...", "We hold a small party in the villa to appreciate the beauty of the Mid-Autumn Festival" and "We gather around in the villa to appreciate the upcoming Mid-Autumn Festival" not being included in the anthologies of Shen Zhou does not mean they are fake ones. The relationship between Shen Zhou's poems inscribed in his calligraphy and paintings and his anthologies cannot be used as the evidence to judge the authenticity of his poems or works. The complex relationship between these two different carriers needs to be further explored.

**FOUNDATION SUPPORT:** This research is financially supported by the self-determined research funds for the basic researches conducted by the colleges supervised the Ministry of Education (PR China) (CCNU19TD013)

## Bibliography

### Ancient Books

Bian Yongyu (Qing). *A Collection of Chinese Art Literature Series: An Examination of*

- Collections of Paintings and Calligraphy in Shi Gu Tang* [M]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2012.
- Du Mu (Ming). *Moral* [M]. Vol. 1, The Anthology Part of Si Ku Quan Shu.
- Gao Shiqi (Qing). *Jiang Cun Xiao Xia Lu* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2011.
- Gu Wenbin (Qing). *Calligraphy and Painting Records of Guoyun Tower-Records of Yue Xue Tower's Calligraphy and Painting* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2011.
- Li Dongyang (Ming). *Collection of Huai Lu Tang-One Hundred Volume* [M]. The Anthology Part of Si Ku Quan Shu.
- Li Rihua (Ming). *Notes Written in Liu Yan Zhai-Zi Tao Xuan Miscellany* [M], Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, 2010.
- Lu Shihua (Qing). *Selection of Ancient Calligraphy and Painting Works-Records of Calligraphy and Paintings in Wu & Yue* [M], Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2015.
- Pang Yuanji (Qing). *Xu Zhai's Selection of Famous Paintings* [M], Pang Yuanji in Wu Cheng, 1909.
- Qian Qianyi (Qing). *Biographies of the Collected Poems of All Dynasties* [M], Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1983.
- Shen Zhou (Ming). *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* [M], integrate version, draft, collected in The National Library.
- . *The Manuscripts of Shi Tian* [M], three-volume version. The block-printed edition by Huang Huai Ji Yi Tang, collected in The National Library.
- . *The Selected Poems of Shi Tian* [M], ten-volume version, reprinted in the year of Zheng De of Ming Dynasty. In volume 1225 of the "Anthology" part of "Wen Lan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu" (compiled and published under imperial order), Hangzhou: Hangzhou Publishing House.
- . *The Collected Works of Shi Tian* [M], four-volume version, block-printed edition by Chen Renxi during the period of Wan Li of Ming Dynasty. The "Anthology" part in Zhejiang Library.
- . *The Collected Poems of Master Shi Tian* (8 volumes) and *The Selected Works of Writings of Master Shi Tian* (1 volume) [M]. In the 17th year of Chong Zhen of Ming Dynasty (1644), a block-printed edition by Qu Shisi. *Series of Index to Si Ku Quan Shu* is a copy from the edition collected in Northeast Normal University Library. Ji Nan: QiLu Press.
- , proofread by Zhang Xiuling & Han Xingying, edited by Wang Weiping. *The Anthology of Shen Zhou* [M], Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House. 2013.



- , proofread by Tang Zhibo, *The Anthology of Shen Zhou* [M], Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Publishing House. 2013.
- Sun Chengze (Qing), proofread by Bai Yunbo & Gu Yuqing. *A Collection of Chinese Art Literature Series · Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji* [M], Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2004.
- Wang Ao (Ming). *Records of Gusu* [M]. Taipei: Taiwan Student Publishing House, 1986.
- Wang Keyu (Ming), edited by Lu Fusheng. *The Complete Book of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting: Coral's Net* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Publishing House, 2000.
- Weng Zhengming (Ming), proofread by Zhou Daozhen, *A Special Book on Chinese Classical Literature · Wen Zhengming Collection, An Supplemented Edition* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2014.
- Wu Kuan (Ming). *Collection of Poems by Bao Weng* [M]. The 77-volume Anthology of Si Bu Cong Kan.
- Yu Fengqing (Ming), edited by Lu Fusheng. *The Complete Book of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting: Prefaces and Postscripts of Painting and Calligraphy* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Publishing House, 2000.
- Zhang Zhao (Qing). *Shi Qu Bao Ji* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1991.

### Chinese works

- Cahill, James. *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty (1368-1580)* [M]. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2015.
- . *The Painter's Practice · How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* [M]. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2012.
- Chen Yuan. *Er Shi Shi Shuo Run Biao* [M]. Classics Publishing House, 1956.
- Chen Zhenghong. *The Chronicle of Shen Zhou's Life* [M]. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1993.
- Clunas, Craig. *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* [M]. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2012.
- Fang Zhanli. The 6th Volume of *Appreciation of Precious Painting and Calligraphy·Book and Art Treasures·Calligraphy masters ·Shen Zhou (Ming Dynasty)* [M]. Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 2008.
- Ge Hongzhen. *On Wu Calligraphy School* [M]. Beijing: The Palace Publishing House, 2016.
- He Lina. *Studies on Shen Zhou* [M]. Beijing: China Financial & Economic Publishing

- House, 2017.
- Huang Binhong & Deng Shi. *Chinese Art Series* [M]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2013.
- Jiang Luoyi & Qian Yucheng, *Wu Calligraphy School* [M], Suzhou: Soochow University Press, 2004.
- Jiang Zhaoshen. *Wen Zhengming and Suzhou Painting and Calligraphy Circle* [M]. Taipei: Taipei Palace Museum, 1977.
- Liu Jiuan. *The Chronology of Great Works of Calligraphy and Painting Handed down from the Dynasties of Song, Yuan to Ming and Qing* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1997.
- Peter Burke. *The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2008.
- Richard Vinograd. *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2017.
- Ruan Rongchun. *Shen Zhou* [M]. Changchun: Jilin Fine Arts Press, 1996.
- Shan Guoqiang. *Collection of Ancient Calligraphy and Painting History* [M]. Beijing: The Palace Publishing House (formerly "The Forbidden City Press"), 2002.
- Shanghai Museum. *Seconding Reading of Suiyang's Five Well-Known Scholars—the Dimensions of Art History* [M]. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2017.
- Shen C. Y. Fu, Translated by Ge Hongzhen. *Traces of the Brush · Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* [M]. Beijing: The Palace Publishing House, 2013.
- Shi Shouqian. *From Style to Huayi (Picture Idea): Ruminating on Chinese Art History of* [M]. Taipei: Rock Publishing International, 2010.
- The Palace Museum. *Studies on Wu Calligraphy Schools* [M]. Beijing: The Palace Publishing House (formerly "The Forbidden City Press"), 1993.
- Wang Di. *A Study on the Relationship between Poetry and Painting in Suzhou in the Mid-Ming Dynasty* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Publishing House, 2007.
- Wang Jiacheng. *Biographies of the Four Masters in Ming Dynasty* [M]. Tianjin: Baihuazhou Literature and Art Publishing House, 2008.
- Wu Gan. *Shen Zhou* [M]. Shijiazhuang: Hebei Education Press, 2003.
- Xu Bangda. *Textual Research on the Authenticity and Errors of Ancient Calligraphy and Painting* [M]. Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, (Formerly Jiangsu Ancient Books Publishing House), 1984.
- . *An Introduction to the Identification of Ancient Calligraphy and Painting* [M]. Beijing: The Palace Publishing House (formerly "The Forbidden City Press"), 2015.
- Xu Nan. *Studies on the Poets from Chenghua to Zhengde Period of Ming Dynasty* [M]. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2010.

Xue Yongnian. *Inspection and Identification of Painting* [M]. Nanchang: Jinagxi Fine Arts Publishing House, 2004.

Zheng Bingshan. *Shen Shi Tian* [M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Fine Arts Publishing House, 1982.

### **Chinese Papers**

Chen Genmin. On the Evolution of Shen Zhou's Calligraphy Style [J]. *Journal of Hangzhou Teacher's College (Social Science Edition)*, No. 6, 2006.

Fang Zhanli. On Shen Zhou's Calligraphy [J]. *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*. February, 2003 (239).

Fei Yong. On the authenticity of Shen Zhou's inscriptions and postscripts on "Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains" [J]. *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*. June, 2000 (207).

Ge Hongzhen. On the Authenticity of Shen Zhou's Cursive Writing of "Chi Bi Fu" Volume and the Definition of his Style Transformation [J]. *Chinese Calligraphy Studies*, January, 1992.

Lin Shuzhong. On Shen Zhou's Family and Family Learning from the Newly Unearthed Epitaph of Shen Zhou's Family [J]. *Southeast Culture*, 1985.

Ouyang Changqiao. Re-understanding of Shen Zhou's Postscript on "Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains"—Discussing with Mr. Fei Yong [J]. *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*. April, 2014 (19).

Qian Weiqiang. Ni Tao's Study on *Liu Yi Zhi Yi Lu* [D]. Ph. D dissertation of China Academy of Fine Arts, 2013.

Song Chunhui. The Identification on the Poems and Paintings with Shen Zhou Style [J]. *Collections*, 2014 (19).

Tang Zhibo. On the Works of Shen Zhen [J]. *Library Theory and Practice*. Vol. 8, 2012.

Tang Zhibo. Examinations on Compilation and Printing of Shen Zhou's Poetry Collections [J]. *Gu Dian Wen Xian Yan Jiu*, Vol. 00, 2013.

Wang Zhenghua. On Shen Zhou's *Night Sitting* [D]. Master's thesis of the Department of History, National Taiwan University, 1989.

Wu Gangyi. Research on the Style and Material of Shen Zhou's Landscape Painting [D]. Ph. D dissertation of Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2002.

Wu Gangyi, edited by Bi Jianxun & Zhao Li. *Medical Science? Tricks? Decoding the Truth of Shen Zhou's Cursive Writing "Hua Xu Shu", included in Knowledge and Inheritance* [M]. Shijiazhuang: Hebei Fine Arts Publishing House, 2011.

Xie Xiaoting. Huang Tingjian's Vigorous and Extraordinary writing style: A Brief Study of Shenzhou Calligraphy [J]. *Rong Bao Zhai*, 2013 (05).

- Xu Bangda, Identification of Ancient Paintings (2) Textual Research on Shen Zhou's Works [J]. *Duo Yun*, 1983 (05).
- Xu Hui, On Shen Zhou's Poetry [J]. *Journal of Xiamen Radio & Television University*, 2013 (02).
- Xu Hui & Shi Fang. A Review of the Research on Shen Zhou [J]. *Dynamic Study of Chinese Poetry*, 2010 (06).
- Xu Xiaohu, On Shen Zhou's inscriptions and postscripts in "Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains" [J]. *Traditional Chinese Painter*, 2015 (02).
- Xu Xiaohu. Searching the Authentic Works of Shen Zhou's Writing: Establishing Identification Criteria through Scientific Methods [J]. *Traditional Chinese Painter*, 2014 (03).
- Yang Chenbin. On Falsification of Calligraphy and Painting in Ming Dynasty [J]. *Cultural Relics*, 1990 (08).

### **Treatises in Foreign Languages**

- Edwards, Richard. The Field of Stones: A Study of the Art of Shen Chou (1427-1509) [J]. Freer Gallery of Art. *Oriental Studies* 5, (Washington, Smithsonian Institution).
- Itakura Masaaki. The Antique Consciousness in Shen Zhou's Early Painting—Centering on the *Altas Jiu Duan Jin* [J]. Kyoto National Museum, *Art History Series*, No. 302. March, 2014.
- Sturman, Peter C. Spreading Falling Blossoms: Style and Replication in Shen Zhou's Late Calligraphy [J]. *Journal of National Tsing Hua University (Taiwan)*, September, 2010 (03).

### **Atlas and Reference Books**

- He Yanquan, Chen Jiejun & Chen Yunru. *Exhibition of Shen Zhou's Works, One of the Four Great Masters of Ming Dynasty* [M]. Taipei: Taipei's National Palace Museum Publishing House, 2014.
- Huang Zongxian, general ed. *Overseas Collection of Chinese Famous Paintings • volume 5 • Ming Dynasty (the First Half)* [M]. Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 1998.
- Jiang Zhaoshen. *Ninety Years of Wu School Painting* [M]. Taipei: Taipei's National Palace Museum Publishing House, 1975.
- Liu Jiuan. *A Survey of the Authenticity of Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy in the Past Dynasties* [M]. The Palace Publishing House (Formerly "The Forbidden City Press"), 2013.
- Suzuki Kei. *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings* [M]. Tokyo:

University of Tokyo Press, 1982.

Shanghai Museum. *Chinese Calligraphers and Painters' Seal Recognition* [M]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1987.

Suzhou Museum. *Shi Tian Exclusive—Wu School Painting Series · The Art of Shen Zhou* [M]. Suzhou: Guwuxuan Publishing House, 2012.

Tian Hong & Tian Lin. *The Chronological Catalogue of Shen Zhou's Painting Works* [M]. Tianjin: Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2012.

The Identification Group of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works. *Illustration List of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Works* [M]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2008.

Wang Naidong. *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Identification Atlas* [M]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2004.

Zhong Yinlan. *Collection of Chinese Collector Seals* [M]. Jiangxi: Jiangxi Fine Arts Publishing House, 2008.

**Author: Lei Yuqing**, the Doctor of China Academy of Fine Arts. Beijing, China. Email: [leiyuqing1026@163.com](mailto:leiyuqing1026@163.com)