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春

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From the Editor

In some ways the *East Asian Library Journal* (formerly the *Gest Library Journal*) resembles the beloved twentieth-century painter Qi Baishi (Ch'i Pai-shih), who was born in 1863 and died in 1957. Like Qi, the journal began in modest circumstances and has struggled to overcome adversity. We also share a mid-career name change, as did he from Qi Huang to Qi Baishi. Somewhat inadvertently, we also find ourselves skipping a year of our existence. At the admonition of soothsayers, Qi skipped a year in his life (from the age of seventy-five to seventy-seven) to avoid misfortune and to attain longevity and prosperity, which of course he did. Readers will note that the cover date of volume eight was 1998, and the cover date of volume nine is 2000. Without the slightest hint that we are motivated by a belief in superstition, we nevertheless hope this leap will lead us onto a long and prosperous path.

Volume nine, number one, of the *East Asian Library Journal* contains two substantial articles. The journal is grateful to the two authors, Barbara Volkmar and Susan Miller, for their stimulating manuscripts, and as previously, the editor is indebted to Nancy Norton Tomasko for her editorial contributions.

Barbara Volkmar is a medical doctor who also has a Ph.D. in classical Chinese studies. Her research, carried out in Germany and China, has concentrated on traditional Chinese medicine and the history of Chinese pediatrics. Dr. Volkmar has been affiliated with the Institute for Chinese Studies at the University of Munich, where she received her Ph.D., and with the Institute for the History of Medicine in Munich,

where she taught from 1991 to 1994. She is presently completing the essay required to become a regular member of the faculty at a German university (*Habilitationsschrift*); hers deals with Wan Quan, whose publications are the subject of her article.

Susan Miller is a graduate of Bennington College in Vermont. From 1983 to 1996 she worked as a research assistant in the departments of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts and Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Her current research seeks to expose the multiple sources and conduits for the Western appropriation and interpretation of Asian decorative images. In the course of her work on the designs and patterns for ceramics and textiles she discovered the prints of Jean-Antoine Fraise, the subject of her article.

For the convenience of readers, the complete tables of contents for volumes one through eight are appended to this issue of the *East Asian Library Journal*. Volume one, numbers one and two, have been reprinted in a single volume, but some other numbers are already in short supply. Back issues may be ordered directly from the journal, and we encourage readers to make recommendations to appropriate libraries.

The Physician and the Plagiarists

The Fate of the Legacy of Wan Quan

BARBARA VOLKMAR

In this book I open my heart of hearts,¹
I reveal my innermost thoughts and
Expose the secrets [of healing] in all their subtlety.
These may only be divulged to my sons.
You, my sons, know that!
Vigilantly preserve the traditions of our family,
Contemplate my words in quietness,
Apprehend their deeper meaning.
Never forget my admonishments
Never forget my instructions.
I urge you again and again:
Take [these secrets] like a rabbit snare or a fish trap.²
If you reveal even a single word,
Heaven will see you, and
The gods will send down bolts of lightning.³

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (late Ming and Qing dynasties) no extraordinary phenomena, no people struck by lightning, are recorded in the gazetteer of Luotian County (Hubei Province), where the writer of this verse lived. Still, after this verse was composed, everything that might possibly go awry in the transmission of a semi-secret medical oeuvre did so.

The writer of the introductory verse is Wan Quan (styled Mizhai, 1500–1585?), a Chinese physician and very productive medical writer. Most original in his medical approach and in his therapeutic ideas, Wan Quan wrote in a poetical and vivid language unusual for a physician, and his writings continue to appeal to contemporary readers.⁴ But the success of these writings was by no means a matter of course. The five-hundredth anniversary of Wan Quan's birth is a good opportunity to retrace the winding paths the works have taken to come down to us.⁵

In Chinese medical history it is still scarcely acknowledged that research on the history of ideas has to rely on detailed book history. Since traditional Chinese medicine argues that the core of its knowledge has been transmitted through a secret or oral tradition, it may indeed seem pointless to concentrate on the written sources.⁶ However, any medical idea that is only grasped by a small circle of individuals and does not become part of a larger medical tradition is ineffective and will eventually be lost.⁷ Researchers today must not blindly adopt the practice of mystifying medical knowledge and its origin, a *sine qua non* of medical practice in premodern times.

Tracing the fate of Wan Quan's books affords a perspective on the world of the physician and the healer of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) that has seldom been dealt with in the research on medical history. Enlarging the inquiry to include information revealed in local gazetteers, forewords of contemporary works, Wan Quan's own prefaces, and his case histories provides a glimpse behind the scenes into a social reality that is much more diverse and complex than hitherto described.

ON THE TRAIL OF A PHYSICIAN'S CAREER

During the Ming dynasty, practicing physicians and healers occupied a stratum of society far different from that of today's medical community. Classified as artisans, they were viewed with the lack of respect accorded all members of that class and, in addition, were always suspected of profiteering from the sufferings of others. They also faced the constant risk of being held responsible for the death of their patients. Most were itinerant and avoided visiting the same place twice. Even physicians with

a formal education and a court position were not safe; they were subject to the capricious whims of the officialdom, which generally did not hold them in high esteem. Only a few physicians achieved renown, in acknowledgment either of their writings or of their therapeutic success.

Although Wan Quan finally became one of those few, there is little biographical information about him. Whereas officials, even minor ones, were scrupulously registered throughout Chinese history and listed in local chronicles and dynastic records with all the details of their lives and careers, physicians, even famous ones, were not. Wan Quan is no exception. The gazetteer of his home county, *Luotian xianzhi*, does not mention him until its 1876 edition, around three hundred years after his death. Furthermore, this edition contains a discussion of whether physicians and healers should be included in a gazetteer at all.⁸ The few earlier historical references that do exist depict Wan Quan as a semidivine figure, a clairvoyant superdoctor who could bring the dead back to life.⁹ Concrete biographical information, is, however, not given.

Even today Chinese reference books offer only sparse and contradictory biographical data on Wan Quan, despite his widely acknowledged importance. He is variously said to have lived in the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century.¹⁰ To learn about his life, the best source available is his own writing. In his books one can find a clue to the approximate date of his birth, a reference to the marriage of his parents: "In the year *gengzi* [1480] of the Chenghua era my late father settled in Luo[tian]. He married my mother, a woman of the Chen family. Then was born an unworthy."¹¹

If we take 1481 as the earliest possible birth date, Wan Quan would have been ninety-eight years old when he wrote the preface to his last book in 1579. With all due respect to Chinese techniques of achieving longevity, this does not seem likely. His birth date must therefore have been a good bit later. In an introduction to his pediatric case histories we find a more precise statement by Wan Quan: "In the evening of his life, at the age of seventy-four, the old hermit of the woods and mountains, who specialized in medicine, writes down his pediatric case histories."¹²

The problem is that the book *Guangsi jiyao* (Essentials for Multi-

plying Offspring) from which this quotation is taken is difficult to date. One of the two editions that were printed in the Wanli era contains the colophon in a cartouche of the Yiqingtang publishing house together with the words “Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue” (Wanli, New Year, in the second month of spring). These words have led Chinese bibliographers to assume that the publication year was 1573, the first year of the Wanli era (1573–1620).¹³ I doubt, however, that such an early publication year is likely. I assume that the words “Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue” indicate the New Year of 1598.¹⁴

Though the *Guangsi jiyao* was probably published much later than 1573, the year is nevertheless important: 1573 is the earliest date the book could have been completed. Wan Quan’s last case history in the *Guangsi jiyao* is dated 1572. If we assume that he wrote his introduction after finishing the manuscript (which was his habit with other manuscripts), he must have been seventy-four years old in 1573 (or later). Taking into account that in traditional China the day of birth counts as the first birthday, I conclude that Wan Quan must have been born in 1500 (or later), that is, around twenty years after the marriage of his parents. We cannot be sure, but may assume that his parents had other children, although Wan Quan never mentions brothers or sisters. There is, naturally, no reference to the year of his death in Wan Quan’s own writings. The last dated preface is from 1579. However, repeated changes and revisions in the text of a later book indicate that Wan Quan might have lived two to six years longer (see “Bitter Truth” below).

Many details of Wan Quan’s life and attitudes can be deduced from case histories and from a phrase-by-phrase comparison of his books. Here I restrict myself to a short survey. Wan Quan was the only (surviving?) son of Wan Kuang (styled Juxuan), a pediatrician and pox specialist,¹⁵ himself a second-generation medical practitioner. (At that time it was the custom not to mention female relatives, so it is not surprising that we hear nothing about the sisters Wan Quan might have had.) The father, whose life dates can be rather definitely given as 1447–1529,¹⁶ must have been in his early fifties when Wan Quan was born. Ways of ensuring the continuity of the family line later became one of Wan Quan’s major concerns. Wan Quan, whose wife and two concubines gave birth to a total of ten boys,¹⁷ wrote several treatises on

reproductive medicine — in contemporary terms “the medical discipline of multiplying male offspring” (*guangsi*).

Wan Kuang was an itinerant physician (*lingyi*)¹⁸ without a formal education, but in Jiangxi Province he had acquired a reputation as a pox specialist.¹⁹ That he was eventually able to settle down in Luotian in Huguang Province reflects a high degree of success in his profession.²⁰ His greatest ambition was that his son escape the social and material hardships associated with being a physician.²¹ He therefore invested a lot of money in Wan Quan’s education, enabling him to study under the two Confucian scholars of Luotian, Zhang Mingdao (1481–1553, *jinshi* 1529) and Hu Mingshu (*jinshi* 1532, d. 1533).²² The high hopes of both father and son for the son’s official career were not, however, to be fulfilled. While at the Confucian county school, Wan Quan applied for a government stipend, but his fellow students plotted against him and urged him to leave the school. In 1529, Wan Quan’s father died, and he — nearly thirty years old, with a household that included a wife, two concubines, and three sons — lost his main source of financial support:

Suddenly I had to fend for myself, and as I was still young, I could no longer afford the expense of being educated for a career as an official. [Moreover], my colleagues hounded me out [of the school]. Thus, I betrayed all the hopes that my father had placed in me. I withdrew and established myself as a physician. I took on students. I taught the classics, the canonical books, the various philosophers, history, tonal harmony, and calendar calculation as well as the writings of the authors of various periods.²³

One of the great medical problems during the Ming dynasty was the pox. This disease, which probably appeared in China around the fifth century,²⁴ played an enormous role in contemporary thinking and behavior. In earlier times pox had been described in books about internal medicine. But because the disease had become endemic and primarily affected children, since the twelfth century it had been dealt with in specialized pox and pediatric books. The adult population had developed a relative immunity and was less at risk.

According to traditional medical theory people had to have pox

once in their lives, since all people carried a more or less strong embryonic poison in their bodies. The violence of the illness was furthermore explained by one's physical condition, the climate, and human fate. Although the illness could not be avoided, its symptoms could be alleviated by human intervention (see figure 1).²⁵

In 1533 and 1534 there was a pox epidemic in Huguang Province which also affected Luotian County. According to Wan Quan's writings, 80–90 percent of those infected died. Despite the risk of being held responsible for the deaths of his patients, Wan Quan involved himself, making house calls and dispensing drugs from his home pharmacy.²⁶

Skillful prognosis — knowing how to select the patients who had a good chance of recovery — was an essential aspect of medical practice. In his books Wan Quan often mentions physician colleagues who had to leave the county after a medical treatment had failed.²⁷ Wan Quan himself, however, was successful as both a healer and a prognosticator. When the epidemic was over, he had acquired a certain reputation in his home community as an expert in pediatrics and pox medicine. The fact that Wan Quan was a hereditary physician (*shiyi*), was certainly helpful — it was a commonly held opinion that a physician should only be trusted if his father and grandfather had practiced medicine as well.²⁸

At the age of forty, Wan Quan began to arrange the medical manuscripts his father had left him. Earlier he himself had written a few texts on internal medicine, pulse lore, and materia medica.²⁹ But these were academic exercises, commonly done by physicians who wanted to grasp the Confucian tradition. Now he turned back to his own roots, the medical experiences and theories of his father in the fields of pox and pediatrics. Here, he felt, he could both gain and give; this was the task to which he could make a contribution. He began to render his father's therapeutic theories and instructions in verse, as teaching material for his sons. The ample use of certain verse styles remained characteristic of all his books, including those of later periods (see "Bitter Truth," below).

It was Wan Quan's greatest hope that his sons would carry on the family tradition of medicine. Since he could not afford a formal education for them, he engaged in their instruction himself, trained them in the family tradition, and instructed them in all the fields of knowledge



1. Illustrations from *Michuan douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow to Pox in the Secret Tradition), single manuscript copy after the 1599 edition. Library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing. This work, originally put together by the publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang (Fujian Province), contains sample texts on pox, among them two chapters of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. The Yiqingtang publishing house had several books by Wan Quan on its list. The rather unmoved expression of the two children with their folded arms should not be misinterpreted. Pox epidemics in Ming times were most severe and could kill eight out of ten of the children affected. The form and distribution of pox pustules on the body were two criteria by which physicians predicted the good or bad outcome of the illness. Still, pox was seen as a necessary disease on the way to adulthood.

he considered important. He wanted his sons to inherit the basics of the family trade, that is, the medical methods and the exact composition of the family prescriptions. These professional secrets were essential for a physician's business at a time when competition was tough and patents unknown.

In his fifties, however, Wan Quan began to extend his ambitions as a medical writer to include a wider audience. The preface to the *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* (Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox, hereafter referred to as *Essential Methods*), written in 1549,³⁰ displays the hope that his writings might reach a public readership and even find someone to sponsor a printing.

The preface also shows the son's strong dedication to his father. At that time Wan Quan still regarded himself mainly as a compiler and transmitter of his father's teachings, not as an author with his own ideas:

For this book that I called *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox*, I have collected our family prescriptions and put them into verse. May it be printed and benefit future generations all over the empire so that my father's art of humanity and the reputation of the two medical authors Qian [Yi] and Chen [Wenzhong] will never fade!³¹

Qian Yi (1032–1113?), the “saint of pediatrics,” and Chen Wenzhong (fl. 13th century), one of the first authors of specialized treatises on pox conditions, were both highly admired by Wan Quan, although they had different approaches to the treatment of pox.³² Qian Yi recommended a cooling therapy for all childhood eruptions, Chen Wenzhong a warming one.³³ Neither clearly differentiated between pox and measles. Wan Quan distinguished the different kinds of eruptions, and he believed that pox represented a disease entity manifesting in different conditions of heat or cold, with countless subdivisions. The disease could pass without any serious complications and should then not be treated at all. This was termed a “favorable course” (*shun*). According to Wan Quan the physician should only treat pox conditions of the “critical course” (*wei*). The treatment should aim at giving those conditions a favorable course. When the physician prognosticated an “unfavorable” (*ni*) pox condition,

it was usually time for his immediate withdrawal. The risk of being blamed for the death of the patient was high and often fatal for the physician.

In 1552 Wan Quan completed a second manuscript on pox, which, in an allusion to a Neo-Confucianist principle,³⁴ he called the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* (Discourse on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge on Pox, hereafter referred to as *Discourse on Pox*). In contrast to the *Essential Methods*, it is written in prose, and its contents are much more theoretical. In the *Discourse on Pox* Wan Quan displays his Confucian education and his knowledge of the classics and of cosmological theories and philosophical concepts. He discusses different positions and traditions within pox medicine, all of which serves as a background to the specific approach of his father:

In all medical treatises the poison of the seasonal eruptions is regarded as the cruelest one. [Unfortunately, it is for these dangerous diseases that] the theories and therapeutic concepts of the ancients show ambiguities. [My father], however, has developed an understanding of [the mechanism of pox], which is beyond the written letters. . . . Master Hu Sanxi, Master Xiao Chuwu, and Master Wan Binlan had a look at my manuscript and urged me to have it printed under the title *Discourse on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge [on Pox]*.³⁵ I could not oppose them and handed it over to the bookshop together with the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician* for printing.³⁶

As we learn from this preface, Wan Quan had begun to find some respect among the literati in Luotian. The support of the local elite was not, however, enough to create a breakthrough for him. Publishing a book was expensive, and we may assume that Wan Quan's income was limited. The "printing" referred to in the quotation above must have been a kind that made possible only a limited number of copies. Neither Wan Quan himself nor any editor later refers to this "edition" again.

In 1567 Wan Quan received an invitation to treat the daughter of a high official, who was taken ill with chronic diarrhea. His journey to

Yunyang, the branch capital of Huguang Province, at the border area between Huguang and Henan, took him two days and two nights, but it was worth the effort. After his treatment the child recovered, and the father, full of gratitude and admiration, was willing to finance a printing of Wan Quan's books as a reward. Wan Quan could hardly have met a better advocate of his interests; the official was Sun Ying'ao (1528–1583?), grand coordinator, additionally vice-administration commissioner of Huguang and imperially sent vice censor-in-chief. During the two months Wan Quan stayed at his residence, Sun Ying'ao called for his medical help in matters of fertility, eyesight, and heart problems. This gave Wan Quan further occasion to demonstrate his medical ability.³⁷

In 1568 and 1569 Wan Quan finally had his first two works printed under the aegis of Sun Ying'ao: the practical *Essential Methods* and the theoretical *Discourse on Pox*.³⁸ The countless reprints of this book that were issued during the Ming and Qing dynasties indicate that its ideas exerted considerable influence all over the Chinese empire and also in Japan (see table 1).³⁹ Presumably the *Essential Methods* was widely accepted among physicians as well as the lay public because it filled a gap in the medical literature and medical knowledge of the time. Ming-dynasty books on pox commonly defined various and complex theoretical categories that were hard for nonscholars to understand and often did not contain any practical information, despite the great need for practical treatment instructions. Wan Quan's *Essential Methods* described concrete manifestations of pox and gave instructions for dealing with each of them. The success of the books may have been helped by the great authority of Sun Ying'ao,⁴⁰ who in his foreword gave a personal recommendation for Wan Quan (see figure 2):

In the first year of the Longqing era [1567], when I administered the frontier of the province Huguang, my daughter was taken ill. All kinds of physicians prescribed medicine but all without success. I heard that in Luotian there was someone called Wan who had had many wonderful results in the treatment of children. I let him come immediately and ordered him to examine my daughter's illness and treat her. And indeed, she recovered.

痘疹心法序

隆慶紀元予轄楚藩以女之病諸醫用藥皆不効聞羅
田有萬生療小兒有神驗二亟延至之命之診治女病
果愈予政暇時時與萬生卮談乃萬生非如他醫但
了一方一脉自售其術其爲業自素難下及近代醫
書靡不究悉源委剖別是非又能溯諸六經性理根
於吾儒之道信有本矣蓋萬生少嘗從事科舉以不
得志而遂隱於醫宜其世之爲醫者不能望而及也
萬生著有痘疹心法一書予爲梓之俾表見於世以
予愛文求醫之心推言之則爲父母之保赤子者斯

2. Wan Quan, *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* (Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox), 1568 edition. First page of preface. The only extant edition is at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The printing of this book and of the *Discourse on Pox* at the Huguang branch capital Yunyang was sponsored by grand commissioner Sun Ying'ao. The two books of this so-called Yun edition are in separate cases and consist of four booklets (*ce*) each. Reproduced from the collection of the Library of Congress.

Table 1
PUBLICATION HISTORY OF *DOUZHEN SHIYI XINFA*, 1568-1909

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1568		Ed. Sun Ying'ao Yunyang, Huguang		
1573		Ed. Sun Guangzu Huangzhou, Huguang		
1580?			Unknown editor	
1583		Ed. Chen Yunsheng Suzhou, Nanzhili		
1585		Ed. Cao Jixiao Shaoxing, Zhejiang		Posthumous edition "printed in the South." No longer extant.
1588		Ed. Ding Cilü Wuchang, Huguang		
1595				Ed. Wang Yiming Linzhang, Henan Title: <i>Douzhen xinfa</i>
1598-1599				Ed. Li Zhiyong Shaowu, Fujian Title: <i>Douzhen xinfa</i>
1601	Ed. Wu Mianxue Nanjing, Nanzhili Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Ed. Qin Dakui Nanchang, Jiangxi		
1610		Ed. Han Zhongyong Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	Ed. Peng Duanwu Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	
1617			Ed. Deng Shichang Yongzhou, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	
1623		Ed. Wang Yuncheng Published by Qingyitang Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>		
1654	Ed. Wan Da Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1658-1659				Ed. Wan Da Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1687			Ed. Cui Hua Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa quanshu</i>	
1692			Published by Nakamura Magobee, Takeda Jiemon, Nishimura Riemon Kyoto, Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1694				Ed. Zhang Wanyan Qiongzhou, Hainan, Canton Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa jinjinglu</i>
1695			Published by Nakamura Magobee Kyoto, Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1712	Ed. Zhang Bocong and Zhang Tanyi Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Zhang Bocong and Zhang Tanyi Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1717			Published by Xuanhuitang Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>	
1723	Ed. <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i> Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i> Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1724	Ed. Hu Lüe Published by Qingweitang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Hu Lüe Published by Qingweitang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1728			Published by Tanabe Sakuemon, Hayashi Gonbee, and Kawakatsu Gorōemon Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1741	Published by Tongrentang and Fuwentang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Published by Tongrentang and Fuwentang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1778	Ed. Zhang family Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Zhang family Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
AFTER 1778	Published by Zhongxintang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Published by Zhongxintang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1817	Ed. Ouyang Duo Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Ouyang Duo Luotian, Hubei Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1857			Ed. Jueluo Hengbao Zizhou, Sichuan Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>	
1909	Ed. Liu Honglie Wuchang, Hubei Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			

^a Corresponds to Wan Quan's manuscript written in 1549.

^b Corresponds to the so-called Yun[yang] edition of 1568.

^c Corresponds to the so-called Wanli edition issued around 1580.

^d Corresponds to the manuscript assembled around 1584.

When I had time to spare from the business of governing, I talked extensively with Wan and discovered that he was not like other physicians who just know their one prescription and their one pulse, and from there set out to sell their art. As to his profession, Wan has studied all the medical books from the [old classics] *Suwen* and *Nanjing* to the medical treatises of recent times.⁴¹

He has delved in depth into these books from beginning to end and precisely distinguishes what is true from what is false. He is able to trace their principles up to the Six Classics and [to the doctrine of] nature and principle. He is rooted in the Dao of our Confucian tradition. I believe that he has a real foundation.

In his youth he pursued an official career, but as he could not realize his ambitions, he withdrew from public life to pursue the study and practice of medicine (*yin yu yi*). No wonder that the physicians of his generation cannot compare with him! Wan wrote a book that he called *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox*. I had it cut [in woodblocks] to present it to the world because I am a father who loves his daughter and found help in medicine. I would like to transmit it to all those who are fathers or mothers and feel like me when they have to protect a child.

To protect a child is the most difficult task in medicine, but nothing is more difficult than to protect it when it is taken ill with pox. Those who read this book and go through it will find many prescriptions for the treatment of pox. May the art of Mr. Wan spread everywhere and gain acceptance!⁴²

Shortly after Wan's book was published, Sun Ying'ao's daughter was taken ill with a serious and "unfavorable" (*ni*) form of pox. Wan Quan managed to cure her a second time. He reports Sun Ying'ao's exclamation: "You have not deceived me! I do not repent that I supported the printing."⁴³ Sun Ying'ao bestowed on Wan Quan a certificate and a tablet with the inscription "*Ruyi*" (Confucian medical scholar).⁴⁴ In addition, he awarded him with the cap and belt of an imperial official.⁴⁵ It seemed as if Wan Quan had reached the goal of all his previous endeavors.

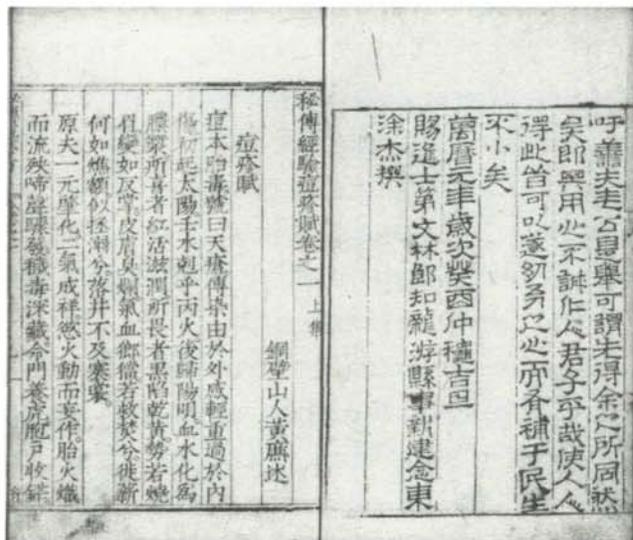
HUANG LIAN, IMPOSTOR AND CONJURER

Around 1551 an incident that was to have far-reaching consequences cast a shadow on the Wan family: all Wan Quan's manuscripts were stolen. The theft remained undiscovered for a considerable time because the manuscripts were secretly copied and put back.

Then in 1562 a book titled *Douzhen quanshu* (Complete Book on Pox) appeared in Ganzhou (Jiangxi Province), some hundred miles southeast of Luotian.⁴⁶ It consisted solely of Wan Quan's early verse. The alleged author Huang Lian (d. 1580) was a well-known figure from Qishui, a county adjacent to Luotian. Huang Lian must have had close contacts with various officials in the south. In a second edition of the *Douzhen quanshu* called *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang* and published in 1573 by prefect Tu Jie (*jinshi* 1571) in Zhejiang Province (see figure 3a) we learn that the first edition was sponsored by surveillance commissioner Mao Ruqi (*jinshi* 1601) and grand coordinator Lu Wen (*jinshi* 1544), both in office in Ganzhou at the time.⁴⁷ Thus, some ten years before Wan Quan's first publication, a plagiarized version was already circulating in the prosperous area of Jiangnan.

Huang Lian appears to have been a most flamboyant person. He claimed to have mastered the whole range of occult sciences from astrology, fortune telling, and geomancy to the magical art of becoming invisible, or transforming himself into somebody or something else. His presumptuous sobriquet, Tongbi shanren (mountain man as hard as a bronze wall), indicates that he liked to regard his body as invulnerable. A story about his capacities and his character has been handed down to us. One day he was challenged by a laughing crowd to treat an old dying tree. Huang Lian applied drugs to its roots, and the tree recovered. The healer demanded that he be invited for a drink as reward.⁴⁸

For his publication Huang Lian had combined various of Wan Quan's texts on the pox, but had made no other changes. Even the preface was taken verbatim from Wan Quan's introduction to the *Essential Methods*, but signed "Huang Lian." As a result of the blending of different manuscripts, many subjects are treated repeatedly in a similar way. Because the copy had been made by someone without medical knowledge, it also contains many copying mistakes. Nevertheless, the



3a



3b



3c

3a. *Michuan yingyan douzhen fang*, 1573 edition. Second edition of the plagiarism edited and sponsored by Tu Jie, prefect in Longyou (Zhejiang). The only known copy held at the Naikaku bunko, Tokyo. Only Huang Lian's name is given. The lines on the right of the text read: "Huang Lian styled mountain man hard as a bronze wall, transmitter [shu]." 3b. Wan Quan, *Douzhen quanshu*, 1574 edition. *Chongke Baoying quanshu* (New Edition of the Complete Book for the Protection of Children) appears as the title, followed by the attribution "Wan Quan styled Mizhai, native of Old Luo[tian], author (zhu)" and "Huang Lian styled mountain man hard as a bronze wall, transmitter (shu)." 3c. *Douzhen quanshu*, 1601 edition. This book is the first of eight books in the collection *Douzhen daquan* edited by Wu Mianxue. Wu Mianxue omits Huang Lian's name, but keeps the title. The lines on the right-hand side of the text read: "Wan Quan styled Mizhai, native of Old Luo[tian], author (zhu), and Wu Mianxue, native of Xin'an, collator (jiao)."

book quickly gained popularity, although it provoked criticism among scholars. Gao Wu (fl. 1515–1559) of Ningbo Prefecture, an official and author of famous acupuncture treatises, who had just published his own pox treatise in 1559, eventually wrote: “The author refers in many parts to the theory of Chen Wenzhong. At the beginning of every paragraph he echoes the statements of famous physicians of the past, but still he pretends that these are his own [insights].”⁴⁹ Because the original manuscript had been written for family use only, Wan Quan had put his stress on medical methods, not on literary correctness.

As Huang Lian’s publication had appeared six years before Wan Quan’s, one might think it was Wan Quan who had to establish that he was the real author and not the plagiarist. However, all sources indicate that this was not the case. It seems instead that Wan Quan felt the need to apologize for the poor quality of the plagiarism. Here is the postscript to the second section of “Suijinfu” (Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry) in his own edition (see figure 4):

In the year *bingwu* [1546] of the Jiajing era I composed prose-poetry (*fu*) and verses to the tune of “Xijiangyue” on pediatrics and pox to teach my sons. In the winter of the year *jiyou* [1549] I wrote the *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox* and concealed it at home for a long time. I did not know that somebody had passed on and copied [the manuscripts], and what is more, plagiarized them and published them as his own creation.⁵⁰ When I wrote the text, my intention was not yet firm; I let the brush freely go and wrote without [restraint]. I would never have shown these writings to other people without feeling uneasy. [In this edition] I corrected many points and filled many of the former gaps.

Written by Quan himself in autumn of the year *wuchen* in the Jiajing era [1568]⁵¹

In Wan Quan’s home prefecture of Huangzhou it was soon understood that the impostor Huang Lian did not have the ability to write a medical book, and that the first plagiarized version of the *Complete Book on Pox* was by the same author as the *Essential Methods*.

鳴詞雖鄙俚兮積如累石法則珍秘兮故曰碎金

嘉靖丙午予嘗手作小兒痘疹賦西江月以教豚犬至己酉冬又著痘疹心要又藏於家不知有文相傳錄者更剽竊為已作刊之彼時見亦未定信筆草草安可示人今特改正以補前之罅漏耳

隆慶戊辰秋九月全自述

董三寫之倫刊

痘疹世醫心法卷之一

痘疹節要總括論

羅田縣密齋萬全集

4. Wan Quan, *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*. 1568 edition. Postscript by Wan Quan to the second section of "Suijinfu." Unpaginated.

The prefect of Huangzhou, Sun Guangzu (*jinshi* 1559), had at first been an enthusiastic user of the “mountain man’s pox book” and was deeply disappointed when he discovered that the cherished pox treatise was a plagiarism. He encouraged a reprint of Wan Quan’s book in 1571, wrote the preface, and engaged for spreading “in every corner” word that the treatise by the man of Luotian, Wan Quan, surpassed by far the plagiarized version.⁵² In his administrative region as well as in his home prefecture of Siming (Ningbo), where the plagiarism had sold well, the news of an authentic and improved version was received with great interest.

After the publication of the *Essential Methods* by Wan Quan, Huang Lian moved away from Qishui County, the detection of the fraud making him persona non grata in his home prefecture. Although the gazetteer of Qishui remains silent about Huang Lian, the gazetteer of his exile county tells us that he had left his home at the end of the Jiajing era, followed a high official of the Ministry of War, and settled down in Huzhou, Zhejiang Province, on the shores of Lake Tai. Here, “between the three cities of Wu,” he lived as a respectable man.⁵³

The change of environment seems to have encouraged Huang Lian to continue his profitable business, this time together with Lu Wen, the official he had followed to Huzhou.⁵⁴ Lu Wen must have known about the fraud. Both found an ingenious way to justify Huang Lian’s part in the publication process: they declared Huang Lian to be the “transmitter” or “explainer” (*shu*) of Wan Quan’s text (see figure 3b). Adopting this role he could feel himself in good company. Two thousand years earlier Confucius had said: “I only transmit, I do not create anything new.”⁵⁵ In 1579 a new reprint of Huang Lian’s plagiarized version was edited by Xing Bang of Linqing, Shandong Province, under the title *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang* (Proven Pox Prescriptions in the Secret Tradition).⁵⁶ The phrase “transmitted by the mountain man Huang Lian” (*Shanren Huang Lian shu*) was used again, but Wan Quan’s name was omitted. It seems most probable that it was Huang Lian who arranged this presentation.

The local gazetteer of Huzhou mentions two other books allegedly written by Huang Lian: one on military strategy, called *Bingfa milu* (Secret Records on Military Tactics), and a medical book, *Shanghan*

zhaijin (Excerpts from the Teachings on Cold Damage).⁵⁷ The latter may well be another plagiarism of Wan Quan's work, since it has the same title as a manuscript Wan Quan wrote in the 1540s.⁵⁸ Both books are, however, lost.

After 1579 there are no more references to the "mountain man," and we may assume that he died in the early 1580s.⁵⁹ In 1601 Wu Mianxue, a scholarly publisher from Anhui and the editor of several medical treatises, put an end to the discussion about the origin of the *Complete Book on Pox* for the time being.⁶⁰ When he published the 1574 edition by Lu Wen in his *Douzhen daquan* (Great Book Collection on Pox), he omitted the name of Huang Lian as "transmitter" and inserted the name of Wan Quan as author (see figure 3c).⁶¹ Thus it is clear that the forgery of Wan Quan's pox treatise was understood in the sixteenth century, but this knowledge was eventually lost. In 1889 Huang Lian's treatise was published again (see table 2). It is only recently that Chinese bibliographies of medical literature stopped listing Huang Lian as the author of the pox treatise.

Plagiarism was obviously repudiated in Japan to a much greater degree than in China. Japanese pox specialists Ikeda Jūkō and Ikeda Zuisen (fl. 1818–1821) reacted with indignation when they rediscovered the similarity of Huang Lian's pox treatise to that of Wan Quan.⁶² Their argument, which is written by hand in red letters directly on the third page of Wu Mianxue's edition,⁶³ is recorded in the famous bibliography *Zhongguo yijikao* (Investigation into the Old Medical Literature of China) of 1819 by Tanba Mototane (also known under his honorary family name Taki). The Ikedas' accusation culminates in the exclamation: "Ah ya! How could the Ancients call somebody like this a mountain man: a man who stole the 'Complete Book on Pox' from Wan [Quan]!"⁶⁴

THE HEIRS OF THE FRAUD: DING FENG, THE SPIRITUAL HEALER

Ironically, the "mountain man" soon became a legend that itself could be manipulated by industrious plagiarists. As early as 1582 the forgery was newly faked. A healer by the name of Ding Feng (fl. 1554–1582), a native of Jiangpu in Jiangsu Province, took up the thread and created the myth of heaven-sent prescriptions handed down in ancient times by a

Table 2

PUBLICATION HISTORY OF WAN QUAN'S MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE *DOUZHEN SHIYI XINFA* (VERSION 1), WRITTEN BETWEEN 1546 AND 1550

PUBLICATION DATE	(ALLEGED) AUTHOR	TITLE	EDITOR OR EDITION	AVAILABILITY	LIBRARY
CA. 1560-1563	Huang Lian	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Mao Ruqi and Lu Wen Ganzhou, Jiangxi	lost	Reference of Wan Quan (1568, 1580), Mao Ruqi (1573), and Lu Wen (1574)
1573	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jiangyan douzhen fang</i>	Tu Jie Longyou, Zhejiang	extant	Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1574	Huang Lian	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Lu Wen Huzhou, Zhejiang	extant	Naikaku bunko, Tokyo Shanghai tushuguan
1579	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jiangyan douzhen fang</i>	Xing Bang Changlu, Beizhili	extant	China Academy of Medical Sciences, Beijing, Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1580-1618?	Zhu Danxi	<i>Youke quanshu</i>	Fu Shaozhang, Imperial Academy of Medicine Published by Fuchuntang, Nanjing	extant	Shanghai tushuguan Handwritten copy in Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1582	Ding Feng	<i>Michuan jingyan douke yuhanji</i>	Ding Mingdeng	extant	China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing
1582	Ding Feng	<i>Douke yuhanji</i>	Cai Yuelan Fengcheng, Jianxi	lost	Reference in <i>Zhongguo yijikao</i>
1601	Wan Quan	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Wu Mianxue Xin'an, Nanzhili	extant	Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing libraries; Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1654	Wan Quan	<i>Pianyu douzhen</i>	Wan Da Luotian, Huguang	extant	Luotian, China China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing
1723	Zhu Danxi	<i>Youke quanshu</i>	in <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i>	extant	
1723	Wan Quan	<i>Pianyu douzhen</i>	in <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i>	extant	
1889	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jingyan douzhen fang</i>	Publisher unknown	extant	Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine

mysterious “mountain man.” He published under his own name a book in six chapters with the title *Douke yuhan ji* (Collection of Prescriptions on the Discipline of Pox in a Jade Envelope).⁶⁵ Except for two chapters the content is identical with Huang Lian’s *Complete Book on Pox*.⁶⁶

A disciple of Ding Feng, Cai Yuelan (fl. ca. 1582), describes in a colophon his teacher as a healer with thirty years of experience in pox medicine, who had displayed supernatural abilities during a pox epidemic in the capital in 1582. The book is presented as a revision of secret scriptures by the two “ancient healers” Huang [Lian] of Huguang Province and a man of western Sichuan Province with the surname Long⁶⁷ and is said to be “pervaded by the spirit of Ding Feng.”

Cai recounts a conversation with Ding Feng. When he asked his teacher whether he had recorded his own wonderful prescriptions for potentially fatal pox conditions, Ding Feng laughed, patted Cai on the back, and said, “No, my friend, these are still in my belly!” Cai interprets this answer as a sign of his teacher’s greatness and supernatural powers. At the end of the colophon he even advances the daring comparison — drawing on the sound of the names — between Ding Feng styled Zhuxi (“stream in the bamboo wood”) and the famous Neo-Confucianist thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and does not shy away from the additional comparison between himself, Cai Yuelan, and the famous follower of Zhu Xi, Cai Yuanding (1135–1198).⁶⁸

Ding Feng has bequeathed to us another medical work, the *Yifang jiyi* (Collection of Appropriate Medical Prescriptions). Here it is his grandson Ding Mingdeng (*jinshi* 1616) who writes the foreword and holds that his grandfather’s collection goes back to an “ancestor who had received these secret prescriptions in a dragon mountain cave from extraordinary men.”⁶⁹ Although the book is listed in the historical records of the Ming dynasty,⁷⁰ we have good reason to doubt that Ding Feng wrote it. But for the moment it would lead us too far astray to examine the origin of this book.

FU SHAOZHANG, THE DISCOVERER

Some time between 1580 and 1618 news spread that someone had discovered an old manuscript on pediatrics and pox medicine by the famous medical author Zhu Zhenheng, better known under his sobriquet

Danxi (1281–1358). The alleged discoverer, Fu Shaozhang, was a native of Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, the home city of the Wan clan. He immediately converted his finding into a publication and added the following foreword:

My humble self, Zhang, found a manuscript in a chest inherited from my honored grandfather. Skimming through the manuscript I noticed that it was on pediatrics. Carefully reading it again, I noticed that everywhere it bore the name and sign of [Zhu] Danxi. I presumed that it was my grandfather's wish to keep it secret and not to transmit it. [But then I thought] that even if I tried to keep it secret, it would never be possible to do so forever. Moreover, all scholars would certainly be happy to freely cast a glance into the hidden heritage [of Zhu Danxi]. How could I, Zhang, dare to keep my discovery secret?⁷¹

Fu Shaozhang's "discovery," however, represents a new juxtaposition of different stolen texts: the first part is identical with the pediatric verses that Wan Quan had written during 1546 and 1547; the second part represents a text on pediatric manual therapy (*tuina*) by an unknown author; and the third part — with the exception of a few passages of unknown origin — is identical with the version of the pox treatise plagiarized by Huang Lian.

Fu Shaozhang submitted the newly constructed forgery to the Imperial Academy of Medicine. Here it was acknowledged as an authentic work by Zhu Danxi and used as teaching material for medical students. The well-known Tang publishing family (fl. 1565–1639) in Nanjing had it printed under the title *Youke quanshu* (Complete Book on Pediatrics) (see figure 5).⁷²

The "discovery" of a pediatric text by Zhu Danxi was greeted with great interest and immediately registered in the medical bibliography *Yizang shumu* (issued around 1618).⁷³ During the Qing dynasty long passages from the parts on pediatrics and on the pox were included in *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Great Collection of Illustrations and Books of Old and New Times).⁷⁴ The encyclopedia quotes first the plagiarized texts — falsely attributed to Zhu Danxi — and then the more or less identical texts by Wan Quan. The fact that none of the editors of the famous

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卷一

觀形察色法	西江月七首	辨小兒脈法	西江月二首
論小兒治法	西江月二首	胎疾	西江月十四首
驚風	西江月二首	驚風	西江月六首
嘔吐	西江月二首	泄瀉	西江月十四首
吐瀉	西江月二首	痢疾	西江月八首
驚疾	西江月六首	發熱	西江月四首
哮喘	西江月一首	咳嗽	西江月七首
小兒急救驚風記		看小兒生死歌	
看孩童諸驚生死歌訣		諸驚名色	

朱丹溪先生著

幼科全書

文林閣唐錦池梓

5. On the right: *Youke quanshu* (Complete Book on Pediatrics). Edited by Fu Shaozhang. Cover page. Zhu Danxi is given as the author, Tang Jinchi of Wenlin'ge as the publisher. No date of publication is given. Shanghai Library holds the only copy. On the left: First page of the table of contents. The title here appears as "Xinke taiyiyuan jiao shou Danxi micang youke jiejing quanshu" (New Printing of the Secret Complete Book on Pediatrics in Shortcuts by Danxi, Collated and Taught at the Imperial Academy of Medicine).

encyclopedia noticed the similarity of the texts contributed to the confusion in Ming-dynasty pediatric and pox treatises facing us today.⁷⁵

BITTER TRUTH

In a society that cherishes filial piety as one of the strongest human bonds (and one that links every man to his ancestors), the case of a son robbing his own father is especially nasty. We can imagine the shock Wan Quan received when he discovered that this had happened to him. Some time between 1551 and 1568, Wan Quan realized that it was his eldest son, Wan Bangzhong (b. 1526), who had stolen his early manuscripts and sold them. Did Wan Quan know or suspect it soon after the theft? Or was he completely unprepared when the truth finally came out?

It was important to Wan Quan to clarify the history of his book, even if it meant disclosing to the public the misconduct of his son. At the age of nearly eighty he published a revised edition of the *Essential Methods*, adding a new preface and a chronology in which he followed the development of the different editions as well as the route his manuscripts took to arrive in the hands of the "mountain man." (I refer to this edition, tentatively dated 1580, as the Wanli edition.)⁷⁶ As the preface clarifies the origin of the different text versions, editions, and plagiarisms, I give its translation in full:

Chronology of the Different Editions of the *Essential Methods* for the Treatment of Pox

*The Ganzhou Edition*⁷⁷

It contains *The Essentials of Pox in Prose-Poetry* and verses written to the tune "Xijiangyue," all written in the years *bingwu* and *dingwei* [1546 and 1547]. These texts were intended to teach my sons. They are written in a rather simple and popular style so that they are easy to understand and easy to remember.

It also contains the memorizing *gekuo*-verses of the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox*. These were written in the years *jiyou* and *gengxu* [1549 and 1550] and intended for posterity. I did not dare show them to anybody.

All these manuscripts, written in four years, were given without my knowledge to Yu Chaoxian⁷⁸ by my eldest son, Wan Bangzhong. Yu Chaoxian gave them to a man called Wang Lian.⁷⁹ This Wang Lian [pretended that] they were his own writings and had them printed in Junmen in the prefecture of Ganzhou.

The Yunyang Edition

It contains the *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox* and the *Important Treatise on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge on Pox*. The latter was written in the years *renzi* and *guichou* [1552 and 1553]. Although it was complete, I concealed it in a chest and did not dare show it to anybody. But I always feared a disastrous flood [might occur again and destroy the manuscripts].⁸⁰ Then the imperially sent grand coordinator for the Yunyang region and vice censor-in-chief, His Excellence Sun, supported a printing in the government agency of the branch capital. This was in the year *jisi* of the Longqing era [1569]. Shortly before the printing I changed the title *Essentials [of Pox] in Prose-Poetry*⁸¹ into *Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry*.⁸²

The Huangzhou Edition

It is of the year *xinwei* of the Longqing era [1571]. The prefect of Huangzhou, Sun [Guangzu], supported this printing. It is identical with the Yunyang printing and represents only a reprint.

The reason for the present printing is that after the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox* had been printed there were still manifestations [of pox] that had not been fully described and therapeutic methods that had not been mentioned. The gaps it contained were countless. It could not claim to be a complete work.

I am growing old, and all these things are moving into the far distance. Therefore, I arranged the different manifestations [of pox] that I treated in bygone days with their appropriate therapeutic methods, and composed for every case history a theorem [in verses that could be memorized]. Every theorem has an

appendix of case histories. I also tried to fill the gaps [in the former editions]. Although there are now more than a hundred paragraphs, the subject has not been exhaustively discussed. I have to leave that which is not included to the worthies of the following generations.⁸³

Given the impact the affair of the stolen manuscripts had had on Wan Quan's personal and professional life, the chronology is astonishing in its matter-of-factness. Wan Quan must have felt that his very life work had been betrayed.

It seems, though, that the shock had also a positive effect, at least in retrospect: it initiated a gradual shift in Wan Quan's orientation. Before, he tried to keep his manuscripts secret; from then on he understood his findings as being of public interest, in a way similar to that with which we regard science and research today. His readership — if it is appropriate to use this modern word — had suddenly expanded enormously,⁸⁴ and though it was anonymous, it was much more demanding, ambitious, and sophisticated than his sons and apprentices had been. The title Confucian Medical Scholar (*Ruyi*) that Wan Quan had received fostered the consciousness of his being part of a prestigious group and carrying the responsibility for a particular tradition.

In the last years of his life Wan Quan was preoccupied with the single thought of how his oeuvre could fulfill the literary requirements of Confucian medical tradition and be transmitted independently of the family. He revised and polished the manuscripts he had already written; he also wrote new treatises on medical fields that were of personal interest to him but had not been part of the family tradition. With enormous exertion he assembled a group of specialized treatises that covered the wide range of medical subjects of the time: pediatrics, pox, gynecology, internal medicine, febrile illnesses, longevity, and fertility. These manuscripts formed a collection of Wan Quan's works that was published only after his death,⁸⁵ but that he had prepared himself.⁸⁶

Wan Quan gave all the treatises written after 1569 a new outline to protect them against new attempts at forgery. He supplemented them with case histories (dating from 1523 to 1572) of a defined circle of patients, which linked them unmistakably with his own person. Here he listed

dates, names, titles, and localities, as well as illnesses and treatments. The illnesses and their respective manifestations are all portrayed in the same order: two couplets of instructive memorizing verses (*gekuo*), theoretical exposition, treatment scheme, prescriptions, and exemplary case histories. The texts display a unity of structure and stylistic features that, together with the characteristic composition of his prescriptions, allow us to assign them to Wan Quan with a high degree of certainty. His lively style of writing, enriched with metaphors and anecdotes, moreover, distinguishes his books as works of a literary value seldom found in medical writing.

One of Wan Quan's main activities in his last years was the expansion and revision of his pox treatise. Practical aspects of treatment were discussed and many case histories woven into the text. Whereas the theoretical work *Discourse on Pox*, apart from some minor additions, retained the shape it had in 1552,⁸⁷ the practically oriented *Essential Methods*, written in 1549 and plagiarized by Huang Lian in the 1550s, underwent many revisions. Also, Wan Quan believed that his first edition of 1568 had long since become obsolete. As his chronology of editions reflects, however, he did not know that this version of the *Essential Methods* was being published over and over again. Indeed, the reprint of Wan Quan's book in Huangzhou by Prefect Sun Guangzu in 1573 had initiated a wave of imitations. It was common practice in Ming times for philanthropic officials to support the publication of medical texts to demonstrate their enlightened attitude and benevolence. Every prefect who attached importance to his duty as a Confucian political educator supported a new impression from the Yunyang-edition blocks and distributed it in the area under his administrative power.⁸⁸ In their forewords, however, the honorable personalities paid homage only to each other, never to Wan Quan.⁸⁹

Since none of these editions contains any reference to Wan Quan, Chinese researchers have usually assumed that Wan Quan died around 1579. It is true that the last preface we have from his hands is dated 1579.⁹⁰ But a comparison of all extant editions allows us to identify yet another version of the *Essential Methods*. It contains textual revisions clearly made by Wan Quan himself that are not included in the 1579 version. Furthermore, the *Discourse on Pox* and the *Essential Methods* were put together and for the first time consecutively numbered, presumably

by the editor.⁹¹ This last version is tentatively dated 1584.⁹² It is included in the posthumously published collection *Complete Medical Books by Wan Mizhai* under the title *Douzhen xinfa* (Essential Methods for Pox).

Thus, we have at least two versions of the text of the *Essential Methods* prepared before 1579 and two prepared after 1579, and can assess the progress of Wan Quan's writing from 1568 until the end of his life. We can differentiate the editions by the number of memorizing verses (*gekuo*).⁹³ Wan Quan enlarged the *Essential Methods* from 153 couplets in 1549, to 203 couplets in 1568, and finally to 233 couplets in 1580 and 1584 (see table 3; for the publication history of these versions, see table 1).

As Wan Quan says himself in his chronology of the different editions, he had supplemented the *Essential Methods* with case histories. Indeed, the two editions written after 1579 contain case histories, the two written before 1579 do not. Version 4, which has the same number of couplets as version 3, differs from it in content: the case histories are newly arranged, anecdotal information is deleted, and many expressions are changed.⁹⁴

The history of the editions of his pox treatise shows that Wan Quan was never content with what he had achieved. Even after the great

Table 3
NUMBER OF COUPLETS IN THE CORRESPONDING CHAPTERS (JUAN) OF THE
DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF *ESSENTIAL METHODS*

CHAPTER	VERSION 1	VERSION 2	VERSION 3	VERSION 4
	1549	1568	1580	1584
1	14	14	19	19
2	15	16	19	19
3	18	18	22	22
4	26	32	35	35
5	20	25	34	34
6	17	17	19	19
7	5	11	11	11
8	in chap. 9	32	36	36
9	38	26	26	26
10	-	12	12	12
Sum	153	203	233	233

NOTE: The numbering of the chapters differs in the four versions.

revision undertaken to prevent further forgeries, he still felt committed to improving the text. If my assumption concerning the date of his birth is correct, Wan Quan must have been at least eighty-four when he made his last brushstroke on a manuscript or gave his last instructions for changes. We may assume that he continued to work until he died.

WAN QUAN'S LAST WILL AND THE FOLLOWING GENERATIONS

Although Wan Quan was concerned throughout his life with completing his pox treatise, he seems to have considered the *Youke fahui* (Elucidations of Pediatrics) his most important book.⁹⁵ He regarded this pediatric treatise as representing the essence of his medical knowledge and experience. In his preface he summarizes the endeavors of his professional life. It may well be regarded as a kind of will:

I wrote a book called *Family Secrets for the Rearing of Children* that I intended to bequeath to my sons and grandsons as a third-generation [legacy]. Alas, I have ten sons, and none of them can carry on [our art of healing]. . . . Later I wrote the book *Elucidations of Pediatrics*. . . . I do not leave it to my sons: I fear that they will not understand its meaning. The fruitful tradition of the Wan family has not yet reached the fourth generation but is breaking off.⁹⁶

Obviously, Wan Quan had given up hope that any of his sons — not just his eldest, Bangzhong, who had stolen the manuscripts, but his nine other sons as well — might carry on the family tradition of medicine. However, he tried not to be too hard on them:

The discipline [of pediatrics incorporates] the secret traditions of our ancestors, who wanted to bequeath them to their sons and grandsons as their precious legacy. Now, even though I have ten sons, they are all unsophisticated. They do not know how to protect precious things and can easily be tempted to reveal secrets. I am really very much concerned about that.⁹⁷

Wan Quan was also critical of his apprentices from outside the family, reproaching them for being more interested in business than in ethics. In the preface quoted above he compares his apprentices to Chen Xiang,

the disciple of Confucius, who forgot all that he had learned and followed a merchant.⁹⁸

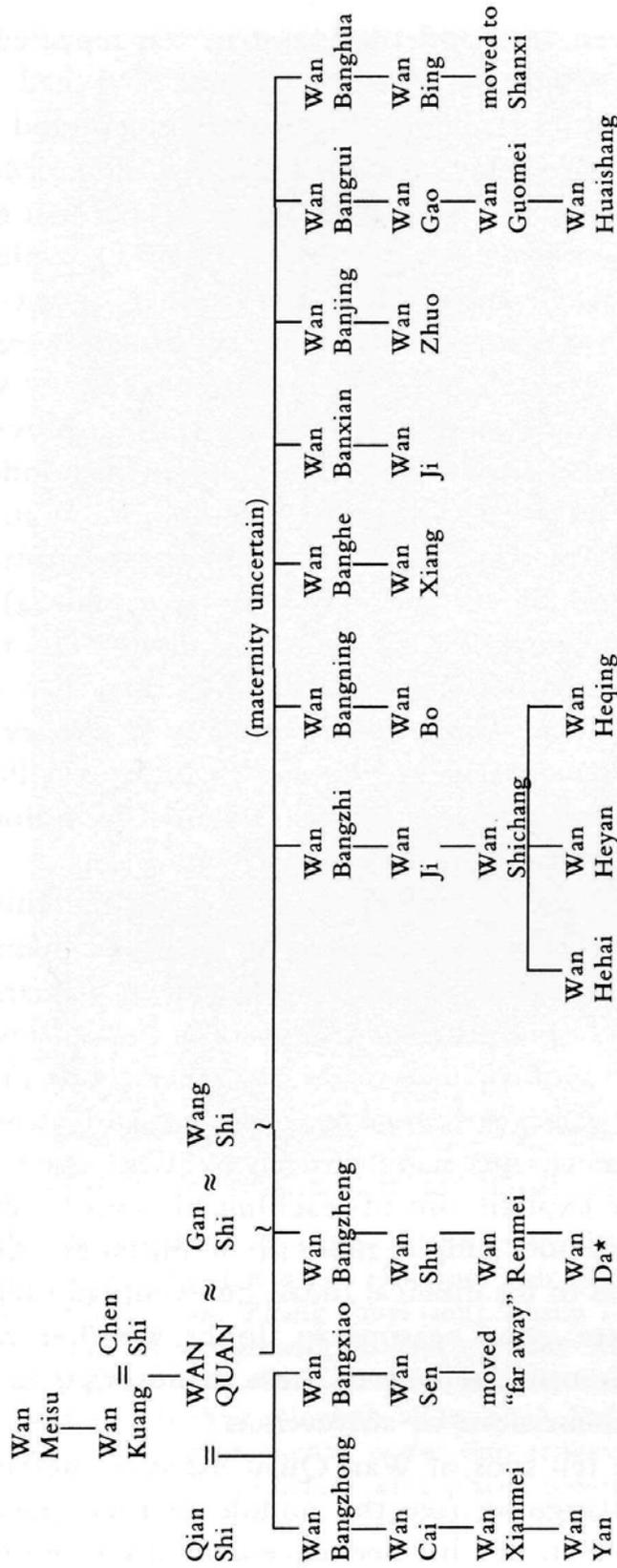
If we look for reasons that all ten of Wan Quan's sons displayed such a lack of professional zeal, we cannot ignore the impact of the changing political and economic situation at the end of the Ming dynasty. The rapid growth of commerce produced a tremendous ferment that involved all realms of society. Wan Quan's sons, who had known since childhood the hardships of a physician's life, may have tried to escape their status and looked for easier ways to earn their living. Economic constraints as well as new social and economic chances may have played a much greater role in the professional life of the sons than in that of Wan Quan in his youth.

I have found no source that indicates whether after Wan Quan's death any of his sons achieved a reputation in medicine or continued to practice medicine at all. The only reference to Wan Quan's sons we have is from a friend of the Wan family, Wang Yiming, who had grown up in the neighboring county of Huanggang. While in office as prefect of a county in Henan Province, Wang invested a great deal of money to get Wan Quan's pox treatise printed. He dedicated the edition to Wan Quan and his sons, declaring that his late father was a close friend of Wan Quan's son Bangzheng.⁹⁹ Wang Yiming's colophon is full of grief: Wang Yiming had lost his own son through a pox disease, and, as he explains, only because in Henan appropriate medical treatment had not been available and he had had no access to Wan Quan's book.

According to the defective family register of the Wan clan,¹⁰⁰ Wan Quan's grandsons were not as numerous as one might expect (see the genealogical tree in figure 6). Only one child is recorded for each of the ten sons, and we know little about the lives of either the sons or the grandsons. The next generation dwindled to six, if we are to believe the family register. Two of these six great-grandsons moved away from Luotian, one to the northern province of Shaanxi, one to an unknown place. Nothing is known about the four who stayed in Luotian, apart from the fact that one of their sons later republished Wan Quan's writings. But none of the descendants seems to have excelled in any profession. In Luotian County today the members of the Wan clan are peasants. The decline may have been caused by the unrest experienced

Figure 6

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE WAN FAMILY



Wan family tree. Established according to the *Wanshi zongpu* (the only extant copy is in Luotian County) and family data mentioned in Wan Quan's case histories.

at the time: between 1630 and 1651 Luotian was repeatedly involved in the rebellions of tenants and bond servants that had started in the neighboring county of Macheng.¹⁰¹ These multicentered rebellions taking place all over the empire heralded the end of the Ming dynasty.

Around 1650 all the woodblocks used for the first edition of Wan Quan's collected works were destroyed by fire. The copies stored in the library of Luotian also burned.¹⁰² It was Wan Quan's great-great grandson Wan Da (marked with an asterisk in the genealogical tree in figure 6), great-grandson of Wan Quan's third son, Bangzheng,¹⁰³ who prevented the legacy of his famous ancestor from disappearing forever. He brought to light a set of Wan Quan's manuscripts that had been hidden in the wall of the house and survived the period of rebellion. Wan Da personally took responsibility for a new printing of the manuscripts (see figure 7). Engraving new woodblocks took six years (see table 4) and was supported by various magistrates of Luotian County.¹⁰⁴ To create a publishing sensation, Wan Da first issued two manuscripts that, as he declared, contained the most secret family traditions: *Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen* (Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pox) in thirteen *juan* and *Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu* (Essential Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pediatrics) in five *juan*.¹⁰⁵

Both books were welcomed as if their contents were of the highest value. The *Jade Book on Pox* is, however, identical with the version of the pox treatise of 1550 that had been plagiarized by Huang Lian and his "heirs." The *Essential Jade Book on Pediatrics* is identical with the pediatric verses of 1546 that Fu Shaozhang had published in his *Shortcuts from the Complete Book on Pediatrics* and attributed to Zhu Danxi.¹⁰⁶ Both manuscripts were written by Wan Quan between 1546 and 1550 with the explicit aim of teaching his sons.¹⁰⁷ Wan Quan later felt that they were too simple and full of mistakes. As he held to a concept of progress in his medical ideas, he eventually regarded them as obsolete. There are good reasons to doubt whether he would have approved of the dramatic release of these manuscripts to a public readership without explanations or corrections.

Among the ten sons of Wan Quan listed in the family register is one called Wan Bangning (see the middle of the genealogical tree in figure 6). His name, if not his person, eventually came to play a major



7. Wan Quan, *Wan Mizhai shu*. Cover page of the 1778 edition, published by the Zhang family's Shilütang publishing house in Hanyang. This edition was first issued in 1712 by Zhang Bocong (father) and Zhang Tanyi (son). Zhang Tanyi is mentioned on the right-hand side of the cover page with his courtesy name Zhang Kezhai. In 1778 two grandsons, Zhang Renda and Zhang Renzuo, produced a new impression and added a colophon. According to their colophon, all ten books had been newly arranged according to the logic of the reproductive cycle: thus longevity, fertility, general medicine, and gynecology (birth medicine) were placed before pediatrics and pox medicine. (See the list of titles in the two lines on the left-hand side.) Collection of the Gest Library.

Table 4

WORKS INCLUDED IN THE WAN DA EDITION OF WAN MIZHAI YIXUE QUANSHU
(COMPLETE COLLECTION OF MEDICAL BOOKS BY WAN MIZHAI), 1654-1659

1654	<i>Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen</i>	Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pox	13 juan
1655	<i>Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu</i>	Essential Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pediatrics	5 juan
1656-1657	<i>Xinjuan Wanshi jiacang yuying jiami</i>	New Cut of the Wan Family's Secrets for Rearing Infants	4 juan
1656-1657	<i>Xinjuan Luotian Wanshi jiacang furen mike</i>	New Cut of the Wan Family of Luotian's Tradition of the Secret Specialty of Gynecology	3 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan baoming gekuo</i>	Memorizing Verses of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Protection of Life	35 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao</i>	Essentials of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Multiplying of Offspring	16 juan
1658-1659	<i>Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan shanghan zhaijin</i>	New Printing of the Wan Family's Excerpt for Cold Damage	2 juan
1658-1659	<i>Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan yangsheng siyao</i>	New Printing of Four Essentials of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Nourishment of Life	5 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui</i>	Elucidation of the Wan Family's Tradition for Pediatrics	2 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa</i>	Essential Methods of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Treatment of Pox	23 juan

role in the further destiny of Wan Quan's legacy. A book in which a person by this name is mentioned in connection with certain events at the emperor's court is the most puzzling example of plagiarism centering on Wan Quan's works.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Before going into the details of this case of the mysterious court physician, I would like to make some general observations. All the material I

have gathered suggests that plagiarism was not regarded as a serious problem in the Ming dynasty. Rather the reverse: encouraged by the great expansion of commercial publishing in the context of changing economic and social structures, a multitude of dubious authors published medical works by adopting and falsifying the books or manuscripts of others. There seems to have been a high demand for medical books that contained treatment instructions for private use. Cleverly designed manuals on selected medical problems, equipped with a set of prescriptions, preferably of "secret" origin, sold extraordinarily well.¹⁰⁸ Eager to meet the needs of their customers, commercial publishing houses did not carefully scrutinize the manuscripts they were offered. Indeed, the publishing houses augmented the confusion by producing their own abridgments and arrangements of authors and texts they had in production (see figure 1).¹⁰⁹ No editor, no publisher ever uses the word "plagiarize" (*piaoqie*). The only person I found who characterized a plagiarism as theft is the author — Wan Quan.

It is true that Confucian literati lamented the corruption of canonical texts through coarse, profit-oriented printing procedures and pirated editions.¹¹⁰ But their criticism focused on the carelessness of carvers and printers, which led to errors and omissions that could change the meaning of a text.¹¹¹ The issue of intellectual property was hardly discussed. The fact that the value of Confucian authors tended to lie not in their innovative approach, but rather in their ability to illuminate a specific problem with the arguments of earlier authors, fostered the attitude in China that plagiarism was a trivial offense. This attitude seemed to dominate until today. Not so, however, in Japan. Here, the perception of plagiarism as a serious moral problem led to the early establishment of copyright law.¹¹²

The fate of medical books dealing with pox and pediatric medicine may well serve as an example of the fate of Chinese medical books in general. Wan Quan's oeuvre represents an authoritative part of the literature on pox and pediatric medicine of the Ming dynasty. Its development can explain how medical publication on a small scale, and the transmission of a medical oeuvre on a large scale, worked during a time that differs much from ours in social, economic, and structural terms. To find out that a considerable part of the medical literature was faked (in

the sense of being plagiarized, published under different titles and authors, or representing a blend of different texts) is of course disturbing. But once we become accustomed to looking at this printing history without the prejudices of someone living in “copyright land,” we can use this new knowledge as the basis for a more realistic approach to the history of Chinese medical books. The fate of Wan Quan’s legacy helps us discover an enormous benefit that pirated editions brought to all fields of knowledge: they supplied the public with information on a scale that would never have been possible under modern copyright laws. Wan Quan’s fame — like that of many other scholars — was probably founded to a considerable extent on the fact that because of the number of plagiarized versions, his writings circulated all over the empire. That parts of the publications were distributed without the author’s knowledge and agreement was part of the price that had to be paid for this advantage. Another part of that price is paid by modern researchers who face confusion not only in the history of books, but in the history of ideas as well.

THE MYSTERIOUS COURT PHYSICIAN

It was in 1994, while doing research at the library of the Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, that my curiosity was aroused by a little-known book on pediatrics. As my investigation had uncovered more and more examples of plagiarism and misattribution, I had begun to approach each new manuscript with some suspicion: any treatise lacking a complete pedigree was in my eyes a potential plagiarism. The book I was looking at was called *Wanshi yiguan* (The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family, hereafter referred to as *The One Thread*).¹¹³ Although the title suggested that the book might deal with the medicine of Wan Quan and his ancestors, this notion was quickly dispelled. The preface entitled “Original Preface by Mister Wan” (Wanshi yuanxu) bears a signature and seal marks “Wan Xian / Bangning,”¹¹⁴ according to the preface a high-ranking physician at the imperial court during the Jiajing era (1522–1566). It was dated the first year of Longqing era, that is, 1567.

The edition I had come across is an 1871 printing by the publish-



8. Wan Bangning, *Wanshi yiguan* (The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family), 1871 edition. On the right: Cover page. The book consists of three thread-bound volumes titled “heaven,” “earth,” and “man.” The horizontal line at the head of the cover page reads “In the second month of spring in the year *xinwei* of the Tongzhi era [1871]” (Tongzhi *xinwei* zhongchun). On the left: The vertical line in the center reads “Wanshi yiguan.” The line of text on the right-hand side reads “Printed by Ye from the publishing house Zhengruitang in Lumen [Amoy]” (Lumen Zhengruitang Ye kan). The line of text on the lower left-hand side reads “The woodblocks are stored at the Yinxin shuwu in Lumen” (Ban cang Lumen Yinxin shuwu).

ing house Zhengruitang of Lumen (the old name of Amoy), and represents, according to all contemporary bibliographies, the earliest edition (see figure 8).¹¹⁵ It is supplied with a foreword by a certain Wang Jingxian of Fuzhou, whose identity is not clear.¹¹⁶ Wang writes that Ye Qingju (styled Wenlan) of Lumen had “received” the manuscript and, because he was committed to charity projects for poor children and orphans, had published it. This is all we know about Ye Qingju, who is not to my knowledge recorded in any gazetteer or other biographical source. As

the owner of a publishing house, he presumably was not a physician. Wang, who claims to be ignorant about medicine himself, gives no further information about the origin of *The One Thread*. The foreword is followed by two stamps similar in style to the stamps of “Wan Xian” and “Bangning” mentioned above.¹¹⁷ Although no bibliography published before 1871 includes this book, modern bibliographies, starting with Cao Bingzhang’s *Zhongguo yixue dacheng zongmu tiyao* (preface 1935), all hold that *The One Thread* was first published in 1567, which is the year given in the “Original Preface by Mister Wan.” The most recent bibliography of Chinese medicine, *Zhongguo yiji tongkao* (1990–1994), published by the Shanghai Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, commends the book for its superior structure and content. The famous prescription *Wanshi niuhuang qingxinwan* (Bovine Bezoar Heart-Clearing Pills of Mister Wan), still widely used today, is said to originate in this book.¹¹⁸

Strangely enough no one seems to have realized that *The One Thread* — apart from a few minor differences — is identical with Wan Quan’s most important pediatric work, the *Youke fahui*.¹¹⁹ One reason may be that the “Original Preface by Mister Wan” is so long and eccentric that it has the ring of truth.

The “Original Preface by Mister Wan”

The preface begins conventionally:

In my youth I read the holy books of Confucius, where it says that a man without perseverance cannot become a physician.¹²⁰ . . . [I, Wan Bang] Ning, have practiced medicine my whole life long and attended to both my father and the emperor. That someone is devoted [to his father and the emperor] is his duty and not at all extraordinary.¹²¹

The (alleged) autobiographical tale that follows this introduction is long and overblown, so I restrict myself here to a synopsis: Wan Bangning is trained by his father as a fifth-generation physician and “since his milk-tooth childhood” imbued with the desire to rescue people from suffering. His struggles to improve the lot of all people find their highest fulfillment when the emperor orders the education intendants of all

provinces to search the empire for "hidden talents": among the countless aspirants of his province it is he, Wan Bangning, who is selected to serve at the court.¹²²

As physician of the Imperial Academy of Medicine in the capital, Wan Bangning is in direct contact with the emperor and receives a regular salary. He is so devoted to the emperor that he "crawls on the floor" and neglects both himself and his family. But his devotion cannot prevent his sudden and unexpected fall from grace at the age of ninety. This episode is recounted using all the technical jargon — bureaucratic as well as medical — of the period:

In the year *jiazi* of the Jiajing era [1564], on the day of the hundred flowers,¹²³ a flying bear entered the bosom of the imperial concubine of the inner palace, Her Highness Gan. The eunuch in office reported to the emperor that Her Highness Gan of the sixth palace was pregnant with a "dragon fruit." The emperor was delighted. Hardly three months later Her Highness Gan was taken ill with intermittent fever. The imperial physician Zhu Lin was commanded to come to the palace, kneel down, take her pulse, and inform the emperor [about the illness]. Zhu prescribed a concoction of Bupleurum roots and cinnamon twigs (*Chaihu guizhi tang*) in three doses.¹²⁴ [Her Highness] was healed.

But then, on the day of the Duanwu-festival,¹²⁵ Her Highness Gan walked on the golden bridge together with her maid-in-waiting. She amused herself on the dragon boats, and this excitement caused an abortion of the fruit. [The reasons] were not revealed to the emperor. He was told instead that [the abortion] was caused by a mistake of the physician. The Dragon Throne flew into a rage and did not distinguish black from white: all members of the Imperial Academy of Medicine were submitted to criminal punishment by the six ministries and nine chief ministers — the person chiefly responsible was beheaded, all auxiliary duty officers throttled, and the others flogged and banished.¹²⁶

Wan Bangning, although he was in his ninetieth year, was spared nothing: he was flogged and sent to the extreme south of China. During the

long journey of seven thousand *li* to the remote province of Guangxi, he “sleeps in the snow while blizzards lash” his body. “Tears run down the face” while he wonders, “Is this the life for an old man of spirit?”

After his arrival in Guangxi fortune smiled on him again. The vice-prefect of his exile prefecture Wuzhou, Ke Wenzhao, welcomed the old physician and treated him with great respect. The two men started a lively interchange of ideas and discovered in each other the soulmate they had searched for all their lives. Wan Bangning — or, better, the person who wrote the preface — describes Ke Wenzhao as a remarkably hospitable and cultivated man who spent his leisure time with poetry and gardening and felt a deep affection for all living beings. He praises Ke Wenzhao’s liberal-mindedness, generosity, and tolerance, and suggests that Ke would be the right person to become chief minister of rites at the court: his talent for reconciling conflicts would be worthy of registration in the dynastic records.

Three years had passed when Wan Bangning received the news of his rehabilitation and was summoned back to the court. “Tears run down and wet the garments” of both men — not tears of joy but tears of pain at parting. Back at court Wan Bangning was promoted to medical commissioner, but not a single day passed without his missing his friend. The physician felt too old to pay his debts to Ke Wenzhao, and promised to serve him in his next life as a dog or a horse. Within the short period that was left to him he arranged his “ancestors’ prescriptions” and “composed” *The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family*.¹²⁷ He dedicated the book to his friend.

The last part of the preface is strangely incongruous. Wan Bangning points out that he had always been a respected physician with an impeccable reputation and not a single case that he needed to be ashamed of. This self-praise is followed by a qualification: “Since I have entered the capital and the Imperial Palace there has not been a single case of medical success that is worth mentioning. Serving the emperor and living from his favor, how could I dare to give my opinion frankly?”

We know from many sources that the physicians who served at court were indeed under enormous pressure. They could never afford to take risks, which means they were unlikely to develop new methods or prescriptions.¹²⁸ But the contrast between the noble and generous behav-

ior of people in the provinces and the decadent and rude court life — a topos encountered frequently in Chinese literature — appears as a strong criticism that goes far beyond the frame of a preface.

Then the writer asked Ke Wenzhao to add a foreword, since this would increase the book's reputation a hundredfold. Yet only a few sentences before, he had presented the manuscript to Ke Wenzhao and his family for private use only:

This manuscript I give to Your Excellency as a present. If Your Excellency considers this treatise to be poor, he should throw it away. If he considers it precious, he may keep it and put it on his highest shelf. Perhaps some day one of his worthy descendants will not despise the low art of my profession. If anyone studies this manuscript only once, he will become a famous physician.¹²⁹

From today's perspective it seems unlikely that this bold statement would have been written by an experienced physician who knew about the perils of medical practice. Moreover, it is most unusual that the author does not mention the exceptional features and difficulties of his field. Although the book is about pediatrics, the words "pediatrics" or "children" appear nowhere in the preface.

The signature eventually displays the same stylistic features that were found in the preface — it is long, detailed, and pretentious:

Wan Xian, Bangning, from Huanggang County in Huguang Province, graduate of the National University, in his ninety-third year; at present in office as medical commissioner (*yuanshi*) at the Imperial Academy of Medicine, keeper of the seal on behalf of the academy, receiving the salary for officials of the fourth rank;¹³⁰ promoted one grade from the former position of an imperial physician directly serving the emperor (*yuqian shizhi yuyi*), receiving the salary for officials of the sixth rank. Full moon of the first month of the first year of Longqing.

I have not found a single bibliography between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century — not even a bibliography of a local gazetteer — that contains any reference to a book with the title *The One Thread through the*

Medicine of the Wan Family or to its alleged author. Furthermore, none of the extant editions contains the foreword by Ke Wenzhao that the writer had asked for. A vice-prefect in Wuzhou by the slightly different name of Ke Wenshao (*juren* 1537) did, however, exist in the Jiajing period. His names, examination dates, and positions all fit into the story. But before going into these details, I briefly compare *The One Thread* to the book I presume to be the original: the *Elucidations of Pediatrics* by Wan Quan.

Comparisons

As I have mentioned before, the *Elucidations of Pediatrics* (hereafter referred to as *Elucidations*) is Wan Quan's most important pediatric work. It was completed in 1579 (date of the preface by Wan Quan) and first published in 1599, that is, fourteen years after his death. A comparison of this book with *The One Thread* reveals that the two are nearly identical, but that there are differences in the presentation of text, prescriptions, and case histories.

The One Thread is divided into three parts (each forming a separate volume) that are called "Heaven," "Earth," and "Man." The structuring of a book according to the cosmological categories of heaven, earth, and man has a long tradition in encyclopedias and comprehensive pharmacological works. It is most unusual, however, in a small specialized treatise. In *The One Thread* the division into three is both illogical and inappropriate, because the text is based on a system of five categories, namely, the five organs. Consequently, the *Elucidations* is divided into five main sections, plus an opening paragraph on neonatal diseases.

All sections in the *Elucidations* represent a blend of theory, teaching dialogues, case histories, and prescriptions. Although this general form is not changed in *The One Thread*, there are some modifications. Each case history is set against the theoretical explanation by the phrase "clinical experience" (*zhengyan*), an expression Wan Quan never uses in his books. Where the *Elucidations* gives the name and composition of a prescription, *The One Thread* gives only the name plus a number. All prescriptions with their respective composition are recorded in a three-fold numbered list (1-277, 1-17, 1-25) in the "Man" section.¹³¹

In the last version of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*, written about the same time as the *Elucidations*, we also find a numbering system. It is

striking that the prescriptions numbered 1-147 in *The One Thread* are identical with the numbered index of prescriptions in the *Essential Methods*. At the end of his productive period Wan Quan must have developed a system that allowed him to identify each of his prescriptions by number and to use the same number in each new book. This leads to three hypotheses. First, Wan Quan wrote a version of the *Elucidations*, no longer extant, that contained the numbering system, and this version served as a model for the plagiarist. Second, Wan Bangning (or whoever is hiding behind this name) shifted all prescriptions from the main text to an appendix that he called "Man" and replaced them by the corresponding numbers. He used the index of the *Essential Methods* for the first 147 prescriptions and continued the numbering for the rest. Third, the numbered index was drawn up in the same way by the group of collators mentioned on the first page of the table of contents.¹³²

The last assumption seems to me the most plausible, because there are several reasons that speak against the other two. The numbered list contains too many errors to have been written by Wan Quan himself. Several prescriptions are repeated under different numbers, and some of the prescription names are obvious nonsense.¹³³ The threefold numbering system does not make much sense either. There is a possibility, though, that the plagiarist copied the numbered index in haste and confused some parts of it.

The whole of *The One Thread* gives the impression that either the writer or the carver had problems with certain passages and arbitrarily omitted or changed difficult passages or characters. The plagiarist's carelessness is displayed in a phrase that appears several times in the text of *The One Thread*: "The *Elucidations* read" (*Fahui yun*),¹³⁴ which the plagiarist either forgot to cross out or believed would not arouse suspicion.

The sloppy way the text of the treatise is dealt with also speaks against the second assumption. If it was the plagiarist who introduced the numbering system to his book, he must have taken great pains to rework the original structure according to the system in the *Essential Methods*. But he did not take much trouble in other parts of the book. Everywhere else he left out anything that needed effort to make it fit into his plagiarized version. If I am right, and the index in *The One Thread* was drawn up by the collators, then the plagiarism must have been done in

two stages: one that made all details referring to the author and his work unidentifiable, and one that improved the part on the prescriptions in accordance with Wan Quan's own intentions, but unfortunately without his knowledge and carefulness.

Most interesting for a comparison of the original and the plagiarized version are the case histories. Although we can only speculate as to why the plagiarist rearranged the prescriptions — maybe he wanted to impress readers by having so many pages of the table of contents filled with the numbered index — the reasons for his changes in the case histories are quite obvious. The aim was to veil the identity of the author: wherever Wan Quan in the original text refers to himself as "Quan," the plagiarist either leaves out the sentence or simply says "I." Whenever Wan Quan's family circumstances are mentioned in the original text, they are made unidentifiable in *The One Thread* (words such as my son or my son-in-law are deleted, and the names are changed).

To make the publication date of 1567 plausible, the presumed plagiarist had to avoid everything that could have led to the identification of patients, dates, and places. Therefore many case histories are left out altogether. Others are changed in a way that fits in with this aim. A good example is the three case histories of the daughter of Wan Quan's former patron, Governor Sun Ying'ao (see "On the Trail of a Physician's Career," above). They are particularly interesting because they are dated 1567, 1568, and 1573, thus partly after the alleged year of publication for *The One Thread*. The plagiarist never gives Sun Ying'ao's full name and makes his residence and the area of his responsibility unrecognizable by enigmatic expressions like "Zhengyang" instead of Yunyang or "Huma" instead of Huguang Province.¹³⁵ Neither Sun's exact titles nor the time of the episodes are given. (See, for example, the case history in the appendix.)¹³⁶ In contrast to those in *The One Thread*, case histories in the *Elucidations* are supplied with details that are confirmed by local gazetteers.¹³⁷ Sun Ying'ao had indeed been vice administration commissioner in 1567 and grand coordinator in Yunyang in 1568–1569 and again in 1573, just as is said in the *Elucidations*. Besides, we have seen that Sun's preface to Wan Quan's pox treatise is completely in line with the case history written by Wan Quan. Thus, there can be no doubt that the *Elucidations* represents the original version, and *The One Thread* the fabrication.

Facts and Fiction

The confusing combination of an unknown author, an uncertain date of publication, and an unknown motive for the fraud makes it difficult to separate fact from fiction. The language and atmosphere of the preface of *The One Thread* show that the author is familiar with the social and administrative system of the late-sixteenth century and especially with the situation at court. A physician living far from the capital would hardly be so critical, but rather be inclined to idealize life at court. The occurrences of the narration could indeed have taken place in the Jiajing era, but they could also have taken place during the Song or the Qing dynasty.¹³⁸ Emperor Shizong of the Jiajing era was famous for his despotism. All his interests centered on ways to make himself immortal and increase his fertility.¹³⁹ One can well imagine that his predilection for Daoist advisers and magicians, the most famous of whom were Shao Yuanjie (1459–1539) and Tao Zhongwen (1481–1560),¹⁴⁰ led to a growing contempt for scholar physicians, especially when they failed to protect his offspring. Thus, the tragic story of the imperial physician Zhu Lin and his subofficials is, in its outlines, plausible. On looking more carefully, however, one finds several details that arouse suspicion.

First, no court physician by the name of Zhu Lin or Wan Bangning is recorded in the *Chronicle of the Imperial Academy of Medicine*, written in 1584.¹⁴¹ Although the narrated event was sensational enough and had had severe consequences for many high officials, it is not mentioned in this chronicle, or in the *Veritable Records* of the Jiajing, Longqing, and Wanli eras, or, as far as I know, in any private source of that time.¹⁴²

Second, the details of the positions and corresponding ranks on the salary scale at the Imperial Academy of Medicine given in the signature of the preface are inaccurate. In the Ming dynasty the position of medical commissioner was rank five, not rank four. Moreover, the position of the imperial physician (rank eight, not rank six as stated in the preface) did not immediately follow that of medical commissioner in the hierarchy; in between was the position of administrative assistant. The bureaucratic details of the signature, which look so convincing at first, do not fit into the administrative system of any dynasty.¹⁴³

Third, the punishment described for the ninety-year-old physician

is not congruent with Ming law. Banishment (*liutu*) was indeed combined with flogging (one hundred strokes with a bamboo club). But the length of the journey (seven thousand *li*) is an invention; the maximum penalty for banishment was three thousand *li*.¹⁴⁴ Much more important is the fact that any criminal over ninety years old was explicitly exempted from both flogging and banishment, no matter what the offense. He did not even have to ransom himself.¹⁴⁵

Numerous elements of the tale are obviously contrived or grossly exaggerated for dramatic effect. If a 90-year-old man survived flogging and two long journeys, regained his former post, and eventually, at the age of 93, wrote a book on a subject he apparently had not been involved with before, this can truly be called a miracle. Furthermore, *The One Thread* cannot have been completed in 1567, as is stated in the preface, because the original had not even been written at that time, let alone published.¹⁴⁶ If Wan Bangning really were 93 in 1567, as he claims, he would have been at least 105 at the time his plagiarism could first have been published.

It is interesting to note that Huanggang, the alleged home county of Wan Bangning, borders Wan Quan's home county, Luotian. If the person behind "Wan Bangning" really was from Huangguang, it is possible that he was acquainted with Wan Quan or at least knew something about him and his family. He might even have had access to Wan Quan's manuscripts, since the editor of the *Elucidations*, prefect Li Zhiyong, was a native of Huanggang. Moreover, the name Wan Bangning does not just refer to the Wan clan in general; "Bang" indicates affiliation with the generation of the sons and nephews of Wan Quan. Wan Quan's fifth son, for instance, was called Wan Bangning. That he himself was the plagiarist is out of the question. But it is conceivable that someone used his name, although we do not know why.

Although the Huangguang gazetteer records no physician or any other civil person by the name of Wan Bangning, one name stands out in the section on *juven*: Wan Yiguan (*juven* 1546).¹⁴⁷ The characters of his given name are identical with the characters of "One Thread." Wan Yiguan was summoned in 1557 as vice-prefect to Zhaoqing in Guangdong, a remote prefecture at the frontier of Guangxi, next to the prefecture of Wuzhou.¹⁴⁸ Wuzhou was the place of exile where the court physician allegedly met his benefactor Ke Wenzhao.

As we already know, Ke Wenzhao, vice-prefect of Wuzhou — a minor figure in history, but one central to the tale — did indeed exist. According to the provincial gazetteer of Guangdong, a man by the slightly different name of Ke Wenshao received the *juren* degree in 1537 and was eventually summoned as vice-prefect to Wuzhou.¹⁴⁹ The gazetteer of Wuzhou specifies that he served there in 1565.¹⁵⁰ The preface of *The One Thread* mentions the same facts and adds other details, such as Ke's family background, his different names and sobriquets, and his former posts. Several of these details are confirmed by historical sources. And although the dates of their period in office near the border to Guangxi are different — 1557 for Wan Yiguan, 1565 for Ke Wenshao — the two might have had a chance to meet.

Hypotheses

The plagiarism of the mysterious court physician turns out to be an intricate interweaving of realistic and fictional elements, assembled for reasons lost to history. As mentioned before (see “Medical Knowledge and Intellectual Property,” above), profit was the main motive for the countless forgeries of medical books in the context of expanding commercial publishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So who could have made a profit by publishing *The One Thread*? All the people engaged in the edition of 1871 (the only edition we know) certainly could have: Wang Jingxian, who wrote the foreword, and who might have been familiar with Wan Quan's works; Ye Qingju, the local promoter of orphan charity, who is said to have “received” the manuscript; and the seven collators, whose contribution to the publication remains unclear. No doubt there were also merchants, publishers, and physicians in Huangguang at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth who had access to the manuscripts and who might want to profit from them.

But a strong argument speaks against these assumptions. Wan Quan's fame, culminating in the posthumous title “saint of medicine” (*yisheng*), must have been known to a plagiarist who went to the trouble of eliminating every word that contained the slightest allusion to Wan Quan. A publication under the name of Wan Quan was bound to receive much more attention than that of a court physician nobody knew.

Money therefore has to be ruled out as main motive for the

forgery. But what about self-promotion, competition, and the like? We might think of competitors of Wan Quan, of an unknown court physician and his descendants, or of Ke Wenshao himself and his descendants who wanted to acquire a reputation. For an official, however, becoming a physician would have meant a lower status. And a court physician or his descendants could have profited only if they had used his real name and not a pseudonym. Finally, a competitor of Wan Quan could not have profited by the forgery, because he would not have dared to publish it under his own name if he lived anywhere near Wan Quan, and if he lived far away, he could just as well have used his own name instead of Wan Bangning's.

Only one motive provides a fairly plausible explanation: the desire to criticize the court, which would account for the wish to remain anonymous. Only someone who had lived at court had both the motivation and enough insight to criticize the deplorable state of affairs of the court physicians; and only he had a reason to veil his identity, for fear of punishment. There is one person who unites the qualities "high official in Jiajing era," "native of Huangguang," and "familiar with the area of Wuzhou in the middle of the sixteenth century." Moreover, his name, Wan Yiguan, is a pun on the title *Wanshi yiguan*. At first glance it seems that he must be the plagiarist. But on second thought, it seems implausible: Wan Yiguan was not a physician. Why should he bother to criticize the emperor's attitude toward court physicians?

Perhaps we are taking the preface of Wan Bangning's book too seriously if we posit criticism as a motive. Maybe the story's only aim was to impress the reader, and tragic events at court have always proved most suitable for such a purpose. What if the whole story was invented to divert our attention from the plagiarist, and is nothing but a red herring?

SUMMARY

If we allow the succession of plagiarists to march before our eyes, from the impostor and conjurer Huang Lian to the self-styled imperial physician Wan Bangning, a colorful picture of contemporary healers emerges. The way in which a plagiarist chose to depict himself speaks volumes about the image of the healer held by the people of his era.

The first plagiarist is clearly a product of the Jiaping era. The magical abilities that Huang Lian boasted of were accorded particular importance then — even the emperor at that time surrounded himself with magicians and conjurers, who came to wield considerable political influence. Huang Lian's alleged knowledge of military strategy was especially in demand in the Jiangnan region where he had settled. The eastern coast of China was repeatedly raided by Japanese pirates, and the Chinese vied with each other in the search for the best strategy to repel them.

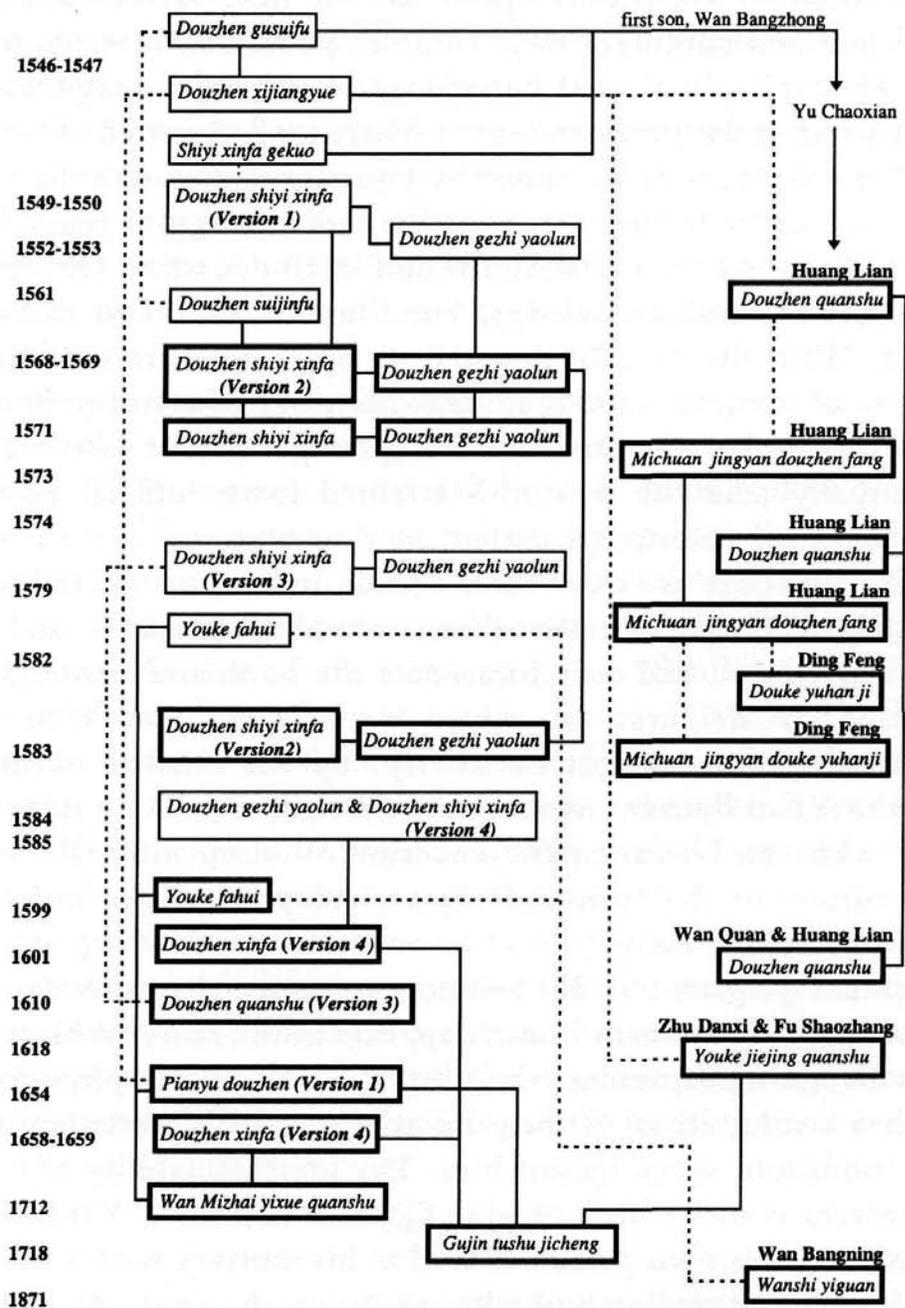
Ding Feng is a kind of healer found in all dynasties. He obviously had some real medical knowledge, but found it useful to make a big secret of it. With the help of devoted disciples he surrounded himself with an aura of mystery. In this context the story of secret prescriptions by a legendary healer was plausible. Ding Feng's way of carrying on his trade eventually paid off. His sons attained lower official posts; one grandson eventually became a prefect in Zhejiang.

The plagiarizer as "discoverer" could make a considerable profit from an alleged finding. Fu Shaozhang, our third plagiarist and apparently not a physician, had only to predate the book and attribute it to a famous healer to heighten its value. He declared that Wan Quan's manuscript represented a lost manuscript by the medical author Zhu Danxi of the Yuan dynasty, whose reputation in the Ming dynasty was high (and who can be called the ancestor of Ming medical thought). Even the editors of the famous Qing encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* were taken in by the fraud.

Our last plagiarist is difficult to categorize, because we do not know how much of the man himself appears in the story of his protagonist. Wan Bangning represents the ideal type of scholar-physician. Imbued with a strong sense of duty he sticks to his Confucianist ideals although conditions work against him. The unpredictability of life as an imperial servant is widely described in Chinese literature. Yet the plagiarist has disguised his own person as well as his motives with a thoroughness that leaves us completely unable to determine even the dynasty in which he lived. His protagonist, whose intentions are pure and immaterial, is a victim of his time. He himself, however, is certainly not a victim, but a culprit: the vanity that seems to be an essential impetus for all the plagiarists is perhaps best displayed in his text.

THE FATE OF WAN QUAN'S OEUVRE

Wan Quan's manuscripts and books to the left and middle, plagiarized versions to the right



KEY:

- Manuscript
- Book
- Direct connection (the text is identical or integrated into another text)
- ... Title changed
- ... Transfer of manuscripts

APPENDIX

Two versions of a case study, one found in Youke fahui (1695 edition), the other in Wanshi yiguan (1871 edition)

This case history is connected with another case history in the *Youke fahui*, in which Wan Quan describes being called to Yunyang because Sun Ying'ao's daughter was taken ill with chronic diarrhoea. Here Wan Quan stayed at Sun's office to care for the final "harmonization." This case history is thus embedded in a chronological order that also makes medical sense.

The fact that the plagiarist mentions "evil in the liver channel" indicates that he did not know medicine or reworded the text in a hurry. The symptoms (difficulty in breathing) show a connection with the lungs. In the logic of traditional medicine this condition develops out of a depletion of the spleen. Perilla leaves would have no effect on the "evil in the liver" according to this logic.

In all his case histories Wan Quan consistently referred to himself by his given name Quan, a mark of respect to those of higher status, when his patients were officials. For his other patients, he used the term "yu," meaning "I." In the first version of this case history of the treatment of an official's daughter, the text uses Wan Quan's given name as the first-person reference term. In the second version, however, the text uses the word "yu" as the first-person reference term, a clue that it was not written by Wan Quan, but reworded by a third person.

In the year *dingmao* [1567] of the Longqing period, the vice-administration commissioner of Huguang, Sun, went to the examination halls to superintend the provincial examinations on the Classic of Documents and on the Classic of Rituals. As his young daughter had taken ill, I (Quan) stayed at his office to harmonize [her condition].¹⁵¹

When the young daughter of the Honorable Sun of Huma, had taken ill. I (yu) was charged to harmonize [her condition].

The young lady had mistakenly eaten water coltrops, and this injured her spleen. **Her face** was swollen, and she breathed with difficulty.¹⁵² [Sir Sun's] spouse was very worried and **ordered me (Quan)** to give her drugs. I (**Quan**) concocted Mr. Qian's *Yigongsan* prescription adding Agastache leaves to eliminate the humidity in the spleen conduits and Perilla leaves to eliminate the wind in the lung conduits.

With one prescription she recovered.

When the examinations were finished His Excellency **came out [of the halls]**, and seeing the prescription he said to me (Quan): **"This prescription is indeed very good."** He took out brush and paper and ordered his honorable [adoptive son] Sun Huan to write it down.¹⁵⁵

The young lady had eaten water coltrops, and this damaged her spleen. She was swollen and breathed with difficulty. [Sir Sun's] spouse was very worried. I (yu) set up Mister Qian's *Yigongsan* prescription (No. 44)¹⁵³ adding Agastache leaves to eliminate the humidity in the spleen channel and Perilla leaves to eliminate the evil in the liver conduits.

With one prescription she recovered.

His Excellency was happy and wrote down the prescription to preserve it.¹⁵⁴

ORIGINAL

湖廣右布政使孫隆慶丁卯入場監試爲書經禮記總裁。有小姐病留全司中調理。小姐誤食菱角傷脾，面腫而喘。夫人憂之命全進藥。全立一方。用錢氏翼攻散加藿香葉以去脾經之濕，紫蘇葉以去肺經之風。一劑而安。場罷後公出見其方，爲全曰：此方甚好，瞿筆札令舍人孫環書記之。

PLAGIARISM

湖麻方伯孫公小姐病，屬予調理。因小姐食菱角傷脾，腫而喘。夫人憂之。予用錢氏翼攻散。四十四。加藿香葉以去脾經之濕，紫蘇葉以去肝經之邪。一劑而安。公喜書方藏之。

NOTES

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1. Literally: I will open my liver and empty my gallbladder.
2. Recurring metaphors in Wan Quan's work for the essential "tools of the trade" in medicine. Originally these metaphors were used to denote the limits of language. See Zhuangzi, "Waiwu," in *Ershi'erzi* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1986) 8, p. 74.
3. Introduction to a posthumously published manuscript by Wan Quan, the *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang* (Secret Family Prescriptions of the Guide to Pediatrics), collated by Zheng Zhu (fl. 1709–1715). The first edition of 1715 (Jingguantang) is found only at the Library of the China Liberation Army Academy of Medicine, Beijing. A reprint of 1786 (Kuibitang) is held at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library in London. An edition of 1863 (Weijingtang) is held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, also in London. Neither of these last two editions is extant in China.
4. Wan Quan's pediatric concepts are still widely discussed in traditional Chinese medicine. His *Youke fahui* (Elucidations of Pediatrics) has been reprinted eight times since the late 1950s (1957, 1959, 1963, 1981, 1986, 1994, 1995, and 1997).
5. The legacy of Wan Quan consists of more than ten treatises on important medical subjects of the time (the number depends on the method of counting). In addition to the countless reprints and new editions of individual books, three complete editions have been published in the last fifty years. The Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital and the Luotian Health Administration Bureau have jointly arranged and collated Wan Quan's books, using two Qing

complete editions and several manuscripts that were still extant in Wan Quan's home county of Luotian. These efforts resulted in the publication of thirteen books by the publishing house Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe between 1984 and 1986. Although this edition is not faultless (for example, two works have been falsely attributed to Wan Quan), it became a starting point for intensive research on Wan Quan in the People's Republic of China. In 1996 the Qing-dynasty *Complete Collection of Medical Books by Wan Mizhai* was reedited by Zhang Hailing and Zhang Linguo under the title *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu* (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1996). In 1999 Fu Peipan, Yao Changshou, and Wang Xiaoping published under the same title a new edition of the complete works of Wan Quan. This edition is carefully collated. It contains not only all forewords and prefaces to Wan Quan's books known today in China, but also a list of 78 selected studies (out of approximately 150) published on Wan Quan and his different medical writings in the PRC. The many articles about Wan Quan, published in medical journals as well as in newspapers, can be divided into five categories: biography, book history, clinical aspects, case histories, and popular anecdotes. The bulk deals with clinical aspects and their evaluation for contemporary medical practice. Most of these studies, however, do not offer much new insight. Among the articles on book history, the research of Mao Dehua stands out. His many articles have recently been gathered in a book, *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao* (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997). This book is a valuable collection of material on Wan Quan's life, including an analysis of the family register from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, as well as a listing of extant Ming and Qing editions of Wan Quan's books in the PRC, including their forewords and prefaces. The conclusions Mao Dehua draws from his research differ in many respects from those presented in this article. Some of these differences may result from the fact that Mao Dehua did not have access to the rare editions available in Japanese, British, and American libraries. At several points I refer to Mao Dehua's book and explain the differences in our arguments.

6. See, for instance, Joseph Needham's argument about pox inoculation in "China and the Origin of Immunology," in Lionello Lanciotti, *Firenze e L'Oriente* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987), p. 30. Needham argues that the knowledge and practice of pox inoculation were part of the secret "forbidden prescriptions" (*jinfang*) more than six hundred years before they were written down in medical texts of the seventeenth century.
7. Although oral transmission played an important role in times when medical printing was uncommon, its role declined when commercial printing of medical books flourished during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, roughly the time span of this study.
8. Guan Yikui et al., eds., *Luotian xianzhi* (1876 ed.; reprint Luotian: Yichuan shuyuan, 1884) 8, pp. 16a-16b. For a discussion of healers, see the introduction, p. 4b.

9. One can find such entries in the biographical section of the provincial gazetteer *Huguang tongzhi*, 1684 and 1733 eds. (*Siku quanshu* [cited hereafter as SKQS] 553.74, pp. 53a-53b [774-775]) and in the encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng yibu quanlu* (1724), chap. 511 ("Yishu mingliu liezhuan"), section 8.
10. Here is the range of dates:
 1. second half of the fifteenth century; Li Tao, "Mingdai yixue (1369-1644) de chengjiu," *Yixueshi yu baojian zuzhi* 1.46 (1957), p. 55
 2. fl. 1567-1619; Li Yun et al., eds., *Zhongyi renming cidian* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1988), pp. 10-11
 3. 1488-1578; foreword by the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital team to the complete edition, 1984
 4. 1482-1597; Chen Menglai et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai mingyi zhuan* (Beijing: Kexue qin ji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 251-253
 5. 1495-1585; Liu Yuannan, "Guanyu Wan Mizhai qiren yizhu ji qita," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 12.1 (1982), pp. 17-19
 6. 1499-1582; Mao Dehua, "Wan Quan jiashi ji shengzu kao," *Hubei zhongyi zazhi* 4 (1992), pp. 21-23, and Mao Dehua, *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*.
11. Preface to *Youke fahui*, written in 1579 and entitled "On the Origin and Development of the Wan Family's Pediatrics." Cf. the preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* (1552) included in the Library of Congress edition of 1568.
12. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao* (1596; Shaowu prefecture ed.) 16, p. 1a. This earliest extant Wanli edition in sixteen *juan* is found only at the Dalian Library in China. The other extant Wanli edition, the *Xinke Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao* published by the Yiqingtang publishing house in five *juan*, is found at the Shanghai Library and in the Naikaku bunko, now located in the National Archives, Tokyo.
13. Mao Dehua bases his assumption that Wan Quan was born in 1499 on the same grounds. See Mao, *Wan Quan shengpin zhushu kao*, pp. 16-20.
14. Fifteen seventy-three is the earliest year Wan Quan could have finished the manuscript of *Guangsi jiyao*. It is most unlikely that he or his disciple could have managed to have the book published immediately after the last brushstroke in a place hundreds of *li* away from Luotian. I assume rather that Li Zhiyong, who actively engaged in spreading Wan Quan's writings after the author's death, established contact with the publishing house in Jianyang, Fujian Province. Both he and Wan Quan's disciple Cai Chaoyi, who collated his book, were natives of Huanggang. We know that in his prefecture Shaowu, which was next to Jianyang, Li Zhiyong sponsored a printing of both *Baoming gekuo* and *Guangsi jiyao*. His forewords to these books are dated 1596. The Yiqingtang edition, which is so difficult to date, not only contains the same forewords by Li Zhiyong as the prefecture edition, it was also in fact a double edition, as I could see in the Naikaku bunko collection in Japan. The first book of this double edition is dated 1597. It follows that the *Guangsi jiyao* was also published in the nineties, since the style of carving looks exactly the same. I therefore assume that the *Guangsi jiyao* was published New Year 1598

- at the earliest and New Year 1604 at the latest. See Du Xinfu, *Mingdai banke zonglu* (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983) 3, p. 9. Here the *Guangsi jiyao* is listed as a publication of the publishing house Yiqingtang and dated 1604.
15. Pox medicine (*douzhenke*) was officially established as a specialty at the Imperial Academy of Medicine in 1571. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi* (1584–1616 ed., N.P., single copy in blueprint, 1941), p. 11a; *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, pp. 1812–1813; and *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, p. 2b. In the first years of the Qing dynasty it was combined with pediatrics.
 16. These dates are taken from two case histories in the Wanli edition of the *Douzhen xinfa* 5, pp. 5b–6a; 2, p. 7a.
 17. See the family register of the Wan clan (*Wanshi zongpu*), compiled in the nineteenth century. Its last entry is from 1924. A copy can be looked at in the Wan Mizhai Clinic in Luotian County. A detailed analysis of this family register was recently given by Mao Dehua. See *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 75–100.
 18. Literally “bell physician,” that is, a physician who announced his services in the streets with a bell.
 19. Wan Kuang was called one of the most important pox specialists of the time by Sun Yikui (1550?–1619?), a famous medical writer from Xin’an. See *Chishui xuanzhu quanji* (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1986), p. 1003.
 20. During the Ming dynasty Jiangxi was probably the most overpopulated province in China. Many people emigrated and settled in Huguang, at that time a fertile, relatively empty region. See Martin J. Heijdra, *The Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China (1368–1644): An Interpretation* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1995), pp. 41–46 and 316–321.
 21. Ming law made it difficult to change one’s inherited social status, since it forbade the free choice of a profession. The medical profession (*yihu*) formed a separate category in the tax register during the Ming dynasty. Its status was low and connected with heavy tax and corvée obligations.
 22. Zhang Mingdao, whose writings unfortunately are all lost, must have been a most original thinker. He belonged in the wide sense to the school of Wang Shouren (1474–1544), the well-known Neoconfucian philosopher of Ming times. His eventful biography can be found in *Luotian xianzhi* (1926 ed., reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), appendix, pp. 7b–11a (pp. 136–145).
 23. Preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* written in 1552. It is included in the double reprint entitled *Douzhen xinyao*, which was edited by Cao Jixiao (*jinshi* 1583) in 1585. This edition is found on microfilm made at the Peiping National Library. The preface is slightly different from the original preface in the first edition of 1568. I assume that Wan Quan himself added the details that referred to his difficult financial situation and left out phrases that were pure embellishment. I do not know whether Wan Quan ever tried to pass the provincial examination.
 24. Pox is first mentioned in the prescription book *Shouhou beiji fang* (reprint Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983) 2, p. 42, written by Ge Hong

- (281–341) and supplemented by Tao Hongjing (456–536). The book contains a detailed description of the symptoms as well as a reference to their first appearance, that is, in the era *jiawu*. It is not clear, however, whether this description is part of the original text or belongs to the commentary. Unfortunately, the date *jiawu* is ambiguous, since it was used in different reign periods. The medical historian Fan Xingzhun, for instance, changed his opinion from the year 495 in *Zhongguo yufang yixue sixiangshi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1954, pp. 106–110) to the year 303 in *Zhongguo yixue shilüe* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986, p. 85), a book he wrote in the late fifties. Today most medical historians favor 495 CE.
25. Even the pox variolation practiced during the Qing dynasty was not meant to prevent the disease, but rather to encourage its appearance at a favorable time. It is inconceivable that a physician would induce an illness during the Ming era. I therefore deem it highly unlikely that pox variolation had been secretly practiced since the eleventh century as Joseph Needham states. Needham's assertion that it was Wan Quan who first mentioned the inoculation of pox arises from a misunderstanding of the term *zhongdou* in context. See "China and the Origin of Immunology," p. 34. Wan Quan's use of "*zhongdou*" (pox planting) refers to "natural infection" with pox: in the imagination of those days heaven was sending down the "seeds of pox" in cyclical periods. The technical term "*zhongdou*" denoting artificial inoculation was first introduced during the Qing dynasty. Fan Xingzhun cautiously puts the beginnings of variolation at the "earliest in the Longqing period," that is, 1567–1572. See *Zhongguo yufang yixue sixiangshi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1954), p. 114. His assumption is based on a quotation from Qing times that points out that pox variolation had been common practice in Taiping County (in today's Anhui Province) since the Longqing period. Considering the social context of Ming medicine, however, it is not conceivable that it would have been a common practice. At the most, occasional use of variolation in a particular social niche — for example, in some experimental Daoist forms of healing — may have been possible.
26. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa*, ed. Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital (Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 286.
27. Although the remarks were clearly intended to denounce his rivals, it was true that most physicians avoided staying in one place in order not to get involved in judicial problems.
28. In the absence of any standards, three generations of medical practice were regarded as essential prerequisites for successful treatment. This goes back to a saying in the Book of Rituals: "Only a three-generation physician is able to apply prescriptions." *Liji*, chap. "Quli" in Ruan Yuan, ed., *Shisanjing zhushu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 5, p. 40 (p. 1268).
29. Early manuscripts were *Maijue yuezhi* (Simple Comments on Pulse Lore), *Suwen qianjie* (Some Superficial Explanations of the Suwen), and *Bencao shizhu* (Collected Pearls of the Materia Medica). These are no longer extant. The only extant work of this early period is the *Shanghan zhaijin* (Excerpts from

- the Teachings on Cold Damage) in two chapters. It is included in the anthology *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu*.
30. In Chinese and Western bibliographies this date incorrectly serves as a reference date for all the works written by Wan Quan.
 31. Preface to *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*. It is signed "Humble student Wan Quan, two days after the full moon in the twelfth winter month of the year *jiyou* [1549] of the Jiajing era."
 32. See Barbara Volkmar, "Das Kind in der chinesischen Heilkunde" (Ph.D. diss., University of Freiburg, 1985), pp. 39-46.
 33. Qian Yi's theory of children's diseases is recorded in the earliest pediatric treatise extant, the *Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue* (Open Words on Drug Therapy for Children's Conditions), written down by his disciple Yan Xiaozhong (fl. 1110-1119) and published in 1119. For Chen Wenzhong see *Xiaoer douzhen fang lun* (Treatise on the Prescriptions for Children's Pox Conditions), published in 1253.
 34. Derived from *gewu zhizhi* (investigation of things for the extension of knowledge).
 35. Hu Sanxi is Hu Mingtong, a *juren* of 1529, and Wan Quan's best friend. Xiao Chuwu is Xiao Jimei, a *juren* of 1546. Wan Binlan is Wan Yance, a *juren* of 1552. Wan Yance was related to Wan Quan; in his youth he was Wan Quan's patient and later became his disciple. Wan Yance wrote a foreword to Wan Quan's pox treatise, which is included in the 1568 edition.
 36. Preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun*, written in 1552. It is included in the edition of 1568, the earliest extant edition of Wan Quan's book, held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. A reprint with a slightly different version of this preface was edited by Cao Jixiao in 1585. This edition is held at the National Central Library, Taipei and is found on microfilm made at the Peiping National Library.
 37. See the case histories in *Youke fahui*, *Guangsi jiyao*, *Douzhen xinfa*, and *Baoming gekuo*.
 38. The two works *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* in twelve *juan* and *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* in eleven *juan* are closely connected, and Wan Quan often refers to both as *Douzhen xinyao*, which combines the two words *xinfa* and *yaolun*. However, Wan Quan as well as the editors also use the title *Douzhen xinfa* for either the single treatise or both treatises. The similar titles and different types of editing led to a certain confusion, which is still visible in contemporary bibliographies that list up to six different titles for Wan Quan's pox treatises. To add to the confusion, Wan Quan himself revised his work several times after 1568, and left us different versions of the text. (See tables 1 and 3.)
 39. The edition of 1568 is called version 2 in table 1.
 40. Sun Ying'ao was promoted to various ministerial posts and to the rank of guardian of the heir apparent. He was posthumously honored as "great personality of the Ming dynasty" (together with Yu Qian, 1398-1457; Xia Yan, 1482-1548; and Hai Rui, 1514-1587). Qing-dynasty historiographers, how-

- ever, did not include him in the dynastic records. For biographical data on Sun Ying'ao, see Guo Tingxun, *Mingchao fensheng renwu kao* (reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1971) 115, pp. 36b-38b (pp. 10149-10152); *Yunyang fuzhi* (1870 ed.; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1960) 53, p. 20a (p. 227). The official Guo Zizhang (1543-1618), a contemporary of Sun Ying'ao, wrote a detailed biography and an epitaph. Both are included in *Guizhou tongzhi* 28, pp. 15a-15b, and 41, pp. 3a-4b (SKQS 572, pp. 436-439 and 572, pp. 329-331). Another detailed biography was written by the Qing scholar Mao Guangsheng in *Maoshi congshu* (Qing ed.) 1, pp. 42a-44b, and 16, p. 6b.
41. *Suwen* is an abbreviation of *Huangdi neijing suwen* (The Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic, part Pure Questions), composed by several unknown authors between the second century BCE and the eighth century CE. *Nanjing* (Classic of Difficult Issues) was written by an unknown author in the first century CE. It was recently translated by P. U. Unschuld, *Nan-ching: The Classic of Difficult Issues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
 42. Foreword signed "Hermit of Huaihai Sun Ying'ao." This foreword is included in the first edition of 1568, which is held only at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. It also appears in the many reprints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 43. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa*, pp. 162-163.
 44. *Ruyi* was merely an honorary title. On the meaning of *Ru* for a physician's career before the Ming dynasty, see Robert P. Hymes, "Not Quite Gentlemen? Doctors in Song and Yuan," *Chinese Science* (1987), 8, pp. 9-76.
 45. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui*, ed. Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital (Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 90-91.
 46. This first edition is no longer extant.
 47. According to Mao Ruqi's colophon to this second edition, the first edition consisted of only four hundred copies. As early as 1573, the woodblocks were no longer available. The arrangement of this edition can best be judged from a handwritten copy by Zhao Yu, a medical officer of Wuchang. His collation is based on the first edition and shows that it did not contain an editor's foreword, but only a preface taken from Wan Quan's text and signed "Huang Lian." The handwritten copy, entitled *Douzhen quanshu*, and the second edition, *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang*, are found only in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo. These items contain handwritten commentaries by either the Taki or the Ikeda family. Clearly, they belonged to the collection of the former National Institute of Medicine (Igakkan) in Edo. The institute was headed, with hereditary succession, by the Taki family. On the origin of the many Chinese medical books in the Naikaku bunko, see Mayanagi Makoto and Wang Tiece, "Ribei, Neige wenku shoucang de zhongguo sanshi guyiji," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 4.28 (1998), pp. 65-71.
 48. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 13a-13b. Cf. Guo Aichun et al., *Zhongguo fensheng yijikao*, p. 1733.
 49. Tanba Mototane (1789-1827), *Zhongguo yijikao* (1819; reprint Beijing: Renmin

- weisheng chubanshe, 1983), p. 1043. In his *Douzhen zhengzong* (Orthodox Lore on Pox) Gao Wu expresses extreme disapproval of Chen Wenzhong's theories.
50. The original words are "*piaoqie wei jizuo kan*." The word *piaoqie*, literally "to rob, to steal," is already being used here with the same meaning it has today, that is, to plagiarize. No one other than Wan Quan, however, ever uses the word. This reinforces the impression that plagiarism was seen as a trivial offense.
 51. "Suijinfu," end of part two (unpaginated). It is included in the first edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* (1568 ed.) held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
 52. Foreword of Sun Guangzu to the *Douzhen xinyao* (1573 ed.; reprint 1580), held at Shanghai Library. It is signed "Prefect of Huangzhou, Sun Guangzu, native of Siming in the ninth lunar month of autumn in the year *guiyou* [1573]." My research, however, has shown that the publication year must have been 1571.
 53. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 13a-13b.
 54. The Huzhou edition, held at Shanghai Library and in the Naikaku bunko, Tokyo, contains a foreword by Lu Wen. It is signed "Lu Wen of Guian, vice-minister of the Nanjing Ministry of War in the seventh month of autumn of the second year of the Wanli era [1574]." For a biography of Lu Wen, see *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 20, pp. 25b-26b.
 55. *Lunyu* 7, 1.
 56. This edition of 1579 can only be found in the libraries of the China Academy of Medical Sciences and the Military Academy of Medicine, both in Beijing. Handwritten manuscripts, however, exist in many libraries of the People's Republic of China.
 57. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 5b, 13a-13b.
 58. It was published in the sixteenth century and included in the collection *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu*.
 59. The well-known physician Sun Yikui (1550?-1619?), a friend of Huang Lian's, writes that in the early 1580s he had looked in vain for Huang Lian in Huzhou. See Sun Yikui, *Chishui xuanzhu quanji* (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1986), p. 1170.
 60. We see that the forgery of Wan Quan's pox treatise had already been cleared up in the sixteenth century. But this knowledge eventually was lost. It was the Japanese pox specialist Ikeda Jūkō (1818-1843) who rediscovered the similarity of Huang Lian's pox treatise with that of Wan Quan. His argument is quoted in detail in Tanba Mototane's 1819 bibliography, *Zhongguo yijikao* (Investigation into the Old Medical Literature of China). Nevertheless, until recently Chinese bibliographies of medical literature ignored his results and still presented Huang Lian as the author of the pox treatise.
 61. *Douzhen quanshu*, ed. Wu Mianxue (1601). The complete book collection, made up of reprints of eight pox books, is held at Nanjing Library (with handwritten comments by Ikeda Jūkō), in Shanghai Library, in the Library of

- the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, and in the Naikaku bunko. Wu Mianxue reprinted the foreword by Lu Wen and added his own name as collator (*jiao*).
62. Ikeda Jūkō and Ikeda Zuisen both came from a famous family of pox specialists in Japan and worked at the National Institute of Medicine (see note 47). Their ancestor Ikeda Masanao had learned pox medicine from the Chinese monk Dai Li (1596–1672), known in Japan as Tai Mankō, who lived in Japan from 1653 until 1672. This monk in turn had been a student of the famous physician Gong Tingxian (fl. 1581–1604). The Ikedas, whose pox-medicine tradition thus goes back to Gong Tingxian, were also convinced that Gong Tingxian's works were plagiarized in the book *Douzhen jinjinglu*, first published in 1579. The treatise allegedly written by Weng Zhongren of Xinzhou (Jiangxi Province) was extremely popular in China and was reprinted countless times until the Republican period. In China Weng's authorship has only recently been questioned.
 63. This edition is at the Nanjing Library.
 64. Tanba, *Zhongguo yijikao*, pp. 1043–1044.
 65. The title alludes to the *Yuhanfang* (Prescription in a Jade Envelope) written by the alchemist Ge Hong, a famous figure surrounded by legends.
 66. The *Zhongguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 498, states that the book was written and published in 1559. Indeed, one of the two editions of 1582 contains a foreword by Ding Feng dated 1559, which suggests that the edition is a reprint. The date, however, must be a fake: the title of Huang Lian's "original" book, *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang*, published by Tu Jie in 1573 and then by Xing Bang in 1579, can be seen in the vertical line on the right-hand side of the first page of chapter one. For the changing titles of the plagiarized versions see table 2.
 67. An unknown healer, possibly the author of the two chapters mentioned above that are not included in Huang Lian's *Douzhen quanshu*.
 68. The colophon is signed "Cai Yuelan, mountain man in the void, disciple of Jiangxi, native of Fengcheng County, in the summer of the year *renwu*, respectfully printed." The date *renwu* probably refers to the year 1582, although the reign name Wanli is not given. Another edition of the *Douke yuhan ji*, held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, was collated by Ding Feng's sons and a grandson. It contains a preface by Ding Feng dated 1559, an undated foreword by a man called Zhuang Jichang, and a colophon of another disciple by the name of Zhang Xian. This colophon, too, is dated the year *renwu* of the Wanli period, that is, 1582. A disciple by the name of Cai Yuelan is not mentioned. It seems that around 1582 a whole range of "second-generation plagiarists" each tried independently to profit from Ding Feng's stolen manuscripts.
 69. Tanba, *Zhongguo yijikao*, pp. 772–773.
 70. *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, p. 2447. The author's name is rendered Ding Yi, but the local gazetteer *Jiangning fuzhi* explains that Ding Yi is Ding Feng.

71. The foreword is signed "Fu Shaozhang, native of Nanchang, written in the publishing house Fuchuntang of Jinling." Jinling is the old name of Nanjing.
72. The complete title given in the vertical line on the right-hand side next to the table of contents is *Xinke taiyiyuan jiaoshou Danxi micang Youke jiejing quanshu* (New Printing of the Secret Complete Book of Short-Cuts on Pediatrics by Danxi, Collated and Taught at the Imperial Academy of Medicine). The printing by Tang Chunfu (Jinchi) in Nanjing is found only at the Shanghai Library. A manuscript of this edition is held in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo.
73. Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 93.
74. Chen Menglei et al., eds., *Gujin tushu jicheng*, "Yibu quanlu," division "Erke," chap. 407, and "Douzhenmen," chaps. 460-461. Since seven other chapters (464-470) of "Douzhenmen" record the original pox treatise by Wan Quan, the pox part of the encyclopedia refers mainly to theories of one author, Wan Quan.
75. Again it was Tanba Mototane (with reference to Ikeda Jūkō) who discovered that the *Youke quanshu* was falsely attributed to Zhu Danxi and in fact consisted of texts by Wan Quan. See *Zhongguo yijikao* (1819; reprint Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983), pp. 1006, 1044. These findings, however, did not come to the attention of contemporary medical bibliographers and historians. In her recently published survey on pox in Chinese history, Chang Chia-feng tries to draw a line between Yuan- and Ming-dynasty pox theory by quoting from "Zhu Danxi" and Wan Quan, without realizing that these texts are written by the same author — Wan Quan. See Chang Chia-feng, "Aspects of Smallpox and Its Significance in Chinese History" (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1996).
76. This edition is found only in the Shanghai Library. It does not include a foreword by the actual publisher, but only a reprint of the well-known forewords by Sun Ying'ao and Sun Guangzu. It is therefore difficult to date it accurately. Ding Fubao in his *Zhongguo lidai yiyao shumu* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1979), p. 406b, mentions a Wanli edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* published in 1580. The *Zhongguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991) does not list an edition dated 1580. Nor did I find such an edition at libraries in the West or in Japan. Nevertheless, Ding Fubao might have had access to an edition that is now lost. The date of 1580 seems at least plausible.
77. The Ganzhou edition is Huang Lian's plagiarized version of *Douzhen quanshu*.
78. Yu Chaoxian must be a man from Wan Quan's county. There is no reference to him in gazetteers or bibliographies.
79. "Wang Lian" is Huang Lian. The mistake arises from the similarity of sound. We may assume that the text was read aloud to a writer or to the carver.
80. In 1538 a great flood affected Luotian. After a heavy summer rain, the river inundated the county, and many people drowned. See *Luotian xianzhi* (1542 ed., 1926 rev. ed., reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 1975) 7, p. 1b (p. 102).

81. "Gusuifu," literally "Bone Marrow in Prose-Poetry."
82. "Suijinfu," literally "Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry." In Chinese literature "Bits of Gold" is the name used for collections of short pieces of literature of special excellence.
83. The chronology is entitled *Douzhen xinyao gaike shimo* and follows the preface of 1579, which in the present edition is neither signed or dated. The preface, but not the chronology, appears in the *Douzhen xinfa* in *Wanshi yuanben* (Original Books of Mister Wan). Here it is signed: "Written by Wan Quan of Luotian himself on the first day of the first month of the year *jimao*" (1579). The complete edition published by the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital in 1985 refers to the *Wanshi yuanben* as the original first (Ming) edition. See *Douzhen xinfa* (Wuhan: Keji jishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 316. The results of my research, however, show that the first edition was published as early as 1568. The appearance of the taboo character *yuan* instead of *xuan*, moreover, confirms the assumption that the *Wanshi yuanben* is a Qing-dynasty reprint. See Mao Dehua, "'Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu' banben yuanliu kao" (On the Origin and Development of the Different Editions of the "Complete Medical Books of Wan Mizhai"), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 4.25 (1996), pp. 97-102.
84. In part, to be sure, won for him by Huang Lian.
85. The medical bibliography *Yizang shumu* (published around 1618) gives the following list of (abbreviated) titles for the collection *Wanshi quan yiji liuzhong* (The Complete Medical Book Collection by Mr. Wan, Six Titles): *Baoming*, *Guangsi*, *Douzhen*, *Youke*, *Shanghan*, and *Yangsheng*. Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 54. (See table 4 for the full titles.)
86. Prefect Li Zhiyong, a native of Huanggang, devoted himself to publishing posthumously all Wan Quan's books. I do not know whether he received the manuscripts directly from Wan Quan or from his disciple. Two editions he published between 1596 and 1599 are still extant. See note 14.
87. As evident from a posthumous reprint of 1601, Wan Quan revised the *Discourse on Pox* once more. He inserted a few sentences and paragraphs in the text and reworded some passages in the preface. The first edition of this revised version is no longer extant.
88. Examples of those reprints are *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*, edited by Chen Yunsheng (1532-1604) in Suzhou in 1583; *Douzhen xinyao*, edited by Cao Jixiao in Shaoxing in 1585; and *Douzhen xinfa*, edited by Wang Yiming (1565?-1596, *jinshi* 1586) in 1595. Most of the editors were natives of Huanggang County. Nearly all the names of the editors of the pox treatise appear on the list of *jinshi* from 1580 to 1600. (See table 1.)
89. An exception is Wang Yiming, a native of Huanggang, who published the book in homage to Wan Quan and his sons. See his colophon to the edition of 1595. Wang Yiming's edition of the last version of the *Douzhen xinfa* is held only at the Library of the Shanghai Traditional Medical University. His edition was republished in 1694 by Zhang Wanyan under the title *Douzhen xinfa jinjinglu* (see table 1) and is held at the Gest Library, Princeton, at

- Nanjing Library, and at the library of the China Academy for Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing. Like Wang Yiming's edition, Zhang Wanyan's edition contains the foreword by Sun Ying'ao. However, it is here erroneously dated to the year *wuchen* of the Qianlong era (1748). We know that Sun Ying'ao wrote his foreword in 1568, the year *wuchen* of the Longqing period. Clearly, the characters for Qianlong and Longqing were mistaken one for the other.
90. See the Luotian edition of 1985, which is based on the Qing edition *Wanshi yuanben*.
 91. The order of chapters was changed as well. The introductory chapters "Suijinfu" are followed by the theoretical treatise *Douzhen gezhi yaolun*. The *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* forms the third part of the book. Thus, chapter 1 one of the former edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* becomes chapter 12 in the new edition of *Douzhen xinfu*.
 92. A reprint of this edition was made by Peng Duanwu in 1610 under the misleading title *Douzhen quanshu*. It is held at various libraries in China, among them the Library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing, and Shanghai Library. "Complete book" obviously refers to the fact that the edition contains a supplement titled *Douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow). The author of the text is not given, but it cannot have been written by Wan Quan. Ten years earlier, in 1600, a similar text with illustrations titled *Michuan douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow to Pox in the Secret Tradition) was printed by the publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang (Fujian Province). The foreword attributes the text to a Yuan-dynasty physician named Huang Shifeng. No physician by this name is, however, known. The edition also contains two chapters of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. Wan Quan's name is mentioned at the beginning of these chapters but not at the beginning of the book. It seems that in Ming times authorship was dismissed as more or less irrelevant. Publishing houses loved to mix different sample chapters of their authors to stimulate the interest of possible readers. The original printing of Yiqingtang is no longer extant. One single handwritten copy is held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine. (See figure 1.)
 93. These memorizing "songs" (*ge*) form the "frame" (*kuo*) of each paragraph. They are characterized by a rhyme scheme and by tonal and metrical qualities comparable to quatrain-style poetry (*jueju*).
 94. Mao Dehua assumes that what I call the fourth version is the product of later cuts by an editor (see *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 215-217). The change of expressions in the case histories is, however, typical of Wan Quan's revisions in his last texts and provides evidence that it was Wan Quan himself who reworked his text a fourth time.
 95. The first edition of the *Youke fahui* must have been the one published in 1599 by prefect Li Zhiyong, who during his term of office in Shaowu (Fujian Province) published six works of Wan Quan. See Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 54. This original edition,

- however, is no longer extant. A Japanese reprint published by Takemura Shinbee is held at the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, and in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo. It contains Li Zhiyong's foreword dated 1599. Xiong Bingzhen erroneously maintains that Li's foreword was written by Wan Quan. See "Mingdai de youke yixue," *Hanxue yanjiu* (Chinese Studies) 9.1 (1991), pp. 59-60.
96. The preface is signed "Written by Mizhai himself in the *Weixuan* refuge on the day of summer solstice in the year *jimao* [1579] of the Wanli era."
97. Preface to the *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang* (see note 3).
98. The story goes back to *Mengzi* ("Qiwengong") in *Shisanjing zhushu* 5b, p. 141 (p. 2705).
99. See the colophon by Wang Yiming in the edition of 1595. This edition is found only in the library of the Shanghai Traditional Medical University. It is also included in the *Douzhen jinjinglu* (1694) edited by Zhang Wanyan, found at the Gest Library of Princeton University, at Nanjing Library, and at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing.
100. The *Wanshi zongpu* was compiled in the nineteenth century. The last entry is from 1924.
101. The first upheavals in Macheng were in 1630. In 1651 the rebellion spread to Luotian. *Macheng xianzhi qianbian* (1935; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975) 5, pp. 14b-15a (pp. 364-365); *Hubei tongzhi* (1935) 69, pp. 1605-1606. See Andreas Mixius, "'Nupien' und die 'Nu-P'u' von Kiangnan: Aufstände Abhängiger und Unfreier in Südchina 1644/1645," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 53 (Hamburg, 1980), pp. 28-33.
102. Foreword of 1659 by the magistrate of Luotian, Lü Minghe.
103. According to Wan Quan's own writings Bangzheng was his third son. In the family register he is listed as the fifth son; this seems to be an error. The family register contains several mistakes, which are analyzed by Mao Dehua in great detail. See *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 75-100.
104. Mao Dehua has undertaken a detailed analysis and comparison of all extant editions of *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu* in the People's Republic of China; see "'Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu' banben yuanliu kao."
105. The complete edition of Wan Da is available only in the library of the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital. A fragmentary set with four titles is held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing.
106. However, two chapters (three and four) were put into the *Essential Jade Book on Pox* under the name of Wan Quan's grandson Wan Ji. They consist of prescriptions taken from Wan Quan's other treatises.
107. The opinion that the two books represent the most secret and mature version of Wan Quan's works is still widely held today. Even Mao Dehua, who has dealt intensively with Wan Quan and his oeuvre, maintains that the two books were written at the end of Wan Quan's life and contain the "essence" of his work; see "Wan Quan jiashi ji shengzu kao," p. 23 and *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 136-139.

108. For the publishing houses that specialized in medical manuals, see Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth Century Publishing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996), pp. 77-122.
109. The publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang, for example, produced several editions of Wan Quan's book mixed with other texts of unknown origin and a book by a Yuan-dynasty medical writer that included chapters from Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. Similarly, in the case of Fu Shaozhang's discovery, we cannot be sure whether it was Fu Shaozhang or the publishing house Fuchuntang of the Tang family in Nanjing who put together the various text fragments to form the "excerpts from a complete book." On the publishers of the Jianyang area, one of the great centers of the Chinese book trade, see Lucille Chia, "The Development of the Jianyang Book Trade, Song-Yuan," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996), pp. 10-48.
110. Kai-wing Chow, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996), pp. 120-157.
111. Medical imprints were often taken as examples of the dangers of carelessness. See, for example, the tale of five lazy woodblock engravers recounted by Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54.1 (1994), pp. 5-125. Their negligent work had led to fatal errors in the characters used for prescriptions. All five were struck by lightning.
112. Reinforced by the efforts of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), the law for the protection of copyright was established in 1887 as a human right. See the study by Yasuda Fukiko and Sato Reiko on plagiarism in Japanese fiction, "Zum Plagiat in der japanischen Literatur," *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques* 44.1 (1990), pp. 25-48.
113. The book consists of three thread-bound volumes in a case. The name of the woodblock engraver, Wu Yutian of Fuzhou, is on the lower left-hand side of the last page of the foreword. See figure 8.
114. The signature "Wan Xian Bang Ning" has induced Chinese bibliographers to render the author's name as Wan Xianbang (Ning). But the two stamps with the seal characters "Wan Xian" and "Bang Ning" respectively, make it clear that "Xian" and "Bangning" are to be separated. The denotation "Wan Xianbang" in the following Chinese dictionaries and bibliographies is certainly wrong: Cao Bingzhang, ed., *Zhongguo yixue dacheng zongmu tiyao* (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1936); China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Beijing Library, eds., *Zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1961); Xue Qinglu et al., eds., *Guancang zhongyi xianzhuang shumu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986); Li Yun et al., eds., *Zhongyi renming cidian* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chuban gongsi, 1988); Li Jingwei et al., eds., *Zhongyi renwu cidian* (Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe, 1988); Xue Qinglu et al., eds., *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Union Catalogue) (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991).

115. The edition of 1871 is found in the libraries of the Traditional Medical Colleges of Shanghai, Lanzhou, Chengdu, Fujian, and Guangzhou. The library of the Traditional Medical University of Shanghai also holds a facsimile reprint of 1884 by the Wendetang publishing house of Amoy. This edition does not contain the foreword by Wang Jingxian. Two lithographic editions were issued by the publishing house Zhonghua Yinshua in Hong Kong (1903) and by the well-known publishing house Shangwu yinshuguan in Shanghai (1910). The latter edition is held only at the library of the Chinese Medical Association, Shanghai Section.
116. Wang Jingxian could not be identified in the local gazetteer *Fuzhou tongzhi*. In other reference books, however, three people by the name of Wang Jingxian are recorded for the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century: (1) An official of Jiaying (Zhejiang Province) who wrote several philosophical treatises. He was surveillance commissioner in Guangdong and, after 1863, office manager of the Board of Revenue in the capital. See Zang Lihe et al., eds., *Zhongguo renming dazidian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1921), p. 127, and *Jiaying fuzhi* (1879; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976) 47, p. 124. (2) The editor of the book *Jiating shiyong liangfang* (Good Prescriptions for Family Usage) published in 1933 in Suzhou. See *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Union Catalogue) (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 292 (no. 04258). (3) The collator of Wan Quan's book *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang*. The handwritten manuscript is held at Beijing National Library.
117. Allegedly, the stamps of Wan Bangning date to the Ming dynasty, those of Wang Jingxian to the Qing.
118. Yan Shiyun et al., eds., *Zhongguo yiji tongkao* (Shanghai: Zhongyi xueyuan chubanshe, 1993), p. 4099.
119. Wan Quan, *Youke fahui*. The quotations below are taken from the edition of the Shanghai publishing house Yijie chunqiushe, printed in 1937, which is a facsimile reprint of the Japanese edition published by Takemura Shinbee in Kyoto (1695 and 1705). The Japanese edition is based on the original Ming edition of 1599 published by Li Zhiyong, a native of Huanggang, during his term of office in Shaowu (Fujian Province). This edition is no longer extant.
120. *Lunyu* 13, 22: "A man without perseverance can become neither a sorcerer nor a physician."
121. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "Wanshi yuanxu," p. 1a. There is a pathos in Wan Bangning's use of the words *chang* (duty, ordinary), *feichang* (extraordinary, irregular), and *yuan* (destiny, affinity) that pervades the whole preface, but is difficult to render in English.
122. Physicians in the emperor's service were normally recruited from the descendants of former court physicians. According to a decree of 1498, physicians, astrologers, and fortune tellers ("hidden scholars in the mountains and woods") could also be recommended to the court. Up to two persons from each prefecture were admitted for examination in the capital. The selection

- was the responsibility of the Ministry of Ritual, not of the education intendant. See *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli Palace ed.) 104, "Libu" 62, p. 1b.
123. *Huachao* is the fifteenth day of the second lunar month.
124. This standardized prescription composed of nine herbal drugs is taken from the famous *Shanghanlun* (Treatise on Cold Damage) by Zhang Ji (142–220?).
125. Fifth day of the fifth lunar month.
126. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "*Wanshi yuanxu*," pp. 2a–2b.
127. Wan Bangning's explanation for this title reads "I titled this book *Wanshi yiguan* because Ten Thousand Things can be reduced to One, One is the thread through everything" ("*Wanshi yuanxu*," p. 4a). Cf. "Annals of Confucius," *Lunyu* 4, 15: "My way has one thread that runs right through it." Bangning's surname Wan is written with the character for "ten thousand." Wan Bangning takes every opportunity to oppose the two words "ten thousand" and "one," indicating that in his mind are encompassed both the variety of all things and "the One Thread" that gives order and meaning to it. It is interesting to note that the same title, *Yiguan*, is used for a medical book by Zhao Xianke of Ningbo published in 1617.
128. Ma Kanwen, "Lishi shang de yisheng," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 16 (1986), pp. 1–11.
129. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "*Wanshi yuanxu*," p. 4b.
130. The position of medical commissioner corresponds to that of the head of the Imperial Academy of Medicine. During the Ming dynasty it was connected with the salary of the fifth rank. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi*, p. 11a; Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, pp. 1812–1813; and Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, pp. 1a–7b.
131. Note that the prescriptions in the "Man" section are not identical with those in the appendix of a Qing-dynasty version of the *Elucidations* printed by the Jingguantang publishing house. This Qing edition in four *juan*, which has become the standard version for modern reprints, also contains a numbered list of seventy-five prescriptions. This list, however, is obviously taken from the pediatric treatise *Youke tiejing* written in 1695 by Xia Ding. It has nothing to do with Wan Quan's text or the prescriptions included.
132. The names of seven collators plus the name of someone who made an additional collation (*jiajiao*) are written on the left-hand side of the table of contents.
133. For instance, *Feierwan* (Nourishing children pills) appears as No. 190, No. 209, and in the second list No. 10. *Jishengwan* (Assembling-the-Sacred-Spirits pills, No. 243) is a prescription created by Zhu Danxi in the Yuan dynasty, but *Xijiangyue jishengwan* (No. 243) is a mistake. *Xijiangyue* is the title of the tune to which Wan Quan set the verse in his treatises. *Wuduosan* (Not much powder, No. 206) is not the name of a prescription, but obviously part of a remark in Wan Quan's text: "It is not necessary to take much powder."
134. For instance *Wanshi yiguan*, "*Tianbu*," p. 43b; "*Dibu*," p. 1a.
135. That these mistakes are not caused by the carelessness of the carver, but by

conscious forging of the plagiarist can be seen in the consistency of these changes throughout the text.

136. *Wanshi yiguan* "Tianbu," p. 61a, and *Youke fahui* 2, p. 2a.
137. *Youke fahui* 2, pp. 28b–29a. For the gazetteers, see, for example, *Huguang zongzhi* (1591) 19, p. 28b; *Hubei tongzhi* (Shanghai: Yinshuguan, 1921) 113, p. 1254; and *Yunyang fuzhi* (1870 ed.; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976), p. 227.
138. The terminology was similar, the basic attitude toward physicians the same.
139. See Frederick Mote and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Ming Dynasty*. In *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, part 1, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 479–482.
140. Tao Zhongwen was a native of Huanggang.
141. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi*.
142. *Mingshilu*, microfilm of a manuscript of the National Central Library (Institute for History and Philology of the Academia Sinica Taipei, 1963–1966); Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991); Sun Chengze, *Chunming mengyu lu* (reprint Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1992); Shen Chaoyan, *Huang Ming jialong liangchao jianwen ji*, facsimile of the Wanli ed. in *Mingdai shiji huikan* 4 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969; Xie Zhaozhe, *Wuzazu* (reprint Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1971); Shen Defu, *Wanli yehubian* (reprint Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju chubanshe, 1959).
143. See Zhu, *Taiyiyuan zhi*, p. 11a; Zhang et al., *Mingshi* 74, pp. 1812–1813; and Shen et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, pp. 1a–7b.
144. See *Da Ming Huidian* 160, section 2, p. 2a.
145. See Zhang et al., *Mingshi* 69, p. 2279.
146. The *Youke fahui* belongs to the works written between 1568 and 1585 (see "Wan Quan's Last Will, and the Following Generations," above). Wan Quan probably completed the first version in 1579, the year he wrote the preface.
147. *Huanggang xianzhi* (1882 ed.; reprint Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969) 15, p. 33a (p. 540). *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1833; reprint 1876) 12, p. 12b.
148. *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1833 ed.; reprint 1876) 12, p. 12b.
149. *Guangdong tongzhi* (1864 ed.) 74, section 12, p. 7b.
150. *Wuzhou fuzhi* (1873 ed.) 12, p. 14a.
151. Bold text indicates passages deleted by the plagiarist; underlined text marks passages in which the plagiarist uses his own phrasing.
152. *Chuan* in the context of traditional Chinese medicine is often translated as "dyspnoea." I use "breathe with difficulty" to avoid the modern technical term.
153. The *Yigongsan* prescription developed by Qian Yi in his *Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue* contains five ingredients: R Ginseng (*Renshen*), Sclerotium Poriae Cocos (*Fuling*), Peric Citri Reticulatae (*Chenpi*), Rh *Atractylodis Macrocephalae* (*Baizhu*), and R *Glycyrrhizae Uralensis* (*Gancao*).
154. "Tianbu," *Wanshi yiguan* (Fuzhou: Zhengruitang, 1871), p. 61a.
155. *Youke fahui* (Kyoto: Takemura Shinbei, 1695) 2, p. 2a.

GLOSSARY

- Baizhu 白朮
 Bancang Lumen Yinxin shuwu 板藏鷺
 門印心書屋
 Baoming 保命
Baoming gekuo 保命歌括
 Beizhili 北直隸
Bencao shizhu 本草拾珠
Bingfa milu 兵法秘錄
 Cai Chaoyi 蔡朝辰
 Cai Yuanding 蔡元定
 Cai Yuelan 蔡曰蘭
 Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章
 Cao Jixiao 曹繼孝
 Chaihu guizhi tang 柴胡桂枝湯
 chang 常
 Changlu 長蘆
 Chen 陳
 Chenpi 陳皮
 Chen Shi 陳氏
 Chen Wenzhong 陳文仲
 Chen Xiang 陳相
 Chen Yunsheng 陳允升
Chunming mengyu lu 春明夢餘錄
 Cui Hua 崔華
 Dai Li (Tai Mankō) 戴笠(戴慢公)
 Deng Shichang 鄧士昌
 Ding Cilü 丁此呂
 Ding Feng 丁鳳
 Ding Mingdeng 丁明登
 Ding Yi 丁毅
Douke yuhan ji 痘科玉函集
Douzhen 痘疹
Douzhen daquan 痘疹大全
Douzhen gezhi yaolun 痘疹格致要論
Douzhen gusuifu 痘疹骨碎賦
 douzhenke 痘疹科
Douzhen quanshu 痘疹全書
Douzhen shiyi xinfa 痘疹世醫心法
Douzhen suijinfu 痘疹碎金賦
Douzhen xijiangyue 痘疹西江月
Douzhen xinfa 痘疹心法
Douzhen xinfa jinjinglu 痘疹心法金鏡錄
Douzhen xinfa quanshu 痘疹心法全書
Douzhen xinyao 痘疹心要
Douzhen xinyao gaikeshimo 痘疹心要改
 刻始末
Douzhen yusui 痘疹玉髓
Douzhen zhengzong 痘疹正宗
 Duanwu 端午
Fahui yun 發揮云
 feichang 非常
 Feierwan 肥兒丸
 Fengcheng 豐城
 fu 賦
 Fuchuntang 富春堂
 Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉
 Fuling 茯苓
 Fu Shaozhang 傅紹章
 Fuwentang 敷文堂
 Fuzhou 福州
 Gan 甘
 Gancao 甘草

- Gan Shi 甘氏
 Ganzhou 贛州
 Gao Wu 高武
 ge 歌
 Ge Hong 葛洪
 gekuo 歌括
 gewu zhizhi 格物致知
 Gong Tingxian 龔廷賢
 guangsi 廣嗣
 Guangsi 廣嗣
 Guangsi jiyao 廣嗣紀要
 Guian 歸安
 Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成
 Guo Zizhang 郭子章
 Gusuifu 骨碎賦
 Hai Rui 海瑞
 Han Zhongyong 韓仲雍
 Hayashi Gonbee 林權兵衛
 Huachao 花朝
 Huangdi neijing suwen 黃帝內經素文
 Huanggang 黃崗
 Huang Lian 黃廉
 Huang Shifeng 黃石峰
 Huangzhou 黃州
 Huguang 湖廣
 Hu Lüe 胡略
 Huma 湖麻
 Hu Mingshu 胡明庶
 Hu Mingtong (Sanxi) 胡明通 (三溪)
 Huzhou 湖州
 Igakkan 醫學館
 Ikeda 池田
 Ikeda Jūkō 池田柔行
 Ikeda Masanao 池田正直
 Ikeda Zuisen 池田瑞仙
 jiajiao 加校
 Jiangpu 江蒲
 Jianyang 建陽
 jiao 校
 Jiating shiyong liangfang 家庭實用良方
 Jiaxing 嘉興
 jinfang 禁方
 Jingguantang 靜觀堂
 Jinling 金陵
 jinshi 進士
 Jinxi 金溪
 Jishengwan 集聖丸
 juan 卷
 jueju 絕句
 Jueluo Hengbao 覺羅恆保
 Junmen 軍門
 juren 舉人
 Kawakatsu Gorōemon 川勝五郎右衛門
 Ke Wenshao 柯文紹
 Ke Wenzhao 柯文沼
 Kuibitang 奎壁堂
 kuo 括
 lingyi 鈴醫
 Linqing 臨清
 Linzhang 臨漳
 Li Tao 李濤
 Liu Honglie 劉洪烈
 liutu 流徒
 Li Yun 李雲
 Li Zhiyong 李之用
 Long 龍

- Longyou 龍游
 Lumen 鷺門
 Lumen Zhengruitang Ye kan 鷺門徵瑞
 堂葉刊
 Lü Minghe 呂鳴和
 Luotian 羅田
Luotian xianzhi 羅田縣志
 Lu Wen 陸穩
 Macheng 麻城
Maijue yuezhi 脈訣約旨
 Mao Guangsheng 冒廣生
 Mao Ruqi 毛汝麒
 Maoshi congshu 毛氏叢書
Michuan douzhen jingyan fang 秘傳痘疹經
 驗方
Michuan douzhen yusui 秘傳痘疹玉髓
Michuan jingyan douke yuhanji 秘傳經驗
 痘科玉函集
Michuan jingyan douzhen fang 秘傳經驗痘
 疹方
 Mizhai 密齋
 Nakamura Magobee 中村孫兵衛
 Nanchang 南昌
Nanjing 難經
 Nanzhili 南直隸
 ni 逆
 Nishimura Riemon 西村理右衛門
 Ouyang Duo 歐陽鐸
 Peng Duanwu 彭端吾
Piānyu douzhen 片玉痘疹
piaoqie wei jizuo kan 剽竊爲己作刊
 Qian Shi 錢氏
 Qian Yi 錢乙
 Qin Dakui 秦大夔
 Qingyitang 清議堂
 Qiongzhou 瓊州
 Qishui 蘄水
 Renshen 人參
 Ru 儒
 Ruyi 儒醫
 Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房
Shanghan 傷寒
Shanghanlun 傷寒論
Shanghan zhaijin 傷寒摘金
 Shanren Huang Lian shu 山人黃廉述
 Shaowu 邵武
 Shaoxing 紹興
 Shao Yuanjie 紹元節
 Shilütang 視履堂
 shiyi 世醫
 Shizong 世宗
Shouhou beiji fang 肘後備急方
 shu 述
 shun 順
 Siming 四明
Shiyi xinfa gekuo 世醫心法歌括
Suijinfu 碎金賦
 Sun Guangzu 孫光祖
 Sun Yikui 孫一奎
 Sun Ying'ao 孫應熬
 Suwen 素問
Suwen qianjie 素問淺節
 Taiping 太平
Taiyiyuan zhi 太醫院志
 Takeda Jiemon 武田治右衛門
 Takemura Shinbee 武村新兵衛

- Taki 多紀
 Taki Mototane 多紀元胤
 Tanabe Sakuemon 田邊作右衛門
 Tanba Mototane 丹波元胤
 Tang Chunfu (Jinchi) 唐春富 (錦池)
 Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
 Tao Zhongwen 陶仲文
 Tongbi shanren 銅壁山人
 Tongrentang 同人堂
 Tongzhi xinwei zhongchun 同治辛未仲
 春
 tuina 推拿
 Tu Jie 涂杰
 Wan 萬
 Wan Banghe 萬邦和
 Wan Banghua 萬邦化
 Wan Bangjing 萬邦靖
 Wan Bangning 萬邦寧
 Wan Bangrui 萬邦瑞
 Wan Bangxian 萬邦咸
 Wan Bangxiao 萬邦孝
 Wan Bangzheng 萬邦正
 Wan Bangzhi 萬邦治
 Wan Bangzhong 萬邦忠
 Wan Bing 萬柄
 Wan Binlan 萬賓蘭
 Wan Bo 萬柏
 Wan Cai 萬材
 Wan Da 萬達
 Wan Gao 萬高
 Wang Jingxian 王景賢
 Wang Lian 王濂
 Wang Shi 王氏
 Wang Shouren 王守仁
 Wang Yiming 王一鳴
 Wang Yuncheng 王允成
 Wan Ji 萬極 (son of Wan Bangxian)
 Wan Ji 萬機 (son of Wang Bangzhi)
 Wan Kuang (Juxuan) 王筐 (菊軒)
 Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue 萬曆新
 歲仲春之月
 Wanli yehubian 萬曆野獲編
 Wan Meisu 萬每素
 Wan Mizhai 萬密齋
 Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu 萬密齋醫學
 全書
 Wan Quan 萬全
 Wan Renmei 萬仁美
 Wan Sen 萬森
 Wanshi douzhen quanshu 萬氏痘疹全書
 Wanshi jiachuan baoming gekuo 萬氏家傳
 保命歌括
 Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa 萬氏家傳
 痘疹心法
 Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao 萬氏家傳廣
 嗣紀要
 Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui 萬氏家傳幼
 科發揮
 Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen 萬氏秘傳
 片玉痘疹
 Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu 萬氏秘傳
 片玉心書
 Wanshi niuhuang qingxinwan 萬氏牛黃清
 心丸
 Wanshi quan yiji liuzhong 萬氏全醫集六
 種

- Wanshi yiguan* 萬氏醫貫
Wanshi yuanben 萬氏原本
Wanshi yuanxu 萬氏元序
Wanshi zongpu 萬氏宗普
 Wan Shu 萬樞
Wan Xian Bang Ning 萬咸邦寧
Wan Xiang 萬相
Wan Xianmei 萬咸美
Wan Yan 萬延
Wan Yance (Binlan) 萬言策 (賓蘭)
Wan Yiguan 萬一貫
Wan Zhuo 萬卓
 wei 危
Weijingtang 維經堂
Weixuan 味玄
Wendetang 文德堂
Weng Zhongren 翁仲仁
Wuchang 武昌
Wuduosan 無多散
Wu Mianxue 吳勉學
Wu Yutian 吳玉田
Wuzazu 五雜俎
Wuzhou 梧州
Xia Ding 夏鼎
Xiao Chuwu 蕭楚梧
Xiaoer douzhen fang lun 小兒痘疹方論
Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue 小兒藥證直訣
Xiao Jimei (Chuwu) 蕭繼美 (楚梧)
Xia Yan 夏言
Xijiangyue 西江月
Xijiangyue jishengwan 西江月集聖丸
Xin'an 新安
 xinfā 心法
Xing Bang 邢邦
Xinjuan Luotian Wanshi jiacang furen mike
 新鐫羅田萬氏家藏婦人秘科
Xinjuan Wanshi jiacang yuying jiami 新鐫
 萬氏家藏育嬰家秘
Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan shanghan zhajin
 新刊萬氏家傳傷寒摘錦
Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan yangsheng siyao
 新刊萬氏家傳養生四要
Xinke taiyiyuan jiaoshou Danxi micang Youke
jiejing quanshu 新刻太醫院校授丹溪
 秘藏幼科捷徑全書
Xinke Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao 新刊
 萬氏家傳廣嗣紀要
Xinzhou 信州
 xuan 玄
Xuanhuitang 宣惠堂
Yangsheng 養生
Yangzhou 揚州
Yan Xiaozhong 閻孝忠
 yaolun 要論
Ye Qingqu (Wenlan) 葉清渠 (文瀾)
Yifang jiyi 醫方集宜
Yiguan 醫貫
 yihu 醫戶
 yin yu yi 隱於醫
Yiqingtang 怡慶堂
 yisheng 醫聖
Yizang shumu 醫藏書目
Yongzhou 永州
Youke 幼科
Youke fahui 幼科發揮
Youke quanshu 幼科全書

- Youke tiejing* 幼科鐵鏡
Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang 幼科指南家
 傳秘方
yuan 緣 (destiny, affinity)
yuan 元 (source, origin)
yuanshi 院使
Yu Chaoxian 喻朝憲
Yuhanfang 玉函方
Yunyang 鄖陽
Yu Qian 于謙
yuqian shizhi yuyi 御前侍直御醫
Zhang 張
Zhang Bocong 張伯琮
Zhang Ji 張機
Zhang Mingdao 張明道
Zhang Tanyi 張坦議
Zhang Wanyan 張萬言
Zhang Xian 張憲
Zhaoqing 肇慶
Zhao Xianke 趙獻可
Zhao Yu 趙裕
Zhengruitang 徵瑞堂
zhengyan 症驗
Zhengyang 鄭陽
Zheng Zhu 鄭翥
zhongdou 種痘
Zhongguo yijikao 中國醫籍考
Zhongxintang 忠心堂
Zhuang Jichang 莊際昌
Zhu Lin 朱林
Zhu Danxi micang youke quanshu 朱丹溪
 秘藏幼科全書
Zhu Ru 朱儒
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhuxi 竹溪
Zhu Zhenheng (Danxi) 朱震亨 (丹溪)
Zizhou 資州

L I V R E
D E
DESSEINS CHINOIS ,
TIRÉS D'APRÈS DES ORIGINAUX
D E
PERSE, DES INDES, DE LA CHINE
ET DU JAPON ,
DESSINÉS ET GRAVÉS EN TAILLE-DOUCE
PAR LE S^r FRAISSE, PEINTRE DES A. S.
MONSEIGNEUR
L E D U C ,
DEDIÉ A SON ALTESSE SERENISSIME.



A P A R I S ,
Chez Ph. Nic. LOTTIN, Imprimeur - Libraire , rue Saint Jacques , proche de S. Yves.
à la Vérité.

M. DCC. XXXV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

1. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Title page from *Livre de desseins chinois* (1735).
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

Jean-Antoine Fraise at Chantilly

French Images of Asia

SUSAN MILLER

Jean-Antoine Fraise's printed and drawn images, reflections of early-eighteenth-century France's fascination with the East, were first published in 1735 in Paris as the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Issued in folio format, the images encapsulate various modes through which France at that time viewed the vast expanse it collectively designated as "the Orient." The *Livre de desseins chinois* constitutes a visual correlative to ambivalent views of the East memorably presented by Charles Louis de Montesquieu (1689–1755) fourteen years earlier in his satirical novel *Les lettres persanes*, a story of two men living in Paris identified as "Orientals" by the people around them. Complementing Montesquieu's prose, Fraise's images both reproduce and confront Western perceptions of the exotic East.¹

By the early 1730s, when Fraise was preparing his work, increased trading by the East India companies had generated immense Western interest in material from the East. Responding to market demand, early-eighteenth-century French artisanal workshops produced adaptations and imitations of objects of Eastern origin. Interpreted Eastern styles are seen in Western-produced embroidery, weave-patterned silk, pigment-painted silk, block-printed cotton, imitation lacquer, marquetry,

ceramics, and wallcoverings. The *Livre de desseins chinois* offered collectors, designers, and artisans detailed images traceable to Japan, China, India, and Persia.

CHANTILLY, THE PLATES, AND THE CONDÉ COLLECTIONS

The story of the *Livre de desseins chinois* begins at Chantilly, the location of both an imitation-lacquer and a painted-and-printed-fabric workshop financed by Louis-Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1692-1740) and cousin to Louis xv. The two workshops were located in the château of the Condés; to date, imitation lacquer and fabric from the Chantilly workshops have not been identified. The porcelain manufactory at Chantilly was housed near the château in buildings owned and provided by Condé. Jean-Antoine Fraise (1680?-1738 or 1739) published his images while he lived and worked in the château as a "*faiseur de toile peinte*"; he was also called a "*compositeur*," probably a reference to his work as a designer of images. Others who lived in the château while in the service of Condé were: from 1732, François De La Porte, "*maître peintre et vernisseur de S.A.S. le Duc de Bourbon*," and, from 1734 situated in a workroom next to Fraise's, the accomplished Henry-Nicolas Cousinet (d. ca. 1768), sculptor, engraver, and silversmith, engaged as "*sculpteur des menus plaisirs de S.A.S.*," and instructed to "*imiter les ouvrages de la Chine*."²

Little biographical information about Fraise exists. He was born in Grenoble and worked there until 1718, becoming a master embroiderer and fabric painter. Although it was unusual at the time, he apparently became a designer as well.³ He arrived at Chantilly about 1729. Presumably he was hired to direct a fabric-painting-and-printing workshop. He called himself "painter" to the duke on the title page of the *Livre de dessins chinois* (see figure 1), probably a reference to his status as a fabric designer and painter of designs for fabric. Fraise's dedication of the *Livre de dessins chinois* to Condé refers to "une Fabrique de Porcelaine" and to "des Toiles peintes si semblables à celles des Indes." The concentration of manufactories at Chantilly, however small in scale, constituted a microcosm of early-eighteenth-century Western interest in adapting and imitating Asian porcelain, lacquer, and fabric.

I have examined nine of the twelve recorded albums of the *Livre*

de desseins chinois with a 1735 title page (see the appendix and figure 1).⁴ The plates are unsigned, unnumbered, and in varied order. In three of the albums all the plates are hand colored. Fraisse did not identify himself as a painter of a particular compilation of images, and no painted work by him is known. The original bindings range from luxury morocco with gold-tooled decoration to the conventional full calf with undecorated covers. In seven albums, various weights of hand-made paper were bound together; in two albums identically bound in red morocco with gold tooling, the paper is of consistent weight. The two identically bound albums come from an earlier printing and assembly, and together contain all known images.

Fraisse's involvement in the printing, painting, and compilation of the albums probably ended in June 1736, when he was accused of minor theft, stealing a cane with a gilded handle containing eyeglasses.⁵ Formally interrogated in 1737, he was eventually imprisoned. Fraisse's widow is recorded to have died on December 16, 1739, indicating that he had already died, apparently in 1738 or 1739.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* includes etchings of various sizes, etchings with small woodcuts and hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing that extend the pictorial image, and woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Four etched plates are printed on sheets of paper joined to form fold-out illustrations. Two of the fold-out plates consist of etchings only and thus provide no indication of different stages of production. Two fold-out plates in the earlier albums contain woodcut and hand-drawn additions; later plates contain replacement woodcuts only. No album contains all the known images, and additions to the same etching may vary from album to album. In all, the nine albums have sixty-five plates; fifty-seven are etchings, with and without additions; and eight are woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Five albums have the same fifty-seven plates, although not always with the same additions to the same etching. Only the album at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City includes the eight woodcut-printed plates.

Fifty etchings have no additions in any of the nine albums and display a range of technical proficiency.⁶ The most accomplished etchings belong to a group of twenty-nine without additions: twenty-four, including a fold-out illustration, are of fantastical vegetation and other

images of nature representative of a seventeenth-century textile-trade vocabulary; five basket-with-flowers compositions relate to European and Chinese-derived images. Several of the twenty-nine images exhibit shading techniques and carefully rendered detail. Etchings that are tentatively executed, with less design sense and drawing skill include five landscapes, fifteen figural scenes, and a fold-out procession. Figures and perspective views are awkward. The landscapes depict Chinese-style rocks and plants, the figural scenes are predominantly Chinese- and Japanese-style composites, two landscapes and one figural scene represent Dutch renditions of Chinese images, and the procession derives primarily from Chinese sources.

Combined techniques of etching and woodcut; etching and ink drawing; or etching, woodcut, and ink drawing were used for five figural scenes, including one that folds out, and a procession that derives primarily from Japanese sources. Etchings with additions include woodcuts only, hand-drawn elements only, or woodcuts and hand-drawn elements. Woodcuts add to a landscape, a figural scene, or a building and also expand etched compositions, sometimes beyond the plate line. Hand-drawn additions provide detailed patterning to a woodcut-printed outline; extend a woodcut-printed floral image; connect separately printed woodcuts, etchings, or woodcuts and etchings to create a single unified composition; or contribute new images that expand and elaborate on a printed scene, sometimes extending beyond the plate line of an etching. Outlines and partial images in pencil are visible on otherwise finished compositions.

Some aspects of the *Livre de desseins chinois* relate directly to Fraise's experience in fabric workshops. Thirty-seven images — eight woodcuts and twenty-nine etchings — could be interpreted as designs for painted, printed, or embroidered fabrics. These images reflect knowledge of Indian, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, and European fabrics. Furthermore, fabrics are prominent in Fraise's twenty figural scenes and two processions. The variety of patterns on costumes and furnishings serves to highlight the fact that fabric designs are an integral part of his compositions.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals that Fraise's accomplishments as a designer were limited to nonfigural fantastical images representative

of Indian dye-painted and embroidered trade fabric. His deficiencies are reflected in the unconventional combinations of printing techniques, the hand-drawn additions, his inability to scale proportionately, and his awkward drafting of figures and architectural elements. Fraisse's confident adaptations of East Asian material to the French design repertoire, however, stand in striking contrast to his lack of learned and refined techniques. Eastern fabric was not his only model; the decoration on Chinese and Japanese porcelain and lacquer also provided models for his images. However, the variety of figural scenes, the amount of detail, and the horizontal fold-out format for three plates reflect his knowledge of printed, drawn, or painted Chinese and Japanese scrolls and other pictorial material. Minor references to Islamic and Indian paintings are also discernable.

The two early albums presumably assembled in Fraisse's workshop preserve his decision-making process for creating designs. Plates in the other seven albums I examined contain woodcuts that copy hand-drawn additions in the two earlier, luxury-bound albums. Looked at collectively, the albums reveal the stages of production of an image, the first being an etching or woodcut followed by the same print expanded by additions. The early woodcuts are not technically successful as prints on paper. The woodblocks did not make clear, even impressions, and lines are reinforced by hand. Like motifs on printed fabric, the images are merely outlines. Fraisse's woodblocks probably contained a residue used for printing on fabric. Unlike the earlier plates, the later plates with replacement woodcuts could be reused successfully; woodcuts with detail replace hand-drawn additions, and earlier woodblocks are eliminated. Five albums belonged to four collectors and bibliophiles who were contemporaries of Condé; the whereabouts of only three of the five are known, and these three contain later plates.⁷ Perhaps Fraisse's images owe their preservation to their association with Monseigneur le Duc.

Fraisse's etched plates, probably with and without replacement woodblocks, were reused. Without crediting Fraisse, Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) may have reissued Fraisse's etchings, as well as etchings with replacement woodcut additions, perhaps between 1742 and 1750. Huquier's catalogue of his inventory (1757) cites a group of sixty prints "de la chine."⁸ Two sets of plates catalogued by the Metropolitan Museum of

Art as by Huquier were, in fact, etched by Fraise.⁹ Forty-eight plates were reused around 1760 by Mondhare, a minor print publisher, and attributed to "Mr. de Devonhire Ingénieur envoyé par la Compagnie Angloise des Indes."¹⁰ Numbers are etched in the corner of each plate, indicating a later printing. No etchings in the Mondhare publication contain additions, probably because he did not own the woodblocks.¹¹ Fold-out plates are not included. Twenty-five etchings in the Mondhare publication reflect a textile-trade vocabulary, fifteen are figural scenes, and the remaining eight are rock-foliage landscapes and basket-with-flowers images.

The title page (see figure 1) reveals that Fraise's images were inspired by material from Persia, India, China, and Japan. Since no evidence suggests that Fraise had been to the East, he must have been relying on material collected by others. In his dedication, Fraise writes of his access to the collections located in the Condés' château: "Mais quel lieu dans le monde pouvoit me fournir une plus belle collection de ce qui est sorti de plus précieux de la Chine et des Indes, que le Château de Chantilly?" Although Fraise dedicated his work to "Monseigneur Le Duc," incongruous aspects of the publication suggest the possibility that Condé did not commission it. One explanation for Fraise's dedication may be that Condé paid part or all of the prints' production costs, or Fraise may have hoped that the association with Monseigneur le Duc would stimulate future sales.

The Condés came into possession of Chantilly in 1643. Thus the collections and library that were present in 1735 presumably contained material that had been preserved by the family since at least the mid-seventeenth century. Some of the material was no doubt part of the important collections and library of Louis II de Bourbon (1621–1686), le Grand Condé, great-grandfather of Louis-Henri, and cousin of Louis XIV. An intellect and connoisseur, le Grand Condé commissioned improvements to the property that were designed by André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) and Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708). In 1676, following a distinguished military career, le Grand Condé retired to Chantilly. Most of the porcelain in the Condé collections was probably purchased after 1680, when trade with the East had become more active and French acquisitions increased accordingly. In 1673, however, le Grand Condé

purchased porcelain in the Netherlands, and at least some of these pieces were very likely part of the inventories of his son, Henry-Jules de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1643–1709), grandfather of Louis-Henri; and his grandson, Louis III de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1668–1710), father of Louis-Henri.¹² Part of the noted collections of Louis-Henri's mother and grandmother was probably also at Chantilly in 1735. During the 1720s and 1730s Louis-Henri de Bourbon made further improvements to the property, added to the collections, and was frequently host to Louis xv. Little is known of the contents of the library at Chantilly. Fraisse's dedication of the *Livre de desseins chinois* describes the rich variety of material to which he had access:

Mais en même-tems [*sic*] que V.A.S. fait voir à l'Europe qu'il n'y a rien dans les autres parties du monde qu'Elle ne puisse imiter, et même surpasser, Elle a voulu qu'on fût à portée d'en faire la plus exacte comparaison: car la Perse, la Chine, le Japon, les Indes n'ont rien produit en particulier qui ne se trouve réuni dans Chantilly; Etoffes des Indes les plus magnifiques, Toiles peintes et Perses du goût le plus exquis, Porcelaines de la Chine et du Japon de la premiere ancienneté, Ouvrages de Laque et de Vernis de tous les Pays où cet Art a été porté à sa plus grande perfection, toutes ces merveilles se trouvent répandues avec profusion dans ce magnifique Château.¹³

THE "PRIVILÈGE GÉNÉRAL," LOTTIN'S ALBUM, AND THE ADVERTISEMENT

The *Livre de desseins chinois* is Fraisse's only known work. On December 2, 1734, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse, Peintre," was granted a fifteen-year "Privilège Général . . . dessiner et graver un Livre de plusieurs Desseins de la Chine dessinés et gravés par lui."¹⁴ Fraisse may have applied for the privilege on November 16, 1734.¹⁵ Because the application and privilege were in his name, he would benefit financially from sales of the prints. The "Livre de plusieurs Desseins de la Chine" was published as the *Livre de desseins chinois* in 1735 by a prominent Parisian book publisher, Philippe-Nicolas Lottin (1685–1751).¹⁶

Lottin's legal deposit for the Bibliothèque royale, the public royal library, contains fifty-four (once probably fifty-seven) etchings, two of which have small woodcut additions; four fold-out illustrations were originally bound in the album.¹⁷ The woodcut additions in Lottin's album are copies of the hand-drawn images in the Metropolitan's album. Like their earlier hand-drawn counterparts, the replacement woodcuts extend beyond plate lines. The impressions of the replacements are clear and detailed.¹⁸ The woodcuts fill specific, oddly shaped spaces and copy hand-drawn additions to the same etchings in the two luxury-bound albums.

Lottin's and six other albums were undoubtedly assembled at least partly with plates produced after those used for the Metropolitan's and the BnF's hand-colored albums. Moreover, the second group of plates was probably produced in a workshop other than Fraise's. Lottin or someone else may have commissioned the production of replacement woodcuts and hand-drawn additions, as well as hand coloring. Since Lottin's album was bound in 1737,¹⁹ the year after Fraise was accused of theft, the assembly of plates from a later production was possible and likely.

Neither the working relationship between Fraise and Lottin nor the contents of their contract is known. The publication of prints in eighteenth-century France was commonly undertaken by print publishers, not book publishers.²⁰ Fraise or someone else at Chantilly — perhaps a collaborator — may have had a prior relationship with Lottin. Also, if Fraise could not afford to finance production of the *Livre de desseins chinois*, or did not have the time, he might have sold his etched plates and woodblocks to Lottin. The fifteen-year privilege granted to Fraise was a commercial protection and would have been perceived as an advantage to a prospective buyer of the plates. Differences between the two early albums and the later ones certainly provide evidence to suggest that the plates had changed hands.

A recently discovered advertisement for the *Livre de desseins chinois* appeared in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* on February 8, 1735.²¹ The advertisement was placed by Lottin and offers four options and three prices for purchasing Fraise's work, "grand in Fol., papier colombier." The most expensive is for the collection of images bound in a conventional full-calf binding, "relié en veau." The second is for the images, unbound, and

printed on the same quality of paper, "*livre en blanc, même papier*"; the third is for the unbound images, but printed on a thinner, lesser quality of paper, "*petit papier*." The last option, for which no price is indicated, is for individually selected prints: "*les feuilles se vendent separement*." Curiously, hand coloring, and presumably by the "*peintre de S.A.S. [Son Altesse Serenissime] Monseigneur Le Duc*" (see figure 1), is not offered. The advertisement does not disclose the total number of plates, and no extant example of the advertised bound album is known. Because Fraisse did not sign or number his plates, loose plates not previously bound may exist but may not be known to be from the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Undoubtedly prints continued to be sold individually and to be bound as ordered. The reuse of the plates prevents definitive dating of unbound prints.

The advertisement confirms what the privilege application indicates. Publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois* was a commercial venture from which Fraisse would benefit, and Fraisse, perhaps with a collaborator, probably initiated the venture. Condé may have had no connection to Fraisse's work other than granting him permission to publish designs derived from source material at Chantilly. He may also have agreed to contribute financially to production costs for the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Condé was a major investor in the *Compagnie des Indes*,²² the French trading company that was founded in 1664, well after the English (1600) and Dutch (1602) companies. Condé's investment is evidence of his dual interest in acquisitions and manufacture. A proposal to publish designs that reflected collections at Chantilly and that could be sources for his own or Asian workshops may have been extremely appealing.²³

THE TWO EARLY ALBUMS: WOODCUTS AND BINDINGS

The Metropolitan Museum's *Livre de desseins chinois* is an especially informative and complex document. It was printed on heavy, consistently fine quality off-white laid paper, with gilt edges, and bound in gold-tooled red morocco, the same luxury material that was most often ordered for bindings for the *Bibliothèque royale*. The poorly printed impression of the title, the dedication, and the privilege, combined with

ink marks on the paper, is unusual in a luxury-bound album.²⁴ Of the nine examined albums containing the 1735 title page, the Metropolitan's sixty-three-plate album has both the greatest number of plates and the greatest variety of illustrative techniques.²⁵ Because the Metropolitan's album remained uncolored, the techniques and range of proficiency are particularly exposed.

One of the eight woodcut plates is a boating-party scene derived from Chinese images. Two plates are basket-with-flowers designs relating to those seen in late-Ming woodcuts, late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century East Asian porcelain and export lacquer, eighteenth-century European ceramics and imitation lacquer, and early-eighteenth-century Indian trade fabric. Five woodcut plates are floral and vegetal designs adapted from Islamic silks as well as from Chinese and Japanese images. Whatever their use, skillfully carved detail had not been required of the woodblocks, nor had a high standard of design.

The composition for one of the plates is centered on a woodcut of a basket with flowers (see figure 2). The outline of the basket in figure 2 — the horizontal and vertical lines — and most of the flowers and leaves are a woodcut; the bird is another woodcut that may or may not be carved from the same block. The woven pattern of the basket, the ribbon, the two elongated stems — one to the right and one to the left — with flowers and leaves, the landscape supporting the basket, the rock supporting the bird, the chrysanthemum and Chinese Buddha's hand citron to the left are all added by hand in ink over pencil underdrawing. Partial additions in pencil are faintly visible.

After the woodcut was printed, perspective and detail were added, lines were extended, and the pictorial image was expanded. The woodblock-carved images clearly did not originate as designs for reproduction on paper. Like figure 2, the other seven woodcut-printed plates contain minimal printed detail; the printed lines are reinforced by hand in ink, and all detail is in ink. Fraise's woodcuts, without additions, resemble simply drawn printed motifs on fabric. Oddly, no etched plates to replace the eight woodcuts appear to have been made. Etchings would have been more accomplished in appearance, as well as more efficiently reproducible. The images were evidently abandoned at some point, another indication that plates for future albums may have been produced elsewhere.



2. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 5 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcut with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

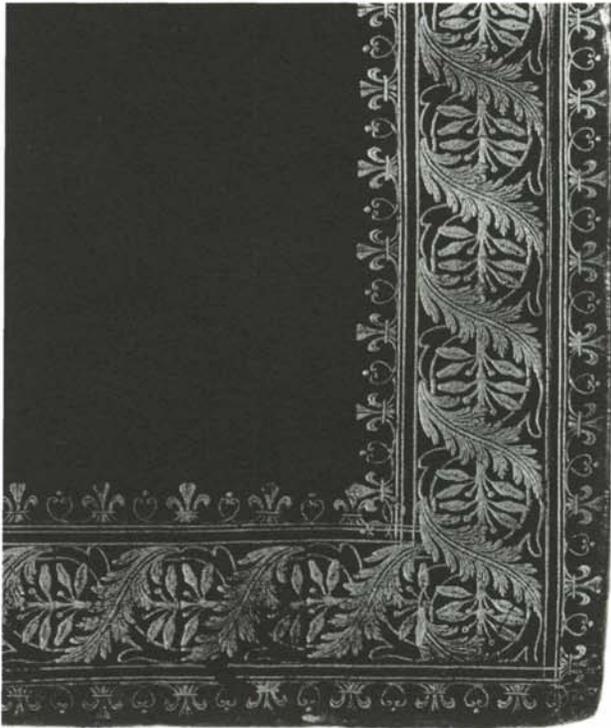
The BnF's extraordinary hand-colored album complements the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois*. The Metropolitan's album exposes Fraise's techniques and talents clearly, whereas the BnF's presents a finished product, with Fraise's deficiencies camouflaged by beautiful painting. The BnF's album contains fifty-four plates, fifty-three with contemporary hand coloring of exceptional quality and a pasted-down section of a Chinese painting in ink and color on paper. Forty-seven plates are etchings without additions. Twenty-seven of the etchings are images derived from a textile-trade vocabulary and include two etchings not in the Metropolitan's album. Four etchings have additions in ink, and two etchings contain woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Additions differ from those in the Metropolitan's album. For example, instead of woodcuts, hand-drawn additions expand the same three etchings that are in the Metropolitan's album. Four poorly printed woodcuts not in the Metropolitan's album expand two other etchings. The identical

characteristics of the printed impression in both albums suggest that the woodcuts were from the same workshop.

The BnF's and the Metropolitan's albums were printed on a similar quality of paper, both have blue silk moiré doublures and gold-tooled red morocco bindings, and the bindings have the same features. The "Bordure du Louvre" framed by a fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll on the covers of the Metropolitan's album (illustrated in figure 3) matches the decoration on the covers of the BnF's, indicating that the two albums were probably bound in the same bindery.²⁶ The "Bordure du Louvre" was used to decorate luxury bindings from the late-seventeenth through the early-eighteenth century and was typically reserved for important personages connected to the French court.²⁷

The fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll illustrated in figure 3 was an uncommon motif. According to recent archival research, a small fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll decorates the spine of a group of bindings made for the Bibliothèque royale between 1738 and 1745. The group is from the bindery of Guillaume Mercier (d. 1763?), who produced bindings for the Bibliothèque royale from 1721 to 1762.²⁸ Mercier was also the binder for the king's libraries at Versailles and Choisy le Roi, and in 1733 he was granted the official title of "*relieur du roi*."²⁹

The Bibliothèque royale gave Lottin's privilege album of the *Livre de desseins chinois* to Mercier to be bound on February 12, 1737 (see note 19). Although Lottin's album has a luxury binding, the gold tooling is less elaborate than that on the bindings of the Metropolitan's and the BnF's albums. The red morocco for Lottin's album is decorated only with the conventional gold-tooled royal monogram on the spine and the library's royal arms on the covers along with three gold fillets. Although the gold tooling has nothing in common with that in figure 3, that Mercier was the binder is worth noting and may be a fact to consider in connecting him to the bindings of the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums. Because Mercier used the fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll to decorate the spine of bindings for the Bibliothèque royale, and because he was working at the time the *Livre de desseins chinois* was published, a strong possibility exists that the larger fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll illustrated in figure 3 was also used by him. He may have been the binder of the two luxury albums owned by the Metropolitan and the BnF.



3. Detail of binding of *Livre de desseins chinois*. Red morocco with gold tooling. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

The “N.Emig. CONDE. C.” printed on a paper label pasted to the silk doublure of the BnF’s album indicates that the album was confiscated from the Condé family, probably from Chantilly, during the Revolution and subsequently presented to the Bibliothèque royale.³⁰ The label does not, however, indicate the year the album came into the Condé family’s possession. The Metropolitan’s *Livre de desseins chinois* may have been in Condé’s possession as well, as his personal album or as a presentation album. Also, it may have been an album for the king to present to members of his court and to foreign ambassadors, or it may have been ordered independently by a wealthy aristocrat who could afford to order a luxury binding, perhaps from the “*relieur du roi*.”³¹ That the Metropolitan’s album, uncolored and with images less expertly executed, was bound in the same luxurious manner as the BnF’s album is curious, for the contrast highlights Fraisse’s lack of technique.

The BnF’s hand-colored *Livre de desseins chinois* is a singularly significant album. Its characteristics suggest that Fraisse may have drawn the additions, painted the colors, and assembled the plates with the intention of presenting the album to Condé. The additions in ink were

carefully drawn with a skill superior to that exhibited in the Metropolitan's album.³² Furthermore, the images reflect the expertise of an accomplished colorist; they were meticulously painted and harmoniously colored and shaded. Fraisse would have acquired expertise as a colorist from his work as an embroiderer and painter in fabric workshops. As might be expected in a presentation album, gold appears, although sparingly, in one of the plates (folio 15), a fold-out etched procession; gold is not used in the two other hand-colored albums. Viewers of the BnF's album can readily accept Fraisse's identification of himself as "Peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc." When seen alongside the uncolored plates, the images in the BnF's album suggest that the *Livre de desseins chinois* was intended to be colored. The BnF's album may be the only one — or the only extant one — drawn, colored, and assembled by Fraisse.

COLORS

The colors of the BnF's album relate to the decoration on Chinese-style costumes of contemporary Chantilly porcelain figures. Colors decorating both the album and the porcelain reflect similar responses to the same source material: Chinese pigment-painted and painted-and-printed silk; Chinese painted wallpaper; Indian dye-painted and embroidered trade fabric; Japanese fabric; Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (porcelain produced in the Arita district of Hizen Province, Kyushu Island, primarily for export, from about 1660 through the 1690s and then declining); and late-Ming *wucai* (five-color) through early *famille-rose* porcelain. Turquoise is a dominant color for costumes, flowers, and architecture throughout the BnF's album, and is undoubtedly a reference to Chinese porcelain. Flowers of delicately shaded pinks and pink-reds reflect then current European taste for *famille-rose* porcelain.

Color-printed Chinese woodcuts may also have been a source for the particular colors seen in the BnF's album.³³ Popular prints were created for New Year's and other auspicious greetings, festivals, and celebrations. Early examples have not survived in China because they were typically used for interior decoration and were not collected or preserved. The prints contain imaginative coloration of natural forms, for example blue and pink tree trunks; blue rocks; and pink, yellow, orange, brown, and white stone walls.³⁴

Popular prints were widely available in China during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and were bought by Westerners and Japanese alike. The range in quality of the color printing varies greatly. The German Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), physician to the Dutch embassy from 1690 to 1692 on Japan's artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor, purchased twenty-nine popular prints in Nagasaki.³⁵ Now in the collection of the British Museum, the prints purchased by Kaempfer are of exceptional quality. Other examples owned by Westerners prior to 1738 have been identified in the collection of the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden.³⁶ Descriptions of two items in the 1743 inventory of prints and drawings from the comte d'Egmont's library in Paris suggest that he and Condé may have owned examples of this genre: "no. 33, un album oblong en parchemin contenant 22 desseins chinois imprimés en couleurs" and "no. 61, Paquet contenant nombre d'épreuves de pièces chinoises de chez Monseigneur le Duc quelques unes colorés."³⁷

Comparisons among the hand-colored albums owned by the BnF, the Bibliothèque du musée Condé in Chantilly, and the Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er} in Brussels expose conspicuous differences in palette and painting style. The painter of the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's fifty-seven-plate album was clearly not familiar with the particular East Asian source material that was available to Fraisse and to the porcelain decorators at Chantilly.³⁸ The carefully chosen radiating shades characteristic of the flower painting in the BnF's album are not to be found here. Furthermore, the painter was apparently not aware of the colors decorating costumes on contemporary Chantilly porcelain figures. Also, the paint was not skillfully or evenly applied. The colorist's inability to juxtapose harmoniously balanced hues produced aesthetically unpleasing results. Colors are not clear; greens are muddy; and the use of a sudden, strong almost opaque royal blue next to pale, watery colors is visually disturbing.

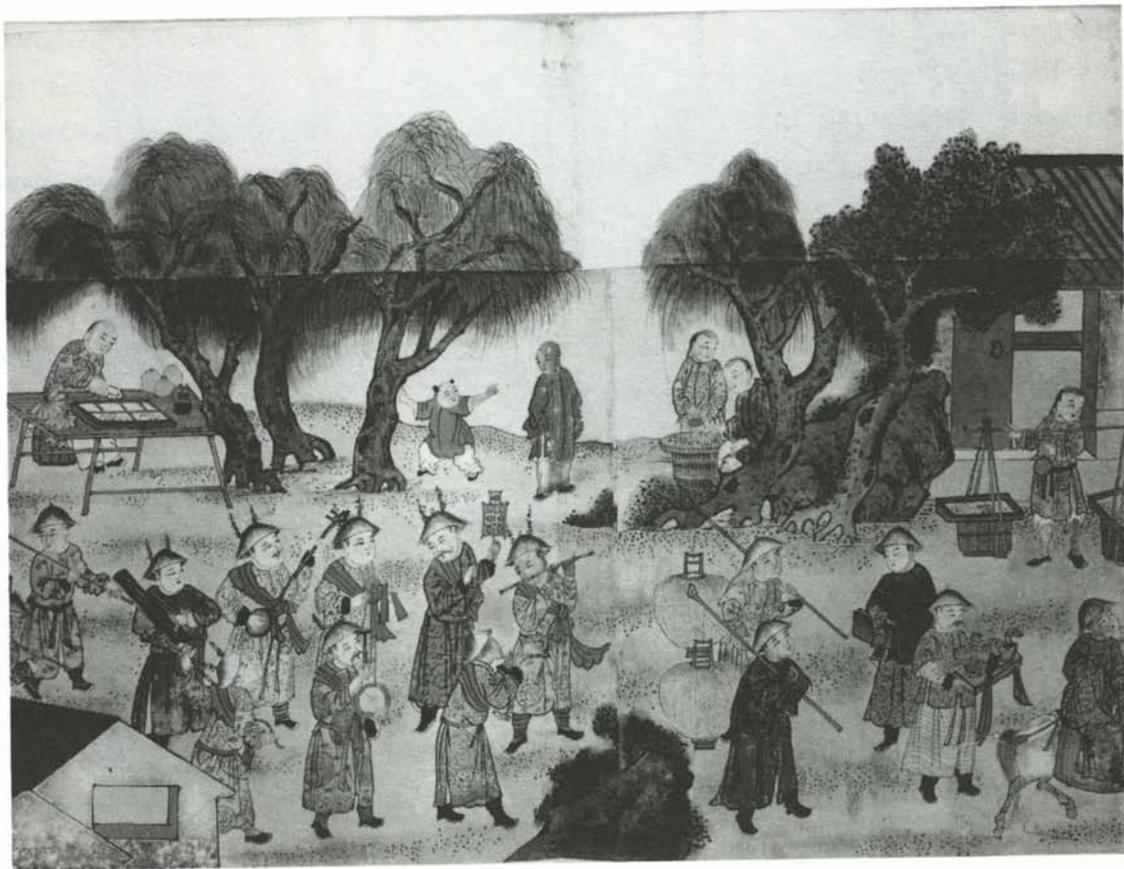
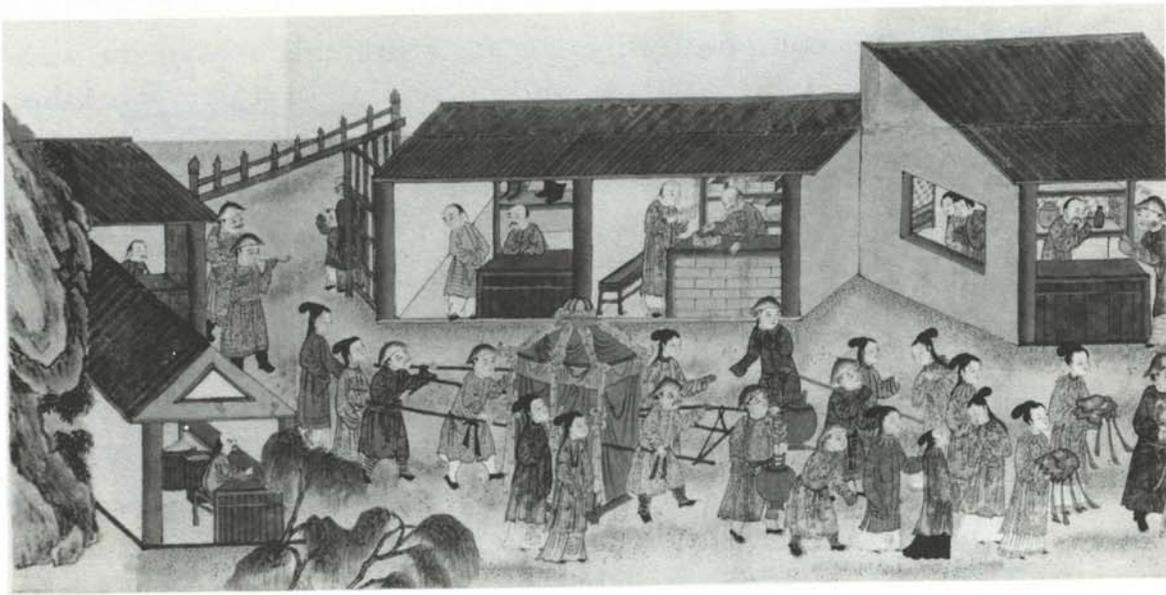
In contrast to the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's album, the forty-four-plate album owned by the Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er} is expertly painted with meticulous attention to colored detail, in a palette evoking *famille-verte* and *famille-rose* porcelain. Dominant colors in the album are green, yellow, pink, and shades of gray-blue and dark blue; secondary colors include red, aubergine, and shades of apricot and brown; and occasionally, a particularly deep turquoise. As beautifully

painted as the images are, the colors do not reflect the broader range of sources reflected in the decoration of contemporary Chantilly porcelain. Of the three hand-colored albums, only the BnF's relates to contemporary manufactures of Chantilly and to particular concentrations of the Condé collections that are revealed in Fraisse's images. Only the painter of the BnF's album was likely to have been working at Chantilly.

A CHINESE PAINTING AT CHANTILLY

The BnF's hand-colored album is distinguished by the inclusion of a section of a Chinese painting (see figure 4a–b). The painting was bound with the prints in the original binding. So that the painting could be incorporated into the folio, its format was converted into a fold-out illustration.³⁹ The painting was mounted first to a blue paper and then to the folio paper, sheets of which had been joined to accommodate the painting's three-meter, thirty-three centimeter length. A European hand — Fraisse's? — “completed” the original by painting additions on the folio paper immediately above the Chinese painting. The colors of the additions match those of the Chinese painting closely, but the hand of the additions and the paint formula itself are recognizably different.

The BnF's folio 54 (see figure 4a–b) is part of a larger painting; cut left and right edges are evident, and the top of the composition is not finished as it would have been by the Chinese artisan. Furthermore, the painting is in two sections. The composition is not continuous where the sections join (see figure 4b), indicating a cut and perhaps a missing section; an unsuccessful attempt was made to correct the interrupted continuity. A close look at figure 4 reveals that more than one Chinese painter worked on the composition, which is typical of workshop production of export paintings. The brush strokes of the rocks and foliage seen on the far left of figure 4a are different from those in the rest of the composition, and the ground color of the small section is noticeably paler. The small section is probably a fragment of a large area completed by another painter. The physical characteristics of the painting and its mounting raise several issues. Some export paintings may have been deliberately cut into smaller sections in order to be sold more profitably, possibly in China, in the West, or in both places.

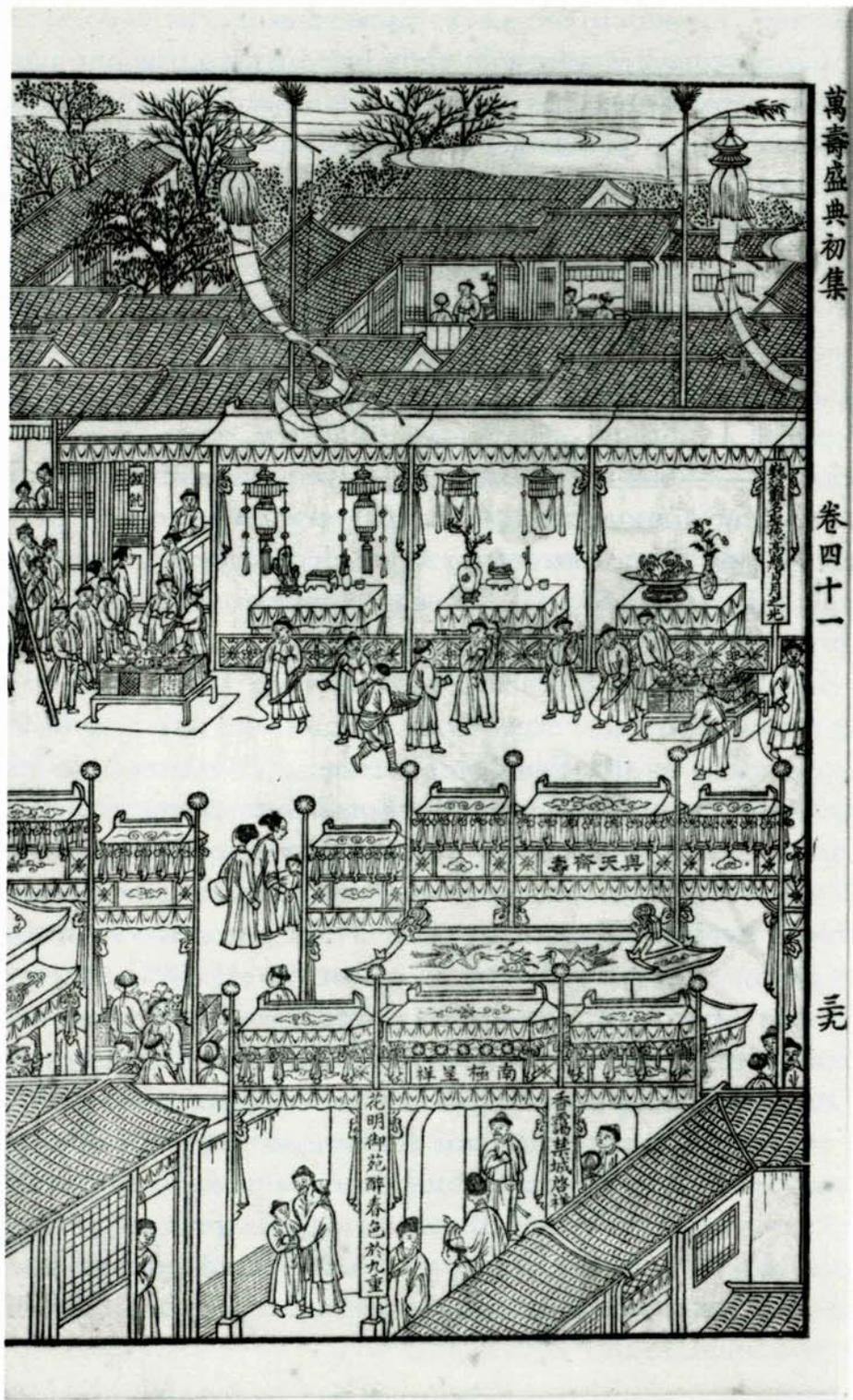


4a-4b. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 54 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Details of section of Chinese painting, ink and color on paper (ca. 1730). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.

The Chinese composition, ca. 1730, represents a Manchu wedding procession through a village and is typical of Qing workshop production made to Western order. Views of cities and villages, often with festival processions, were themes for court paintings from the Northern Song (960–1127) through the Qing (1644–1912) dynasties.⁴⁰ Daily activities of people in villages were also popular subjects for Qing workshop paintings completed by anonymous artisan-painters and designed for export to the West.

A distinct export-market painting style evolved in China, typified by the round faces in figure 4. The exchange of images with Western missionaries, emissaries, and traders taking place in sixteenth-century China certainly contributed to the development of the export style. At the instigation of the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) in 1580, for example, Western illustrated books were ordered for China.⁴¹ Contact between the Chinese and the Jesuits was complex and of use to both; they learned from each other. The exchange of pictorial images continued with the arrival of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in 1583, and throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, increasing significantly when Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) came to the court in 1715. Although seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese paintings for the domestic market contain references to Western paintings and prints, the export style catered to a Western market that was well established by the 1730s.⁴² Figure 4 was probably part of a larger Chinese export painting that had been modeled on a late-Kangxi (1662–1722) to early-Yongzheng-period (1723–1735) painting.⁴³

The inclusion of an enhanced original with his own “*desseins après des originaux*” suggests that Fraise painted and assembled this special album for Condé. Moreover, the Chinese painting’s presence supports the argument that the *Livre de desseins chinois* was intended to be marketed as adaptations of Asian images for production catering to the West. The painting is probably a fragment of a Chinese wallpaper. In the late-seventeenth century, Chinese painted paper was exported to England and from there to Europe and America.⁴⁴ Extant Chinese wallpapers dating from around 1730 through the 1780s contain compositions related to figures 4 and 5.⁴⁵ The scale of the figures in figure 4 is reminiscent of that in the upper part of an eighteenth-century Chinese paper installed



5. *Wanshou shengdian chujì* (1716–1717), *juan 41*. Woodcut.
 Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Chinois 2314.

in the Louvre, in which the scale diminishes as the scenes reach the ceiling.⁴⁶ Chinese papers were generally lined with a bamboo paper, and, like figure 4, were painted by more than one individual. Sections were mounted and hung as paintings, and paper also covered walls. Western artisans typically imitated and added to Chinese paper that did not completely cover wall surfaces. Figure 4 in the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois* is probably evidence of the pre-1735 use in France of Chinese paper for walls, with Western additions.

REFERENCES TO JAPAN: FRAISSE AND CHANTILLY PORCELAIN

Information gleaned from the BnF's album supplements that provided by the Metropolitan's more complete, although uncolored, example. A discussion of East Asian sources for Fraisse's images begins here with an exploration of Japanese material. The early porcelain produced at Chantilly derived primarily from the collection of Japanese porcelain located in the château. In addition to imitating and adapting Kakiemon-style Hizen ware, the manufactory also drew from Chinese and Asian-style decorated Meissen porcelain in the Condé collections. The late-1730s porcelain production at Chantilly included sculpted interpretations of Chinese figures, and innovative rococo models derived from designs by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750). Condé was one of Meissonnier's earliest patrons, beginning in the 1720s.⁴⁷ The porcelain manufactory at Chantilly began ca. 1730 under the directorship of Cicaire Cirou (1700–1755). In 1723 Cirou was recorded to have been at Saint-Cloud for several years, employed as a "faïencier" and "peintre en porcelaine [*sic*]." From 1726 to 1729 he was in Paris as a painter of porcelain and faïence.⁴⁸ In 1735 royal letters patent granted permission to Cirou to produce porcelain at Chantilly, specifically "de la porcelaine fine de toutes couleurs, espèces, façons et grandeurs à l'imitation de la porcelaine du Japon"; Cirou sold the manufactory in 1751.⁴⁹ Cirou's adaptations for French porcelain of Japanese-derived images undoubtedly began while he was working at Saint-Cloud.⁵⁰

The early porcelain of Chantilly was unmarked, and that in the Japanese style may have been intended to pass for Japanese originals.⁵¹ The Chantilly manufactory, a Meissen production of December 1729–

March 1731, and to a much lesser extent Saint-Cloud reflected a then particular French taste for Japanese porcelain. Meissen porcelain in imitation of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware from the collection of Augustus the Strong was commissioned by a French dealer, Rudolph Lemaire (b. 1688), to be sold in France and the Netherlands.⁵² As suggested in the letters patent, Cirou's Chantilly imitations of Japanese porcelain would replace the Meissen porcelain ordered for France: "qu'il n'y a aucun lieu de douter que sa porcelaine ne soit au-dessus de celle de Saxe." The early manufacture of Chantilly porcelain coincided with Fraisse's preparations for and publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Representations of Japanese material, then, would be expected to surface in Fraisse's work. Undoubtedly, Cirou, like Fraisse, had access to the Condé collections, and the two contemporary productions — porcelain and the *Livre de desseins chinois* — clearly shared categories of sources and complement each other as representations of French taste for East Asia during the 1730s.

Images from the Metropolitan's album provide the most instructive point of departure for a close look at the *Livre de desseins chinois*. A group of figural scenes and a procession relate to late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth-century Japanese pictorial material. Regardless of the awkwardness of Fraisse's drawing, an etching (see figure 6) corresponds in many respects to a picnic, music-making, and dancing scene from the third-quarter-of-the-sixteenth-century painting by Kanō Hideyori (d. ca. 1576–1577), "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" (see figure 7).⁵³ Fraisse's etching is in nine albums with the 1735 title page and the Mondhare publication. Changing seasons were a characteristic theme for late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Japanese paintings. The popular activity of seasonal viewing, often including a picnic, was a favorite extension of this theme.⁵⁴ Fraisse's etching may be modeled on a seventeenth-century Japanese image similar to figure 7.

Although it evokes Chinese styles and images, "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" remains essentially Japanese and is representative of a Japanese pictorial aesthetic.⁵⁵ For this article the relevance of "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" lies in its Japanese characteristics in the context of Fraisse's response to those characteristics; Fraisse would have been looking at a later, but related, composition. The viewer of Japanese



6. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 54 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

pictorial material experiences a rhythmic tension resulting from interplay between positive and negative, or hidden and visible. Shifting contiguous planes; a shortening of distance between foreground and background; and deliberate, sometimes brief and sporadic, sometimes continuous, suggestions of foreground and background contribute to a tension and gently keep the viewer's eye in continuous movement with periodic pauses. For early-eighteenth-century France, Fraise exhibited an extraordinary attempt to incorporate the Japanese pictorial aesthetic into the French design repertoire.

With strangely detailed bark relating to Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery and needles shaped into compact oval leaf forms resembling a style of lacquer painting,⁵⁶ the pine tree in figure 6 is planted in the same left-side foreground location as in figure 7.⁵⁷ The six participants in figure 6, picnicking and dancing and greeting an onlooker, relate



7. Kanō Hideyori. Japanese painting. Detail from "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao," ink and color on paper. Muromachi period (sixteenth century). Collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

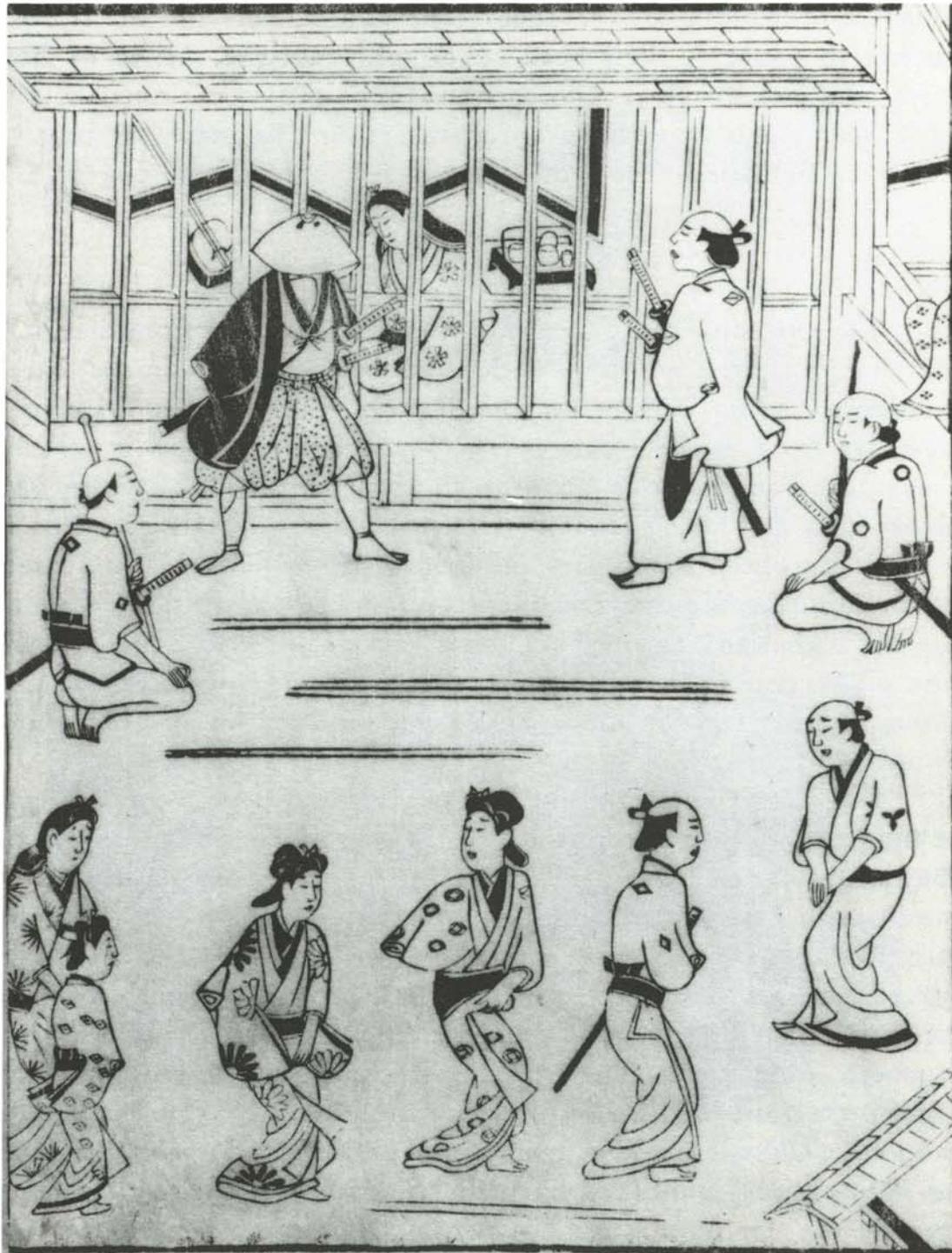
to the six in a circular arrangement in figure 7. The pine tree to the left, faceted rocks, and grasses provide a foreground contributing to a shallow depth in figure 7; dark shading and the thin line rising behind the figures suggest a background. Fraisse's etching (figure 6) expresses an attempt to emulate the Japanese rendering of perspective. Instead of rocks and grasses, a fragment of a dead tree contributes to the definition of a foreground, and thin lines for mountains and land behind the figures suggest a background.

A dancer with a fan is a prolific image in the pictorial material and decorative arts of seventeenth-century Japan.⁵⁸ In the late-seventeenth century, Japanese porcelain dancers with fans were produced for export



8. Anonymous artist. Japanese painting. Detail from “Rakuchu Rakugai Zu” (Genre Scenes in Kyoto), Funaki version, ink, color, and gold on paper. Momoyama period (early seventeenth century). Collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

to the West.⁵⁹ Fraisse’s dancer holding the fan and standing on one foot in figure 6 certainly derives from a pictorial image similar to the dancer in figure 7. The dancer holding the fan in one hand and a branch in the other in figure 6 relates to branch-holding dancers seen in a detail from an early-seventeenth-century Japanese painting by an anonymous artist, “Genre Scenes in Kyoto” (figure 8). The three-quarter-turned, slightly curved, standing male onlooker in the lower right corner of figure 6 is dressed in Fraisse’s rendition of early-Edo-period-style *kosode* (“small sleeves,” referring to the size of the wrist opening). Fraisse included an accurately drawn small opening for the wrist in the wide sleeve panel and an early-seventeenth-century-style obi.⁶⁰ Fraisse’s onlooker imitates the frequently depicted Japanese stance of the standing male carrying a sword, seen reversed in the foreground of figure 9, a book illustration by



9. Scene from *Zōho Edo banashi* (Tales of Edo, 1694). Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

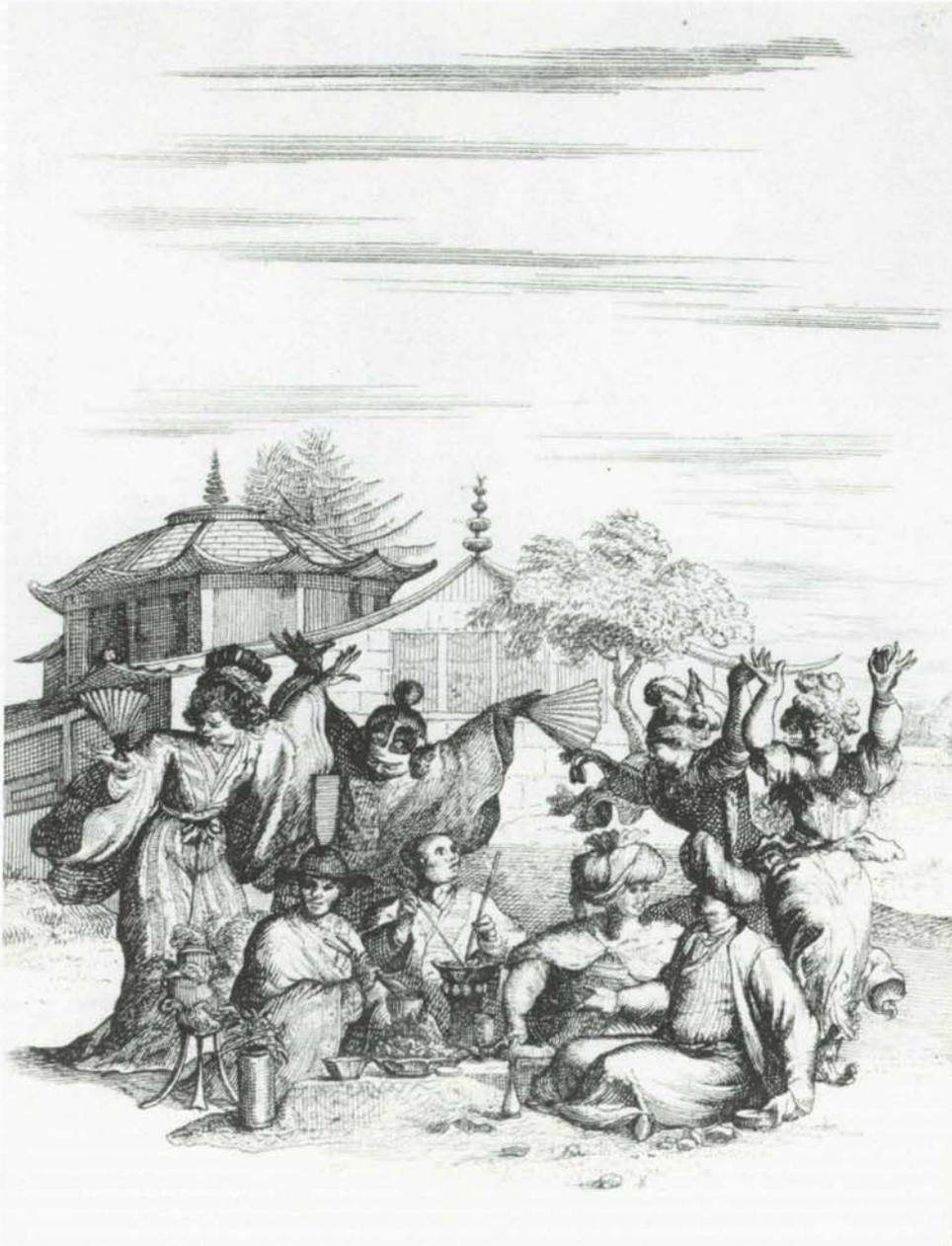
Hishikawa Moronobu (1618?–1694). The two dancers and the standing onlooker in figure 6, their head coverings,⁶¹ and the variety of fabric patterns and jacket styles — no pattern is repeated — are representative of a late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth-century Japanese painting vocabulary, which itself reflected non-Japanese sources.

THE ORIENTALIST CONTEXT

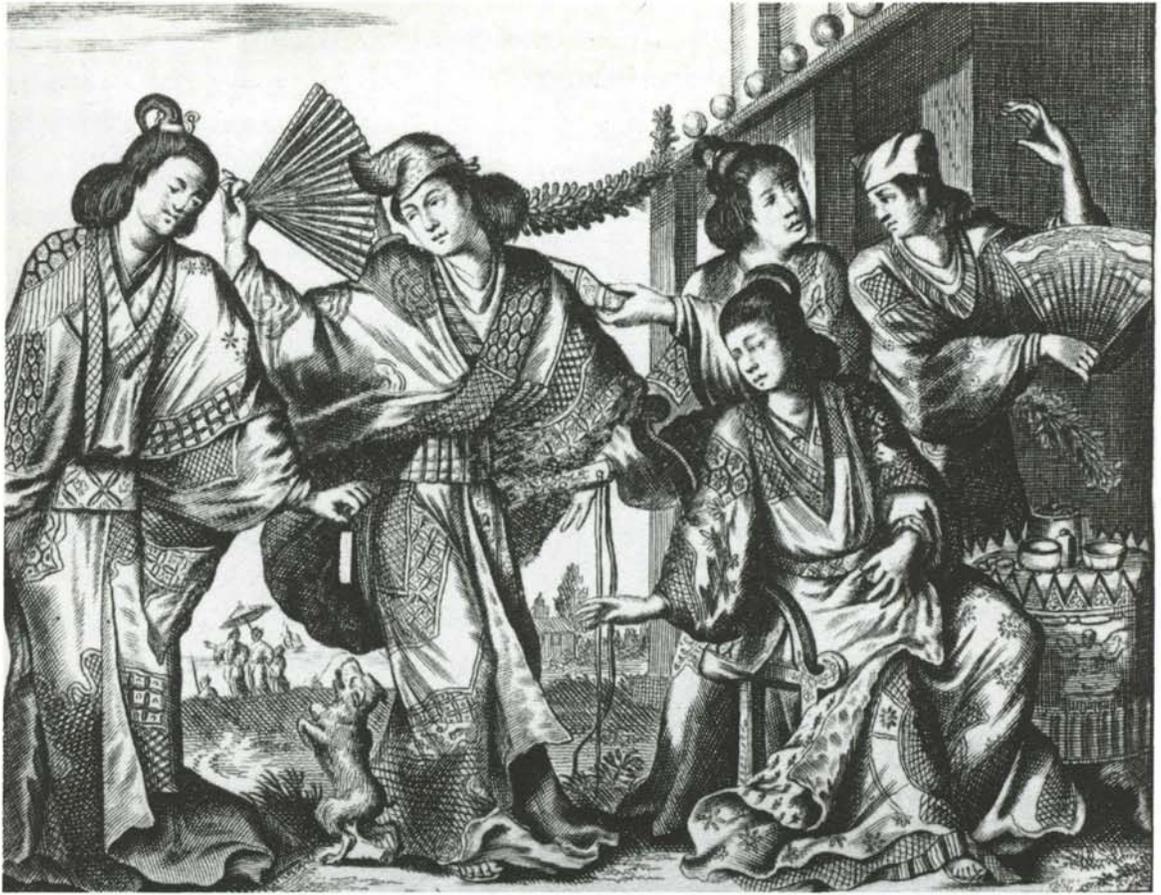
The descriptive context in figure 6 illustrates a departure from the ancien régime's Eurocentric world view expressed, for example, in the texts of Tavernier's *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, qu'il a faits en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes pendant l'espace de quarante ans et par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir* (1676–1677) and Chardin's *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (1686).⁶² Unusual for 1735, Fraisse's etching is devoid of European accessories and landscape elements. He presented a bold direction for Western visual representations of East Asia. Tavernier's "oriental barbarian" in need of being Europeanized is not present in figure 6. Tavernier's popular work was republished in France in 1724, following earlier republications, but Fraisse's images did not complement this mainstream view.

Two Dutch engravings of themes related to figure 6, one ca. 1700 (see figure 10) and one from the English *Atlas Japannensis* (1670),⁶³ first published by Arnold Montanus (1625?–1683) in 1669 (see figure 11), contrast with Fraisse's etching. The engraving published by Montanus was reproduced around 1729 by a bookseller and publisher, Pieter van der Aa (or Pierre Vander Aa, 1659–1733), in *La galerie agréable du monde*. Like Fraisse's etching, the scene illustrated in figure 10 may derive from a Japanese composition. The spatial organization of the crowded image in figure 10 is, however, Western, and the buildings relate to Western renditions of Chinese architecture illustrated in *Beschryving van het Gezantschap naar Peking* (1665) published by Joan Nieuhof (1618–1672) and republished by van der Aa.

Distinctions among the figures allude to a vaguely Eastern-inspired *mélange*. Two fleshy women on the right are dancing with two Japanese-style dancers with fans and dressed in hybrid exotic costumes on the left, while two Asian men and a European who sit on the ground are



10. Romain de Hooghe. "Sitten und Gebräuche der Chinesen (bei der Mahlzeit)" (Chinese eating customs and habits). Engraving. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, VIII 393.424.



11. Plate from Arnold Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-Indian Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan* (1670), translation by John Ogilby of *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen* (1669). Engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

being served food in Asian-style lacquer containers by an Asian-style figure. Although well delineated, the scene is Europeanized, and the Asian-style elements are out of context and distorted. Thus the significance of the dancers with fans and the picnic scene as ultimately derivative of Japanese pictorial material is not apparent until viewed alongside Fraisse's image (figure 6) with its Japanese sources.

Montanus's engraving (figure 11) is a lame, stiffly drawn attempt to portray Japanese women; two are holding fans while dancing. The scene is drawn with Western perspective and contains Western scenic elements. The women are sumptuously clothed in a rendition of Japanese *kosode* and costume contemporaneous with the 1660 publication; pat-

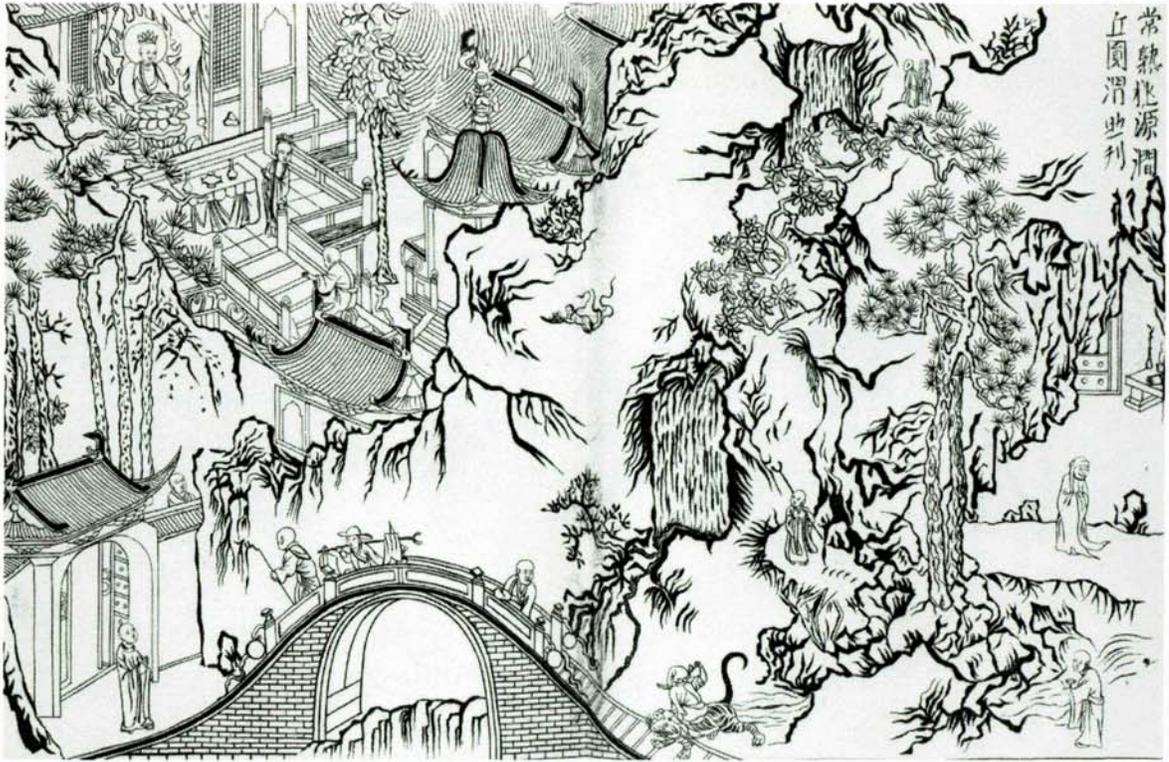
terned narrow obis and under robes are visible.⁶⁴ Montanus's robes close incorrectly, evidence of the likelihood that the costumes were copied in reverse from Japanese pictorial material. Since Montanus had never been to Japan, his models were images that had been brought back by the Dutch working for the United East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC).⁶⁵ However, he made no effort to create a Japanese context for the dancers. In his crowded and discordant image of European women wearing Japanese-style costumes, the woman with a fan is not recognizable as a Japanese dancer unless the viewer has already seen Fraisse's etching alongside the Japanese originals. Montanus's popular Eurocentric view, expressed in his reference to the Japanese as "these bestial people, rather than humane,"⁶⁶ is in stark contrast to Fraisse's images.

BUDDHIST SUTRAS, AN ETCHING, AND EUROCENTRIC DISTORTIONS

My search for East Asian sources for the *Livre de desseins chinois* resulted in the discovery of an unexpected category of Chinese pictorial material that had been circulating in the West since at least 1670. "Le tome second de Chine & Grand Tartarie," volume fifteen of van der Aa's ca. 1729 publication, contains four European etchings of woodcut images from Chinese Buddhist sutras (see, for an example, figure 12).⁶⁷ The etchings were first published by Olfert Dapper (1639?–1689 or 1690?) in 1670 and bound with engraved European images.⁶⁸

In Fraisse's Chinese-style scene (figure 13) the standing figure to the right with a crown of lotus petals echoes the solitary figure to the right of the table in the upper-left section of one of the sutras. (See figure 14 for a detail from the sutra shown in figure 12.)⁶⁹ Monks similar to those in the sutra (figure 12) may have been models for Fraisse's two monks in undecorated robes that are flanking the Buddhist image in figure 13.

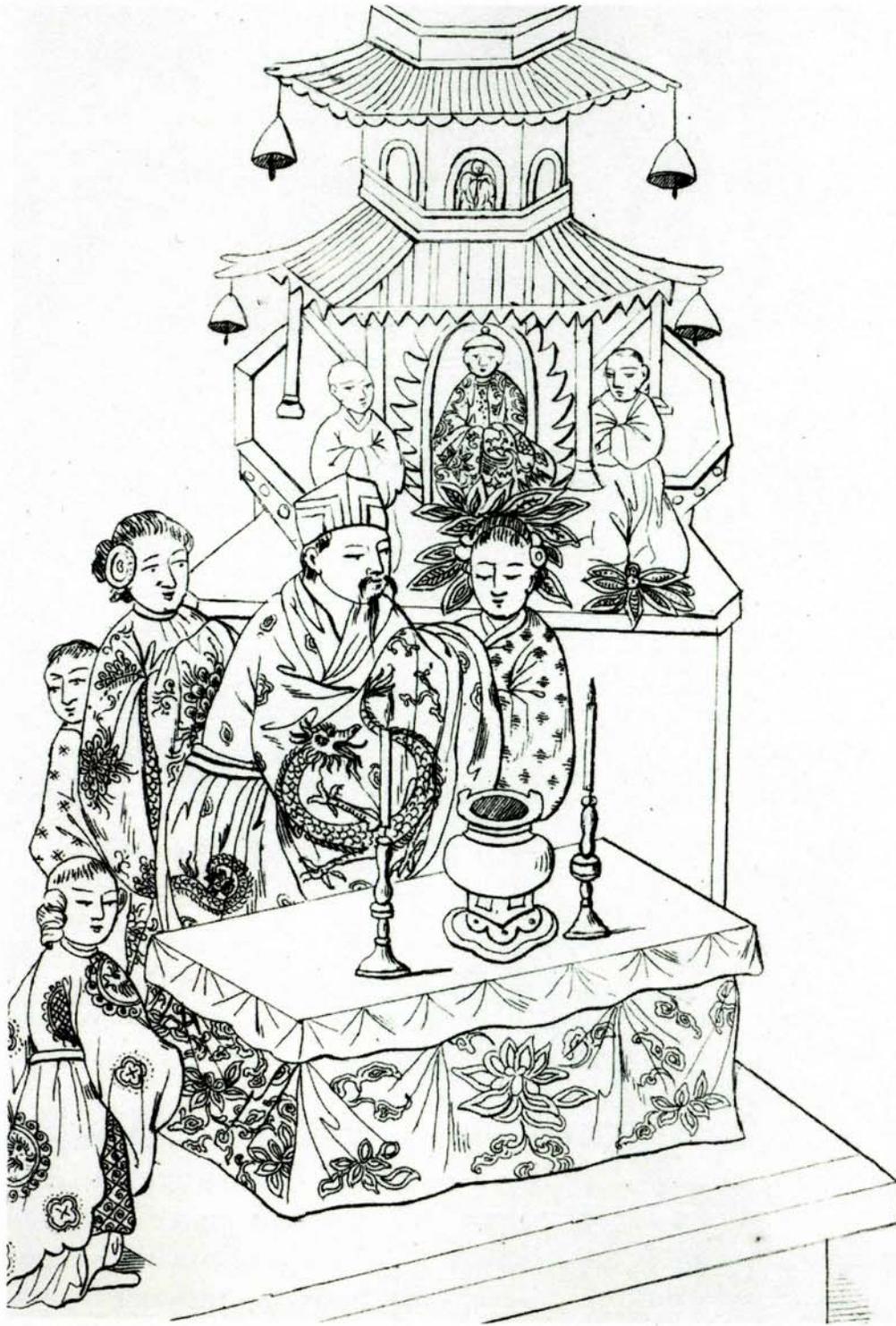
Fraisse did not quite know what to do with the lotus petals: the scale of the petals is too large for the composition, particularly for the head and face of the figure, and a section of petals to the right is floating in space. Stabilization of three-dimensional spatial planes is tentative. The small pillar to the right is not grounded. The sides of the polygonal



12. Plate 62 from Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde* (ca. 1729), vol. 15. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

pagoda base are different dimensions. Fraisse experienced obvious difficulty in translating the visual material. The unskilled drawing and confusing perspective of figure 13, apparent to the twentieth-century eye, may have been interpreted as exotic in the eighteenth century, since the etching remained a popular image and was published by Mondare around 1760.

Nine albums with the 1735 title page contain the etching of which figure 13 is a detail. Only the BnF's hand-colored example (figure 15) contains an addition: the pagoda is completed by hand above the plate line. Here the building becomes fantasy, painted in startling but compatible shades of aubergine, yellow, red, green, and turquoise. Striped roofs, either in blue and white or conventional polychrome enamels, are common to architectural scenes of Kangxi porcelain; European imitations appear on early- and mid-eighteenth-century ceramics. Roofs of buildings in the section of the Chinese painting bound in the BnF's



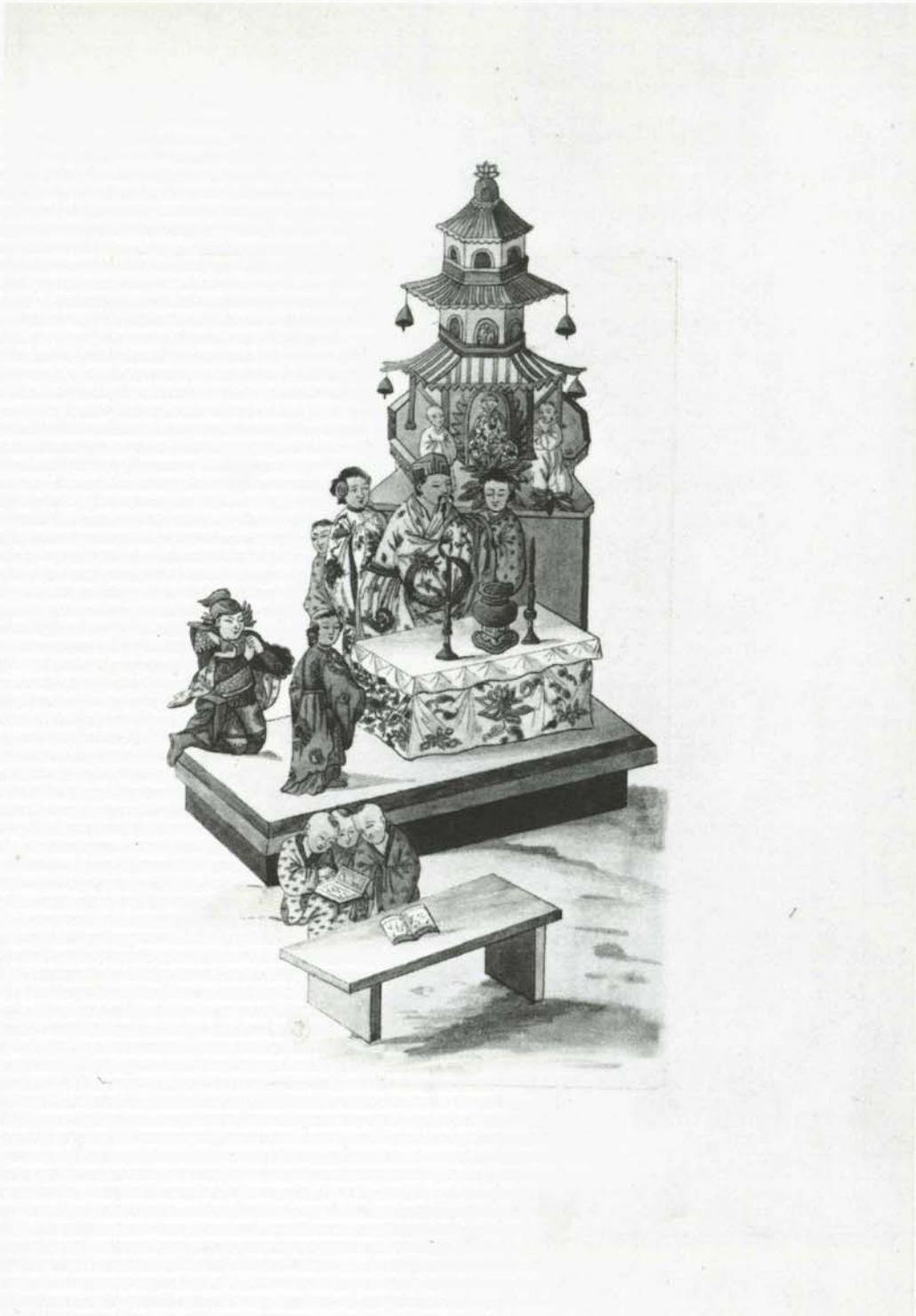
13. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 38 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



14. Detail of figure 12, plate 62 from Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde*, vol. 15. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

album (figure 4) exhibited this convention, but in subdued shades of blue and gray. Fraisse's departure from conventional colors seen in figure 15 and in etchings throughout the BnF's album may refer to similar departures seen in color-printed Chinese woodcuts.

Other elements in figure 15 relate to those from illustrated Chinese books. For example, a cloth-covered table with a pair of candlesticks or vases flanking a centerpiece is a common image throughout *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), published in 1600 by Wang Tingna (fl. 1596–1611).⁷⁰ Children reading or studying together, as seen in the lower section of figure 15, are popular images in Chinese painting, illustrated books, and Ming through early-Qing porcelain. The kneeling figure on the left in Fraisse's etching (figure 15) may derive from a variant of the one illustrated in figure 16.



15. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 8 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etching with hand-drawn addition. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.



16. Wang Tingna. Scene from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies, 1600), part 2. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

The innovations inherent in Fraisse's images are clear when presented in the context of the fantastical visions of Asia seen in contemporary Western decorative arts. References to the illustrated seventeenth-century travel accounts of Dapper, Montanus, Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), and Nieuhof are notably absent from Fraisse's work. These representations of Asia were sources for decoration throughout the eighteenth century and were used by major artists.⁷¹ Some of François Boucher's compositions, for example, reflect images of China first published by Montanus and Nieuhof.⁷² Jean-Baptiste Pillement's fantastical chinoiseries are rooted in Europe and, like Boucher's, bear no resemblance to authentic representations.⁷³ Eurocentric images, exemplified by those drawn by Boucher (1703–1770) and Pillement (1728–1808), do not flatter Asia; they flatter Europe. Eurocentric representations of the East appear earlier, with more restraint, in the work of Jean Bérain (1637–1711) and Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). Fraisse's images confront the simplistic reductionist formula favored by the ancien-régime culture for presenting a single Europeanized "Orient" to the West.

Volumes 15 and 16 of van der Aa's *La galerie agréable du monde* republished many engraved Europeanized images of Japan and China, and preceded, but were not sources for, the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Ironically, an engraving published by Dapper in 1670 and republished by van der Aa was the source for decoration painted on a Chantilly porcelain bottle cooler, ca. 1735, the opposite side of which illustrates a scene from Fraisse's work.⁷⁴

During the 1720s and 1730s numerous books about China and Japan were published in France. Some reissued seventeenth-century images and text, some contained both new and already published information, and others offered information not previously published. The *Livre de desseins chinois* reflected the then heightened curiosity about the East. Montanus's writings on Japan were reissued in 1722, evidence of continued French interest in his accounts.⁷⁵ Tavernier's writings about Japan, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne, qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages* (1679), were again republished in 1724. Van der Aa's ca. 1729 publication reflected the continuing mainstream taste for Europeanized representations of foreigners. The French Jesuit Jean-

Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743) published his work on China, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise . . .*, in 1735. His introduction of Chinese culture to France included on-site reports from Jesuits; newly edited versions of earlier French Jesuit maps of China;⁷⁶ translations of Chinese fiction; and information on silk weaving, porcelain production, and lacquer. Nevertheless, Du Halde presented China through French eyes and neglected to give adequate credit to the indispensable Chinese contributors to Jesuit cartography.⁷⁷

In a letter to the secrétaire-perpétuel de l'Académie française in 1714, the reformist prelate François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) argued that historical accounts of foreigners should be accurate.⁷⁸ Earlier, in *Pensées sur la comète* (1695–1697), Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) urged that ambassadors and other foreign visitors to France report more accurately to their respective countries.⁷⁹ The popular genre devoted to the foreign observer in France, represented by Giovanni Marana's *L'espion du Grand Seigneur et ses relations secrètes* (1684), Montesquieu's *Les lettres persanes* (1721), and Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747), was a vehicle through which writers criticized the ancien régime's cultural values and depictions of foreigners.⁸⁰ Although eighteenth-century publications of the type of seventeenth-century historical accounts of which Fénelon had been critical were still popular, interest in new, more accurate accounts emerged as well.

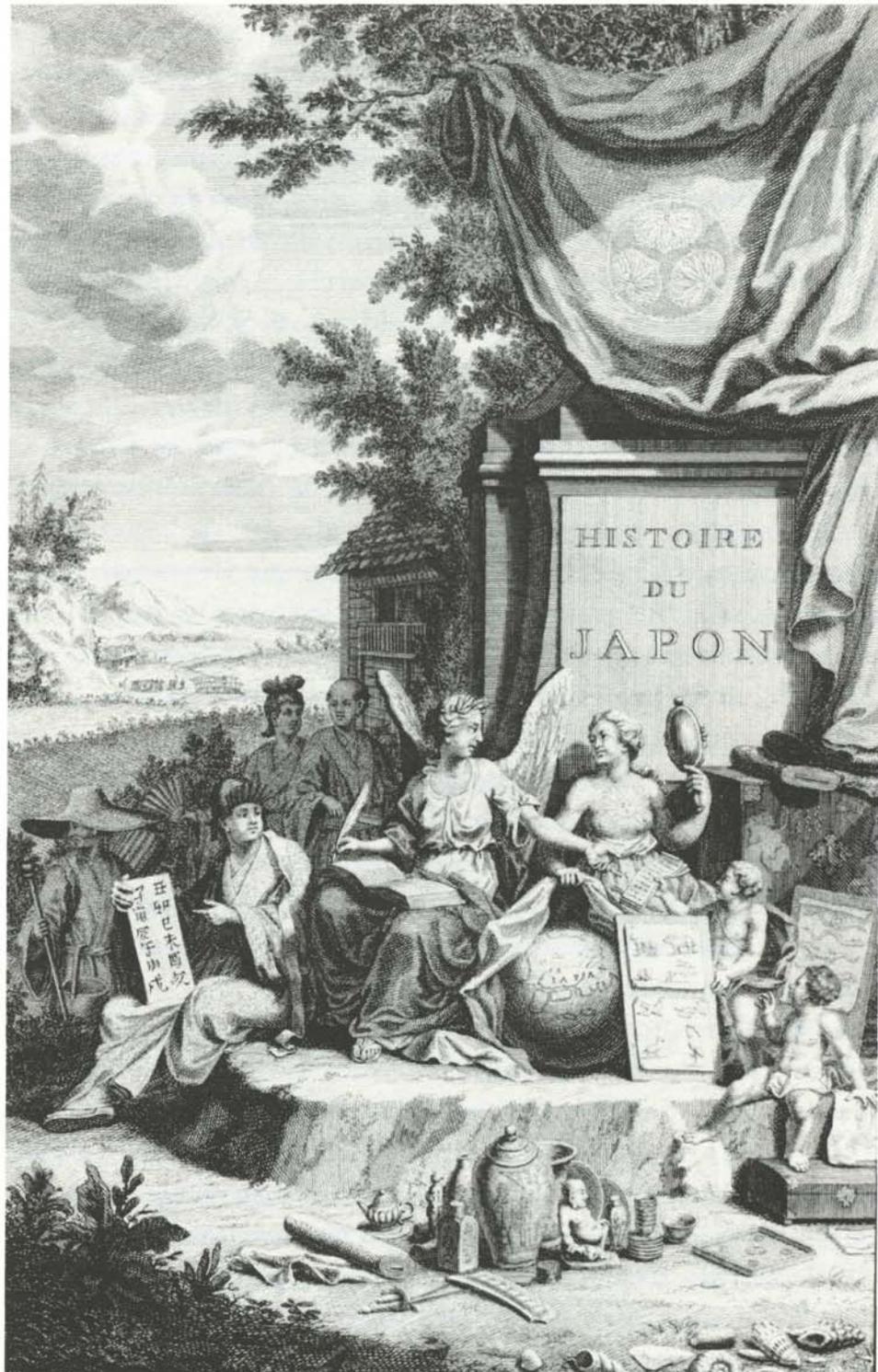
KAEMPFER: A COMMERCIAL CONTEXT FOR FRAISSE

The most innovative new French publication on Japan was *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon*, published in 1729 in the Hague. It was a translation of *The History of Japan*, the posthumous English-language publication of Engelbert Kaempfer's manuscript "Heutiges Japan" (Today's Japan). *The History of Japan* was first published in 1727, in London, and then again in 1728 (with an appendix) by Sir Hans Sloane (1650–1753).⁸¹ The Swiss Johann Caspar (or John Gaspar) Scheuchzer (1702–1729), Sloane's young amanuensis, translated Kaempfer's original German manuscript, which Sloane had acquired from Kaempfer's heirs. In the late-seventeenth century the VOC had instructed Kaempfer and

others to collect Japanese material and information about Japan. Kaempfer is supposed to have written "Heutiges Japan" during his two-year stay there. However, he clearly had assistance from others who had prior knowledge of Japan and of Japanese books.⁸² The 1727 English translation contains illustrations by Scheuchzer, who worked from Kaempfer's collection of Japanese pictorial material, from drawings done for Kaempfer in Japan, and from Kaempfer's own sketches and drawings. Various commercial printmakers then made etchings of Scheuchzer's drawings. Some of the etchings in *The History of Japan* are reconfigurations of Japanese woodcuts from Kaempfer's copy of the Japanese pictorial encyclopedia *Kinmō zui*, compiled by Nakamura Tekisai (1629–1702) in 1666.⁸³ Other prints were based on Kaempfer's own drawings after his collection of *meisho-e*, paintings of famous places.⁸⁴ Scheuchzer designed a title page and added decorative borders to his illustrations with elements adapted from *Kinmō zui* and other Japanese books.

The French translation of *The History of Japan* contains all the etchings after Scheuchzer's illustrations as well as the appendix from the 1728 English edition. A second French edition was published in the Netherlands in 1732; Dutch-language editions were published in 1729 and 1733.⁸⁵ The two French-language publications of Kaempfer's late-seventeenth-century on-site report reflect a focused curiosity in France about Japan, coinciding with the early Chantilly porcelain manufactory and the 1729–1731 Meissen production for the French market, as well as publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois*.

The emblematic engraved pictorial half-title by Jan Caspar Philips (1700?–after 1773), a Dutch engraver,⁸⁶ for both the 1729 French and Dutch translations of *The History of Japan* (see figure 17), expresses visually the book's challenge to established views of Japan. The porcelain, fabric, lacquer, and shells on the ground; the large lacquer cabinet on the right with rolls of fabric on top; the three European engravings held by the cherubs depicting animals, birds, and sea creatures; and the Japanese silk draped across the tree showing the *futaba aoi* (*Asarum caulescens*) Tokugawa crest emphasize trade and an interest in natural history.⁸⁷ The two centered female figures seated on a raised platform represent personifications of European culture. The winged female, crowned with a laurel wreath and writing on a tablet, may personify



17. Jan Caspar Philips. Pictorial half-title from *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon* (1729). Engraving. New York Public Library, Oriental Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

European history. She is about to read a book held out by the cherub — perhaps a Japanese history of Japan.⁸⁸ The figure with the sun motif on her chest and holding a mirror relates to truth, light, wisdom, and knowledge as she uncovers the terrestrial globe in front of her showing “Japan.”⁸⁹ The engraving suggests the implicit superiority of the West. The Japanese-style figures to the left, beneath, and behind in shadow are secondary and beholden to the two personifications of European culture, who appear to control truth, knowledge, and trade, and are about to disseminate a new European history of Japan.

Philips’s pictorial half-title, “L’Histoire du Japon,” with its terrestrial globe, echoes Western attitudes toward China that had already been expressed. By 1729 European pictorial representations of both the terrestrial and the celestial globes had often come to signify for the West a perceived cultural superiority to the East. The Jesuits had been both influencing and learning from Chinese scientific thought since the late-sixteenth century. In 1584 Ricci created a world map in Chinese that was modeled on the wall map he had brought with him, a flattened version of the Western terrestrial globe.⁹⁰ Until his death Ricci continued to introduce Western clock making, astronomy, mathematics, and cartography to Chinese literati.

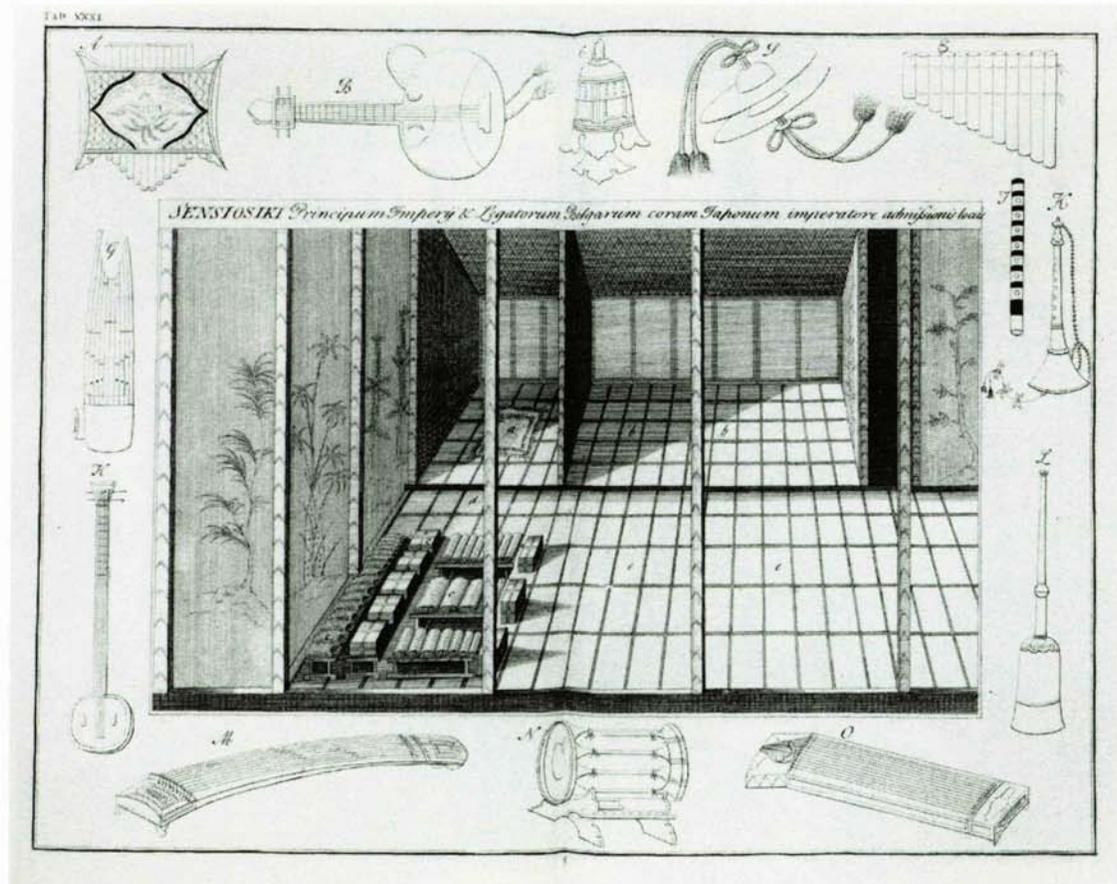
During the 1630s the Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) supervised the design of new Chinese astronomical instruments and a celestial globe, all with Western specifications. At the request of the Kangxi emperor, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), S.J., directed the construction of Western-modified Chinese instruments for the Peking Observatory, completed in 1674. Chinese woodcuts of the new observatory, celestial globe, and astronomical instruments were issued in the *Yixiangtu* (1674).⁹¹ Engraved versions of the woodcut of the observatory continued to be published and include Du Halde’s embellished image, in reverse, of 1735. Among the clocks engraved by Johann August Corvinus (1683–1738) in the 1720s is one with a celestial globe.⁹² Contemporaneous with Du Halde’s publication is a Chantilly porcelain Chinese-style figure sitting in front of a celestial globe (ca. 1735–1740).⁹³ French glorification of Western power in China is depicted earlier in the Beauvais tapestry “Les astronomes” (ca. 1697–1705), in which two Jesuits are prominent, along with the new celestial globe and an ecliptic Hellenistic

armillary sphere. The cartoon for the tapestry probably dates to between 1685 and 1690.⁹⁴ Unlike the celestial globe, the terrestrial globe as a comparably scaled, independent unit had no tradition in China and was not created by the Chinese until introduced by the Jesuits; Ricci described one in 1603.⁹⁵

In late-seventeenth-century France the terrestrial globe became a significant symbol of French knowledge and influence in China. Because of initiatives originally taken by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), Paris had become a major cartographic center in the West.⁹⁶ Following the visit of Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623–1693), to Louis XIV's court in 1684, French Jesuit specialists in mathematics and cartography were sent to China. They arrived in 1687 and had unprecedented independence from other European Jesuits and a singular closeness to the Kangxi court.⁹⁷ Together with Du Halde's reproduction of French Jesuit maps and the engraving of the Peking Observatory, Chantilly porcelain Chinese-style figures with terrestrial globes, ca. 1735–1740, celebrate French Jesuit influence in China.⁹⁸ The engraved half-title *Histoire du Japon* indicates that French attitudes of superiority over Eastern culture included Japan. Perhaps an interest in Japanese books and in learning about the actual — not the fictionalized — Japan is symbolized by the figure on the left holding the tablet and the cherub on the right holding the open book.

In his introduction to the 1727 English edition of *The History of Japan*, Scheuchzer referred to Kaempfer's criticism of Montanus's theories and illustrations.⁹⁹ For example, Kaempfer had compared his "Hall of Audience" (see figure 18, the etching after Scheuchzer's adaptation of Kaempfer's sketch) with Montanus's fantastical image (figure 19):

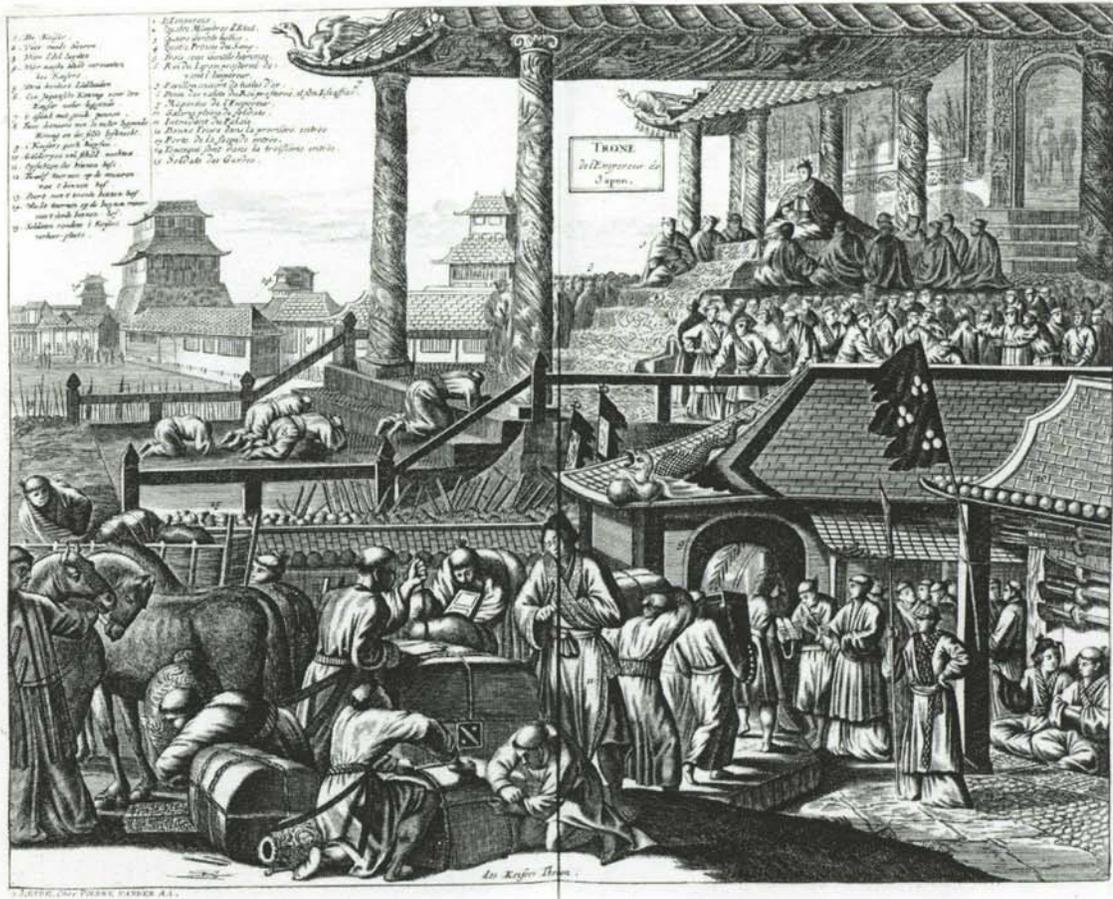
The hall of audience, otherwise the hall of hundred mats, is not in the least like that which hath been described and figured by Montanus, in his memorable embassies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan. The elevated throne, the steps leading up to it, the carpets pendent from it, the stately columns supporting the building which contains the throne, the columns between which the Princes of the Empire are said to prostrate themselves before the Emperor, and the like, have all no manner of foun-



18. "Hall of Hundred Mats, Where the Princes of the Empire and the Dutch Ambassadors Are Admitted to an Audience of the Emperor." Plate 31 from Engelbert Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*, vol. 2 (1728). Unsigned etching after illustration by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

dation, but in that author's fancy. Every thing indeed is curious and rich, but not otherwise than my draught represent it.¹⁰⁰

The interest in accurate information about the East coincided with intense commercial activity. Domestic manufacturers interpreted and imitated imported Chinese pigment-painted silk, Chinese wallpaper, Chinese and Japanese porcelain and lacquer, and Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery. About 1734, Captain Antoine de Beaulieu (1699–1764) of the *Compagnie des Indes* wrote an account of the Indian dye process for cotton, apparently at the request of Charles-François Dufay



19. "Hall of Audience." Plate from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*. Engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

(1698–1739), inspector of dye-works and mines and inspector of the Botanical Gardens of Paris.¹⁰¹ The information was intended to provide French fabric workshops with the technical procedures that would ensure successful dyeing of cotton.

Eighteenth-century French furniture makers excelled in the art of incorporating seventeenth-century Chinese and Japanese lacquer panels into their furniture.¹⁰² The reuse of East Asian lacquer was often combined with painted and varnished enhancement. At the same time that imports were being reused, production of lacquerlike varnishes that had begun in the early seventeenth century intensified in France and throughout the West as imports of lacquer goods declined. Early-eighteenth-century French imitation-lacquer production at the Gobelins workshop

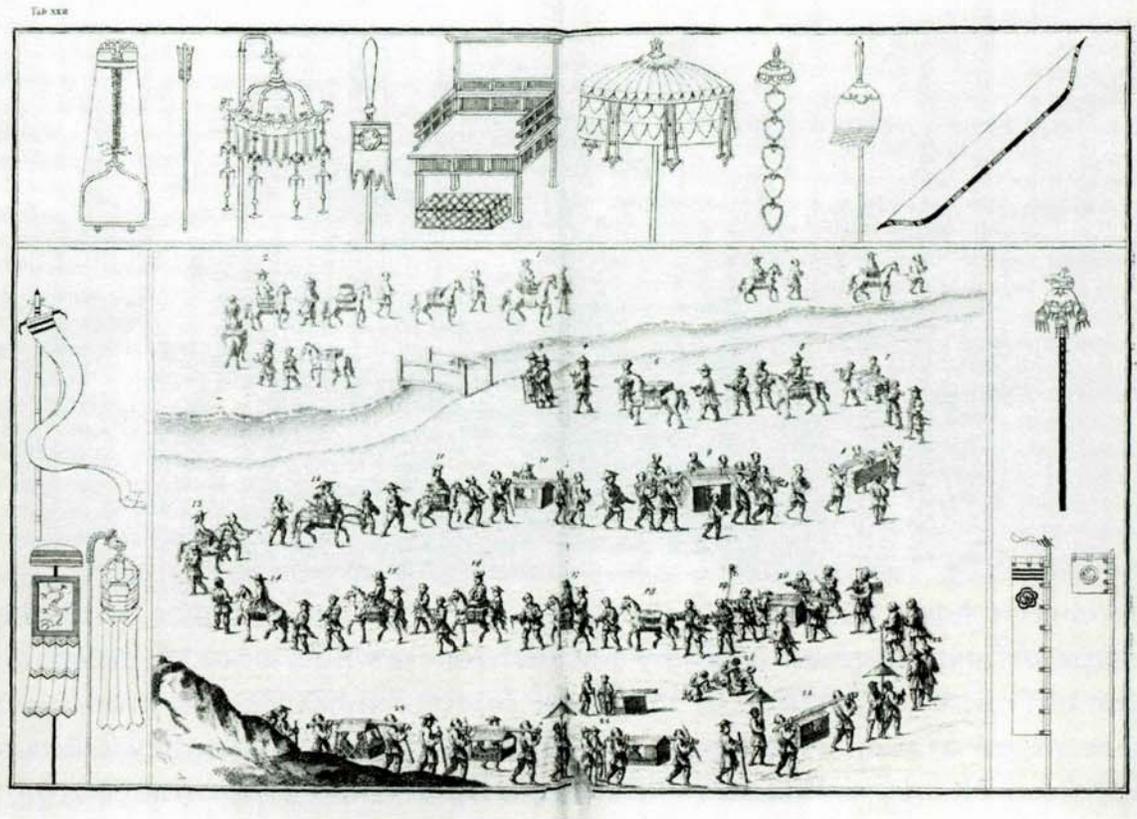
included — in addition to wood — coated leather, cloth, and canvas with Asian-style decoration.¹⁰³

Between about 1720 and 1740, along with the increasing needs of fabric workshops for dyeing formulas, workshops producing imitation East Asian porcelain and lacquer required information about manufacturing methods. French publications of formulas for lacquer and porcelain addressed domestic production requirements; the formulas were not of practical use, however, because the necessary ingredients were not available. Filippo Buonanni's recipes for Chinese lacquer, first published in Italy in 1720, were translated and published in Paris in 1723 and 1733. In 1736 the *Mercure de France* reprinted formulas for Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer from Du Halde's *Description géographique* (1735).¹⁰⁴ Fraisse's visual representations "*après des originaux*" offered collectors and workshops new images of East Asia that told them something about the East. As a decorative arts manual, the *Livre de desseins chinois* complemented Du Halde's work and Kaempfer's *Histoire naturelle*.

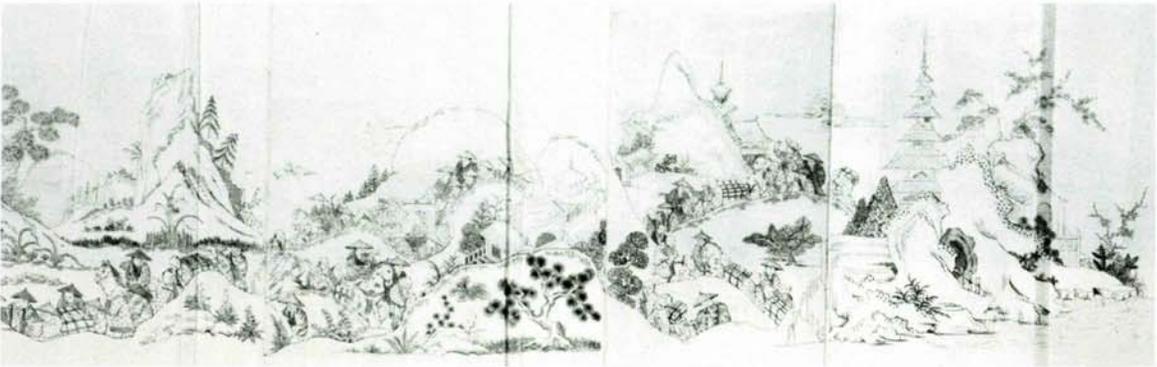
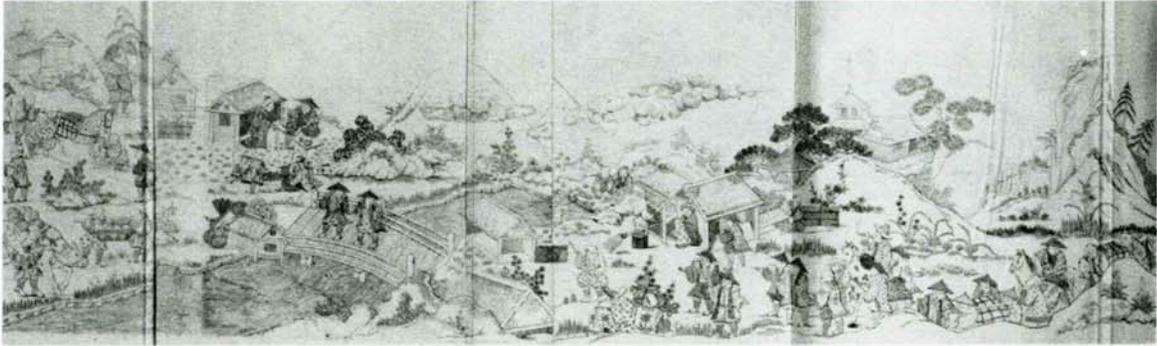
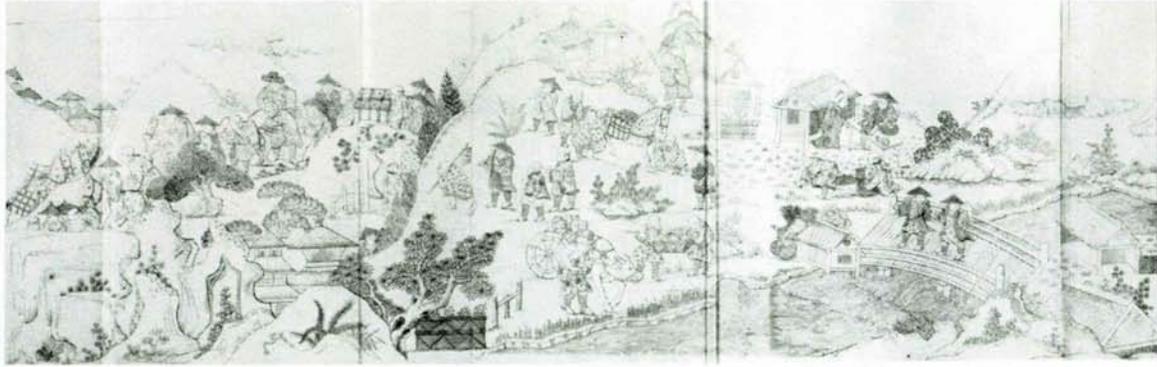
A JAPANESE PROCESSION; A JAPANESE SCENE

Significantly, Fraisse's work is not indebted to any of the prints in *The History of Japan*. Kaempfer's journey to Edo for an audience with the emperor is interpreted stiffly by Scheuchzer (see figure 20). A comparison of Fraisse's adaptation of a Japanese foreign embassy travel procession (see figure 21a-c) with figure 20 illustrates that although they contain identical elements, Fraisse's extraordinarily detailed procession was not modeled on Scheuchzer's minimal, Western-style composition. In Kaempfer's and Scheuchzer's winding single-direction procession, the entire image is seen at once (figure 20). The eye then travels laterally from one point to another.¹⁰⁵ An East Asian travel procession, for example, is viewed and experienced from right to left, while the viewer's eye travels forward and backward and up and down, taking in a section at a time (for a different example of this treatment, see figure 22).¹⁰⁶ Remarkably, as figure 21a-c reveals, Fraisse recognized this inherent characteristic.

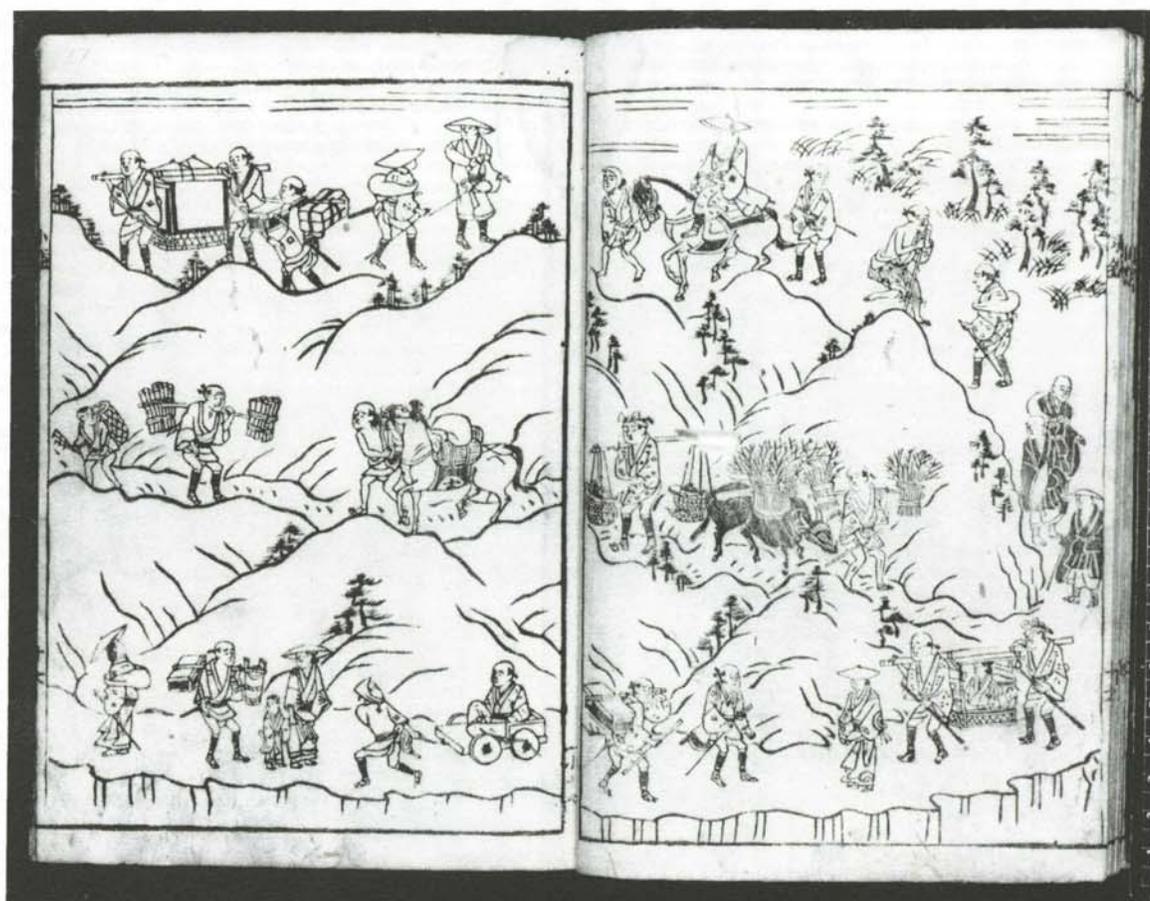
Unlike Kaempfer's procession, Fraisse's is filled with information derived from Japanese pictorial sources. The etching of Scheuchzer's adaptation of Kaempfer's sketch (figure 20) illustrates the 1691 journey



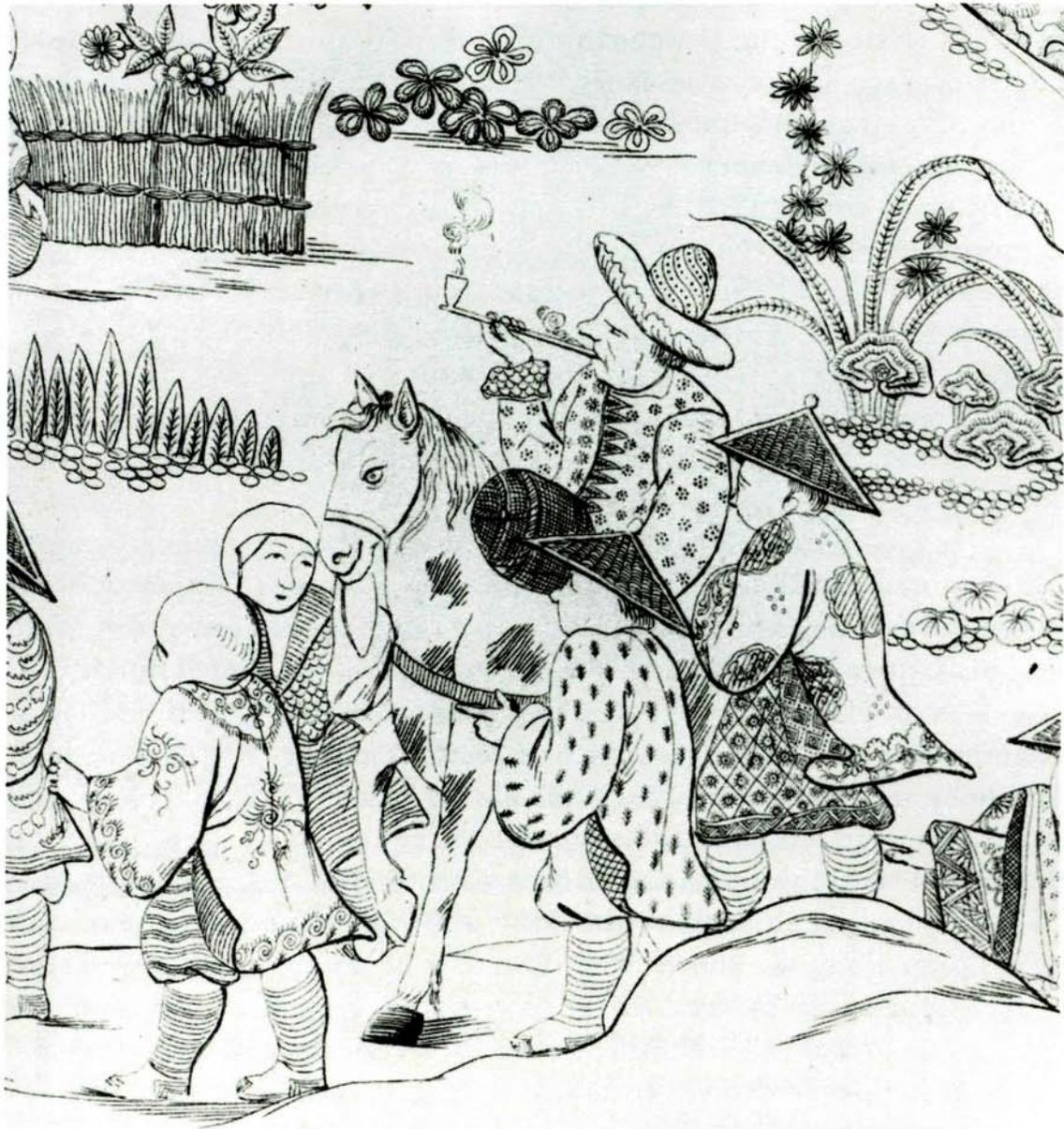
20. "Journey to Edo." Plate 22 from Engelbert Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*, vol. 2. Unsigned etching after illustration by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.



21a–21c. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etchings with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



22. Yoshida Hanbei. Illustration from the *Arima ko-kagami* (Guide to the Arima Area Near Kobe, 1685). Woodcut. By permission of the British Library, 16107.g.41 f17r.

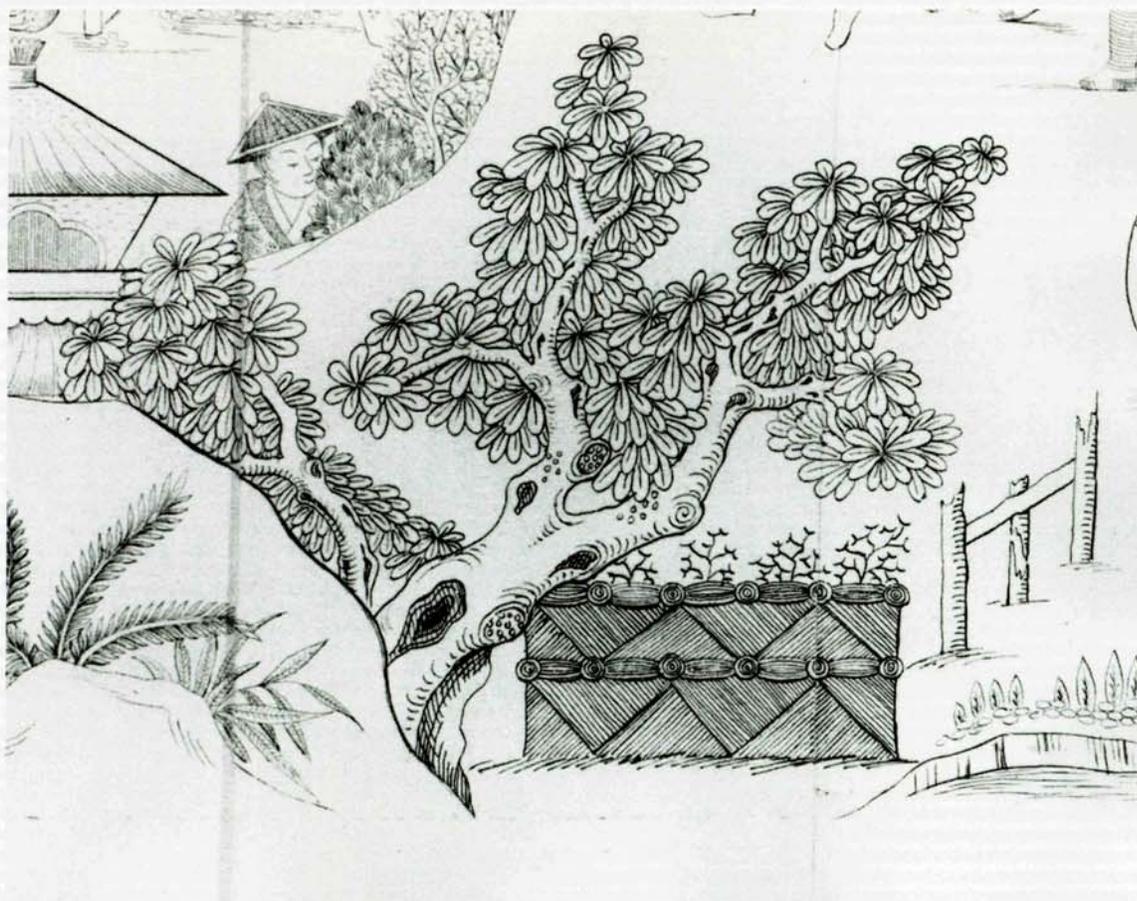


23. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21b, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

in which Kaempfer participated. Kaempfer on horseback (number 15 in figure 20) relates to the Dutchman on horseback in the detail of Fraisse's procession (see figure 23), except that Fraisse's European is smoking, common in Japanese depictions of Westerners, probably because tobacco was introduced to Japan by Western traders.¹⁰⁷ Selected elements in both compositions are compatible, but only Fraisse conveyed Japanese pictorial conventions. Missing from the print after Scheuchzer's illustration are the references to Japanese landscapes and costumes and the variety of Japanese activities represented in Fraisse's procession. The model of a Japanese painting or scroll for figure 21a-c is obvious, even though Fraisse's renditions of Japanese conventions are combined with Chinese cloud forms and fantastical landscapes, figural elements, and costumes interpreted from different Asian sources.

Fraisse's "scroll" is made up of five sheets of paper of various widths joined together to form one continuous image. The image is one of two processions in the *Livre de desseins chinois* presented as long fold-out illustrations. Six individually etched plates — one sheet contains two plates — complete figure 21a-c. The plates are different sizes, perhaps to accommodate the varying heights of sections of the procession.¹⁰⁸ The plate lines are faint but visible. After the six plates were printed, a hand-drawn image in ink was added to fill an empty space (see figure 24). Besides the tree, the additions include a brushwood fence, a fragment of a wooden fence at an angle to the right, and stones and leaves next to the etched ones along the shore. The rigid row of leaves may be a reference to the ubiquitous banana leaves decorating Chinese porcelain. The etched line of the hill hiding the base of the tree is reinforced in ink.

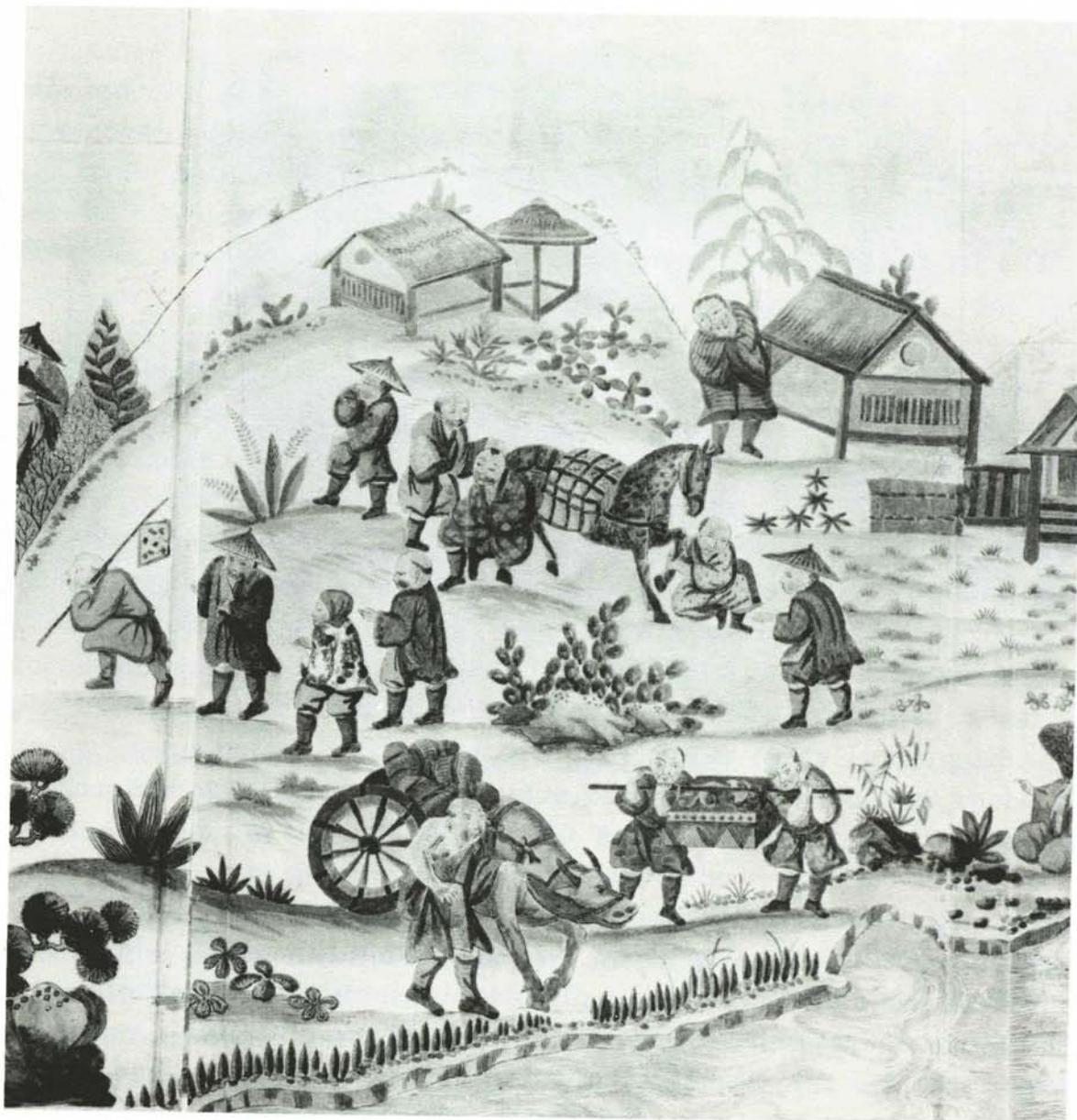
In the BnF's hand-colored album the etching contains a different hand-drawn image (see figure 25). Also, two consecutive plates are spaced apart only in the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums (figures 21a and 25). Thus hand-drawn additions fill the space between the two buildings in both albums. If the plates are aligned, the two small buildings at opposing plate lines touch. Although eight albums with the 1735 title page include the fold-out procession, six contain the successive etchings without space in between and the same, clearly printed woodcut addition (figure 26) instead of a hand-drawn image.¹⁰⁹ The woodcut must have been made specifically for the oddly shaped space illustrated in figures



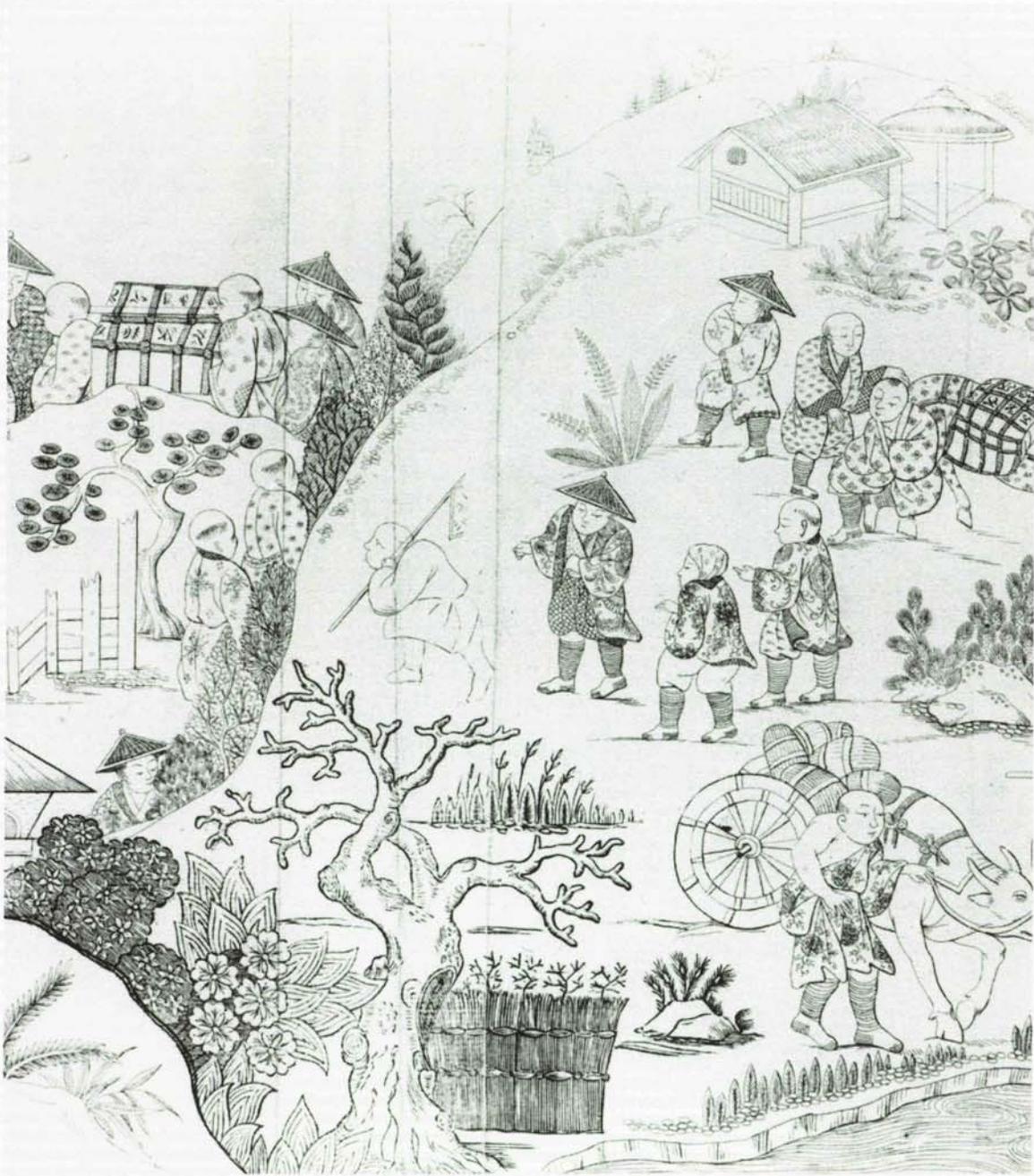
24. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21a, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching and hand-drawn addition. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

21a and 25. The sign held by the etched figure walking above the woodcut in figure 26 remains incomplete in the six albums, whereas the sign is completed in ink in the Metropolitan's and BnF's examples (figures 25 and 27). The expedient decisions to replace the hand-drawn image with a woodcut, to eliminate hand-drawn additions connecting two plates, and to leave the sign incomplete suggest a later stage of printing and the likelihood of a different site for production.

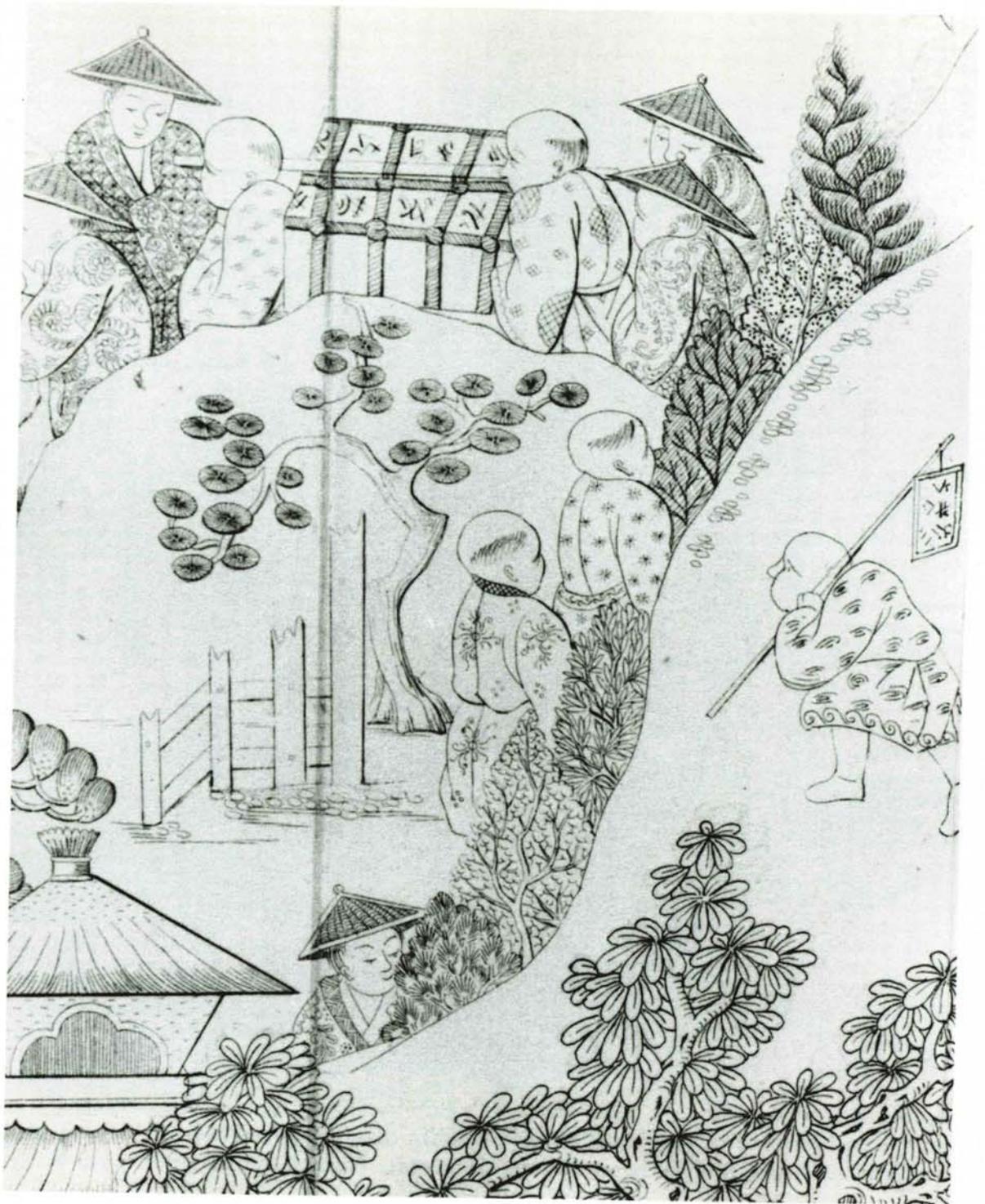
The variety of costumes and patterns in Fraise's procession suggests knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese genre paintings or scrolls. On the other hand, the round-faced, benign, generic Asians are neither Chinese nor Japanese. Their costumes and patterns are



25. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 24 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etchings and hand-drawn additions. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.



26. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 30 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etchings and woodcut addition. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63.



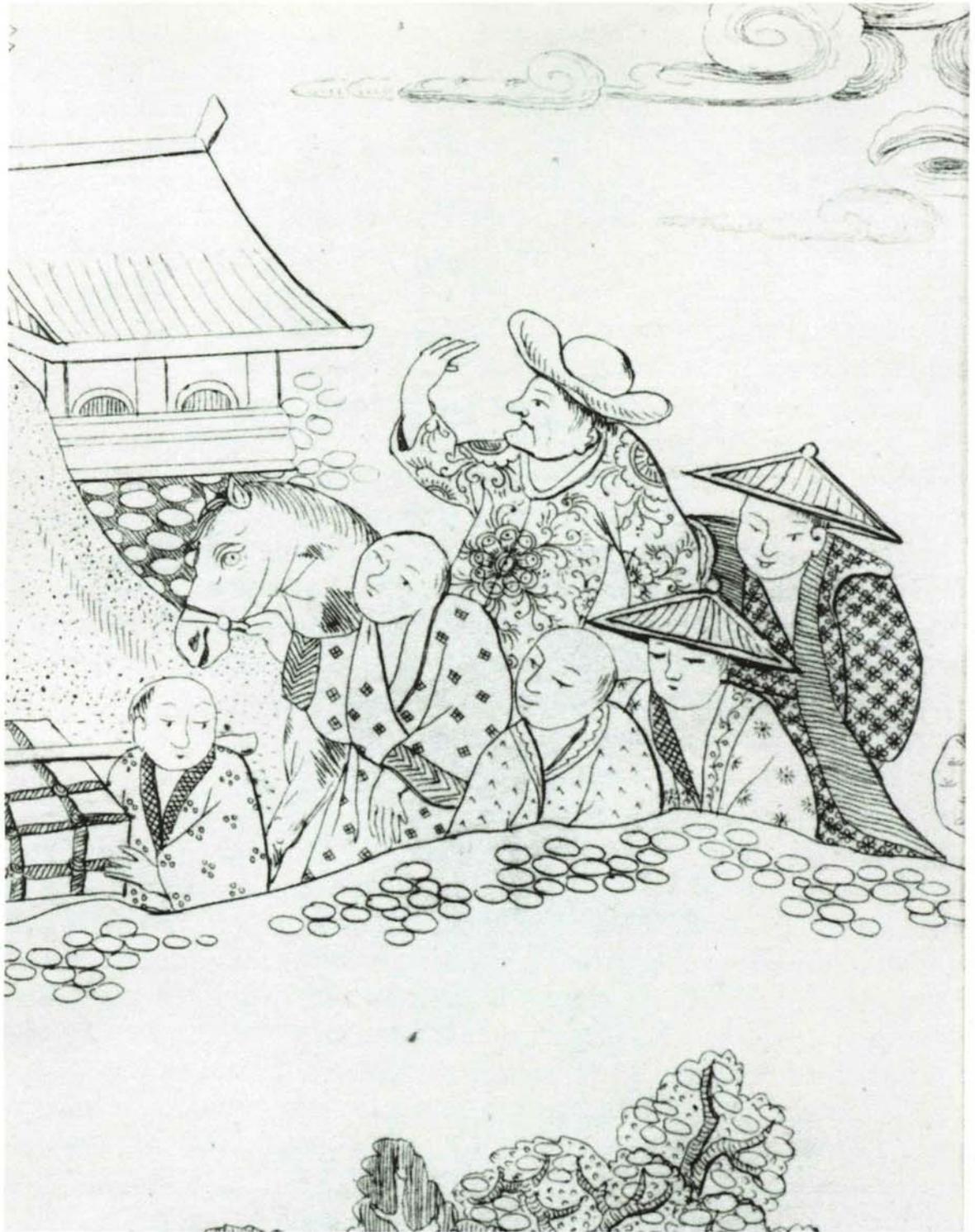
27. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21a, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

Fraisse's adaptations of Chinese and Japanese designs and Indian trade fabric; turbans, kerchiefs, and hats of straw alternate with bare heads and, along with mustaches, are independent of any relationship to the costumes or national identity of the people. Fraisse is unlikely to have had contact with Asians, and he must have relied on printed or drawn images. The individualized facial detail and expressiveness of Fraisse's Westerners (figures 23 and 28) contrast with the suppliant, childlike faces of the attendants. Representing then current Western fashion, the Europeans in figures 23 and 28 are dressed in exotic costumes. The Dutchman in figure 28, for example, wears a rendition of a Chinese robe.

Fraisse's "scroll" reflects various Japanese pictorial conventions. For example, the landscape is characterized by the use of mountains to shield parts of figures, trees, and buildings. In Japanese imagery both mountains and clouds are devices that provide a complex balance of hidden and visible as well as spatial relief between scenes. Grouped rows of trees, many conical, going up the side of a mountain, illustrated in the detail (figure 27), is also a typical convention in the Japanese pictorial vocabulary.¹¹⁰ Another detail (figure 29) is a composite of interpreted elements, here altered and exaggerated, and illustrates the pagoda eclipsed by an angular landscape. A woodcut from a travel guide (figure 30) is the type of image relating to figure 29. The traveler perched on the bench being served tea (figure 31) is a variant of a common scene.

Travel processions and foreign-embassy processions to Edo were featured in the decoration of Japanese lacquerware that was made around 1680 for export to the West. The composition of figure 21a-c relates to that of a procession decorating a lacquer cabinet made for Louis XIV.¹¹¹ Even the placement of the bridge in relation to nearby scenes is similar in both processions. The amount of detail in Fraisse's procession and the fold-out format, however, indicate a painted scroll as a source.

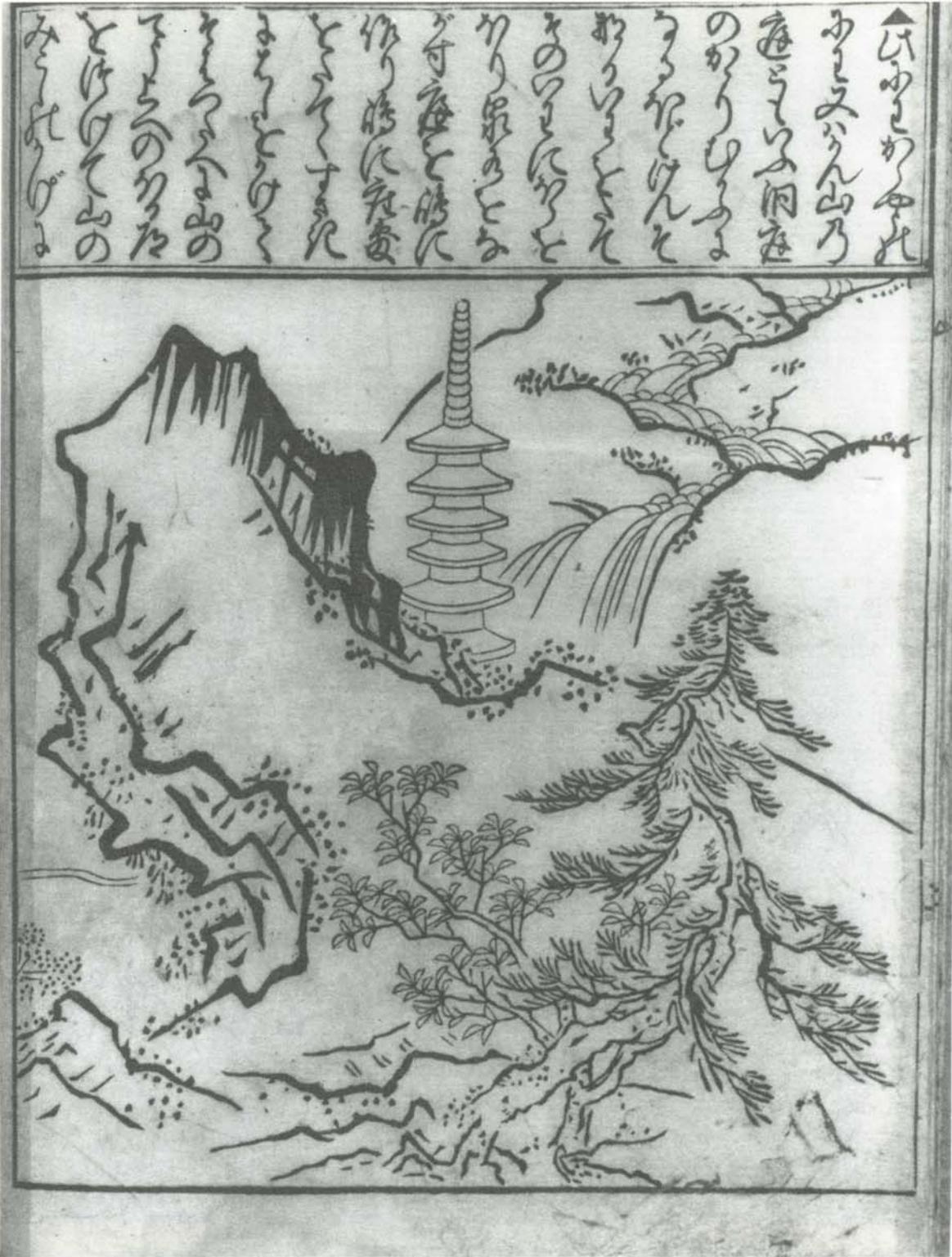
References to the Japanese lacquer technique of *maki-e* (sprinkled picture) appear throughout the landscape areas of Fraisse's procession. *Maki-e* consists of gold and silver flecks sprinkled on lacquer while it is still wet; one type is identified by small square shapes seen, for example, decorating the rocks in figures 26 and 29. A detail of a sixteenth-century Japanese lacquer box exhibits the type of decoration copied by Fraisse (see figure 32).¹¹² The gold and silver squares inlaid in the rocks and



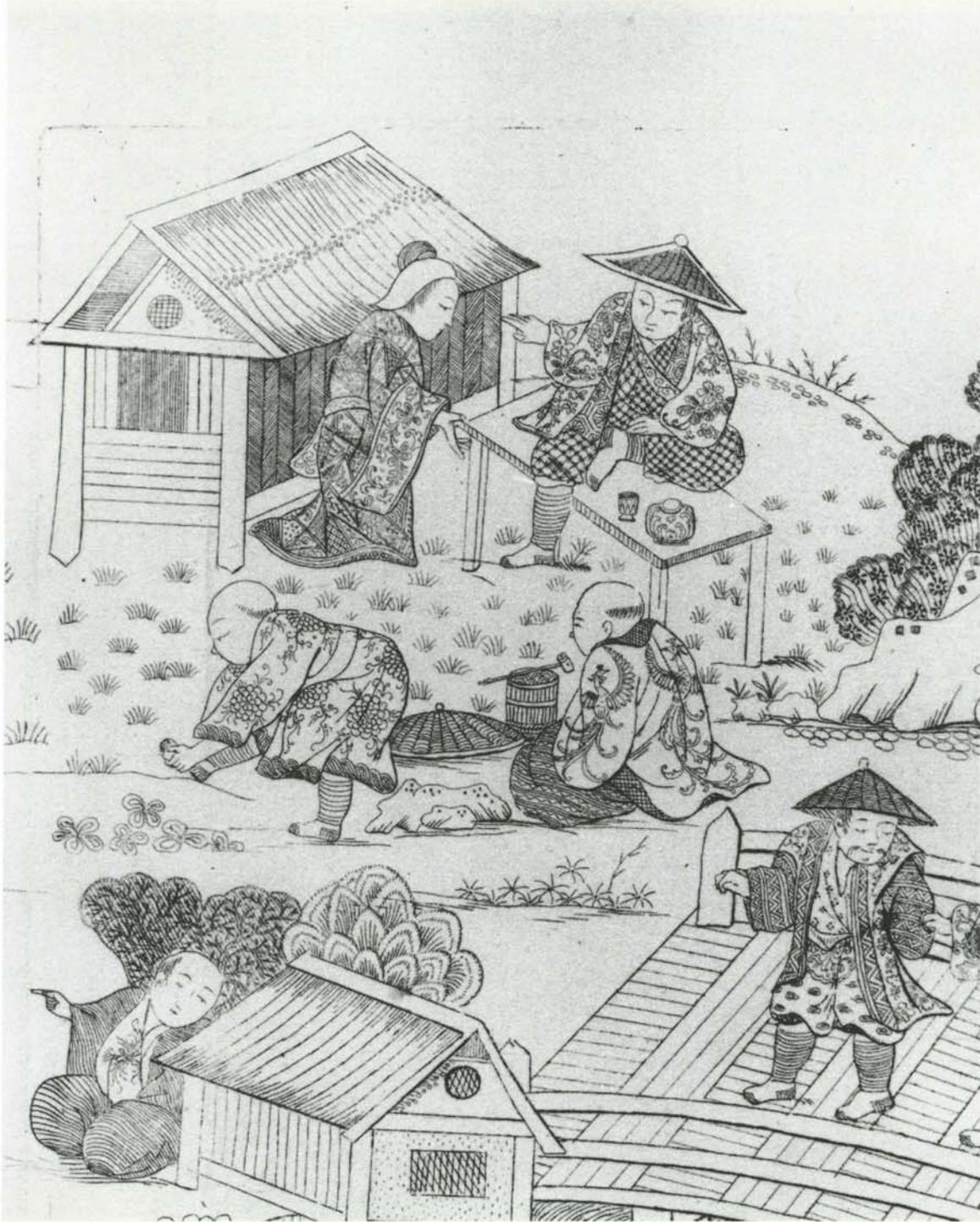
28. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21c, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



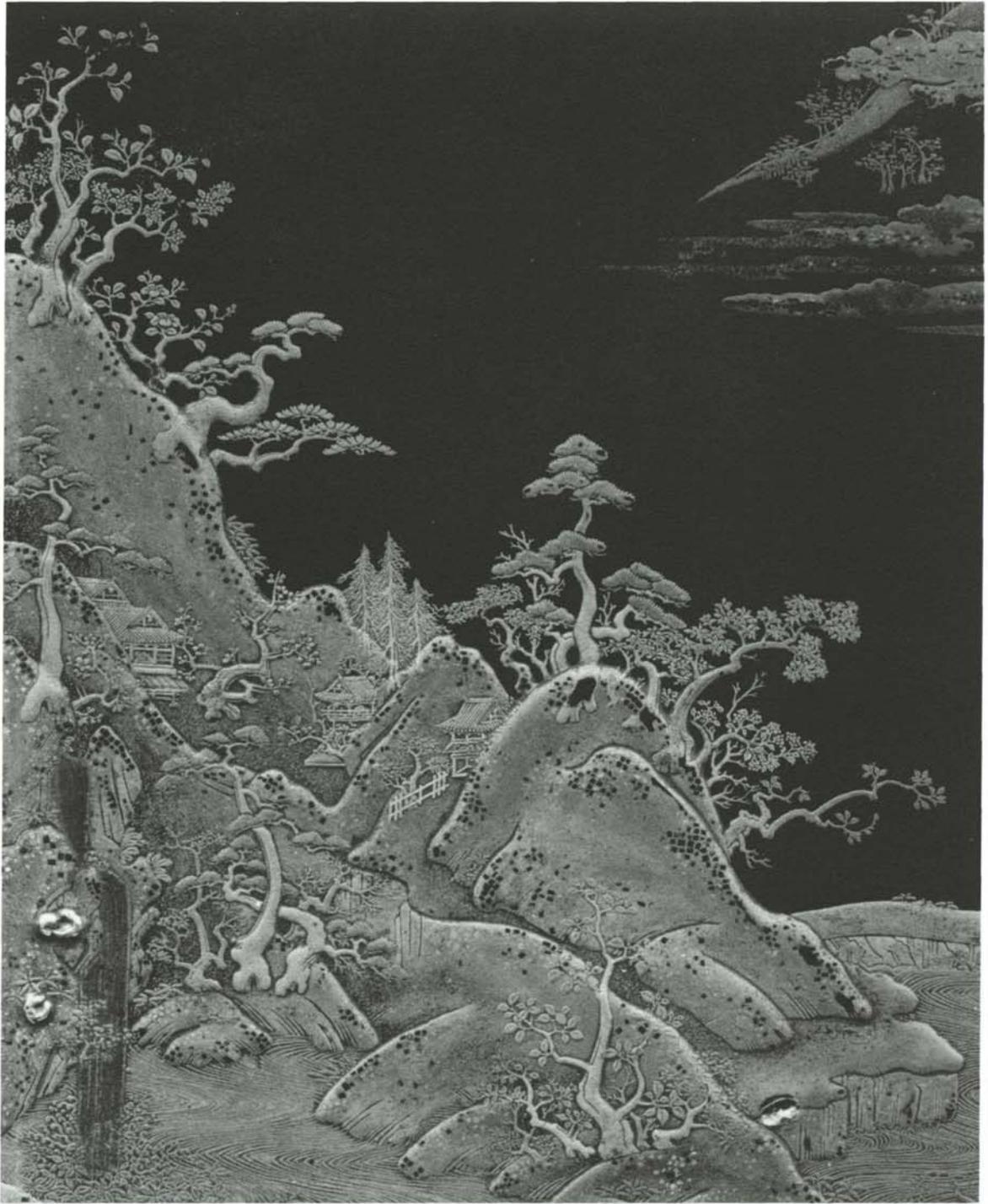
29. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Detail of figure 21C, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



30. Scene from *Yokei tsukuriniwa no zu* (Pictures of Scenic Gardens, 1691). Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



31. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21b, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



32. Detail of box for books. Japanese lacquer, Muromachi period (sixteenth century), gold and silver *maki-e* on black lacquer. From the Florence and Herbert Irving Collection.

mountains are particularly prominent in figure 32 and can be seen to relate to the squares in figures 26 and 29. *Maki-e* is visible throughout the *Livre de desseins chinois*, in the mainly Chinese-style as well as Japanese-style scenes. Fraisse's images expressed taste for the favored Japanese lacquer that undoubtedly was in the collections of the Condés and to which he refers in his dedication.

In Japan the technique of *maki-e* decoration evolved after the Japanese were exposed to Chinese lacquer with sprinkled-gold decoration; *maki-e* became a dominant technique in Japan during the Heian period (794–1185). The Chinese preferred a different style of using gold in decoration, a style that can be seen in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese lacquer for both the domestic and export markets; examples of this style would have been in the Condé collection.¹¹³ Apparently the Yongzheng emperor (1722–1735) favored *maki-e* decoration, but the technique was not widely used in China.¹¹⁴ Fraisse's reference to *maki-e* most likely derived from Japanese, not Chinese, examples. By 1735 similarly decorated rocks were already in the Western decorative-arts vocabulary. A rock in an etching published by Peter Schenk Jr. in the early 1720s has corresponding decoration.¹¹⁵ Late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century English imitation-lacquer decoration ("japaning") exhibits small square shapes decorating rocks.¹¹⁶ Predictably, the decoration appears on polychrome Saint-Cloud and Chantilly porcelain.¹¹⁷

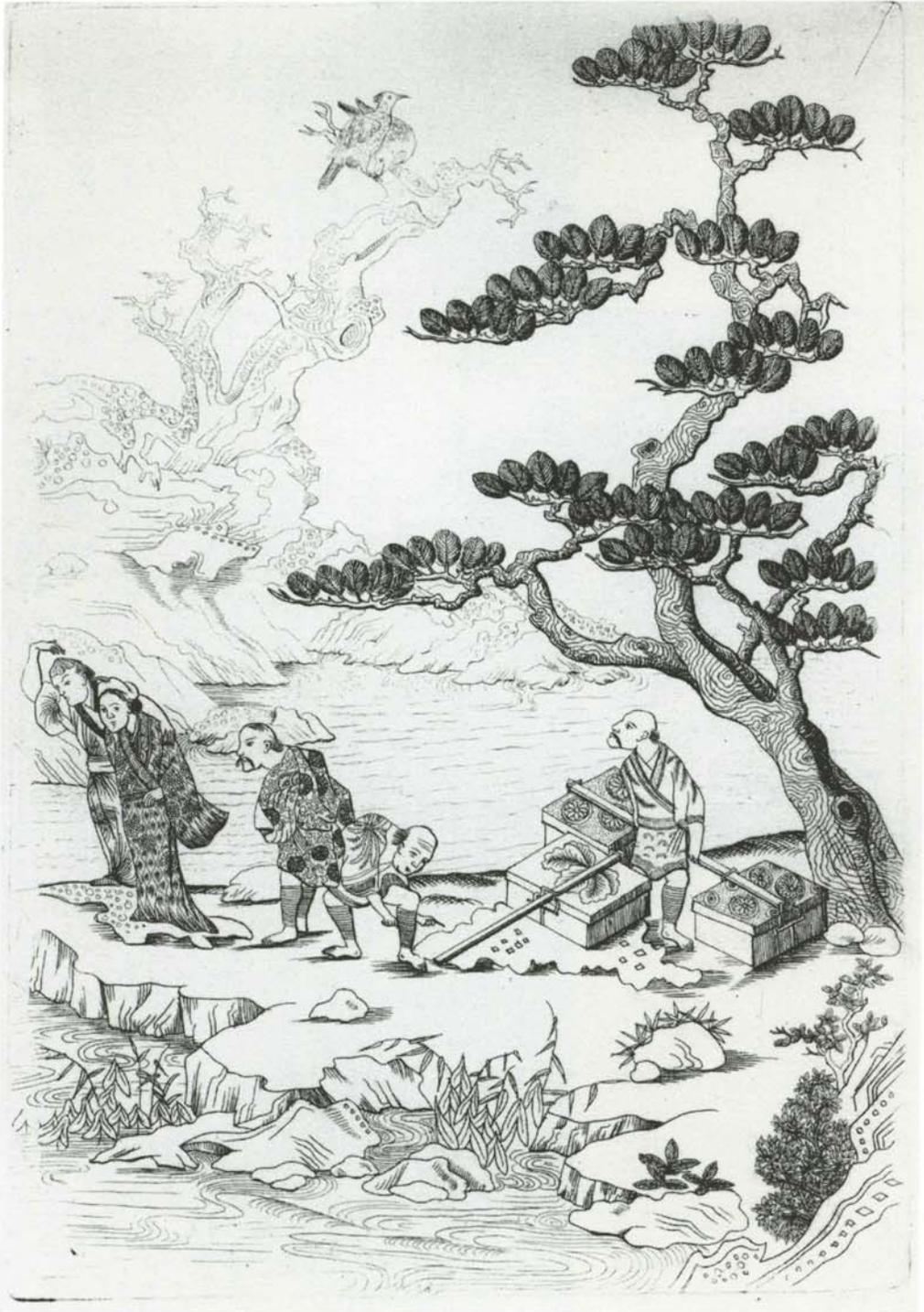
Figure 33, a single etching, is another composite of elements representative of a seventeenth-century Japanese painting vocabulary. The etching is in nine of the albums with the 1735 title page and was reproduced by Mondhare. In its construction of space and of shortened foreground and background, Fraisse's etching evokes another Japanese interpretation of a Chinese painting style. The birds are rendered in a Western style, but the dead tree in the background evokes the single large tree, sometimes bare, growing from rocks at the water's edge, often with a single bird or a pair of birds on a high branch, seen in seventeenth-century Japanese paintings that draw from Chinese imagery.¹¹⁸

Fraisse attempted to convey perspective. The living pine tree, full of foliage but leaning back because of the clean cut at the base, best illustrates his awkwardness. Whether or not part of the pine tree is rooted is not clear. The darkness of reinforced etched lines in the foreground of

figure 33 contrasts with the lighter lines of the background, probably to distinguish foreground from background. The hand-colored version of figure 33 from the BnF's album reinforces the etched effort with intense coloration in the foreground and pale shades in the background.

The pair of lovers standing at the land's edge in figure 34 resembles a pair in a seventeenth-century Japanese painting (see figure 35). The three male attendants in Fraisse's etching are either members of a daimyo procession, or attendants accompanying travelers in and out of a city.¹¹⁹ In figure 34 the attendants carry three lacquer chests, one decorated with an incomplete but recognizable rendition of paulownia, the other two with the chrysanthemum crest.¹²⁰ Both crests were common decoration on Japanese lacquer. A seventeenth-century hanging scroll illustrates a lacquer chest decorated with the chrysanthemum crest (see figure 36). The dotted surface of two of the chests in figure 34 imitates sprinkled gold, a reference to *maki-e*, which also appears in the squares on the rocks along the lower right corner and on the bizarre flat, seemingly floating, rock or land underneath the crested chest. The floating rock-land resembles pieces of land on which figures stand that decorate a group of Saint-Cloud porcelains.¹²¹ Again, the costume styles and patterns in figure 34 — for example, the peacock-feather pattern on the leftmost figure — probably derive from images of seventeenth-century Japanese costumes. The *kosode* worn by the figure to the right is decorated with Fraisse's rendition of a common vertical curvilinear design for fabric, *tatewaku* (opposing vertical serpentines), seen in screens, prints, and book illustrations.¹²²

The robes on figures in Fraisse's prints reflect his knowledge of East Asian fabric. Similarly, the figural scenes themselves are composites reflecting his knowledge of East Asian pictorial material. In both instances he composed from what he saw, and he presented more or less imaginative adaptations of primary East Asian sources. The decoration of robes on a group of Chinese-style Chantilly porcelain figures contemporaneous with the *Livre de desseins chinois*, however, reflects Fraisse's work as a creative fabric designer. Sources for the robe decoration probably originated in Fraisse's workshop at Chantilly. No Japanese-style figures or robes have been recorded in Chantilly porcelain, but composite East Asian characteristics are present in the robe decoration, as they are in



33. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 33 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

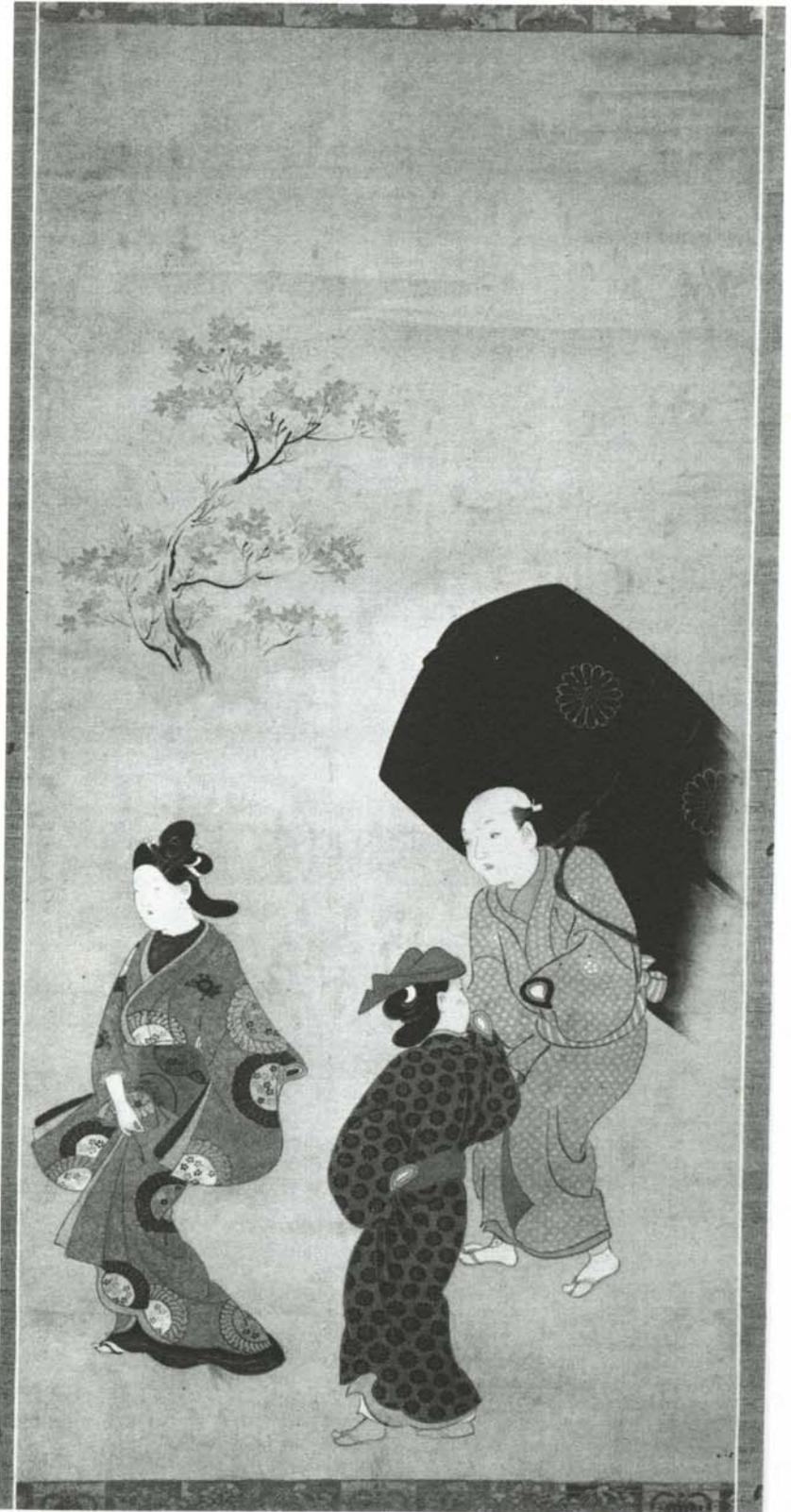


34. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 33, folio 33 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



35. School of Iwasa Matabei. Japanese painting, "Lovers with Attendant" (late-seventeenth century). Color and gold on paper. Courtesy, Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, 1105.014.

36. Hishikawa Moronobu. "Procession of a Courtesan." Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Fenollosa-Weld Collection, 11.4618. Reproduced with permission. ©1999 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved.



Fraisse's scenes. Whereas robes in the prints are more or less faithful to primary sources, the porcelain robes are creative designs originating in a fabric workshop.

EROTIC CHINESE COUPLES PRODUCED AT CHANTILLY

The Chantilly porcelain manufactory turned to Chinese sources for a group of figural sculptures contemporary with the *Livre de desseins chinois*.¹²³ A pair of expertly modeled and painted sculptures was produced at Chantilly, probably between 1735 and 1740 (see figure 37).¹²⁴ Figure 37 is unique among extant examples in the quality of its sculpting and painting, the originality of the model and decoration, and the engaging appeal of the male and female.

Fully dressed in Chinese-style costumes, the Chantilly couples are engaged in sexual play. The standing male holds a female close to him while looking pointedly at her, with one arm under her lifted outer robe and around the front of her body. His knee is bent, and his brown shoe is visible from under his white ground robe; she also bends one knee, and her smaller orange-red slipper protrudes from under her pale yellow-ground under robe. Subtle differences exist between the couples. For example, the left arm of the male belonging to the couple on the right holds the female at the waist, his hand visible from the back and side of the sculpture; the front border of her outer robe is hidden because it is pulled up from underneath. She looks straight ahead whereas the female belonging to the couple to the left turns toward her lover, whose right hand is not visible. The stiff posture of the arms and hands of both females could reflect surprise. The faces have doll-like, idealized features.

Significantly, contemporary examples from other French porcelain manufactories of Western couples similarly positioned do not appear to have been recorded. The Chantilly sculptures may represent an ambivalent French attitude toward Asian and other foreigners, in which erotic attributes often characterize the non-French, who thus have a titillating appeal.¹²⁵

Chinese erotic sculptures and scenes were popular in the West. The Chantilly couples relate closely to two published examples of seventeenth-century Chinese erotic sculptures carved in ivory, as well as to



37. Pair of Chinese-style couples. Chantilly manufactory (ca. 1735–1740). Soft-paste porcelain with overglaze enamels. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.950A–951A.

a Kangxi-period *blanc-de-chine* couple.¹²⁶ In these three cases, males and females are fully dressed, and the males wear hats. In the ivory examples, the males stand behind the females; both bodies face forward, the arms of the males encircling the females, but around the outer robes. The *blanc-de-chine* female is slightly separated from her lover, turning her head toward him, as does the one Chantilly female. Ming paintings that illustrate an erotic sixteenth-century novel, the *Jin Ping Mei* (The Plum in the Golden Vase), depict the same position of a male and female, both fully dressed, the men in hats, the arms of the male around and under the robes of the female. Comparable Ming and Qing album leaves and prints undoubtedly also existed and were likely to have been in the Condé

collections.¹²⁷ A late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century model for figure 37 in Chinese porcelain has not been identified, nor has an example of Chinese porcelain decorated with an erotic scene that illustrates figure 37.¹²⁸ Published examples of erotic Chinese porcelain for export from around 1770 are not relevant to figure 37.

The hand that produced figure 37 is undoubtedly responsible for another pair of Chantilly sculptures, consisting of a slender, seated Chinese-style male and an opposing seated female, the figures closely resembling an eighteenth-century ivory model.¹²⁹

The standing Chantilly males wear adaptations of the style of hat worn by scholar-officials, commonly depicted in Chinese book illustrations and seen, for example, on a Ming figure (see figure 38). The small piece of white fabric lying on top of the turquoise hat of one of the males in figure 37 also relates to head coverings seen in Chinese woodcuts. The boldly decorated costumes worn by the four Chantilly figures are tailored in an adaptation of Chinese styles common to soapstone and Kangxi *famille-verte* figures.¹³⁰ Robes worn by figures painted on Chinese seventeenth-century polychrome porcelain also relate to the style of the Chantilly figures' robes.

The fantastical decoration of the robes is a mélange of images recreated from East Asian sources and an Indian textile-trade vocabulary. Indian fabric for various markets often ended up elsewhere, bringing new motifs and decorative styles to unintended receivers. The seventeenth-century Dutch and English trading companies joined an existing intra-Asian trade in Indian dye-painted cotton, and contributed to an already complex product.¹³¹ Designs decorating seventeenth-century Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery evolved from trade and are not indigenous to any single area. As a source for Fraisse's *Livre de desseins chinois*, his fabric workshop, and the decoration of the Chantilly porcelain robes, seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Indian trade fabric presented a hybrid, exotic decorative vocabulary.

The continuous patterns without repeats, illustrated in figure 37, reflect the point of view of an embroiderer or fabric painter rather than a weaver or designer of woven fabric, whose patterns are constrained by technique and must repeat. East Asian-derived motifs are juxtaposed with motifs representative of a European textile vocabulary. Actors in



38. Chinese scholar-official. Porcelain, Ming dynasty (mid-sixteenth century), blue and white. Courtesy of Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt am Main, 10918/PL.6498.

Chinese-style costumes produced at Saint-Cloud in the 1730s and Chinese-style figures from the Villeroy manufactory (beginning in 1737) wear similar robes, perhaps also derived from Fraisse's workshop and the Chantilly porcelain production.¹³² Robes from the three manufactories probably represent actual garments produced in Fraisse's workshop, perhaps for Condé as well as for actors participating in the then popular theatrical events with Chinese-style themes. To save time and cost, theatrical costumes were usually painted instead of woven or embroidered, and Fraisse's talents would have been in demand.

The decoration of the robes on the Chantilly figures does not imitate a specific Chinese or Japanese design for decoration of porcelain or fabric. The motif-covered grounds exhibiting unrestrained exuberance are not characteristic of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware. However, the bold disregard for a similar scale of motifs reflects a Japanese approach to the decoration of surfaces. Although the dragon, pomegranate, and several other motifs may typify Chinese decoration, the manner in which the motifs decorate the robes evokes a Japanese adaptation. The roundels, abstract-shaped motifs, bird, dragon, flowers, and pomegranate relate to decoration of Chinese Shonzui ware, Japanese porcelain, *kosode* seen in seventeenth-century *hinagatabon* (textile pattern books) and other illustrated books, and Indian dye-painted cotton for Japan and Indonesia.¹³³ Some individual elements also relate to those decorating late-seventeenth-century Japanese porcelain figures that were produced for export to the West. The recreated Chinese-, Japanese-, and Indian-trade elements covering the robes of the Chantilly figures evoke the spirit of Fraisse's composites. The inspired decoration of the robes also echoes the emphasis on designs for fabric seen in Fraisse's images.

The chevron-patterned borders of the robes correspond to decorative bands common to sixteenth- through early-eighteenth-century underglaze-blue and polychrome Chinese porcelain. Robes on Kangxi *famille-verte* figures are decorated with corresponding borders.¹³⁴ Figures in *Renjing yangqiu* and in various Chinese- and Japanese-style scenes in the *Livre de desseins chinois* wear robes with identical borders. A chevron-patterned border decorates a robe worn by a Chinese-style Delft figure and a figure painted on a polychrome example of Saint-Cloud porcelain.¹³⁵ The chevron became part of the decorative vocabulary first at

Saint-Cloud and then at Chantilly, where it appears on robes of Chinese-style figures.¹³⁶ Chevron-patterned borders decorate the robe of a French imitation-lacquer Chinese-style figure from about 1740,¹³⁷ and clearly became part of the French decorative-arts repertoire. The startling originality of the robes worn by the Chantilly figural sculptures lies only in the central designs. The borders represent a standard Chinese design solution (see figure 37).

First developed by Chinese potters, the colors of the costumes — green, turquoise, aubergine, red, yellow, blue, and brown — appear on both Chinese and Japanese porcelain.¹³⁸ The recreation of the colors in the decoration of the French porcelain sculptures achieved a harmonious synthesis that corresponds with Fraisse's coloration in the BnF's album. Because turquoise was not part of the classic Kakiemon-style Hizen-ware palette, its appearance on the Chantilly costumes, and in the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois*, is undoubtedly a reference to Chinese porcelain in the Condé collections. The green ground of the robes worn by the Chantilly females probably also derives from decoration on Chinese porcelain, since figures in green-ground robes are common on seventeenth-century *wucai* ware through Kangxi *famille-verte* ware.¹³⁹

EAST ASIAN BOOKS

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals that Fraisse had access to Chinese and Japanese pictorial material at Chantilly. Although Japanese books were not readily available, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Westerners did acquire them. Recent evidence documents the presence of Japanese books in seventeenth-century England, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as in late-eighteenth-century Russia.¹⁴⁰ Most of the Japanese books in seventeenth-century England arrived via the employees of the English factory in Hirado prior to its closing in 1623. Those working for the VOC also purchased books. Kaempfer owned not just the encyclopedia *Kinmō zui*, but librettos of No plays, illustrated travel guides and accounts of military campaigns, an illustrated Joruri tale, and selections from the *Ise monogatari* (*Ise monogatari sho*) with illustrations by Moronobu.¹⁴¹ Nicholas Witsen (1641–1717), who served as mayor of Amsterdam, owned Japanese books, drawings, maps, and an illustrated scroll. A 1738

inventory from the important collection in the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden lists in addition to the Japanese books owned by Andreas Müller (1630–1694), librarian to the great elector of Brandenburg, Japanese pictorial material along with Chinese.¹⁴²

Little is known about early collections of Japanese books in French libraries. Fraisse's images are, however, concrete evidence that Japanese books and other pictorial material were in France before the 1730s.¹⁴³ One of the obstacles to research is that Japanese books were often included in catalogues of Chinese books. It is puzzling, for example, that we have records of the Jesuit missionaries' Chinese books but little evidence of their Japanese books.

From about 1603 to 1700 secular illustrated book publication in Japan increased sharply, especially during the last third of the seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth. During the early-seventeenth century, Kyoto emerged as the commercial book publishing center and remained so throughout the century. By the mid-seventeenth century the increased availability of books resulted in the publication of book catalogues.¹⁴⁴ Although 1671 is the earliest known date of a publication in Osaka,¹⁴⁵ Kyoto and especially Osaka were the commercial centers in late-seventeenth-century Japan where published material was both in demand and available for purchase. The tastes and interests of the growing, newly powerful and literate merchant class, who became the major patrons of the arts, drove the expansion of book production.¹⁴⁶

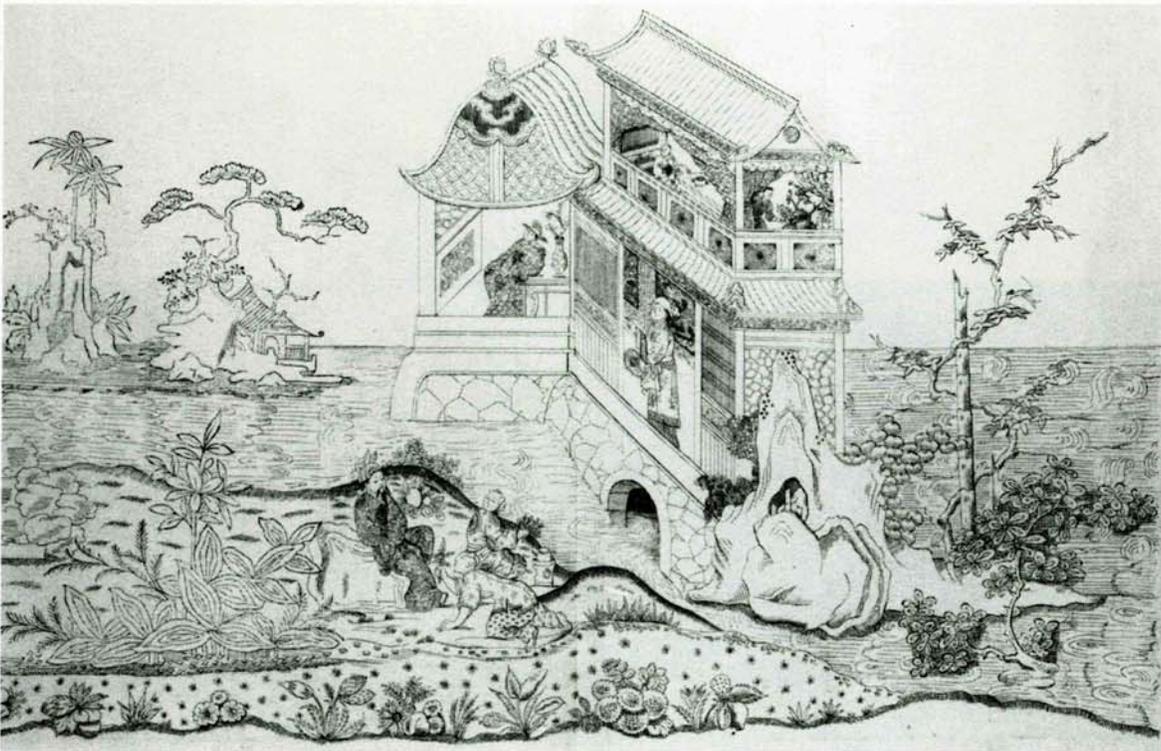
The *Livre de desseins chinois* also represents a sampling of the types of Chinese illustrated books that were available in the seventeenth century. Fraisse's figural scenes, landscapes, and basket-with-flowers images are adapted from late-Ming woodcuts as well as from East Asian porcelain and lacquer. Pictorial records of events may also have been available to him; these were not widely circulated in China, but the Jesuits would have had access to them.¹⁴⁷ In late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century China, book production increased as publishers of secular illustrated books responded to an unprecedented demand for such material by the Chinese. Publication and circulation of these books continued throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Illustrated encyclopedias and manuals for the decorative arts, such as manuals for painting and ink-cake designs, continued to be particularly popular.

Chinese manuals were basically of two types: those that were meant to be studied and copied as catalogues of existing paintings and decorated objects, and those providing different views of individual elements to be studied and copied.¹⁴⁸ Subjects of illustrations in encyclopedias, novels, and plays were also subjects for decoration. Scenes from woodblock-printed dramas relate to decoration on Yüan (1280–1368) porcelain, for example.¹⁴⁹ Images in manuals and other illustrated secular material relate to those decorating porcelain, fabric, and lacquer.¹⁵⁰ Books were in great demand in seventeenth-century China and consequently frequently reprinted. All categories of Chinese books were exported to Japan, where many were either replicated and reprinted or adapted and reprinted. The Japanese *Hasshu gafu*, facsimile woodcuts of Chinese poems and images (originally issued around 1620–1621 in China and first published collectively in 1672 in Japan), became a decorative source for Japanese paintings and porcelain.¹⁵¹ Decoration for Kakiemon-style Hizen ware was generally derived from images in Chinese manuals.

The continued publication and availability of Chinese secular illustrated books during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries coincided with the growth of the major collection of Chinese books acquired by Jesuit missionaries for the Bibliothèque du roi. The holdings of seventeenth-century Chinese books by the BnF, many of which entered France well before 1730, reflect the diversity of subject matter then being published in China.¹⁵² While Jesuits were acquiring Chinese books for Louis XIV, French private libraries were undoubtedly being filled with foreign manuscripts from China and elsewhere.¹⁵³ By 1730, the library at Chantilly could well have contained a varied and sizable collection of Chinese books accumulated by the Condés.¹⁵⁴

WOODCUTS: TWO EARLY PLATES

Two of Fraisse's expanded images from the same etching, figure 39 from the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois* and figure 40 from the BnF's, are composites derived from Chinese sources. Both images were constructed around an etching on a single sheet, reproduced in figure 41 from Lottin's album. Only the etching appears in six other albums with the 1735 title page, and it was not reproduced by Mondhare. The



39. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

expanded images (figures 39 and 40) fill two folio sheets in each album. Figure 39 contains four woodcuts and hand-drawn additions in ink. From where the etching ends on the right, the remaining scene is in ink with a small woodcut of a plant added below the hand-drawn bamboo. The broken stalk of bamboo encircled by a vine (see figure 42) closely resembles an image from the Chinese encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui*, first published around 1610 (see figure 43). The scene to the left of the etching includes three small woodcuts connected with hand-drawn additions in ink. In figure 39 the large-scale leafy plant on the lower left and the two islands on the upper left (see the detail in figure 44) are woodcuts. The geography section of *Sancai tuhui* contains various images — with and without buildings — of rock islands with trees growing from them. However, Fraisse's woodcut to the right in figure 44 relates closely to a Japanese image, a pine tree growing from a rock in the Japanese

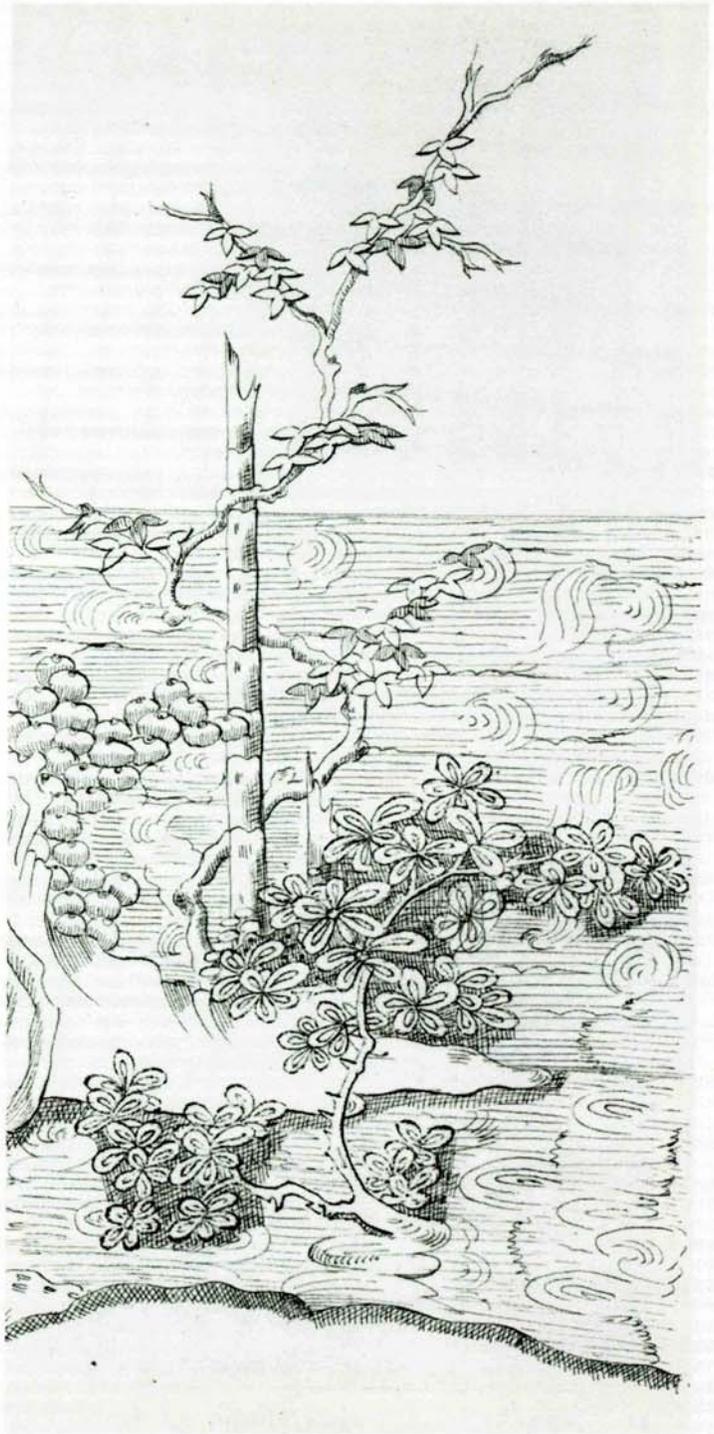


40. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 43 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etching with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.

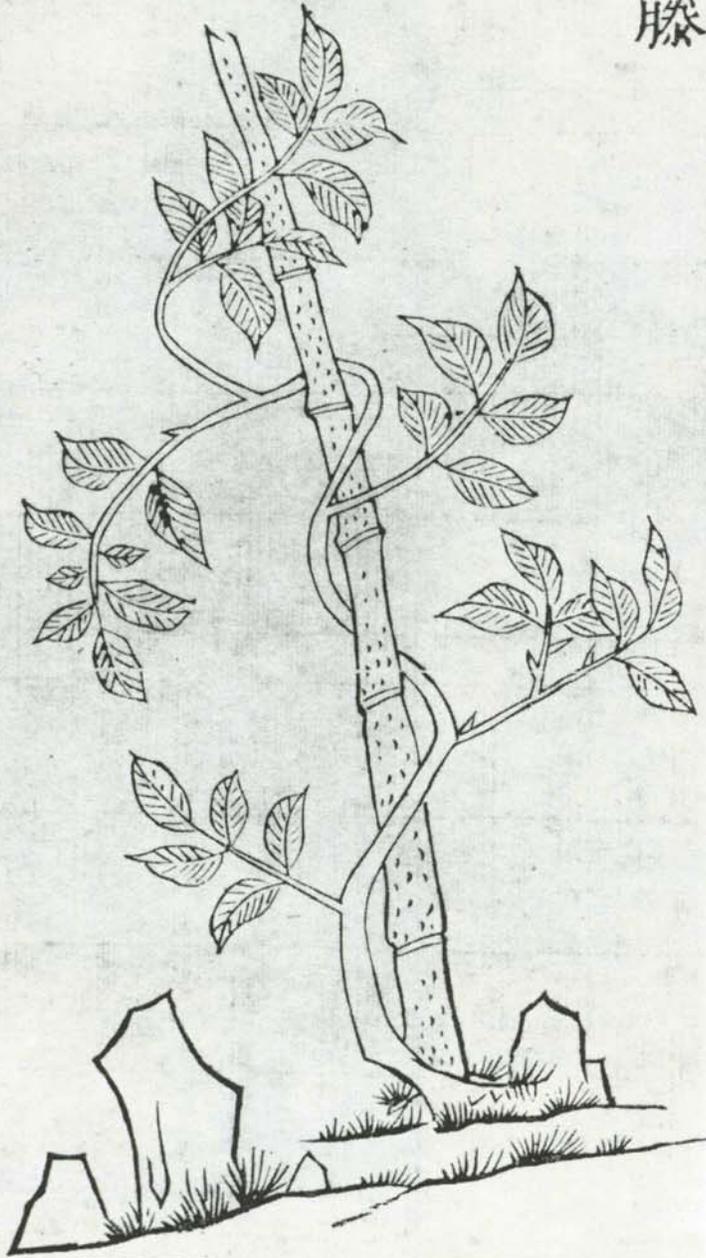


41. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 53 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Oe. 147.

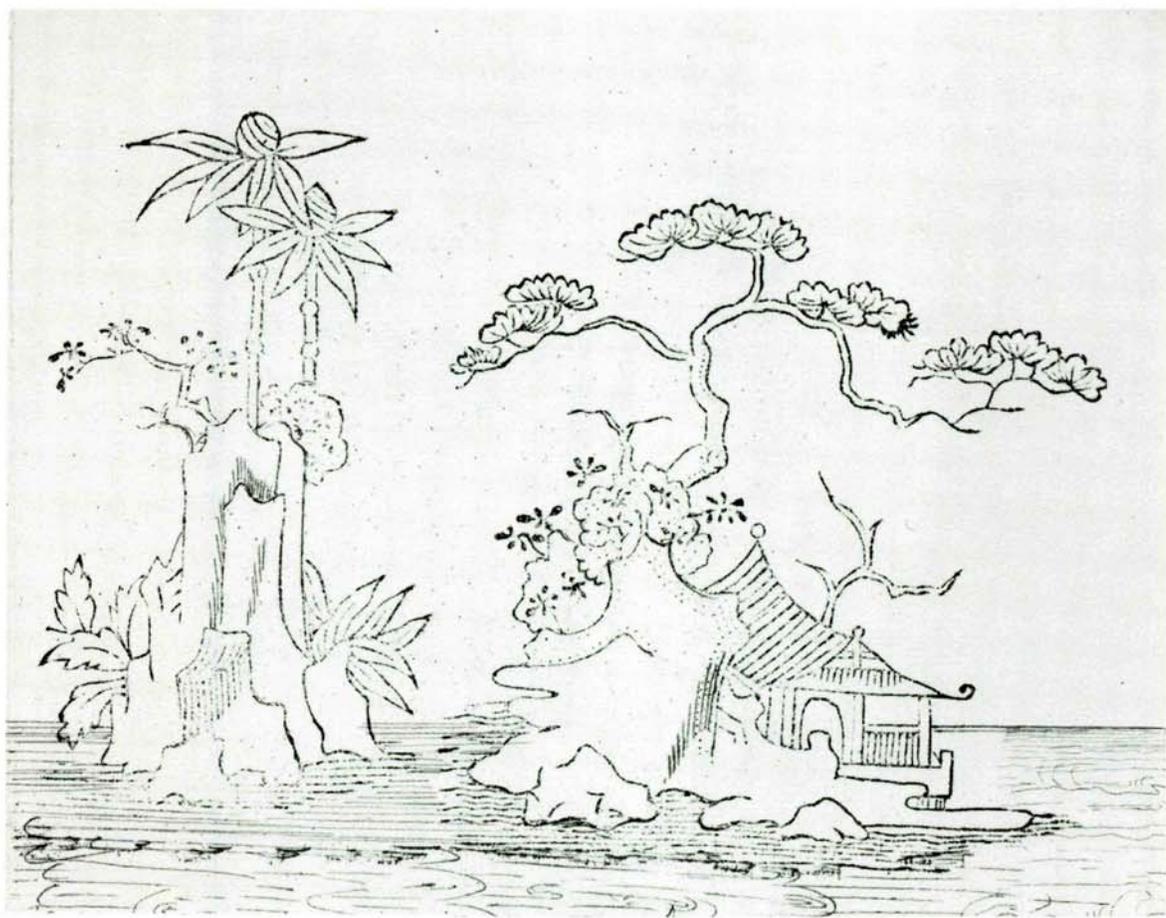
42. Jean-Antoine Fraisse.
Detail of figure 39, folio 62
from *Livre de desseins chinois*.
Hand-drawn image and
woodcut. Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Harris
Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940
(40.38).



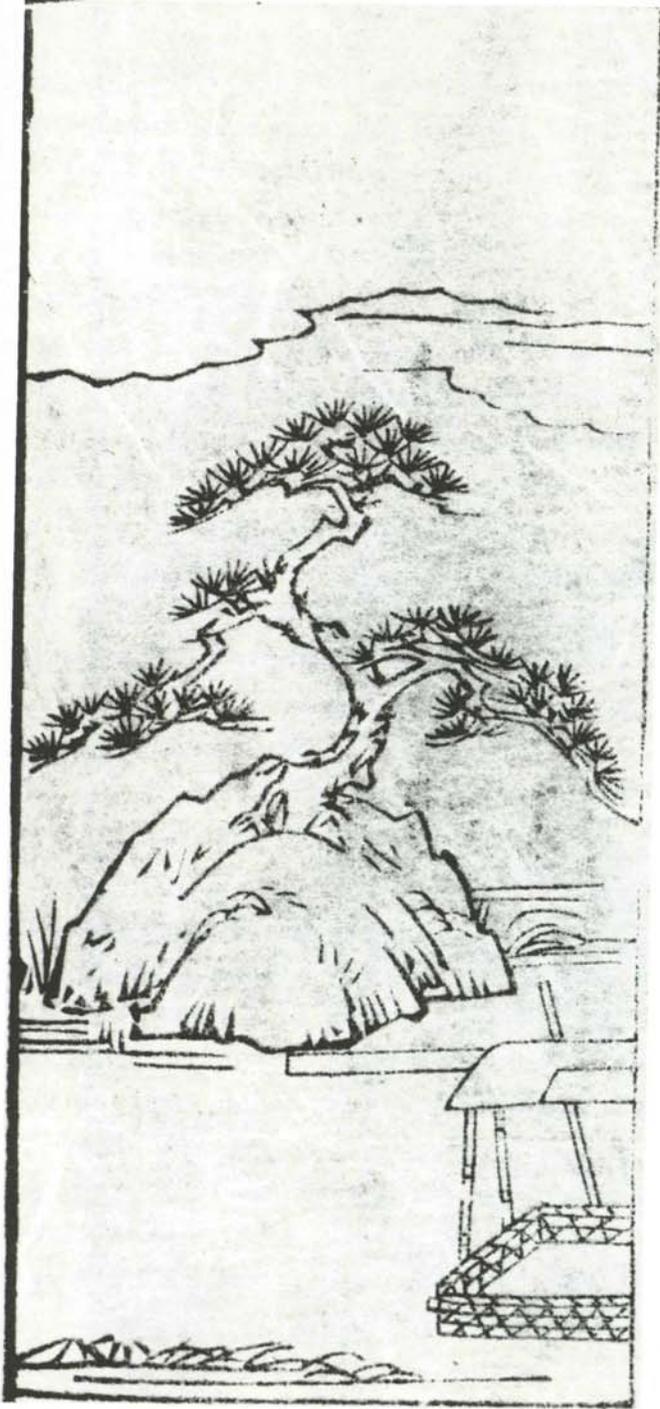
石南藤



43. Plate from *Sancai tuhui*. Woodcut. New York, Columbia University.



44. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcuts. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



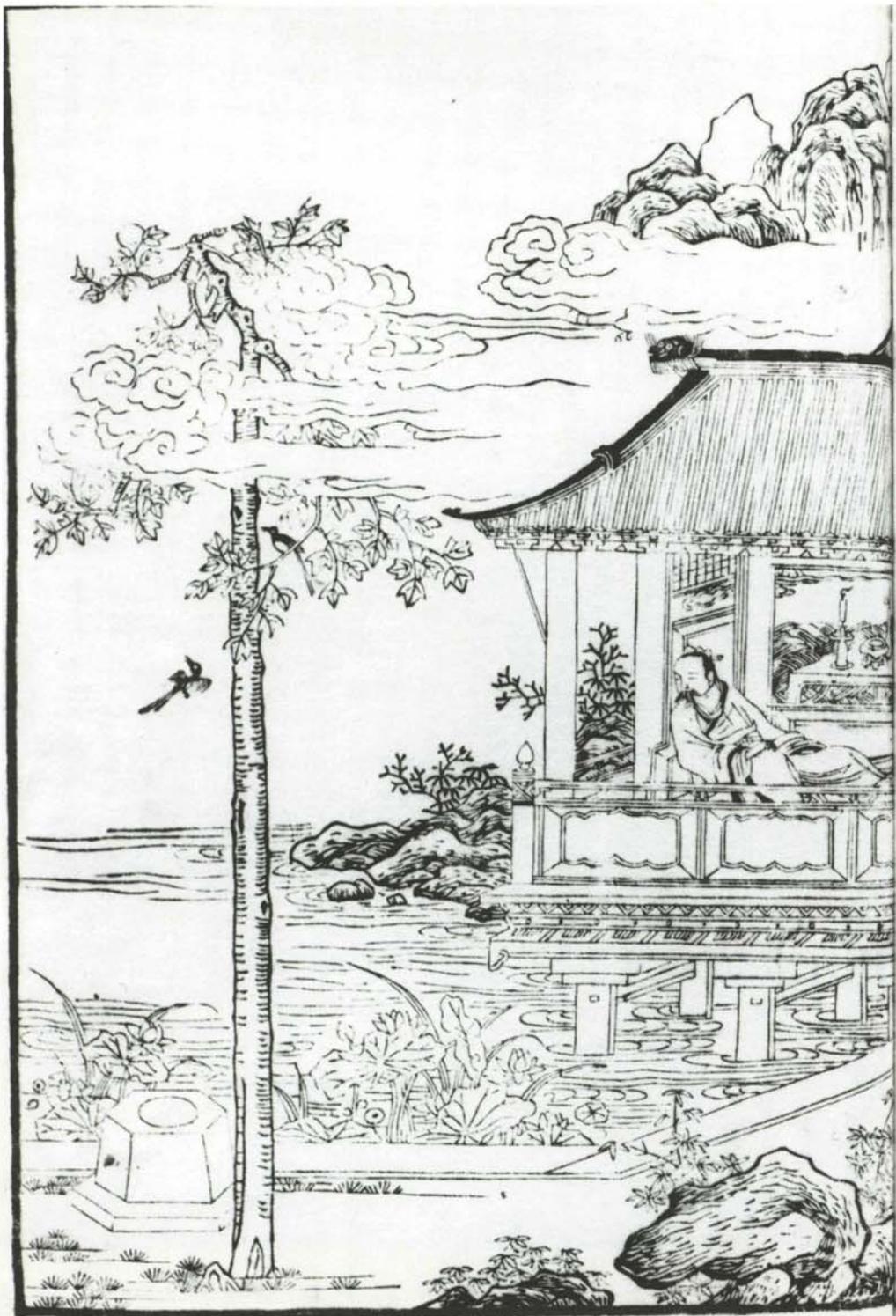
45. Plate from *Wa-Kan sansai zue*. Woodcut. New York, Columbia University.

adaptation of *Sancai tuihui*, *Wa-Kan sansai zue*, first published in the late-seventeenth century (see figure 45).¹⁵⁵

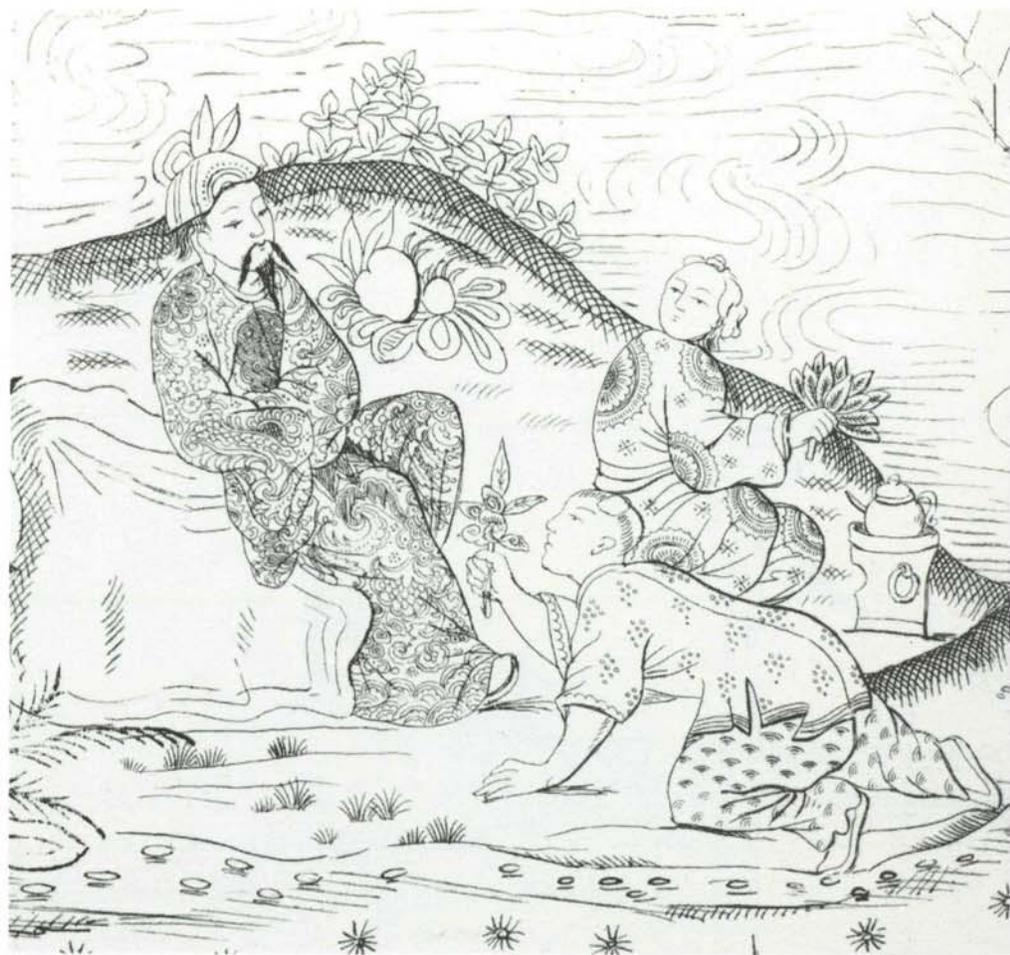
Figure 40 includes five woodcuts. That of a boat with figures replaces the hand-drawn bamboo to the right of the etching in figure 39, and a different woodcut of a plant appears below the boat. To the left of the etching in figure 40 only the woodcut of the rock-pine-tree-house appears, and the pine tree is extended by hand. Painted Chinese-style clouds fill the space between the woodcut and the building, resembling an image from *Hasshu gafu* (see figure 46), in which the clouds are immediately to the left of the building with the seated figure in the window. The two leaning, partially reclining figures in Fraise's image (one seated on the rock in the foreground, the other in the house) relate to the Chinese seated figure in figure 46. A woodcut of a figure standing rigidly, holding a basket of flowers, and another woodcut of a plant are to the left of the seated etched figure. The crouching figure fanning the teakettle in figure 47 relates to various commonly depicted figures in Chinese illustrated books (see, for example, figure 48).

The boat-rock-tree to the right of the building in figure 40 is also in Fraise's woodcut boating-party scene from the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois* (see figure 49). That the woodcut of the boat was used in two different compositions that are in the BnF's and Metropolitan's albums suggests that plates for the two albums were completed and assembled in the same workshop at approximately the same time. Figure 49 consists of three woodcuts arranged in a triangle. Hand-drawn water and landscape in ink with pencil underdrawing connect the woodcuts and unify the composition. As the scene was expanded, the curved printed line of the boat on the lower right was turned into a line of the extended hand-drawn rock. The three woodcuts and the final composition reflect knowledge of various boating-party images common to late-Ming book illustrations. For example, the illustration from *Hasshu gafu* (see figure 50) may have been a source for figure 49.

The boat-rock-tree woodcut to the upper left in figure 49 includes the pine tree and most of the rock, with a reference to *maki-e*. An additional rock and branch extending to the right are hand drawn in ink with pencil underdrawing. Only the woodcut appears in figure 40. The woodcut of the woman walking and carrying the basket and a closed



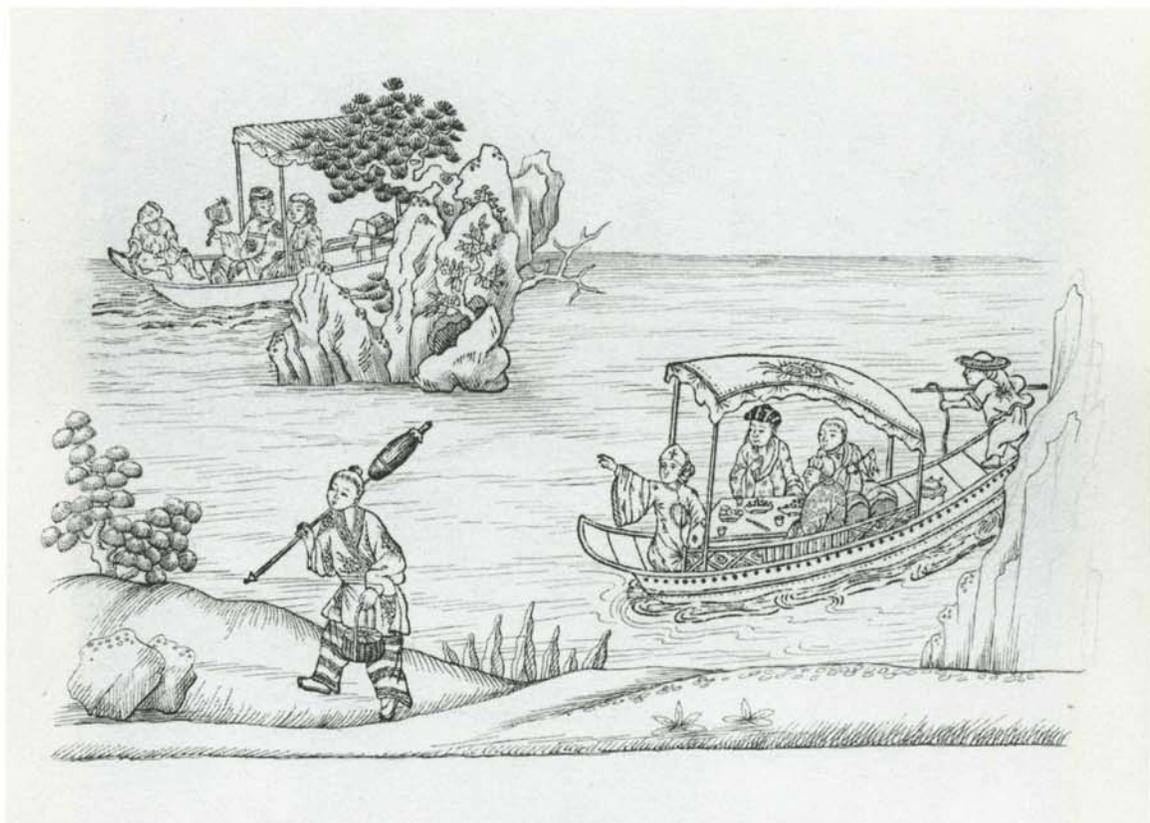
46. Plate from *Hasshu gafu*, vol. 5. Woodcut. Private collection, U.S.A.



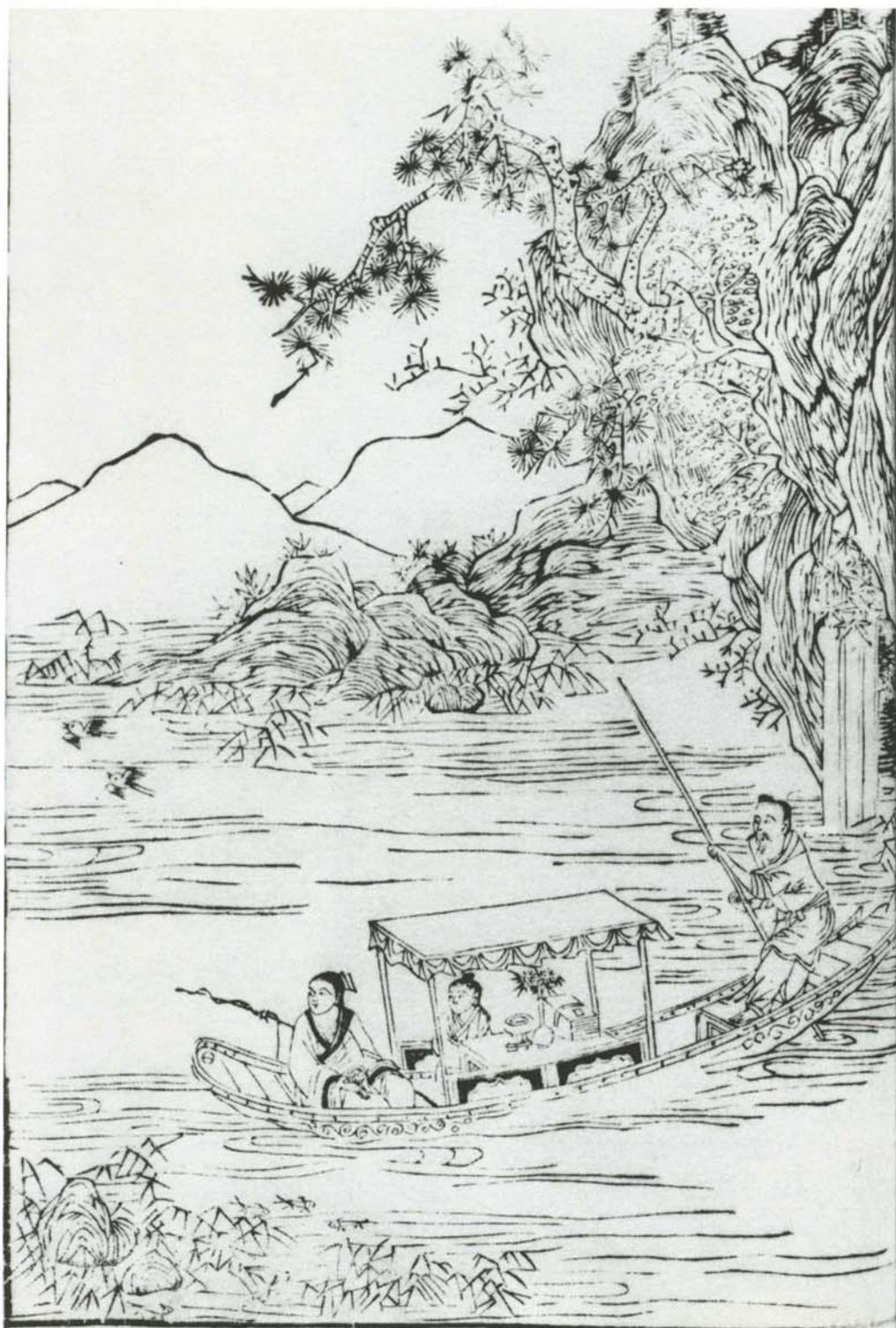
47. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



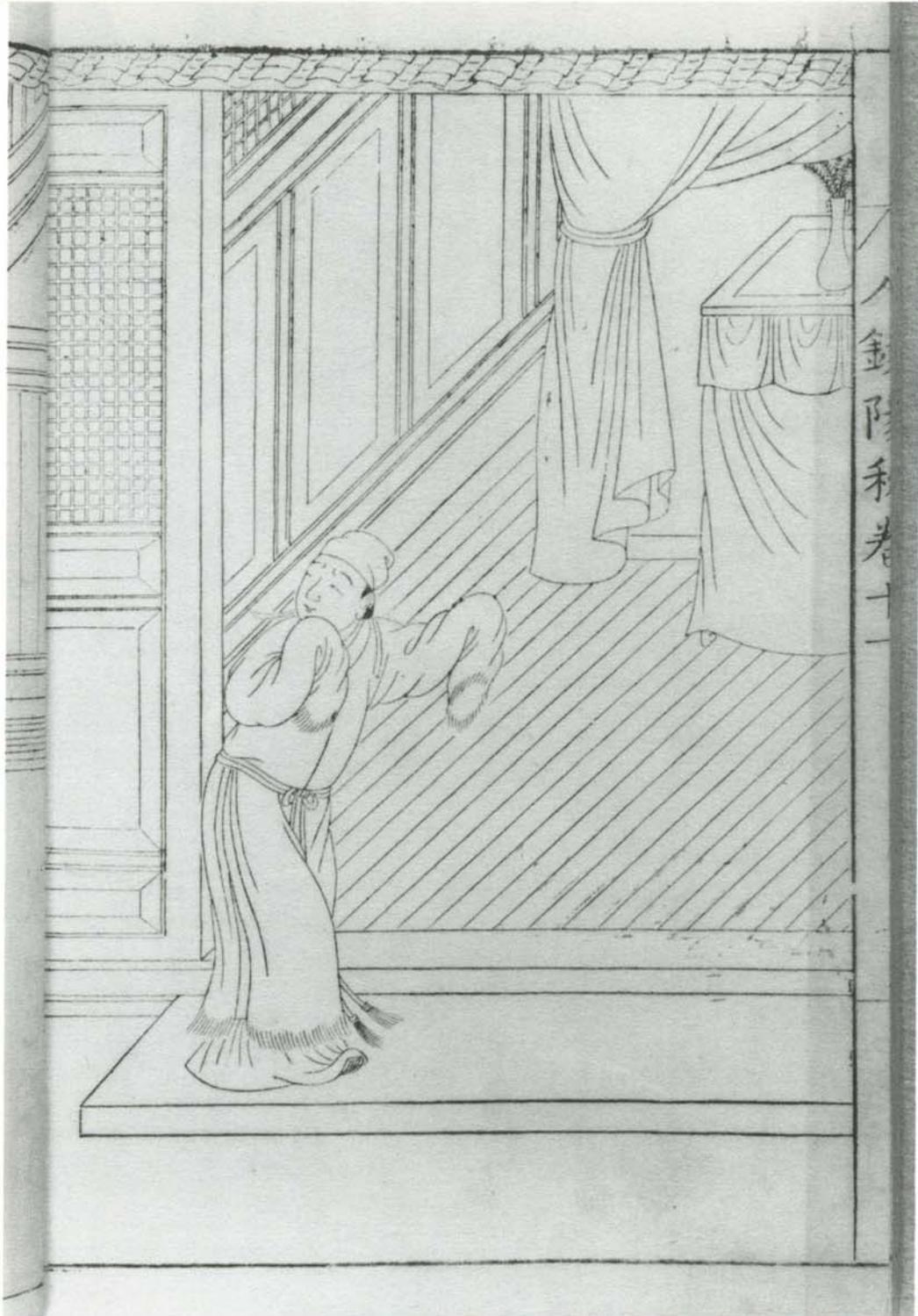
48. Wang Tingna. Scene 44 from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 6. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



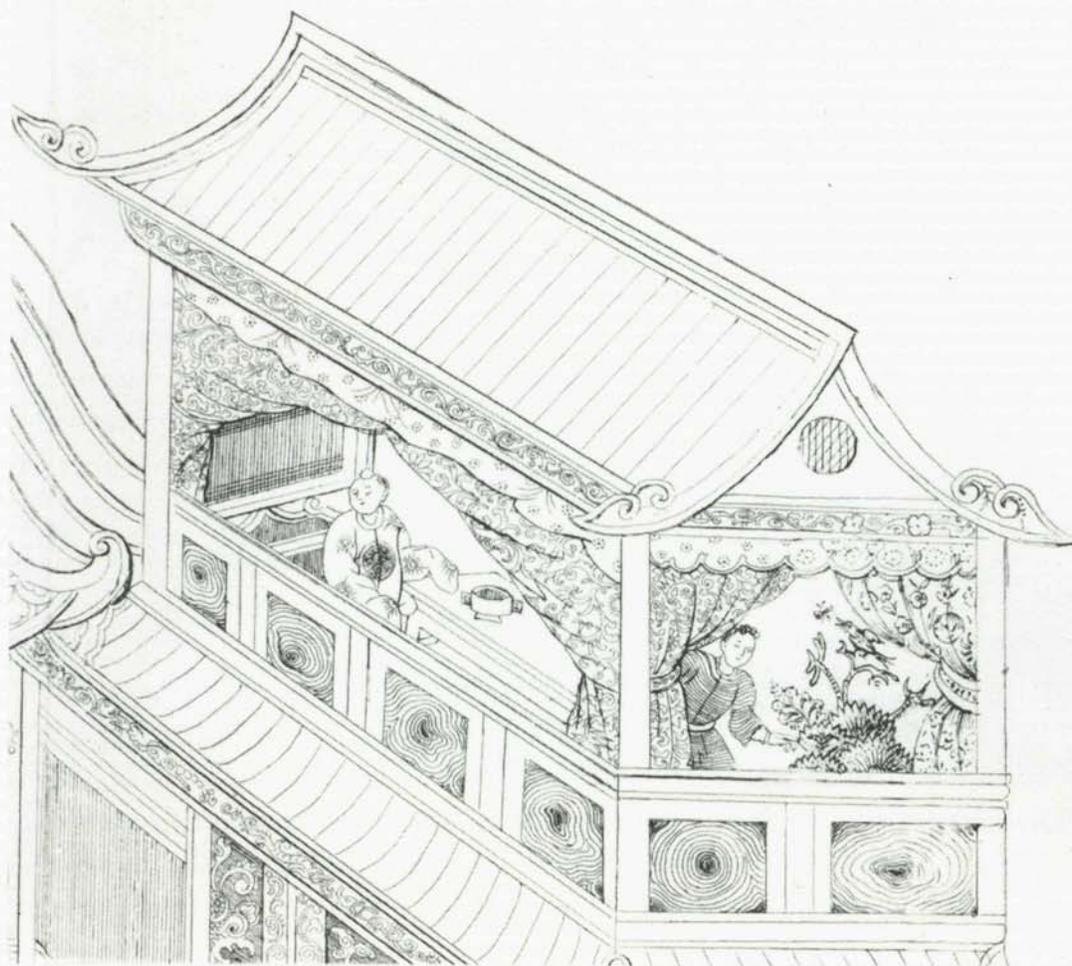
49. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 8 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



50. Plate from *Hasshu gafu*, vol. 9. Woodcut. Private collection, U.S.A.



51. Wang Tingna. Scene 38 from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 6. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



52. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

parasol in figure 49 and the woman standing and holding the basket in figure 40 represent variants of a common image in Chinese book illustrations. Like the eight woodcut plates in the Metropolitan's album, the group of small woodcuts with poor impressions in the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums was undoubtedly printed from woodblocks used in Fraise's workshop for printing on fabric.

The image of part of a window with a single curtain in the plate from Lottin's album (figure 41) appears on Chinese porcelain and in many Chinese woodcuts (see, for example, figure 51). Once printed, the

window was completed by hand, as in figure 52, but carelessly; the hand-drawn pattern of the curtain to the right does not match the etched pattern. In contrast, the hand-drawn and etched curtain patterns are identical in the BnF's album (figure 40). Also, the hand-drawn urn in the center of the window is more appropriate and better proportioned than the ludicrous overscaled foliage of figure 52, with a bird on a branch, beak open, about to snatch what looks like a bee or a butterfly. Like Lottin's, the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's *Livre de desseins chinois* contains the etching only but with a hand-drawn addition to the window section that creates a Western three-dimensional room in disregard of the Chinese source. In the third hand-colored album the etching contains no additions.

CHINESE CHILDREN

Chinese woodcuts as well as decorative-art objects may have been sources for figure 53, Fraise's composite of Chinese children at play. The etching is not in the BnF's hand-colored album, but it is in seven other albums with the 1735 title page as well as in Mondhare's publication. The children in Fraise's etching are grouped in space with the suggestion of a landscape setting. The subject of Chinese children at play was particularly popular for decoration on Ming blue-and-white and overglaze enamel porcelain.¹⁵⁶ Examples are also found on Chinese porcelain made for the Japanese market, some of which reached the West.¹⁵⁷ Elements related to the composition of figure 53 can be seen on large pieces of porcelain where the entire field is allocated to Chinese children at play.¹⁵⁸

Fraise illustrated typical Chinese conventions: the child standing in the upper left corner dressed as an adult, the two riding a hobby-horse stick in the upper right corner, the two playing small drums on the lower right, and the running motion and position of arms held up in the air with one knee raised. Some of these conventions are illustrated in figure 54 from the manual for ink-cake designs *Fangshi mopu*, first published in 1588.¹⁵⁹ The particular activities and games seen in figure 53 also appear on lacquer, color-printed New Year's greetings, and other popular prints.¹⁶⁰

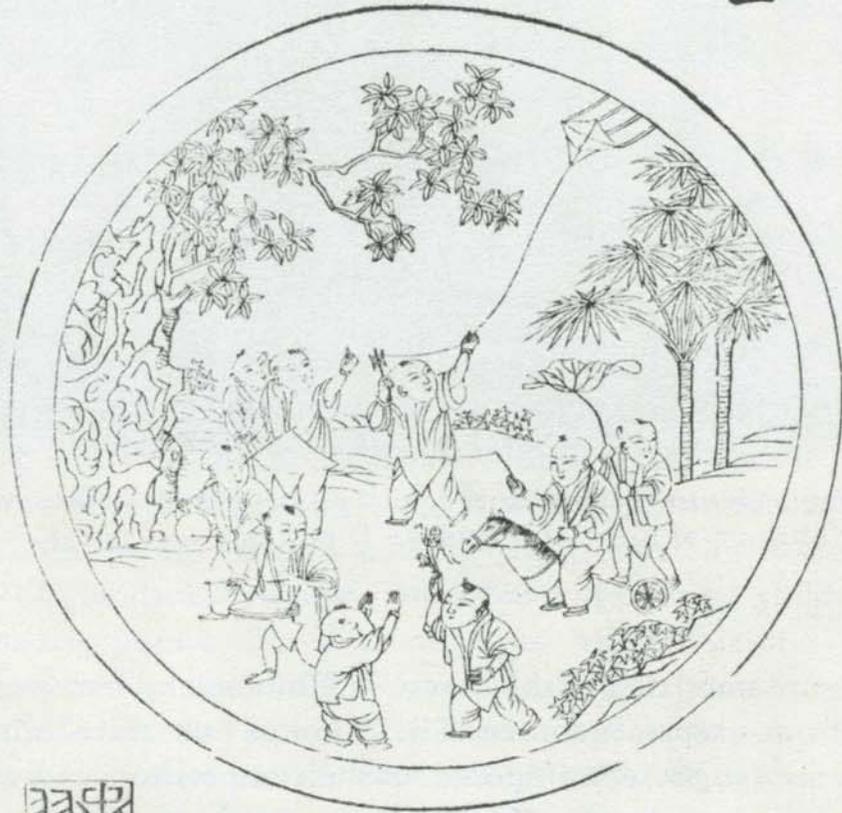


53. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 27 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

A figure unrelated to the theme of Chinese children was probably borrowed from a separate source. The “God of Literature” illustrated in figure 53 is seemingly superimposed on the composition, as it was on the title page of Chinese books. One foot appears about to kick the face of the figure on the right; the other foot is placed at the head of the figure below. The random placement of the “God of Literature” may have been suggested to Fraise by Chinese books in which the image is stamped on the title page without regard to what is already on the page.¹⁶¹

Chinese children were a popular theme in Japanese decorative arts. Fraise’s etching of children playing in a landscape setting may derive from Japanese representations of Chinese images (see figure 55).¹⁶² Figure 55 is in the nine examined albums with the 1735 title page and was reproduced by Mondhare. Figure 56 from the Momoyama period (1568–1615) is an early example of Chinese children in a Japanese painting. The

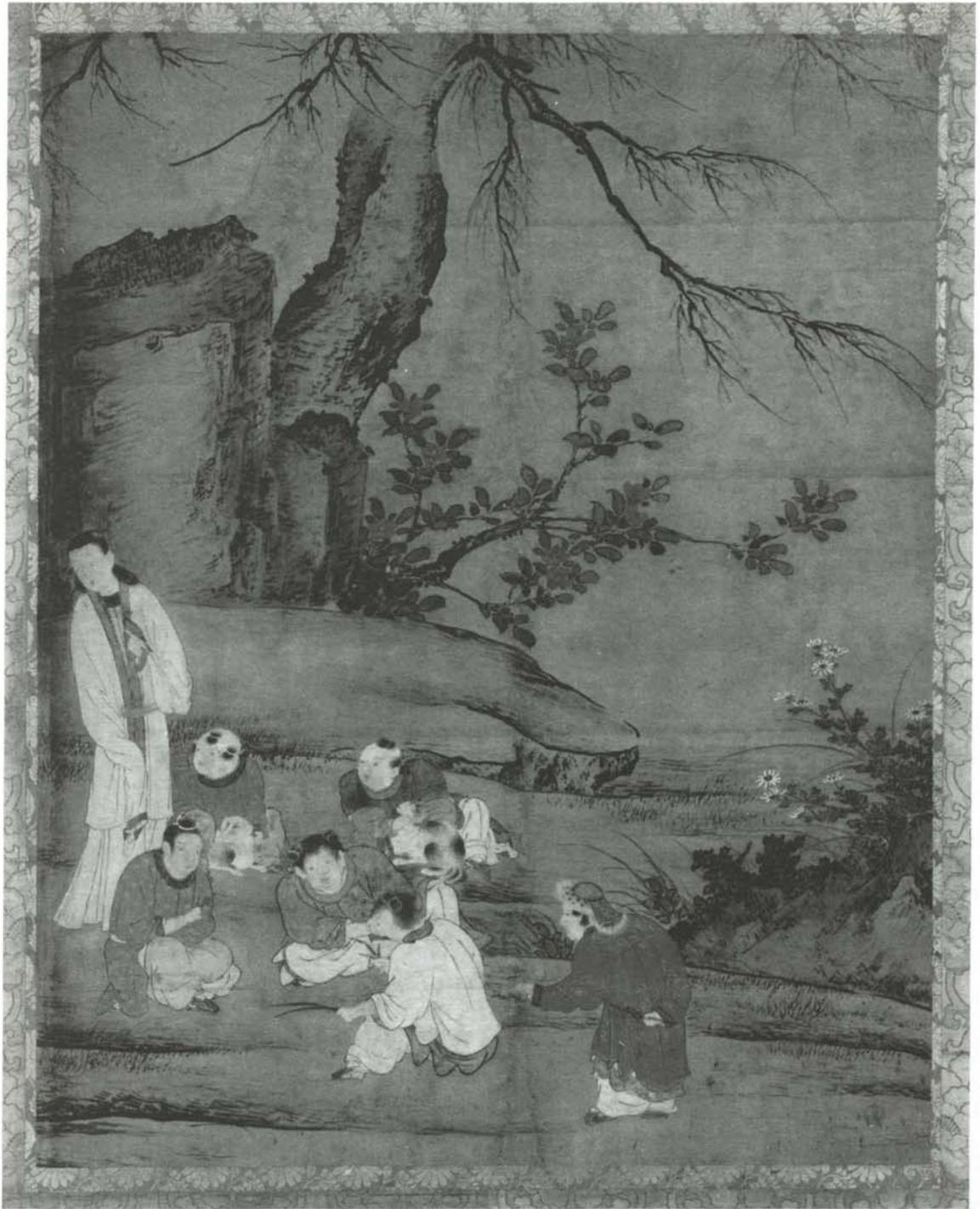
九子墨



54. Fang Yulu. Ink tablet, "The Nine Sons," from *Fangshih moku*, Ming edition (ca. 1588). Woodcut. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930 (30.76.200).



55. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 58 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



56. "Chinese Beauties and Children." One of a pair of panels (seventeenth century), formerly attributed to Kano Eitoku (1543-1590). Ink, color, and gold on paper. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 17.683.

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two children sitting on the ground in the upper right corner of Fraisse's etching may have been inspired by a Chinese image or by one similar to that in figure 56. The fur hat worn by the child dressed as an adult in the lower right section of the painting relates in shape to Fraisse's creations worn by four children in figure 55. The variety of costumes and the sash on the child in figure 55 relate to those seen in other Japanese renditions of Chinese children.¹⁶³ Given that Japanese pictorial material was present at Chantilly, the possibility exists that Fraisse's sources for figure 55 were Japanese. Unraveling the sources for Fraisse's two etchings exposes the complexity inherent in exploring manifestations of the attraction that Chinese culture held for the Japanese.

FRAISSE AND THE PORCELAIN TRADE

Trade between Japan and foreigners continued during the official period of closure, or *sakoku* (chained country), which began with the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639 and was followed by the forced transfer of the Dutch trading post from Hirado to Deshima in 1641.¹⁶⁴ Japan's interaction with foreigners is an extremely complex topic. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Japanese were attracted to foreigners and foreign things and wanted to collect books, fabrics, decorative objects, gunpowder, and firearms; learn about Western cartography and science; and trade.¹⁶⁵ The Genroku period (1688–1704) represented a peak of aesthetic accomplishment in Japan. The merchant class was dominant, and the motivation to profit from trade was shared by East and West. Nagasaki was a pivotal center of trade at this time. A character in *The Uprooted Pine*, written in 1718 by the prominent playwright for puppet theater Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1725), pointedly distinguishes between the values of the samurai and those of the then powerful merchants: "A samurai seeks a fair name in disregard of profit, but a merchant, with no thought to his reputation, gathers profits and amasses a fortune."¹⁶⁶

After his return to England in 1614, Captain John Saris, sent to Japan by the English East India Company in 1612, was formally criticized for having profited too much from private trading.¹⁶⁷ The shogun presented gifts selectively to Jesuits, ambassadors, and emissaries. In 1584

four Japanese emissaries presented screens to King Philip II in Madrid, and in 1585 they offered two screens to Pope Gregory XIII.¹⁶⁸ While in Kyoto on October 19, 1613, “the greatest Citie of Japan, consisting most upon merchandizing,”¹⁶⁹ Saris received “ten Beobs,” or screens, from Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) to give to King James I on his return to England in 1614.¹⁷⁰ Saris writes of buying “Eight Beobs” for the company on September 21, 1613.¹⁷¹ Transcripts from the court minutes of the East India Company, dated March 17, 1615, of a sale of goods from Japan, read: “A ‘Biobee or Skreene gilded and painted with some resemblances of warfare’ was knocked down to the Governor for 6*l.* ‘Annother Biobee, . . . portrayde full of horses,’ was sold to him for 4*l.* 13*s.* *od.*, with a duplicate for 4*l.* 11*s.* *os.* Three other ‘Biobees of warfare’ sold for 5*l.* 12*s.* *od.*, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and 6*l.* 15*s.* *od.* Two ‘portrayde with fowles’ fetched 3*l.* 3*s.* *od.* and 4*l.* 7*s.* *od.*; and three ‘of huntinge,’ 10*l.*, 8*l.* 1*s.* *od.* and 8*l.* 5*s.* *od.*”¹⁷²

While stationed on Deshima, Kaempfer purchased Chinese woodcuts and artifacts and Japanese illustrated books, drawings, paintings, and artifacts. *The History of Japan* describes the profitable private trade that was conducted by directors of the VOC and Japanese interpreters who were assigned to the company. The private trade in porcelain peaked during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.¹⁷³ According to Kaempfer the Japanese were “addicted” to smuggling despite its being a crime punishable by death.¹⁷⁴

In 1691, Kaempfer wrote of Miaco (Kyoto):

There are but few houses in all the chief street, where there is not something to be sold, and for my part, I could not help admiring, whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods. 'Tis true indeed, there is scarce any body passes through Miaco, but what buys something or other of the manufactures of this city.

And of Osacca (Osaka):

It is the best trading town in Japan, being extraordinary well situated for carrying on a commerce both by land and water. This is the reason, why it is so well inhabited by rich merchants,

artificers and manufacturers. . . . The Japanese call Osacca the universal theater of pleasures and diversions. Plays are to be seen daily both in publick and in private houses. . . . Numbers of strangers and travellers daily resort thither, chiefly rich people, as to a place, where they can spend their time and money with much greater satisfaction, than perhaps any where else in the Empire.¹⁷⁵

As the volume of trade between East and West increased from the late-sixteenth through the seventeenth century, images targeting Western market demands emerged for the decoration first of Chinese and later of Japanese porcelain. A group of Fraisse's etchings, the Chantilly porcelain manufactory of 1730–1740, and particular examples of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western collections, are inextricably bound to and reflect the porcelain trade. The crumbling of the Ming dynasty affected the profitability of Chinese porcelain production for domestic use. To replace declining imperial patronage, porcelain factories turned more to foreign markets. Late-Ming through early-Qing ceramic production reflected the demands of the continuing trade with the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia, as well as trade with the West and Japan.¹⁷⁶

Competing with Chinese porcelain, mid- to late-seventeenth-century Japanese porcelain for the West reflected Chinese models and decoration catering to Western taste. However, the Japanese contributed their own aesthetic values to their trade ware. One of Fraisse's etchings, discussed below, corresponds to an image common to much late-seventeenth-century Western-shaped Hizen ware produced for export to the West. Defining the image in the context of Japanese porcelain production is the first step toward identifying Fraisse's etched version. As is the case with so much Japanese art, Japanese porcelain must be discussed in conjunction with Chinese production.

In a development that was independent of their involvement with the West, the Japanese began collecting Chinese porcelain in the late fifteen and early sixteen hundreds and began to order it from China about 1620. The Japanese bought sixteenth- and seventeenth-century blue-and-white Kraak (from the Dutch "*kraken*," adapted from the

Portuguese “*caracas*,” or merchant ship, and related to the English “carrack”) export ware, typified by divisions of panel decoration; variously decorated southern Chinese Swatow ware made primarily for export to the Middle East and Southeast Asia; Wanli-period (1573–1620) *wucaï* and blue-and-white porcelain; a post-Wanli Chinese domestic ware now called *Kosometsuke* (old blue decorated ware); and seventeenth-century Japanese-taste Shonzui ware, characterized by roundels and juxtaposed geometric ground patterns.¹⁷⁷ Much *Kosometsuke* porcelain was tailored to Japanese taste. Shonzui ware was designed for the Japanese market during the 1630s and 1640s. The Japanese began to manufacture porcelain — they called it *karamono* (Chinese goods) — about 1610 and recreated Chinese images for their own early production.¹⁷⁸ The Dutch trading company established its first office in Japan in 1609 at Hirado.¹⁷⁹ Awareness of Japanese admiration for and integration of Chinese cultural symbols into their own is essential to appreciating the aesthetics inherent in the Kakiemon-style Hizen ware that developed during the 1660s. Stylistic interpretations of Chinese bird-and-flower images and figures in landscapes generally characterize the decoration. The large increase in VOC orders for Japanese porcelain that began in the 1650s also had an impact on design. Production peaked from the 1670s through the 1680s and possibly into the 1690s, although filling orders was always problematic. The private trade in porcelain was especially active during the late-seventeenth through the early-eighteenth centuries.¹⁸⁰

The Kakiemon-style Hizen ware developed for export was prized in the West. A cream-white body, *nigoshi-de*, distinguishes the overglaze enameled ware that was particularly coveted, and this type does not include underglaze-blue decoration.¹⁸¹ Japanese-taste Kakiemon-style ware decorated only in underglaze blue was mostly consumed domestically. A group of enameled Kakiemon-style Hizen wares in Western royal collections — some with underglaze-blue lines — is decorated in a style that is not indigenously Japanese, but instead represents export-market taste for Chinese-derived images.

Japanese porcelain imported by the Dutch also included undecorated bodies later painted in the Netherlands. Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain further represents Western taste for Kakiemon-style images and palette.¹⁸² East Asian ware with Kakiemon-style decoration painted

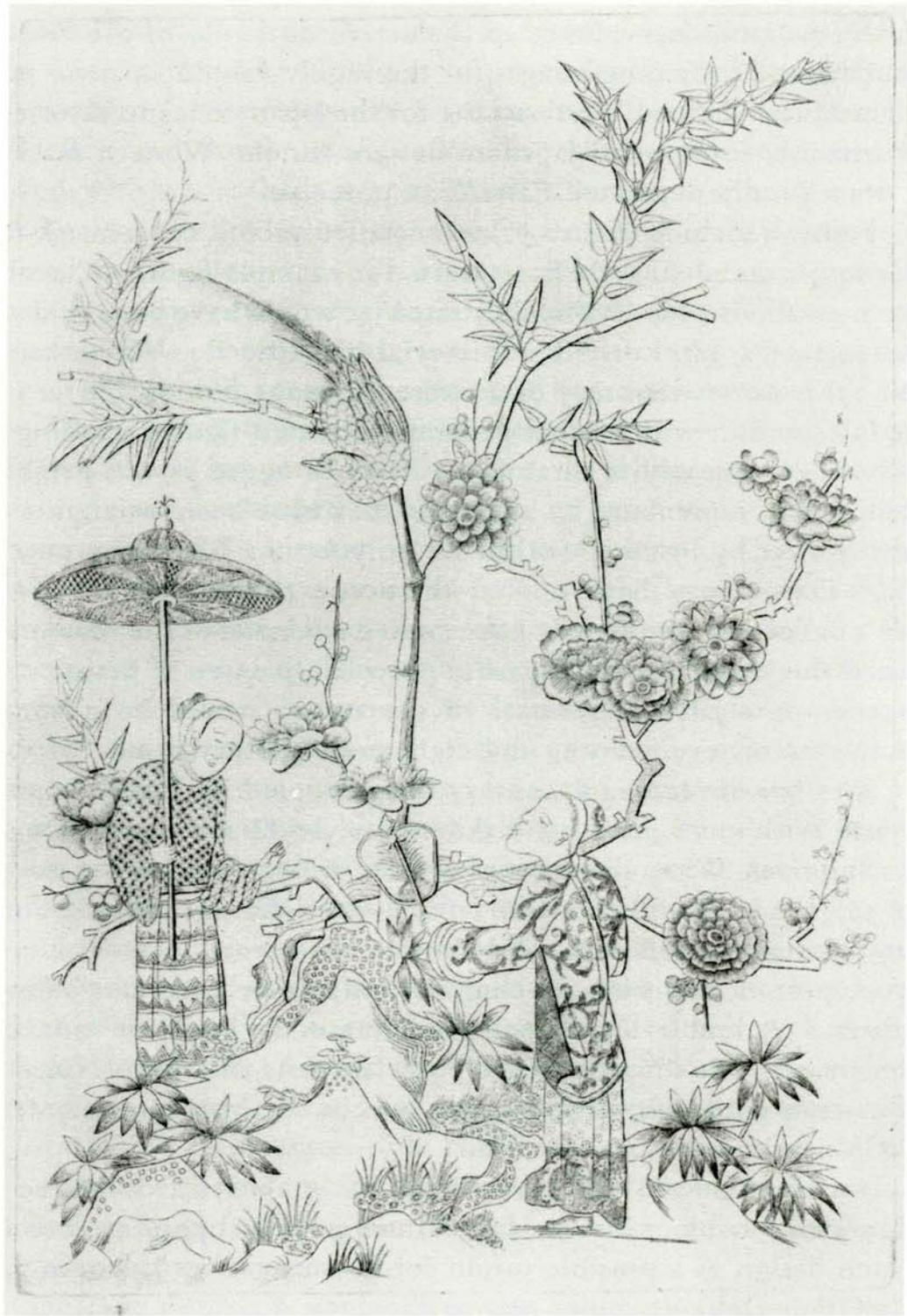
in the Netherlands is evidence of the active dual role of the Dutch in influencing and providing images for the highly valued Japanese porcelain. The Dutch defined Western taste for the Japanese manufactories and simultaneously interpreted Japanese designs for the Western market in their domestically decorated East Asian porcelain.

Fraisse's etching (figure 57) is a detailed variant of an image found on Western-commissioned Hizen ware, for example figure 58, probably dating from about 1690.¹⁸³ The illustrated jar would have been sold singly and as part of a garniture. The pictorial half-title for *Histoire naturelle* (figure 17) features what may be a reference to the fashionable jar in the lower foreground, with related decoration of two figures standing next to each other, one with a parasol. A variant of figure 58 was painted on the ceiling at Oranienburg by 1695, and may have been ordered in 1688 or shortly after by Friedrich III for his polychrome East Asian porcelain room.¹⁸⁴ Fraisse may have copied the scene painted on a variant in Condé's collection; or, he may have copied a version of the drawing that had been the source for the Japanese porcelain painter. If Fraisse copied the scene on a jar, his reversal of the image would be a common characteristic of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints.¹⁸⁵

The late-seventeenth-century image copied by Fraisse is painted with and without figures on Kakiemon-style Hizen ware of various shapes and sizes. When decorating surfaces of large jars (as, for example, figure 58), the image fills a leaf-and-floral-scroll-framed panel. Figureless versions containing different combinations of the rock form with broken bamboo, prunus, and bird are centered on smaller porcelain holloware and plates.¹⁸⁶ A double-line shaped panel frames the image on some of the smaller shapes. The division of the porcelain field into panels filled with Chinese-style garden-landscape scenes is a convention ultimately derived from Chinese *Kraak* ware.¹⁸⁷

An eight-sided Delft covered jar, ca. 1695–1705, decorated with the figureless version within related framed panels, supports a direct link to Dutch design as a possible origin for the images on Japanese porcelain.¹⁸⁸ Other Delft examples may surface.

The female on the left in figure 59, holding the parasol with one hand, the other hand facing forward, palm outward and fingers upward, relates to various similarly positioned women illustrated in Chinese



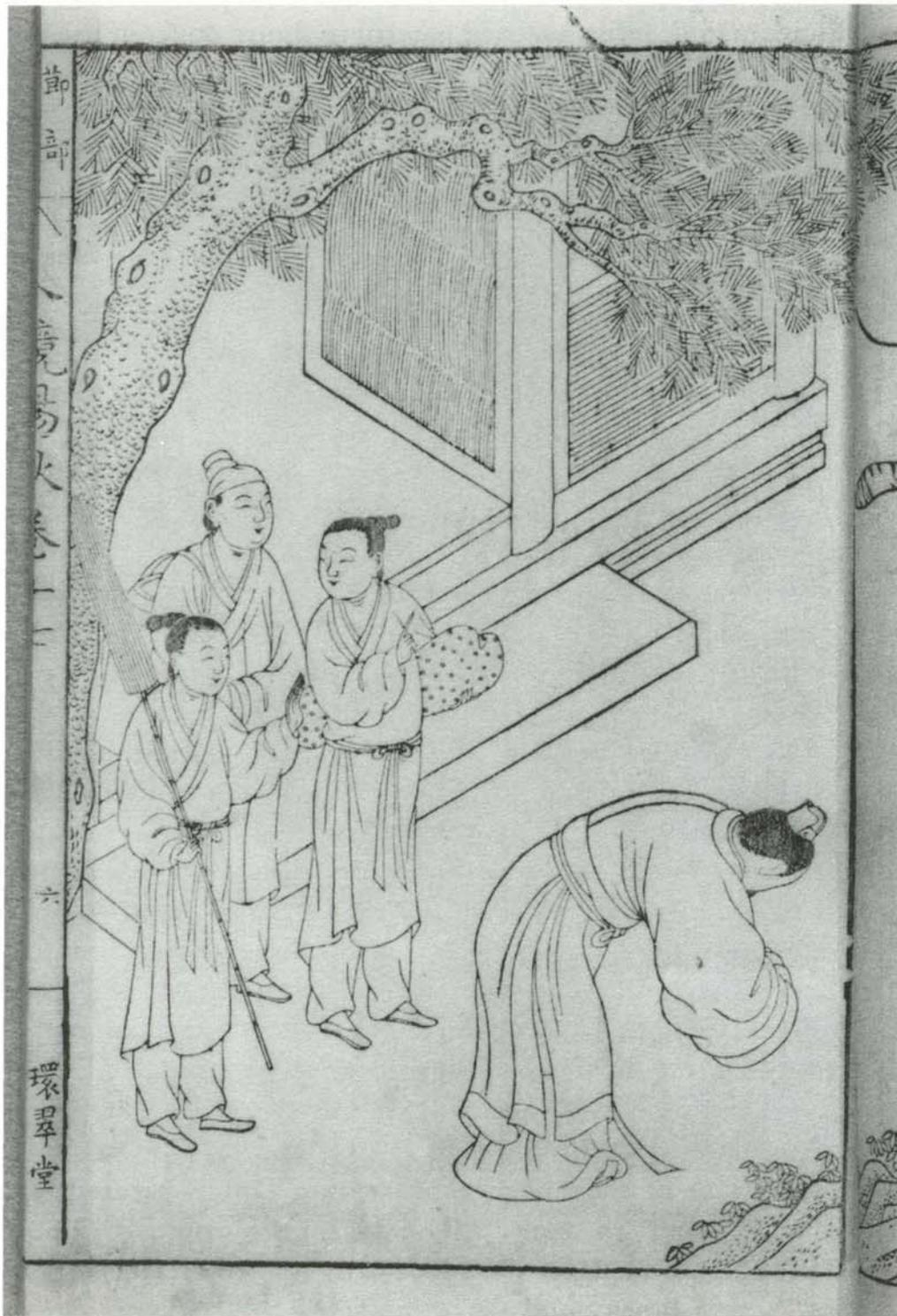
57. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 31 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



58. Jar (cover missing). Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (ca. 1690). Porcelain with underglaze blue and overglaze enamels. Victoria and Albert Museum; ©V&A Picture Library, 1736–1876.



59. Jean-Antoine
Fraisie. Detail of figure
57, folio 31 from *Livre de
desseins chinois*. Etching.
Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Harris Brisbane
Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



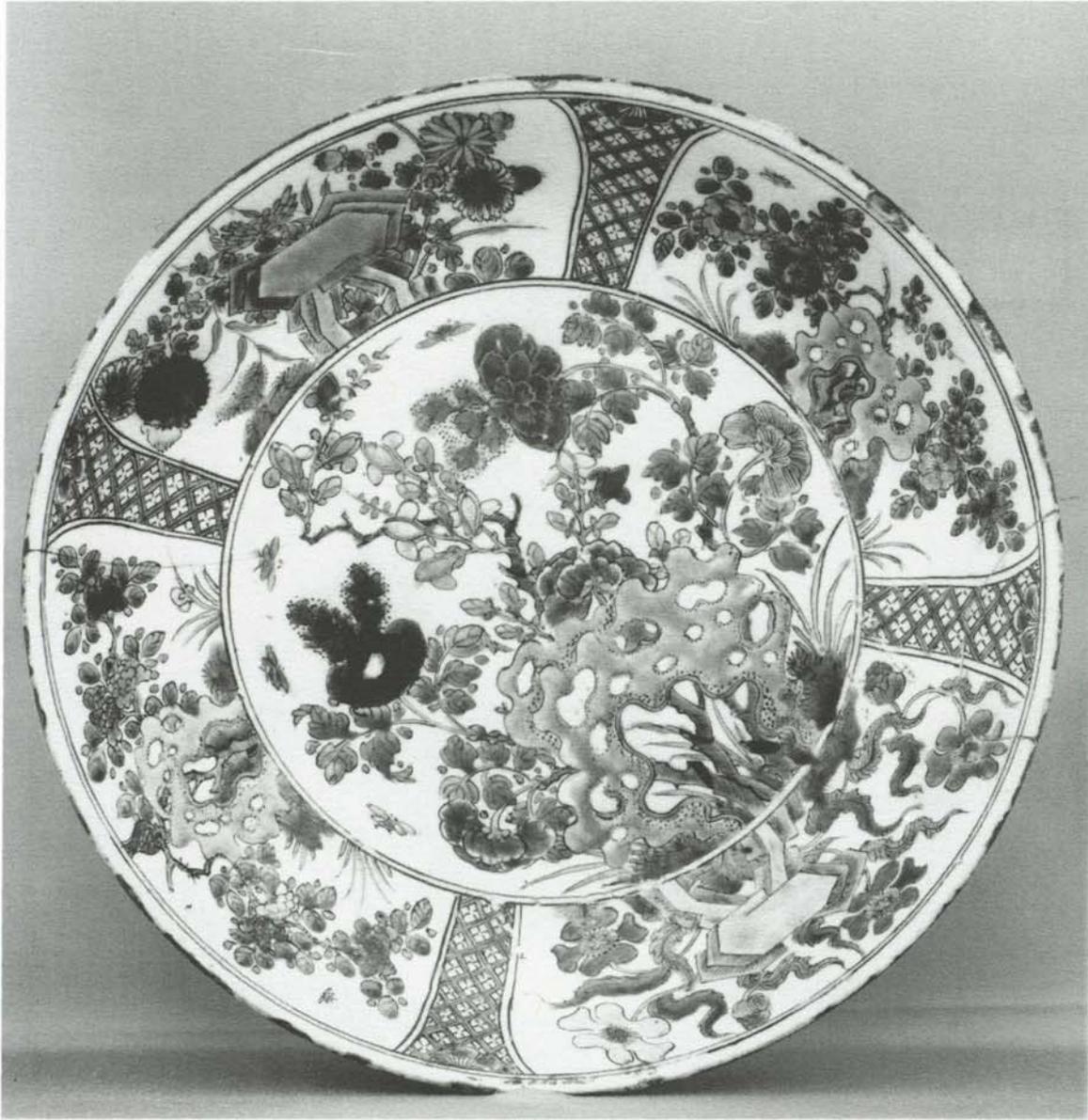
60. Wang Tingna. Scene 3A from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 10. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

books. The woman holding a closed parasol in figure 60 from the popular *Renjing yangqiu* is a related image.

The composition decorating the jar is no more fluid than Fraise's. The stiff stance of Fraise's figures corresponds to the unnatural straightness of the figures painted on the porcelain. The rigid verticality of the entire composition decorating the jar suggests the possibility of a Western-drawn image as a model for the Japanese porcelain painter. The scene illustrated in figure 58 contains no references to a Japanese pictorial vocabulary. The relative symmetry of the two figures flanking the rock-bamboo-prunus-bird motif is Chinese rather than Japanese in aesthetic sensibility.¹⁸⁹ Elements from a Chinese pictorial vocabulary were probably translated and refigured by the Dutch to appeal compositionally to Western taste. Sources for the scene illustrated in figure 58 are ultimately Chinese in origin.

The decoration of figure 58 is representative of a Chinese-derived style that remained popular on porcelain for the West well into the eighteenth century. An early-eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain dish exhibits characteristics of the enduring style related both to *Kraak* ware and to the paneled decoration of the Japanese jar and its variants. Landscapes and garden-related images typically fill the center field as well as the panels of *Kraak* ware. Derivative variants of the style decorate the late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century dish shown in figure 61.

A petal-rimmed Japanese dish (figure 62), ca. 1670–1690s, presents an interpretation of the Chinese rock-tree-bird image that contrasts with the centralized image in figures 57 and 58. In figure 62, the delicately drawn rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird is placed to one side on the porcelain field, allowing the white space to have prominence. Unlike in figure 58, in figure 62 the placement of the more fluid, asymmetrical interpretation on the porcelain field is compatible with the Japanese aesthetic. A variant of the image appears on a Dutch-painted Japanese porcelain bottle, ca. 1710–1725.¹⁹⁰ The rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird composition in figure 62 decorates identically shaped Hizen-ware dishes, 1670–1690s, with a brushwood fence replacing the rocks.¹⁹¹ The brushwood-fence version also appears on seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain later decorated by the Dutch.¹⁹² The formulaic rock- or brushwood-fence-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird images proliferated on exported



61. Dish. Chinese porcelain, Kangxi period, *famille-verte* overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. Maria P. James, 1911 (11.60.99).



62. Dish. Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (1670–1690s). Porcelain with overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hans Syz Collection, Gift of Stephan B. Syz and John D. Syz, 1995 (1995.268.109).

Hizen ware and are common to Dutch-decorated East Asian porcelain; Japanese examples range widely in quality.

In Fraisse's etching (figure 57) and the scene illustrated in figure 58, tall bamboo replaces the pine tree of the Japanese dish. The distinctly curved prunus branch growing to the left in figure 62 relocates to the center of the rock and grows upward in figure 58. A version of the rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird image illustrated in figure 62 was probably a source for figure 58.

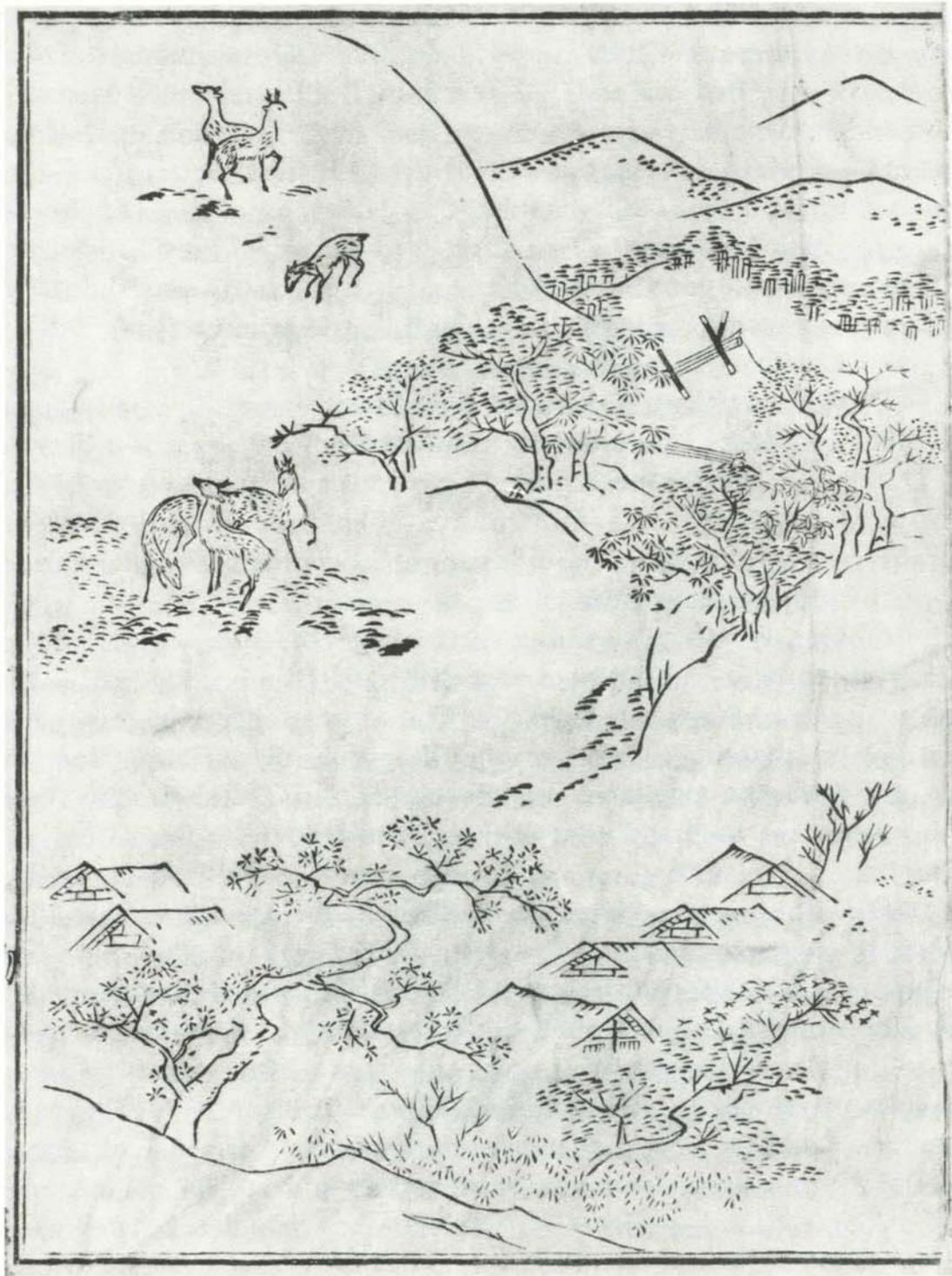
A delicately painted Kakiemon-style Hizen-ware dish is an example of indigenous Japanese taste (see figure 63). The restrained decoration of a peony spray and bamboo fence placed against a large white field creates an interplay of hidden and visible. The dish's graceful shape of overlapping floral petals is a tribute to its Chinese model originating in Song (960–1279) Ding ware and contemporary Chinese lacquer. Even though the porcelain rim of figure 63 does not repeat the undulations of the lacquer and Ding-ware models, the molded floral petals on the interior rim are all the same.¹⁹³ In its mere suggestion of substance, figure 63 echoes the same aesthetic seen in a book illustration by Moronobu (see figure 64).

The comparisons of Chinese and Japanese porcelain demonstrate the independence of Fraisse's etching (figure 57) and the scene decorating the Japanese jar (figure 58) from an indigenous Japanese pictorial vocabulary. In contrast to the jar, figure 63 presents export ware in refined Japanese taste, revealing the range of aesthetics attributable to Kakiemon-style Hizen ware.

The contract of 1734 between the "Heeren xvii" (directors of the VOC) and Cornelis Pronk (1691–1759), "painter and drawing master," directed him to "make and deliver all the drawings and models to our satisfaction of such porcelain as will be ordered from time to time in the Indies."¹⁹⁴ Pronk was surely one of many who had been and were continuing to create designs and models for Chinese porcelain. In 1635 the VOC ordered Dutch-painted wooden models to be sent to China and copied in Chinese porcelain,¹⁹⁵ and in 1736 Pronk's famous "Parasol" design was sent to both China and Japan for reproduction.¹⁹⁶ The cost of the Japanese version was, however, considered prohibitive. Production was minimal and was probably limited to private orders of VOC employees.



63. Dish. Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (1670–1690s). Porcelain with overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hans Syz Collection, Gift of Stephan B. Syz and John D. Syz, 1995 (1995.268.189).



64. Hishikawa Moronobu. *Ise Monogatari kashiragaki sho* (Tales of Ise with Annotations), vol. 2 (1679). Woodcut. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Howard Mansfield Collection, Gift of Howard Mansfield, 1936 (JIB 85).

Before Pronk's commission Dutch designs must have been sent to Japan as they were to China. In 1661 decorated Dutch models of some not clearly specified material — certainly Delftware itself, as well as wood and stoneware — were sent to Japan.¹⁹⁷ Comparison of Delft and Japanese porcelain provides evidence that Japanese potters had Delft models. Furthermore, Delft circulated in Japan via officials of the *voc* who were stationed there. The Dutch used the wares they had brought with them and also presented Delft as gifts to the Japanese. About 1630 the Japanese began to order Delft; the bulk of the orders was filled during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Designs for some Kakiemon-style Hizen ware, especially during the 1680s and 1690s, undoubtedly resulted from collaboration between the Dutch and the Japanese. Some wares became trade wares because they were purchased at a foreign site, then ordered and reordered, probably with and without modifications.¹⁹⁸ Eventually, Western-drawn images would also have been ordered.

Obviously, designs existed for early-eighteenth-century Dutch-decorated Japanese and Chinese porcelain, and Dutch designs may have been available to Fraise at Chantilly. The source for figure 57 may have been a Dutch drawing that had reached Chantilly. Early Saint-Cloud and Chantilly porcelain may have been decorated with Dutch designs similar to those sent to Japan and used in the Netherlands. Antoine Gremy, for example, a porcelain painter at Chantilly in 1734, was born in Delft in 1705 and probably worked in the Netherlands before arriving at Chantilly.¹⁹⁹ The early *faïence* manufactory of Saint-Cloud was founded in 1664 by an importer of Delft, and relocated Dutch artisans who worked there probably brought designs from the Netherlands.²⁰⁰ A parrot decorating a Saint-Cloud water jug and basin (ca. 1720–1725) corresponds to one on examples of Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain from ca. 1715–1720.²⁰¹ The parrot derives from a Flemish engraving by Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618).²⁰² Dutch designs were definitely sources for some designs used at Saint-Cloud, perhaps via the migrant enamelers as well as the Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain itself. Cicaire Cirou may have taken with him Dutch designs — perhaps a variant of figure 57 — when he left Saint-Cloud.

Figure 57 illustrates the recycling of popular images resulting from

the impact of trade. Although little documentation of their use survives, trade-vocabulary images circulated in both foreign and domestic workshops and manufactories. The West also exported designs to China for wallpaper and silk, to China and Japan for lacquer, and to India for dye-painted cotton and embroidery.²⁰³ For example, contemporaneous with Fraisse's work, an etching by Huquier from about 1730, after an image by Watteau from about 1710–1720, was sent to China as a pattern for wallpaper.²⁰⁴ On occasion the same design was sent to more than one country. Cited examples include Pronk's "Parasol" pattern and a textile design sent to India and China.²⁰⁵ Many of Fraisse's etchings reiterate images found on Eastern-produced fabric as well as porcelain.

CONCLUSION

The *Livre de desseins chinois* is a resource for exploring the complex origins of trade-vocabulary images and the ways in which particular ones had evolved by 1735. Variants of the basket-with-flowers design (figure 2) proliferated internationally as designs on fabric, ceramics, lacquer, and imitation lacquer. Eastern-derived vegetal designs and fantastical images of nature decorated domestic and imported fabric as well as ceramics. As early-Qing export paintings demonstrate, trade-vocabulary images permeated Eastern and Western decorative arts. Chinese export paintings are an example of a style that was independent of both an indigenous Chinese and a Western decorative-arts vocabulary. Ironically, study of a French print (figure 57) uncovers Kakiemon-style Hizen ware decorated with Western-drawn Chinese-derived designs. Where an object is made represents only a fraction of its identity. "*Après des originaux*" becomes ambiguous when applied to primary sources indigenous to China, Japan, India, and Persia, as well as to material reflecting the taste of export markets.

Fraisse's figural scenes and processions are particularly instructive to study. They reflect the variety of East Asian sources that were accessible to him. The degree and variety of detail in his scenes and the playing with East Asian perspective are evidence of printed, painted, or drawn Chinese and Japanese pictorial material. The Condé collections and library were clearly a microcosm of Western holdings of East Asian

pictorial material that had been entering the West for a long time. Although I know of no evidence from inventories, Fraise's scenes (figures 6 and 33) and the procession (figure 21a-c) document the presence of Japanese pictorial material in France before 1735. His two etchings of Chinese children (figures 53 and 55) expose the complexity of Japanese fascination with Chinese culture and the occasional difficulty of distinguishing the original from the imitation. Another French image (figures 13 and 15) and Dapper's etching (figures 12 and 14) demonstrate that Chinese Buddhist sutras were circulating in the West in the seventeenth century. East Asian pictorial material played a major role — perhaps as important as that played by porcelain, lacquer, and fabric — in the dissemination of Asian-inspired images throughout the West. Trade, book publication, and the manufacture of Western decorative arts were tightly interrelated, and the *Livre de desseins chinois* exposes the impact of their shifting influences, one upon the other.

Fraise's recreation of the East expresses his own perceptions. He took a closer look and presented information rejected by others. As an artistic synthesis of Asian elements resulting in an ultimately French aesthetic statement, the Chantilly porcelain sculptures (figure 37) surpass Fraise's figural composites. However, the decoration of the robes is undoubtedly representative of Fraise's creative designs for fabric. The sculptures realize Fraise's suggestion that Asian images could accommodate French taste without becoming Eurocentric distortions.

That Chinese and Japanese printed, drawn, and painted images were present in Western collections by 1735 has been documented, but the interesting question is how the sources were perceived in the West. Astonishingly, Chinese woodcut illustrations that served as models for some of Boucher's images did not have an impact on his Europeanized representations of China.²⁰⁶ He adapted elements from the woodcuts interchangeably with images from Montanus to create a decorative, fantastical China.²⁰⁷ The criteria established by the ancien régime's Eurocentric world view characterize Boucher's pictorial language. At Chantilly, however, the use of Asian sources was an innovative departure from European convention. The porcelain sculptures and Fraise's work reflect a climate that allowed for curiosity, originality, and creative expression. One cannot help but wonder what an artist with Fraise's attitude and Boucher's skilled hands might have produced in 1735. Fraise's

thoughtful, intelligent approach to the foreign establishes a point of contact between West and East that contributes meaningfully to a vision of both.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals the creative process of a minor yet innovative artisan and designer who for a brief period lived and worked in the artisanal community of Chantilly during a productive decade for porcelain, imitation lacquer, and decorated fabric. The figural scenes and processions in the two early albums reveal the evolution of Fraisse's compositions and his perseverance in introducing the unfamiliar. These two albums also provide insight into Fraisse's particular expertise as a textile artisan, colorist, and designer, and the use of woodblocks at Chantilly for printing on fabric. That Fraisse freely placed woodblocks around etchings (figures 39 and 40) or arranged them in a composition (figure 49) is representative of his work as an embroiderer, fabric printer, painter, and designer. His woodcuts are outlines, intended to be filled in with color, either painted or stitched. Although the results are somewhat crude in appearance, Fraisse's additions in ink caused the woodcuts to resemble more closely contemporary ornament prints. The nature of his additions to his woodcuts suggests that he knew that by the 1730s engraving and etching were the methods of choice for printing on paper. Colors of images in the BnF's album are compatible with colors of early Chantilly porcelain. The confident, imaginative use of color in the album complements the artistry employed by the porcelain painter of the figural sculptures (figure 37). The decoration of the robes, however, clearly originated with a fabric designer, not a porcelain painter. Certainly, the decoration reflects Fraisse's most stunning efforts as a fabric designer at Chantilly.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* provides a pictorial point of view to be studied in conjunction with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European literature and travel writing. The most startling and instructive visual statement made by Fraisse in 1735 was to announce that other cultures, specifically the Chinese and Japanese, were of value on their own terms. He demonstrated that settings for depicting foreigners did not have to be French, that accessories did not have to be French, and that the world beyond Europe possessed an integrity and dignity of its own. Unlike traditional chinoiseries, Fraisses's visions are a positive link to nineteenth-century Europe's discovery of eastern culture.

Appendix

Nine Albums of the Livre de desseins chinois with 1735 Title Page

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 40.38. Sixty-three plates, eight woodcuts with hand-drawn additions; fifty-five etchings, with and without woodcut and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations; red morocco binding, the covers decorated with gold-tooled "Bordure du Louvre," blue silk moiré doublures.

2. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des estampes et photographie, Oe.147. Fifty-four plates (one fold-out illustration plate conserved separately), etchings, and two etchings with replacement woodcuts, publisher's legal deposit for the royal library; red morocco binding by Guillaume Mercier in 1737, the covers with simple gold tooling, marbled paper end leaves.

3. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, Paris, Est.77. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; owned by Henri Reinecke, comte de Calenberg (1685-1772); dark blue morocco, the covers decorated with his coat of arms and a border in gold tooling, all edges gilt, marbled paper end leaves.

4. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, Paris, Est.813. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; one plate from an earlier production with original woodcuts and hand-drawn addition; owned by Louis-César de La Baume-Leblanc, duc de La Vallière (1708-1780); dark tan full-calf binding, the covers with blind tooling of three fillets, the spine with gold tooling, marbled paper end leaves.

5. Bibliothèque de l'école nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Les.1900. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; rebound in the late-nineteenth century by Joseph-Michel-Anne Lesoufaché (1809-1887), a Parisian architect.

6. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris. Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63, inventoried in library of Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, 1736. Fifty-seven

plates, etchings with and without woodcut replacements, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, no fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

THREE HAND-COLORED ALBUMS

7. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des livres rares, Rés.V.86. Fifty-four plates, fifty-three etchings with and without woodcut and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations; one fold-out section of a Chinese painting; red morocco binding, covers decorated with gold-tooled "Bordure du Louvre," blue silk moiré doublures.

8. Bibliothèque du musée Condé, Chantilly. Fifty-seven plates, hand-colored etchings with and without replacement woodcuts and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, covers decorated with three gold fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

9. Bibliothèque royale Albert 1^{er}, Brussels. Coll. Van Hulthem, V.H.9319D. Forty-four plates, hand-colored etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, covers decorated with three gold fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

Two Albums (Mondhare: Paris), ca. 1760, Title Page of Mr. de Devonhire

Title page of Mondhare publication, ca. 1760:

Recueil, de différentes / fleurs et figures / chinoises / les plus
intéressantes. / Ouvrage / Utile, curieux, et intéressant à toutes
/ les personnes qui s'adonnent à la / Peinture, Sculpture, et au
Dessain. / Dessiné sur les lieux d'après nature, par / Mr. de
Devonhire Ingénieur envoyé / par la Compagnie Angloise des
Indes. / A Paris / Chez Mondhare rue St. Jacques à l'Hôtel
Saumur

1. Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1951-69-1. Forty-eight etchings, no additions, with number etched in corner of each etching; later binding.

2. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Department of Drawings and Prints, E.949.1-48 and E.949.A-1978 (title page). Forty-eight

etchings, pasted down and in a nineteenth-century binding when acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, conserved and rebound by the museum. The title page is reduced, the remainder identical to the title page of the Cooper-Hewitt album. Ten sheets, including the title page, share a watermark indicating a post-1742 manufacture; a scratch on "No. 3" indicates a printing after its unscratched counterpart, 25452.3-48. Sheets 8 11/16 x 13 11/16 in.; title page 8 11/16 x 9 7/16 in.

Three Sets of Plates without a Title Page

1. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Department of Drawings and Prints, 25452.1-48. Forty-eight etchings, identical to those in the two Mondhare albums, purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum as a group of unbound plates without a title page and bound by the museum after purchase. Sheets 10 x 14 3/4 in.

2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 33.29. Seventeen etchings, hand-colored; later binding. Sheets 13 x 17 3/8 in.

3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 39.104.3. Twelve etchings, later binding. Sheets 11 1/2 x 18 in.

NOTES

For invaluable suggestions and guidance, I am grateful to Didier Cramoisan, Joyce Denney, Bernard Dragesco, Sören Edgren, Barbara Brennan Ford, Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Nancy K. Miller, Sandy Petrey, Nicole Rousmaniere, and Milton Sondag. I am indebted to Clare Le Corbeiller for bringing Fraisse's work to my attention and for her generous support of my research on the Metropolitan Museum's album. Assistance from Armin Kunz was indispensable to my study of Fraisse's prints. With appreciation for sharing knowledge and expertise I thank Suzanne Boorsch, Joseph Chang, Mindell Dubansky, Peter Kornicki, Christine Lahaussais, Fabienne Le Bars, Corinne Le Bitouzé, Jean-Marie Métivier, Hiroshi Onishi, Bertrand Rondot, Elizabeth E. Roth, Christine Shimizu, Wai-fong Anita Siu, Jan-Daniël van Dam, and Donna Welton. I have also benefited from consulting with Nobuko Kajitani, Andrew J. Miller, Myrna Myers, Lauren Nemroff, Arlene Palmer Schwind, Linda R. Shulsky, and Masako Watanabe. I thank Eileen Travell for her expert photography of the Metropolitan's album of Fraisse's images.

1. For discussion of eighteenth-century Eurocentric attitudes presented in French

- literature, European historical accounts, and travel writings, see Julia V. Douthwaite, *Exotic Women: Literary Heroines and Cultural Strategies in Ancien Régime France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). For a seventeenth-century French definition of the "Orient," see pp. 26–27.
2. For information about Chantilly-produced imitations of Indian dye-painted cotton; a "Salle aux toiles peintes" recorded in the 1740 inventory made on Condé's death; artisans besides Fraisse who worked at Chantilly 1733–1740, including two "graveurs," Leroux and Roguet; "peintres-dessinateurs"; and a "ciseleur"; see Paul-Raymond Schwartz, "La fabrique d'Indiennes du duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) au château de Chantilly," *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse* 722.1 (1966), pp. 17–29, esp. pp. 20–21. For biographical information about Fraisse; location of the imitation-lacquer and fabric workshops; information about others who lived and worked in the château; and artisans who worked with Fraisse, including the woodblock printer identified by Schwartz, Jean-Baptiste Leroux; see Geneviève Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly, au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 1996), pp. 31, 44, 99, 114–115; p. 386, nn. 56–65; also, Geneviève Le Duc, "Chantilly, un certain regard vers l'Extrême-Orient, 1730–1750," *French Porcelain Society* (London: French Porcelain Society, 1993), pp. 11–12, 30–33.
 3. I thank Patricia Wardle Griffiths for sharing her knowledge of eighteenth-century European embroiderers and designers. For a French embroiderer who became designer of the wardrobe of Louis xv, see Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Designer to the King, Art of the Embroiderer* (1770), translated and annotated by Nikki Scheuer with notes and commentaries by Edward Maeder (Boston: David R. Godine, 1983).
 4. One album that I learned of recently is in the library of the Danske Kunstindustrimuseum in Copenhagen. I thank Charlotte Paludan for providing me with the following information about the album. It has fifty-four plates (some cut, with stains and marks), including two fold outs (one mended), and a later paper binding; the plates appear to be survivors from a workshop. See also Svend Eriksen and Eva Steinaa, "Biblioteket og billedsamlingen," *Virksomhed 1964–1969* 4 (Copenhagen: Danske Kunstindustrimuseum, 1969), pp. 214, 216–217. For two albums cited by Le Duc, one in Lyon, one in Troyes, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 115 and 385–386, n. 53; also, Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 13.
 5. See Le Duc, "Chantilly," pp. 31–32.
 6. For published examples of Fraisse's etchings, see Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France–II," *Print Quarterly* 3.1 (March 1986), p. 30, fig. 20; *China und Europa* (Berlin: Die Verwaltung, 1973), p. 111, fig. 20; *Décorations japonaises, chinoises et de goût chinois*, ed. Armand Guérinet, *Recueil de décorations chinoises de goût chinois au Musée Guimet, collections particulières*, ser. 3 (Paris: A. Guérinet, n.d.), with five of Fraisse's etchings, mistakenly attributed to Huquier: figs. 12, 23, 28.
 7. Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque des arts

- décoratifs, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63; Henri Reinecke, comte de Calenberg (1685–1772), fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Est.77; Louis-César de la Baume-Leblanc, duc de la Vallière (1708–1780), fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Est.813; Procope Ulysse, prince de Pignatelli, duc de Bisacce, comte d’Egmont, cited by Le Duc, “Chantilly,” p. 16, whereabouts not identified; a second album owned by the duc de la Vallière, cited in *ibid.*, p. 16, whereabouts not identified.
8. See Huquier’s catalogue of 1757, coll. New York Public Library, Prints and Photographs: “Catalogue / d’Estampes. / Ce Catalogue est composé d’estampes utiles à tous ceux qui veulent s’élever dans toutes les parties du Dessin, & à ceux qui l’exercent dans tous les différens genres. On trouve aussi dans le même Magasin des Dessesins de tous les grands Maîtres, des différentes écoles, anciens & modernes, également que les Oeuvres, & des Estampes détachées de ces Maîtres des meilleures impressions & de la plus parfaite conservation.” Under a heading entitled “Par différens Maîtres: 60 — Une suite en 4 parties d’Oiseaux, Plantes, Fleurs & Trophées de la Chine, tiré du cabinet du Roi.”
9. See Susan Miller, “Jean-Antoine Fraise: ‘Gravé par Huquier,’” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (cited hereafter as *MMJ*) 31 (1996), pp. 127–130. I relied on information catalogued in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Department of Drawings and Prints, attributing twenty-nine of Fraise’s plates to Huquier; see 33.29 and 39.104.3 (hand colored). Another attribution of Fraise’s plates to Huquier supports the Metropolitan’s. “Décorations japonaises, chinoises et de goût chinois” reproduces five etchings from Fraise’s *Livre de desseins chinois* and attributes them to Huquier’s publication in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF). Unfortunately, neither the Metropolitan’s cataloguer or Guérinet provides the BnF reference, and the information cannot be verified. Although Huquier’s 1757 catalogue may cite Fraise’s work, Fraise’s prints published by Huquier remain to be identified. I thank Corinne Le Bitouzé for suggesting the following possibility. Given that an eighteenth-century practice was to include more than one group of prints under the same title, the question of whether or not Huquier did reuse Fraise’s plates and woodblocks is unresolved. The 1772 sale catalogue of Huquier’s plates (November 4–7, Paris; see Lugt, no. 2073) identifies lot 157 as “soixante d’oiseaux, plantes, fleurs & trophes de la Chine, tirées du Cabinet du Roi: une suite reliée: sept suites en feuilles: huit suites des oiseaux, première partie: trois suites de fleurs, deuxième partie: quatre suites de fleurs, quatrième partie: Deux cent quarante feuilles d’imperfections.” Lot 157 was sold to Petit, a minor print publisher. The sixty plates, close in number to Fraise’s known fifty-seven etched plates, some with replacement woodblocks, may have contained Fraise’s etched plates and woodblocks. If Petit owned Fraise’s plates, he might have sold them to Mondhare, a lesser publisher than Petit. Mondhare might have bought only the etched plates from Petit. Figure 3 in Miller, “Jean-Antoine Fraise,” p. 129, is identical to a plate in Lottin’s legal deposit owned by the BnF, Estampes, Oe.147, evidence that although the date

- of publication of the plate is unknown, if it was published by Huquier, then he clearly owned Fraisse's etched plates and replacement woodblocks.
10. See Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1951-69-1; also, two sets of plates, one with reduced title page, coll. V&A, E.949.1-48, E.949.A-1978 (title page); and 25452.1-48. For an example of an etching published by Gaillard in the mid-eighteenth century with a title, "L'arbre chinois," added to the plate, see *China und Europa*, p. 30, fig. 17.
 11. A plate from Mondhare's album in the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum is shown in Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," p. 128, fig. 1, where it is compared to plates in the Metropolitan's and the BnF's albums.
 12. Both the collections and the libraries of le Grand Condé, his heirs, and their wives, are important subjects of study as possible source material for Fraisse and the workshops at Chantilly. For information about le Grand Condé and the 1709 inventory of his son, Henry-Jules, see Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 2, Oeuvres d'art series, Série Art, Histoire, Société, ed. Pierre-Michel Menger and Alain Mérot (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), pp. 362-365. For discussion of the collections inherited from Louis-Henri's father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, and first wife's family, see Christina Nelson, Oliver Impey, and Clare Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage: The Foundation of the Bourbon-Condé Ceramics Collection," *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, 1994), pp. 36-43. For discussion of a post-mortem inventory of Louis-Henri de Bourbon's personal collections at Chantilly, made by the *marchand-mercier* Thomas-Joachim Hébert in 1740, see *ibid.*, pp. 38-42.
 13. I thank Bernard Dragesco for his assistance in the following translation of the third paragraph of Fraisse's dedication. "But while your most serene highness has shown Europe that there is nothing in other parts of the world that your highness cannot imitate, and even outdo, he has also desired to make it possible for the most exact comparisons to be made, for Persia, China, Japan, and India have not individually produced anything that is not to be found all together at Chantilly: the most magnificent fabrics of the Orient, painted fabrics and Persian-style fabrics of the most exquisite taste, the finest antique porcelain from China and Japan, lacquer and imitation lacquer from all the countries where this art has been carried out to greatest perfection — all these marvels are found in profusion in this magnificent château."
 14. For a study of eighteenth-century French privilege applications to publish prints of ornament and architecture, see Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—I," *Print Quarterly* 2.3 (September 1985), pp. 174-193; and "The Print Privilege—II," pp. 19-33.
 15. See Fuhring, "The Print Privilege—II," p. 27; in the list of privilege-application dates a question mark appears next to the date for Fraisse.
 16. Although Lottin was not an "imprimerie royale," his son Jean-Roch, author of *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* (Paris: Lottin, 1789), succeeded in becoming one; see p. 115 for biographical information about Philippe-Nicolas Lottin.

17. The bound album now contains fifty-three plates; one fold-out plate was removed and is preserved separately as AA-6. According to a handwritten note "en février 1848 quatre pièces de grand dimension ont été enlevées à ce album et portées AA4-Fraisse; AA5-Fraisse," but the location of these four removed plates is not AA4 or AA5. Only four fold-out illustrations exist among nine albums. The plate preserved as AA6 is one of the four known fold-out illustrations. Evidence does not suggest that an additional fold-out illustration was printed that would not have been included in the two early albums or in any of the others. AA6 was probably one of the four plates removed in 1848; originally there were probably fifty-seven plates. For the history of the royal library see Antoine Coron, "The First Libraries: Blois, Fontainebleau, Paris," in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 151-166.
18. For an illustration of an etching with clearly printed woodcuts, identical to the plate in Lottin's album (BnF, Estampes, Oc.147) but from a plate in a later binding owned by the Metropolitan, see Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," p. 129, fig. 3.
19. I thank Jeanne-Marie Métivier for this information.
20. I thank Corinne Le Bitouzé for information about print-publishing practices in eighteenth-century France.
21. I thank Peter Fuhring for bringing the advertisement to my attention: "Le livre de desseins chinois tirez d'après des originaux de perse, des Indes, de la Chine & du Japon, dessinés & gravés en taille-douce par le Sr. Fraisse, peintre de S.A.S. Mr le Duc, dédié à S.A.S., grand in Fol., papier colombier, relié en veau, Se vend 50. liv. à Paris, Chez Ph.N. Lottin, Libraire, Rue St. Jacques, ce livre en blanc, même papier, 40. liv., & petit papier 30. liv. les feuilles se vendent separement." Amsterdam, xi, du mardi, 8 Février 1735, p. (4). According to E. J. Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Paper and Paper-Making, with Equivalent of the Technical Terms in French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish* (2d ed.; London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 53, "colombier" or "columbier" refers to "a size of drawing paper of about 34 1/2 in. x 23 1/2 in." I thank Fabienne Le Bars and Corinne Le Bitouzé for assistance in interpreting the advertisement.
22. See Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 42.
23. Examples of French porcelain with decoration derived from three of Fraisse's images include: Chantilly vase, ca. 1735-1740, Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter referred to as MMA), Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, 50.211.121, illustrated in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 118; Chantilly vase, variant of preceding, *ibid.*, p. 117; Chantilly vase, also variant of preceding, Christie's sale catalogue *British and Continental Ceramics*, London, February 24, 1997, lot 190, pp. 70-71; Chantilly bottle cooler, ca. 1740, one example, coll. Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art, OA 10299, and another example, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, 33065, illustrated in

- Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, *Catalogue des porcelaines françaises*, vol. 1, Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 60–62, figs. 10, 10a, 10c, last also shown in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 121; Villeroy bottle cooler, 1737–1742, Cleveland Museum of Art, 47.60, shown in *The World of Ceramics: Masterpieces from the Cleveland Museum of Art*, ed. Jenifer Neils (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1982), p. 59, fig. 61, color plate following p. 54.
24. Isabelle de Conihout examined the MMA's album; I thank her for this observation.
 25. There are eight woodcuts with hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing, forty-nine etchings, four etchings with hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing, one with woodcut additions, and one with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Mindell Dubansky has determined that the MMA album, Department of Drawings and Prints, 40.38, is complete as bound and that no plates have been removed.
 26. I am grateful to Mindell Dubansky and Fabienne Le Bars for examining the two bindings.
 27. For discussion and examples of the seventeenth-century "Bordure du Louvre," see Jeanne-Marie Métivier, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque du roi de 1672 à 1786," *Mélanges autour de l'histoire des livres imprimés et périodiques*, ed. Bruno Blasselle and Laurent Portes (Paris: BnF, 1998), pp. 133–139, figs. 1, 2, 4, color plate 9. See also Giles Barber, "La reliure," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1984), pp. 162–171. For discussion of red morocco bindings for the royal library, see Métivier, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque," p. 166.
 28. For information about Guillaume Mercier as the binder for the Bibliothèque royale and his use of the "*fleur de lis et coeur*" roulette, I am indebted to Jeanne-Marie Métivier. I thank her for sharing information with me from a then-unpublished manuscript, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque," p. 153, fig. 8, no. 15; color plate 15.
 29. For information about Mercier within the context of binders to the royal library, see *ibid.*, pp. 131–177, esp. pp. 141–142, 152, 166–167, 171–175; also, Françoise Bléchet, "Un siècle de reliure à la Bibliothèque du Roi (1670–1789)," *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 37 (Bordeaux, 1982), pp. 573–597.
 30. See Isabelle de Conihout in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, p. 318. For information on the collections seized from the Condé family that were stocked together in the "dépôt de Nesles" in Paris, see J.-B. Labiche, *Notice sur les dépôts littéraires et la révolution bibliographique de la fin du dernier siècle, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: A. Parent, 1880). The album was officially catalogued by the library between 1833 and 1848, as evidenced by the "Bibliothèque royale" stamp on the title page. See Pierre Josserand and Jean Bruno, "Les estampilles du département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à M. Calot* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1960), pp. 261–298.

31. For reference to a 1743 inventory of the comte d'Egmont's collection of prints and drawings stating that his album was "relié en maroquin rouge avec le cordon du Louvre," see Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 19.
32. See the comparison between an etching from each album in Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," pp. 128-129, figs. 2, 4.
33. For the history, description of the range of subjects for popular prints, and illustrations, see John Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996). For other examples, including several like those purchased by Engelbert Kaempfer, see Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1992), pp. 159-171, figs. 99-105; also, Marian Densmore, "Essai pour servir à l'étude de la gravure chinoise," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 11, *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1937), pp. 13-20.
34. See, for example, 1906-11-28-16 and 1906-11-18-028 in the British Museum's Department of Chinese Antiquities. The prints purchased by Kaempfer are an exceptional example of this genre, with clear, strong colors and embossing. I thank Anne Farrer for information about them and this genre.
35. For discussion of the prints purchased by Kaempfer, see Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints*, pp. 53-54. For discussion of the importance of trade through Nagasaki and especially of China's role in the trade, see Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 8-13, 23-24, 71-76.
36. See Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints*, p. 53.
37. For quotations from the inventory of Procope Ulysse, prince de Pignatelli, duc de Bisacce, comte d'Egmont, see Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 19.
38. For example, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 120-121, for the contrast between the colors of folio 4 and an example of Chantilly porcelain.
39. I am grateful to Fabienne Le Bars for confirming that the Chinese painting was bound with Fraisse's plates and that its inclusion was determined in advance of the binding. For a color illustration of folio 54, see Jean-Marc Chatelain in *Des livres rares, depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie*, ed. Antoine Coron (Paris: BnF, 1998), pp. 192-193, fig. 151.
40. For detail from a Song example, "Spring Festival on the River," see Wen C. Fong, "The Expanding Literati Culture," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, ed. Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1996), p. 406, fig. 145; for a Ming example, p. 406, fig. 206a. For a Qing example, see Maxwell K. Hearn, "The Qing Synthesis," in Richard M. Barnhart, Wen C. Fong, and Maxwell K. Hearn, *Mandate of Heaven: Emperors and Artists in China* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg Zurich, 1996), pp. 183, 185, fig. 30; pp. 186-193, figs. 38a-d. For an example in the MMA's collection, see Wang Hui (1632-1717) and assistants, "The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Three: Ji'nan to Mount Tai," datable to 1691-1698; Department of Asian Art, 1979.5.
41. See Harrie Vanderstappen, S.V.D., "Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking," in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan, S.J.

and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), p. 103. I thank Linda R. Shulsky for bringing this book to my attention.

42. For discussion and examples of late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century paintings for the domestic market, with references to Western pictorial styles, see James Cahill, "The Three Zhangs, Yangzhou Beauties, and the Manchu Court," *Orientalisms* 27.9 (October 1996), pp. 59–68; for general comments on Chinese appropriations of Western pictorial styles, see Cahill, "Misdirected Scruples," *ibid.*, pp. 93–94. For a description of the distinction in China between paintings as art and paintings for export, see Craig Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), p. 116. For information about paintings for foreign markets and a trade that began with England in the 1720s, see Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), pp. 11–12; for illustrations of later examples (1780–1790) with a style of figures related to those in figure 5, see *ibid.*, pp. 24–25, figs. 6, 7.
43. For additional illustrations from *Wanshou shengdian chujì*, related in format to figure 5, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, pp. 135–139, fig. 84. For a late-Ming scroll in a royal Swedish collection, "Beautiful Places in the Ho Yang District," in ink and color on paper, dated to 1619, related in subject to the popular genre of views of village life, and probably having arrived in Sweden during the 1690s, see Åke Setterwall, Stig Fogelmarck, and Bo Gyllensvärd, *The Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm* (Malmö: Allhelm, 1974), p. 208.
44. See Gill Saunders, "The China Trade: Oriental Painted Panels," in *The Papered Wall*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp. 42, 245, n. 1.
45. For examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 42–55, figs. 54, 57, 58, 59; also, Friederike Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989), figs. 18–25, 29–30, 32–33; and Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton, *Wallpapers* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982), p. 230, fig. 655; p. 234, fig. 666.
46. See OAR 494, coll. Musée du Louvre, Paris, six panels illustrating the production of tea and the manufacture of porcelain.
47. Meissonnier also prepared designs for Condé's mother, Louise-Françoise de Bourbon; see Peter Fuhring, "Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: The Artist and His Work," in Sotheby's sale catalogue, *The Thyssen Meissonnier Tureen*, New York, May 13, 1998, pp. 12–13, fig. 2; pp. 20–21, figs. 13, 14. See also Gillian Wilson, *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), pp. 187, 189–194, figs. 14A–15. For designs listed in the 1740 inventory of Condé's collection of Chantilly porcelain that may be rococo, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 399: "deux pots a [sic] oeil a [sic] branchages avec leurs couvercles dans chacun leur plat le tout de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly"; "deux pots pouris de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly sur une terrasse à tronc d'arbre"; "deux ecuelles sans anses dans leurs souscoupes le tout de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly travaillée en forme de feuille."

48. See Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 35–37, 45, 430; also, Geneviève Le Duc and Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, “Contribution à l’étude de la manufacture de faïence et de porcelaine de Saint-Cloud pendant ses cinquante premières années,” *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz Mitteilungsblatt* 105 (March 1991), p. 21. For the exact location and origin of the Chantilly manufactory, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 44–46.
49. The contents of the royal letters patent quoted below are from Xavier de Chavagnac and Gaston de Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine* (Paris: Macon, Protat Frères, 1906), pp. 59–60: “Notre bien-aimé Ciquaire Cirou, nous a fait représenter que depuis plus de dix ans, il s’est appliqué à la fabrique de la porcelaine pareille à celle qui se faisait antérieurement au Japon; que ses peines et les dépenses qu’il y a faites ont eu un succès si favorable, qu’il n’y a aucun lieu de douter que sa porcelaine ne soit au-dessus de celle de Saxe, qui néanmoins avait trouvé un grand crédit en France et dans le reste de l’Europe; que les différents ouvrages qu’il en a produits, et l’empressement avec lequel les pays étrangers tels que l’Angleterre, la Hollande et l’Allemagne en demandent, tendent à assurer la supériorité de sa porcelaine sur tout ce qui a paru jusqu’à présent en ce genre, et qu’il était en état de donner à cette fabrique, dont le commerce serait très avantageux au royaume, toute l’étendue qu’elle peut avoir . . . permettons et accordons audit Ciquaire Cirou, ses hoirs et ayant cause, de faire dans la manufacture qu’il a établie à Chantilly, de la porcelaine fine de toutes couleurs, espèces, façons et grandeurs à l’imitation de la porcelaine du Japon et ce, pendant l’espace de vingt années consécutives.” In drawing an analogy to Vincennes, Bernard Dragesco suggests that prior to 1735 the Chantilly porcelain production was probably more experimental than commercial in nature; see Bernard Dragesco, *English Ceramics in French Archives* (London: B. Dragesco, 1993), p. 16.
50. For imaginative adaptations at Saint-Cloud in a *famille-verte* palette, see *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory, ca. 1690–1766*, ed. Bertrand Rondot (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 197, fig. 124; p. 201, fig. 129; p. 204, figs. 132, 133; p. 206, figs. 136, 137; p. 210, figs. 146, 147.
51. I am grateful to Bernard Dragesco for sharing his insights with me regarding the origin of the Chantilly porcelain manufactory “à l’imitation de la porcelaine du Japon,” that the unmarked early examples may have been intended to pass for Japanese originals.
52. For information about Rudolph Lemaire’s orders for Meissen porcelain, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Returning to ‘Hoym, Lemaire und Meissen,’” *Keramos* 146 (October 1994), pp. 4, 6, 8; also, J. V. G. Mallet, “European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan,” in *Porcelain for Palaces*, ed. John Ayers (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1990), pp. 45–47; Geneviève Le Duc, “Rodolphe Lemaire et la manufacture de porcelaine de Meissen: Style extrême-oriental ou goût français?,” *Revue de l’art* (1997), pp. 54–60; and Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Meissen and Saint-Cloud, Dresden and Paris:

- Royal and Lesser Connections and Parallels," in *Discovering the Secrets*, pp. 105, 107.
53. For a recent discussion and illustrations of the painting, see Christine Guth in *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, ed. Money L. Hickman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 114, fig. 27. For another discussion in the context of "yamato-e" and Kanō styles, see Yuzo Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1973), pp. 38–51.
 54. For discussion of daily human activities and seasonal changes as subject matter for Japanese narrative painting, see Miyeko Murase, *Jewel Rivers: Japanese Art from the Burke Collection* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 122.
 55. For discussion of Japanese interpretations of Chinese painting styles, see *ibid.*, pp. 45–49; for discussion of Japanese aesthetics in painting, see pp. 121–125. See also Michael R. Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style: Sixteenth-Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), esp. pp. 1–13, 18–21, fig. 1. For discussion of late-Ming and early-Qing painters living in Nagasaki and inspiring Japanese painters, see Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, pp. 60–64. For discussion of Japanese terminology for Chinese things, including Chinese painting, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence: Chinese Ceramics Imported into Japan and the Formation of the Porcelain Industry" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), p. 2.
 56. For examples, see Christine Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), pp. 161, 163, 182.
 57. For examples of related pine-tree images in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese painting and lacquer, see *Heritage of Yamato-e: Kamakura to Early Edo Periods* (Osaka: Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, 1994), esp. pp. 137, fig. 133; 115, fig. 98; 62–63, fig. 55; 54, fig. 51 (lacquer).
 58. For related seventeenth-century female dancers with fans, see Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, p. 110, fig. 92; also, Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age*, pp. 122–125, fig. 31; and John T. Carpenter, "The Human Figure in the Playground of Edo Artistic Imagination," in *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*, ed. Robert T. Thomas Singer (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998), pp. 418–419, fig. 232.
 59. See, for example, Mark Hinton and Oliver Impey, *Kakiemon Porcelain from the English Country House* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1989), pp. 46–47, figs. 20, 21.
 60. For a history, definition, and examples of *kosode*, see Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. Armin Nikovskis (New York: John Weatherhill, 1974), pp. 13–52. For evolution of obi styles in relation to *kosode*, see pp. 25–26; for a description and the dates of obi styles, see Dale Gluckman, Sharon Takeda, et al., *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1992), p. 338.
 61. See Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, p. 167, fig. 139, for fabric around the head tied under the chin as in figure 6.

62. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, pp. 78–79; for discussion of illustrations from Chardin's *Travels in Persia* (London, 1720), see pp. 82–83, fig. 6.
63. *Atlas Japannensis being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan* (London, 1670), a translation by John Ogilby of *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aan de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: J. Meurs, 1669).
64. For a contemporary model of the style, see Miyeko Murase, *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (New York: MMA, 1975), pp. 288–289, fig. 87.
65. See Jörg Schmeißer, "Changing the Image: The Drawings and Prints in Kaempfer's History of Japan," in *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan*, ed. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella (Sandgate: Japan Library, 1995), p. 150. For the organization of the VOC, see Hiroko Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1974), pp. 74–75.
66. *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 12.
67. I am grateful to Sören Edgren for identifying the four images as Buddhist sutras.
68. Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappij op de Kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670).
69. For an example of a Delft plate, ca. 1700, with a related Buddhist scene, see F. T. Scholten and C. J. A. Jörg, *Delfts aardewerk in het Groninger Museum* (Groningen: Groninger Museum, 1990), p. 20, fig. 26; Jörg suggests a connection between the Delft image and Dapper's publication. The scene decorating the plate may support evidence of the presence in the West of Chinese Buddhist sutras and resulting etchings of the woodcut images.
70. For examples from a 1610 edition, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, pp. 104–107, fig. 68.
71. Publications citing seventeenth-century travel accounts as sources for late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century decorative arts include Edith A. Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series," *MMJ* 11 (1976), pp. 103–117, figs. 1–19; Edith A. Standen, "English Tapestries 'After the Indian Manner,'" *MMJ* 15 (1981), pp. 135–137, figs. 28–31; Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "'Cutting up Berchems, Watteaus, and Audrans': A *Lacca Povera* Secretary at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 31 (1996), pp. 92–94, figs. 43–49; Leslie B. Grigsby, "Johan Nieuhoff's *Embassy*: An Inspiration for Relief Decoration on English Stoneware and Earthenware," *Antiques* (January 1993), pp. 172–183; Siegfried Ducret, "Die Vorbilder zu einigen Chinoiserien von Peter Schenk," *Keramos* 31 (January 1966), pp. 19–28, figs. 1–27. For etchings by Peter Schenk Sr. imitating Chinese woodcuts, published in 1702, see J. Fontein and A. L. Den Blaauwen, "*Picturae Sinicae ac Surattanae* von Petrus Schenk Sr.," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 12.3,4 (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 91–101 (also in *Keramos* 31 [January 1966], pp. 29–39). According to

Fontein and Den Blaauwen, the etchings were rarely used for decoration of Meissen porcelain and were not as popular as the Europeanized representations derived from Dapper by Peter Schenk Jr., *Nieuwe Geinventeerte Sineesen*, published in the early 1720s, more typically used by Meissen decorators. See also Hollstein's *Dutch and Flemish Etchings: Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 25, ed. K. G. Boon (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1981), p. 302. According to Hugh Honour in *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 21, engravings published in 1721 by Fischer von Erlach were based on Nieuhof's renditions of Chinese architecture.

72. See Perrin Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries: Some New Sources," *Burlington Magazine* (September 1996), p. 599, figs. 22-24, p. 601, figs. 27-28, pp. 603-604, figs. 36-43; also, Alain Gruber in *L'art décoratif en Europe: Classique et baroque*, vol. 2, ed. Alain Gruber (Paris: Editions Citadelles & Mazenod, 1992), pp. 290-294.
73. For a japanned secretaire, ca. 1770-1775, with decoration derived from images of Boucher and Pillement, see Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A Japanned Secrétaire in the Linsky Collection with Decorations after Boucher and Pillement," *MMJ* 21 (1986), pp. 85-95. For discussion of chinoiseries decorating Meissen porcelain, some of which derived from Pillement, Höroldt's etchings, and his interest in Chinese woodcuts, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives," *MMJ* 31 (1996), pp. 99-126, figs. 12-16, 39-41. For Sèvres porcelain with decoration inspired by images of Boucher and Pillement, see Tamara Préaud, "Sèvres, la Chine et les 'chinoiseries' au XVIII^e siècle," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 47 (1989), pp. 39-52, figs. 1, 2, 13, 14, 16-19.
74. For two bottle coolers, ca. 1735, with decoration on one side derived from Fraisse, and on the other side from Dapper, see Guillebon, *Catalogue des porcelaines françaises*, vol. 1, pp. 60-62, figs. 10, 10a-e.
75. According to Anthony Bliss, the rare book librarian at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, the 1722 edition of *Ambassades de la Compagnie hollandaise des Indes d'Orient vers l'empereur du Japon* (Paris: Chez Pierre Witte) in the Bancroft Library appears to be a popular version, not expensively produced.
76. See Theodore N. Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography," in Ronan and Oh, eds., *East Meets West*, p. 236.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.
78. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, pp. 9, 22, n. 19. For discussion of Fénelon's reformist writings in *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699), see Michèle Sacquin in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, pp. 310-311, fig. 125.
79. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, p. 84.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-139. See also Nancy K. Miller's introduction to David Kornacker's translation, *Letters from a Peruvian Woman* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1993), pp. xvii-xxii.
81. Kaempfer's manuscript has been retranslated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey; see *Kaempfer's Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); for the original

- German title, see pp. 7, 451, n. 38. For a description of "journeys to the court" and discussion of Kaempfer versus Montanus, see Wolfgang Michel, "Travels of the Dutch East India Company in the Japanese Archipelago," in *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*, ed. Lutz Walter (Munich and New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), pp. 33-37.
82. See Peter F. Kornicki, "European Japanology at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 502-524.
83. Kaempfer's copy was apparently an unrecorded edition from the 1660s or 1670s; see Gerhard Bonn, "Der wissenschaftliche Nachlass des lippischen Forschungsreisenden Engelbert Kaempfer im Britischen Museum," *Lippische Mitteilungen aus Geschichte und Landeskunde* 48 (1979), p. 102.
84. For information about and examples of Scheuchzer's illustrations, as well as information about Kaempfer and his collections, see Yu-Ying Brown, "Japanese Books and Manuscripts: Sloane's Japanese Library and the Making of *The History of Japan*," in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: British Museum Press, 1994), pp. 278-290; also Schmeißer, "Changing the Image," pp. 132-151. For an illustration of one of Scheuchzer's prints after one of the *meisho-e* paintings, see Doris Croissant, Lothar Ledderose, et al., eds., *Japan und Europa* (Berlin: Argon, 1995), p. 370, figs. 331 and 332; pp. 375, 379-380. For illustrations and discussion of the *meisho-e* paintings, see Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery and Other Famous Sights: The Japanese Paintings of Engelbert Kaempfer," *Japan Review* (Kyoto, 1992), pp. 25-44.
85. For two Dutch-language editions, see Croissant, Ledderose, et al., *Japan und Europa*, p. 378. For biographical information about Kaempfer and material collected by him, see Yu-Ying Brown, "Engelbert Kämpfer: First Interpreter of Japan," published for the British Library exhibition, October 11, 1991-May 17, 1992. I appreciate Wolfgang Michel's communication to me confirming that previously published assertions that Du Halde published excerpts from Kaempfer are erroneous; an excerpt from Kaempfer's *History* was first published in volume 4 of a 1749 German translation of Du Halde's 1735 work. Professor Michel is in the process of determining whether the German-language excerpt is a translation of the 1727 English *History* or the 1729 French *Histoire naturelle*. For a chronological bibliography of *The History of Japan*, see Michel's web site, "Engelbert-Kämpfer-Forum, web-site, Kyushu University."
86. I thank Roberta Waddell for assistance in this identification; see Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1968), p. 326; M. Ch. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vol. 3 (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1888), p. 189; an engraved half-title by Philips with a related allegorical composition dated 1744, in the clippings file, New York Public Library, Prints and Photographs. Philips's engraved pictorial half-title for the

- 1729 Dutch translation of *The History of Japan* is illustrated in Croissant, Ledderose, et al., *Japan und Europa*, p. 378, fig. 10/19.
87. See Ann Yonemura, "Art and Authority: A Tokugawa Palanquin," *Asian Art* (Winter 1989), p. 18, fig. 9, p. 26, n. 12.
88. I thank Elizabeth Roth for assistance in researching allegorical imagery in prints. For the identification of History, a winged figure writing on a tablet, see James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (rev. ed.; Boulder, Col. and Oxford: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 342, 344-345. For discussion of the personification of Europe seated next to a globe and two cherubs, see Edward A. Maser, ed., *Cesare Ripa Baroque and Rococo Imagery* (New York: Dover, 1971), p. 102, fig. 102.
89. For the sun as truth and various other attributes of truth, see Hall, *Dictionary*, pp. 292, 313; for truth holding the sun, see Maser, *Cesare Ripa*, p. 50, fig. 50, for the sun as symbol of light and truth, p. 83, fig. 83, for wisdom, p. 136, fig. 136, and for knowledge, p. 188, fig. 188.
90. See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 583; Theodore N. Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography," in Ronan and Oh, *East Meets West*, p. 211, fig. 8.2; John D. Witek, S.J., "Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV," in *ibid.*, pp. 70-71; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), p. 32; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 96-97; and, L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 1138. For information about the Jesuits in China before Ricci, see Joseph Sebes, S.J., "The Precursors of Ricci," in Ronan and Oh, *East Meets West*, pp. 2-61. For discussion of the Jesuits in China and the early porcelain trade, see Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, "The 'Fountain' Ewers: An Explanation for the Motif," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 67 (Stockholm, 1995), pp. 51-78.
91. For information on Schall's contributions and publications, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 1153-1157. For woodcuts and discussion of the *Yixiangtu*, see Noel Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 28 (Nettetal, 1993), pp. 25-26, pp. 468-474, figs. 13-19, p. 455, fig. 5, p. 478, fig. 23; also, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, p. 125, fig. 78. For discussion of Western ecliptic and Chinese equatorial armillary spheres, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, pp. 339-382.
92. For the observatory in Du Halde, see *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulières de ces pays, de la carte générale et des cartes particulières du Thibet, et de la Corée, et ornée d'un grand nombre de figures et de vignettes gravées en taille-douce* (Paris: P.G. Le Mercier, 1735), vol. 3,

- p. 280. Engraving of clock and celestial globe by Corvinus, published by Jeremia Wolff, coll. Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1997-22-4.
93. Coll. George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto, Canada, G. 83.1.1069; the top half of the globe is now missing. I thank Patricia Ferguson for the identification of the globe.
94. See Charissa Bremer-David's discussion of the tapestry in relation to the Jesuit mission in *French Tapestries and Textiles in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), pp. 82, 84; p. 85, fig. c.; pp. 90-92; also, Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China," pp. 103-117. For a discussion of the French Jesuits sent to China in 1687, see Witek, "Understanding the Chinese," pp. 62-102.
95. See Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 584-587, figs. 1001-1004; also, Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 326.
96. See Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China," pp. 219-251.
97. For specific contributions of French Jesuits, 1707-1717, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, p. 585.
98. For examples, coll. MMA, 1982.60.84, see William Rieder, "Clocks, Gilt Bronzes, and Mounted Porcelains," in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: MMA, 1984), pp. 238-239, fig. 147. For a pair of seated Chinese-style figures, each with a terrestrial globe, see Christie's London sale catalogue *Highly Important Continental Porcelain, French Furniture and Objects of Art*, November 29, 1973, lot 49.
99. See Kaempfer, "Introduction," *The History of Japan* (London, 1728), vol. 1, p. xliij [43].
100. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 531.
101. See Paul-Raymond Schwartz, "French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting: (1) The Beaulieu ms., c. 1734," *Journal of Indian Textile History* 2 (Abmedabad, 1956), pp. 5-23; reprinted in John Irwin and Katherine B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz* (London: H.M.S.O., 1970), pp. 36-41.
102. For a French *médailleur*, ca. 1730, with Chinese lacquer panels and French embellishments, owned by Joseph Pellerin (1684-1782), see Irène Aghion, "Pellerin, voyageur immobile," *Trafic d'influences* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989), p. 15. For a French *médailleur*, ca. 1715, owned by Pellerin, with interior decoration of reused Japanese lacquer panels, see Christine Shimizu, "Laques et faucons dans le goût japonais," *ibid.*, pp. 31-35. See also Oliver R. Impey and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "The Japanese Connection, French Eighteenth-Century Furniture and Export Lacquer," *Apollo*, n.s., 139.383 (January 1994), pp. 48-61; Oliver Impey and John Whitehead, "From Japanese Box to French Royal Furniture," *Apollo*, n.s., 132.343 (September 1990), pp. 159-165. For a French commode, ca. 1730-1735, with seventeenth-century Japanese lacquer panels, coll. Louvre, 11745, and examples of related furniture, see Daniel Alcouffe, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des objets*

- d'art 1990-1994 Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1995), pp. 130-133, fig. 46. For the role played by Parisian *marchand-merciers* in the reuse of Chinese and Japanese lacquer panels and as customers of "*vernisseurs*" see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), pp. 79-90.
103. See Thibaut Wolvesperges, "The Royal Lacquer Workshop at the Gobelins, 1713-1757," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* (Spring 1995), pp. 55-76; the two lacquer overdoor panels, ca. 1730, coll. Musée Carnavalet, illustrated in Jacques Wilhelm, "The Parisian Interior in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Apollo*, n.s., 101.158 (April 1975), p. 288, are identified by Wolvesperges, "The Royal Lacquer Workshop," p. 64, fig. 3, as from the Gobelins workshop; for reference to lacquered leather and canvas, see pp. 62-64.
104. See excerpts from *Description géographique*, published in *Mercure de France*, August 1736, pp. 1842-1860, for lacquer; September 1736, pp. 2055-2070 and October 1736, pp. 2280-2291, for Chinese porcelain.
105. For an illustration of Kaempfer's sketch and description of the journeys to court, see Michel, "Travels of the Dutch East India Company," pp. 33-37, fig. 25. For a comparison between Kaempfer's sketch and an engraving of a German funeral procession, see Schmeißer, "Changing the Image," p. 146, figs. 11a-c. A shorter but related procession was published by Robert Sayer in *The Ladies Amusement* (1762 edition), plate 30, illustrated in Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A Japanned Cabinet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 19-20 (1986), p. 92, fig. 14. For Europeanized Chinese processions published by Du Halde, contrasting with Fraisse's processions, see *Description géographique*, vol. 2, pp. 30, 120, 126.
106. For an example of a late-sixteenth-century Japanese picture scroll and the intermingling characteristics of successive pages, see Sören Edgren, "Illustrated Early Japanese Fiction in the Nordenskiöld Collection," *Biblis* (1970), p. 17, fig. 1.
107. See Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, trans. Ronald K. Jones (New York: John Weatherhill, 1972), p. 73, fig. 56.
108. The sizes of the etched plates, reading from left to right: 44 cm. 5 mm. x 32 cm. 5 mm.; 26 cm. 5 mm. x 38 cm.; 36 cm. 5 mm. x 27 cm.; 66. cm. 5 mm. x 29 cm. 7 mm.; 34 cm. 5 mm. x 27 cm.; 59. cm. x 35 cm.
109. I am grateful to Maxime Préaud for confirming the identification of the woodcut in the two albums at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. See (1) fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque du musée Condé, Chantilly, folio 26; (2) fifty-seven-plate album owned by the comte de Calenberg, coll. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Est.77, folio 1; (3) fifty-seven-plate album owned by the duc de La Vallière, coll. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Est.813, folio 16; (4) forty-four-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, Brussels, folio removed from album and conserved separately; (5) fifty-seven-plate album, coll. l'Ecole nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Les.1900 (not numbered); (6) fifty-seven-plate album owned by Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, coll. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63, folio 30.

110. For example, see Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age*, p. 94, fig. 53.
111. See Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, pp. 17–18. For discussion of the cabinet model and illustrations of a pair with related scenes of travelers, mountains, and buildings, see Peter Hughes, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Furniture*, vol. 1 (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1996), pp. 291–297, figs. F18, F19. For one of another pair decorated with a related procession, see Martha Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1959), plate 60, fig. 61; p. 104.
112. See Barbara Ford in James C. Y. Watt and Barbara Brennan Ford, *East Asian Lacquer: The Florence and Herbert Irving Collection* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991), pp. 209–211, fig. 95; for discussion of *maki-e*, see Ford, “Japanese Lacquer: Maki-e and Negoro,” *ibid.*, pp. 153–160; and Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, pp. 35–39. For a description, examples, and the history of *maki-e* see Beatrix von Ragué, *A History of Japanese Laquerwork*, trans. Annie R. de Wassermann (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 17–19, 25–35. I thank Barbara Ford for suggesting the reference. Also, see Ann Yonemura, “Decoration and Representation in Japanese Lacquer,” *Oriental Art* 45.3 (1999), pp. 16–22.
113. I am grateful to Wai-fong Anita Siu for sharing her research with me and for translating relevant information from *Xiushilu jieshuo* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983), a reprint of a 1927 edition of a handwritten copy annotated by Wang Shixiang, in turn a printing of an earlier handwritten copy. The 1983 reprint includes original writings by Huang Cheng (active mid- to late-sixteenth century), annotated by Yang Ming in 1625 (published in 1927 on the basis of a handwritten copy preserved in Japan), and finally, annotations by Wang Shixiang. The original date of Huang Cheng’s mid-sixteenth-century informal writings is not known. A 1625 annotation by Yang Ming may express a response to the success of Japanese *maki-e*: “recently many people use gold or silver flakes called fake sprinkled gold.” For typical examples of eighteenth-century gold-decorated Chinese export lacquer, not exhibiting the technique of *maki-e*, see Clunas, *Chinese Export Art*, pp. 84–85, figs. 64, 65; pp. 86–87, fig. 66; pp. 88–89, figs. 67–68.
114. See Wang Shixiang, *Zhongguo gudai qiqi* (Ancient Chinese Lacquer; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), fig. 82, Qing dynasty, “influence from Japanese lacquer.” Also, Watt, “Lacquer of China,” in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, p. 37.
115. See A. L. Den Blaauwen, “Keramik mit Chinoiserien nach Stichen von Petrus Schenk jun.,” *Keramos* 31 (January 1966), p. 10, fig. 4.
116. A japanned cabinet, ca. 1690–1700, shows *maki-e*; coll. Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, 1970.126. Also, see one of a pair of japanned cabinets, ca. 1710, Christie’s sale catalogue, *Important English Furniture: Objects of Art and Clocks*, New York, April 16, 1998, lot 120, pp. 72–73.
117. See a Saint-Cloud sugar bowl, ca. 1730, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 34284, illustrated in Christine Lahaussais, *Porcelaines de Saint-Cloud* (Paris: Union

- centrale des arts décoratifs, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997) p. 139, fig. 177; the side with *maki-e* decoration is not illustrated; a Saint-Cloud tobacco jar, ca. 1720–1730, coll. Musée national Adrien Dubouché, Limoges, ADL 1244, illustrated in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 204, fig. 133; a Chantilly teapot, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 8850; see also Sophie de Juvigny, *La porcelaine à Saint-Cloud* (Saint-Cloud: Musée de Saint-Cloud, 1997), p. 51, fig. 74.
118. For examples see *The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period 1600–1868*, ed. William Watson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), pp. 50–51, fig. 13A, Kanō Sanraku and Kanō Sansetsu, “Flowering Plum with Pheasants,” ca. 1631; also, Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* (New York: MMA, 1975), pp. 30–31, fig. 14, Hasegawa Tohaku, “Landscape,” ca. 1599; pp. 46–47, fig. 21, Soga Chokuan, “Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons,” late-sixteenth century.
119. For related images of attendants with lacquer boxes, see *The Great Japan Exhibition*, pp. 102–103, fig. 68, from a handscroll, Miyagawa Choshun (1683–1753), “Scenes of Popular Entertainment,” ca. 1720.
120. For examples with decoration of paulownia, see Ford in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 220–221, fig. 101; pp. 224–225, fig. 104; pp. 237–238, fig. 113. For a sixteenth-century example with both crests, see Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, p. 184.
121. For examples, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 32755, 30369, and 30267, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 216, figs. 157–159.
122. For discussion and examples of the design, see Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. Armins Nikovskis (New York: John Weatherhill, 1974), pp. 162–164, fig. 184.
123. I am grateful to Clare Le Corbeiller for giving me an opportunity to study the models and costumes for a group of Chantilly figural sculptures. For discussion and examples of porcelain sculptures from Chantilly and their derivation from Chinese models, see Clare Le Corbeiller in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection*, pp. 317–320, figs. 290, 291, 293; p. 240, fig. 148; also, Clare Le Corbeiller, “The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Addenda to the Catalogue,” *MMJ* 21 (1986), pp. 175–176, fig. A.11; p. 177, figs. a, b; see also Jeffrey H. Munger in *The Forsyth Wickes Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), pp. 218–219, fig. 171; and Vivian S. Hawes in Vivian S. Hawes, Christina S. Corsiglia, et al., *The Rita and Frits Markus Collection of European Ceramics and Enamels* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), pp. 163–165, fig. 54.
124. For a color illustration, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, the cover and pp. 96–97. An undecorated white-porcelain example is illustrated in the sale catalogue of Paul Renaud, June 18, 1999, Drouot Richelieu, Paris, lot 43A.
125. Consult Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, for examples in eighteenth-century French literature of eroticizing the “Other”; also see Rebecca Zorach, “The Matter of Italy: Sodomy and the Scandal of Style in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.3 (Fall 1998), pp.

- 581–609. For an erotic rendition in Chantilly porcelain of a lounging Chinese woman, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 161.
126. For two seventeenth-century ivory examples, one in the Danish collection of Dr. Ole Worm (1588–1654) and published in a catalogue in 1655, see Craig Clunas, *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1984), pp. 112–113, color plate 5, figs. 131, 132. For the blanc-de-chine example, coll. Landesmuseum, OP 285, see *Porzellan aus China und Japan: Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1990), p. 554, fig. 325.
127. See Michel Beurdeley, *Chinese Erotic Art* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), pp. 97, 107. For a discussion of Ming erotic illustrations, including paintings, prints, and books, see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press: 1997), pp. 149–158. For a study of representations of women in urban studio paintings in late imperial China, see Cahill, “The Three Zhangs.”
128. For erotic Chinese porcelain for export, ca. 1770, see David S. Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), p. 257, fig. 306; William R. Sargent, *The Copeland Collection* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1991), p. 66, fig. 21; pp. 118–120, fig. 53; pp. 130–131. For examples and discussion of Kangxi-era plates with erotic scenes, see Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, p. 43, fig. 9.
129. Two male Chinese-style figures seated at the base of a tree, shown in color by Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 95, are each a member of a pair of male and female seated Chinese-style figures, attributable to the artist who produced figure 37. An example of the female counterpart seated at the base of a tree facing in the opposite direction with the opposite arm raised, unfortunately with a replaced head, is shown in color in Christie’s sale catalogue *Important Continental Ceramics*, London, March 25, 1985, lot 8, cover and p. 7. An example of the male and female pair in undecorated white porcelain, coll. Sèvres, Musée national de céramique, is in Françoise Boisgibault, “L’influence de l’Extrême-Orient sur la petite statuaire française,” *Estampille: L’objet d’art* 338 (July–August 1999), p. 48. For an illustration of the male and female mounted on a base for an incense burner, see Paul Alfassa and Jacques Guerin, *Porcelaine française* (Paris, [1932?]), p. 43, plate 28. For an ivory model in the same position as the slender figure seated at the base of a tree, see *The Catalogue of Sassoon Chinese Ivories*, compiled by S. E. Lucas (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1950), vol. 2, pp. 495, 499, fig. 396.
130. For a Chinese soapstone figure from the 1721 inventory of Augustus the Strong, dressed in a similarly modeled costume, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Rediscovering the *Specksteinkabinett* of Augustus the Strong and Its Role at Meissen: An Interim Report,” *Keramos* 145 (July 1994), p. 7, fig. 4; for a detailed report on the soapstone figures, including some color illustrations, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Changing Attitudes towards Ethnographic Material: Re-Discovering the Soapstone Collection of Augustus the Strong,” *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 48

- (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 7–98. Chinese soapstone figures were in the Condé collections and may have been sources for costumes on 1917.950, 951, and other Chantilly figural sculptures; see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Forgotten Sources for Early Meissen Figures: Rediscovering the Chinese Carved Soapstone and Dutch Red Earthenware Figures from the Japanese Palace of Augustus the Strong,” *American Ceramic Circle Journal* 10 (1997), p. 68, n. 3.
131. See Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1982), pp. 137–138.
132. For two related examples of painted or embroidered non-repeating continuous patterns, see Santina M. Levey, *Elizabethan Treasures: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998), pp. 36–37, fig. 28, Elizabeth I’s dress; M. Breukink-Peeze in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art from 1650 to the Present*, ed. Nanne Dekking (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1991), p. 93, fig. 59, portrait of a Dutch merchant in a painted or embroidered Japanese-style robe. For Saint-Cloud examples, ca. 1735, coll. MMA, 54.147.10, 11, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 227, fig. 173; for a Villeroy example, 1737–1742, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 36277, p. 228, fig. 174, and for a related Chantilly example, ca. 1735, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 33189, p. 228, fig. 175. For the suggestion that the Saint-Cloud figures are actors, see Clare Le Corbeiller, “Oriental-Inspired Figure Sculpture,” in *ibid.*, p. 293.
133. For examples of related roundels on Shonzui ware, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, “Recreating China: An Examination of Design Motifs on Imported Chinese Porcelains and Their Early Japanese Counterparts,” *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, 1996), p. 16, fig. 8; Henry Trubner, *Treasures of Asian Art from the Idemitsu Collection* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1981), pp. 88–89, fig. 34. For woodcuts, see Helen C. Gunsaulus, *The Clarence Buckingham Collection of Japanese Prints*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1955), p. 16, fig. 1; p. 22, fig. 2; Howard A. Link, *Primitive Ukiyo-e from the James A. Michener Collection in the Honolulu Academy of Arts* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p. 8, fig. 1. For seventeenth-century Indian cottons for Indonesia and Japan, see Shinobu Yoshimoto and Jun Ato, *Newly Discovered Printed Cottons Found in Indonesia* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1996), pp. 48–49, fig. 37; pp. 78–79, fig. 66; also, Tsuneo Yoshioka and Shinobu Yoshimoto, *Sarasa of the World* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1980), p. 12, figs. 19–24; p. 22, fig. 52; p. 63, fig. 106.
134. For figures, see Sargent, *The Copeland Collection*, p. 102, fig. 46; coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 63.213.7, 8 and 61.200.31; *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1975), p. 14, fig. 112.
135. For the Delft figure, first quarter of the eighteenth century, see Christina S. Corsiglia in Hawes, Corsiglia, et al., *Rita & Frits Markus Collection*, pp. 46–47, fig. 2. For a Saint-Cloud tobacco jar, ca. 1720–1730 (see n. 117), decorated with two Chinese-style figures in green robes, one with a chevron-patterned border, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 204, fig. 133.

136. See a Chantilly seated Chinese-style figure, private coll., in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 93; also, the robe of a figure painted on Chantilly bottle coolers shown by Guillebon, *Porcelaines françaises* 1, pp. 60, 62, figs. 10, 10c.
137. See *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts*, ed. John Harris (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Museum, 1997), pp. 78–79, fig. 59.
138. See, for example, Ōhashi Kōji, “Overglaze Enamel Hizen Ware in the Early Edo Period,” trans. Nicole Rousmaniere, *Daiei Hakubutsukan no Nihon jiki* (Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum; Arita: VOC, 1994), pp. 41–45; also, Akihiko Shibata, “Arita Porcelains in the Mid-17th Century,” *Shibata Collection*, pt. 2, vol. 2 (Arita-machi: Saga Kenritsu Kyūshū Toji Bunkakan, 1991), pp. 85–86.
139. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for information about turquoise on Kakiemon-style ware, and for pointing out that a Japanese word for “turquoise” does not exist. For other Chantilly Chinese-style figures in colored-ground robes, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 95, 118, 119, 164, 165, 214. For examples of green and other color ground robes worn by figures decorating mid-seventeenth through early-eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain, see Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996), esp. pp. 162–163, fig. 81; pp. 176–177, fig. 90; p. 180, fig. 92; pp. 184–185, fig. 95; also Kangxi *famille-verte* vase, coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 61.200.67.
140. I thank Peter Kornicki for sharing information from *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) before it was published; see pp. 313–314, 316–317. For a proper perspective on Kaempfer and the late-seventeenth-century interest in Japan and Japanese books, see Kornicki, “European Japanology.”
141. For a list of Japanese material, see Bonn, “Der Wissenschaftliche Nachlass,” pp. 100–108.
142. See Wolfgang Holler, “The Collection of Japanese Art at the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden,” in Rose Hempel, *Gems of the Floating World: Ukiyo-e Prints from the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett* (New York: Japan Society, 1995), pp. 6–8.
143. According to information published by Keiko Kosugi, “Pari kōkuritsu toshokan ni okeru jūkyū seiki shūshū wakanjō mokurokukō,” *Nichiran gakkai kaishi* 17.1 (1992), p. 91; in 1742 Etienne Fourmont published a catalogue of Chinese books in the collection of the Bibliothèque du roi and listed three unillustrated Japanese books.
144. See Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p. 176.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–210; also, Donald H. Shively in *Early Modern Japan, The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ed. John Whitney Hall, pp. 725–733; and Richard Lane, “The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: Kana-Zōshi, 1600–1682,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20.3,4 (December 1957), pp. 644–701, for discussion of the types of Japanese books.

147. I thank Joseph Chang for information about the historical tradition in China of recording events pictorially. For examples, see *The Vestiges of Magnanimity and Wisdom: Treasures of Kyonggi Province* (Yongin: Kyonggi Provincial Museum, 1997), p. 27, fig. 26, "Party Album Awarding a Chair and Sticks," 1668; p. 30, fig. 31, "The Record of the Superintendency for Copying Royal Portraits," 1748.
148. For discussion of late-Ming and early-Qing book production and categories of books published, see Wang Fang-yu, "Book Illustration in Late Ming and Early Qing China," in *Chinese Rare Books*, ed. Sören Edgren (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), pp. 31-43.
149. See Henry Trubner and Tsugio Mikami, *Treasures of Asian Art from the Idemitsu Collection* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1981), pp. 68-69, fig. 23.
150. How direct the correlation is between Chinese book illustration and porcelain is unresolved, and questions about the distribution of images remain to be explored; I thank Anne Farrer for sharing her insights with me. For discussion of woodcuts as sources for porcelain decoration, see Julia B. Curtis, "Markets, Motifs and Seventeenth-Century Porcelain from Jingdezhen," in *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 16 (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, University of London, 1993), pp. 123-145. For publications citing examples of Ming-through-Kangxi porcelain with decoration relating to woodcuts, see Stephen Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period: 1620-1683* (New York: China Institute in America, 1983); Sir Michael Butler, Margaret Medley, and Stephen Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 1990); Robert D. Mowry, "Chinese Ceramics," in *The Forsyth Wickes Collection*, pp. 289-290; Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholars' Motifs and Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Watt, "Official Art and Commercial Art," in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 448, fig. 245; p. 504, fig. 289. For examples of lacquer decoration derived from late-Ming woodcuts, see Iris Reepen and Edelgard Handke, *Chinoiserie: Möbel und Wandverkleidungen* (Bad Homburg and Leipzig: Ausbildung und Wissen, 1996), pp. 16-17, figs. 12, 13; also, Watt in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 59-60, fig. 60; pp. 60-61, fig. 61; p. 141, fig. 65; Stephen Little, "Japanese Lacquer in the Collection of Edmund J. Lewis," *Oriental Art* 27.11 (December 1996), p. 40, figs. 4a-c, lacquer cabinet by Ogawa Haritsu (1663-1747). For textiles, see Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 39-40, figs. 24, 25; pp. 112-113, fig. 34; also, Rosemary E. Scott, "Decorative Links between Porcelain and Silk in the Qing Period," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 58 (1993-1994; London, 1995), pp. 63-75.
151. I thank Sören Edgren for publication information about *Hasshu gafu*. See Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," p. 181; also Rousmaniere, "Recreating China," pp. 14-15, figs. 6, 7.
152. See Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, for documentation of Chinese

- books in the Bibliothèque du roi before 1735: p. 35, fig. 17; pp. 79–86, figs. 49–54; pp. 96–99, figs. 63, 64; pp. 103–107, figs. 67, 68; p. 132, fig. 81; pp. 134–135, fig. 83; p. 151, fig. 93. Chinese books owned by Cardinal Mazarin entered the Bibliothèque du roi in 1668; see Monique Cohen, “Livres et laques de Chine, le même voyage,” in *Trafic d’influences*, p. 20.
153. For information about Chinese books acquired for Louis XIV by the Jesuits Couplet in 1687, Bouvet in 1697, and Fontaney in 1708, see H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Slatkine Reprint, 1970), pp. 235–236, n. 3.
154. In addition to the Chinese books recorded in the 1738 inventory from the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden, fragments of Chinese novels published prior to 1670 are listed in a 1737 royal Danish inventory; see Bente Gundestrup, *The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1737* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet; Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1991), pp. 42–43, figs. 806/135, 806/136. For discussion of Chinese woodcuts as a source for Meissen decorators, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Engraved Sources for Early Höroldt Decoration: From a Lecture Delivered in Dresden on October 26, 1996,” *Keramos* 161 (July 1998), pp. 3–32 (English translation, pp. 33–35).
155. A Chantilly teapot, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 8850, is decorated with a tree relating to Fraise’s woodcut and to the Japanese woodcut; it is difficult to know whether the source for the porcelain decoration was Fraise’s image or the Japanese woodcut. The teapot is illustrated in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 124.
156. See Watt, “Official Art and Commerical Art,” p. 440, fig. 236. For an illustration of one of twenty-five hundred dishes produced in 1545 decorated with children at play, see Margaret Medley, “Organization and Production at Jingdezhen in the Sixteenth Century,” in Scott, *Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, p. 70, fig. 2.
157. See Christie’s London sale catalogue, *The Peony Pavilion Collection: Chinese Tea Ceramics for Japan (c. 1580–1650)*, June 12, 1989, lots 312–314, p. 74; lot 325, p. 82. For a Delft dish, ca. 1680–1690, modeled on an example of *Kosometsuke*, see J. D. van Dam in Dekking, *Imitation and Inspiration*, p. 27, fig. 1.
158. See Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, pp. 84–85, fig. 27, detail p. 10, blue-and-white Ming dynasty, Jiajing period (1522–1566); for an export example dated 1541, see Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, *Ming Porcelain* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), p. 152, fig. 133a.
159. For discussion of and examples from *Fangshi mopu*, see Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 102–103; also, see Wai-fong Anita Siu, “Ink,” in Denise P. Leidy, Wai-fong Anita Siu, and James C. Y. Watt, “Chinese Decorative Arts,” *MMA Bulletin* (Summer 1997), p. 54.
160. For a porcelain example with one child on a hobby horse dressed as an adult with a hat similar to the hat in figure 53, see Rosemary E. Scott, *Elegant Form and Harmonious Decoration: Four Dynasties of Jingdezhen Porcelain* (London: Percival David Foundation, 1992), p. 75, fig. 74, blue-and-white ewer, Jiajing period. For a Song album leaf of “one hundred children at play,” with ele-

- ments relating to those in Fraisse's etching, see Howard Rogers in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 55, fig. 39. For a related fourteenth-century lacquer example in the MMA's collection, see Siu, "Lacquer," in Leidy, Siu, and Watt, "Chinese Decorative Arts," pp. 62, 66; also in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 76-77, fig. 23. For New Year's greetings see *Taohuawu nianhua* (Woodblock New Year Pictures of Taohuawu; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), fig. 27, p. 23.
161. I thank Sören Edgren for suggesting the following reference: R. H. van Gulik, "On the Seal Representing the God of Literature on the Title Page of Old Chinese and Japanese Popular Editions," *Monumenta Nipponica* 4.1 (January 1941), pp. 33-52, figs. 2-10.
162. For a color illustration of the etching from the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois*, Rés.V.86, fol. 23, see Conihout in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, p. 318, fig. 130. MMA plate 58, 40.38, Department of Drawings and Prints, was the source of decoration for a Chantilly bottle cooler, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, 33065, and coll. Musée du Louvre, OA 10299.
163. For example, see Tachibana Yuzei (1679-1748), *Illustrated Encyclopedia of China*, vol. 1 (1719); also two seventeenth-century panels, ink and color on paper, attributed to Kanō Eitoku, coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 29.100.450, 451.
164. For the origin and definition of "sakoku," see Henry D. Smith II, "Putting Yokohama in Place," *Asian Art* (Summer 1990), p. 3; also, Henry D. Smith II, "Five Myths about Early Modern Japan," in *Asia in Western and World History: A Guide for Teaching*, ed. Ainslie Embree and Carol Gluck (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 514-522; also, Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," p. 13. For discussion of the complexity and profitability of trade during "sakoku," see Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*. See also Timon Screech, *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan: The Lens within the Heart* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1, 8-18. For information about the first recorded entry of Japanese prints, lacquer, and other decorative objects in an American collection during sakoku, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Apollo*, n.s., 145.421 (March 1997), pp. 23-29; these items had been purchased in Nagasaki in 1799 and were recorded in 1800.
165. For discussion and examples of the attraction the West held for Japan, see Cal French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639-1853* (Kobe: Kobe City Museum of Namban Art; Rochester, Mich.: Oakland University, 1977); also, Yoshinobu Tokugawa, "Japan and Europe: Early Encounters," in *The Burghley Porcelains*, ed. Alexandra Munroe and Naomi Noble Richard (New York: Japan Society, 1986), pp. 52-59; G. B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), pp. 434-437. For Japan as a receiver rather than a transmitter of Chinese, Korean, and Western books, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 277-306.

166. Chikamatsu, *Nebiki no kadomatsu*, act 2, trans. Donald Keene; see Keene, *Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 151.
167. See *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, ed. Sir Ernest M. Satow, K.C.M.G. (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1967; from edition published by Hakluyt Society, 1900, ser. 2, vol. 5.), p. lxiii.
168. See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2. bk. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 14, 42, 89, n. 171.
169. See Satow, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris*, p. 140.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. liv, 141.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
172. *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.
173. See Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 237. For discussion of the private porcelain trade, see Hiroko Nishida, "A History of Japanese Porcelain and the Export Trade," in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 63–65.
174. Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 243.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 476.
176. See Margaret Medley, "Trade, Craftsmanship, and Decoration" in Butler, Medley, and Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain*, pp. 11–20; also, Medley, "Organization and Production at Jingdezhen," pp. 69–82; Christiaan J. A. Jörg, "Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise," in Scott, *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, pp. 183–205; Stephen Little, "Economic Change in Seventeenth-Century China and Innovations at the Jingdezhen Kilns," *Ars Orientalis* 26 (1996), pp. 47–54.
177. For the origin and a description of terms and for examples of Swatow, Kraak, Kosometsuke, and Shonzui, see Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 58–63; for Swatow, see also Regina Krahl, "'Swatow' Wares and 'Martaban' Jars," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*, vol. 2, ed. John Ayers (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), pp. 883–884.
178. Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 18–20; also, Rousmaniere, "Recreating China," pp. 10–17, figs. 5, 6, 9; Ohashi, "Overglaze Enamel Hizen Ware," pp. 39–48; Akihiko Shibata, "An Overview of Changing Techniques in Arita Porcelains," trans. Nicole Rousmaniere, *Techniques and Decorative Methods Used in the Edo Period*, Shibata Collection 6, pt. 5 (Saga Prefecture: Kyushu Ceramic Museum, 1998), p. 280. For additional examples of Japanese blue-and-white porcelain, more representative of Japanese than of export-market taste, dating from ca. 1650–1660 to the early-eighteenth century, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 104–139, figs. 18–43. For examples of Chinese porcelain for the Japanese market beginning in the 1620s, see Sir Michael Butler, "Porcelains for the Japanese Market," in Butler, Medley, and Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain*, pp. 45–73, figs. 9–34; also Richard S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and Their Forerunners* (Hong Kong:

- Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1981), pp. 132–144, figs. 139–169; pp. 160–184, figs. 120–169.
179. For information about the establishment of the Dutch trading company in Japan, see Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," pp. 62–65.
180. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for her communication to me regarding production of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware. For information about the private trade in porcelain and discrepancies in official Dutch records, see Nishida, "History of Japanese Porcelain," pp. 63–65. For the distinction between Kakiemon-style Hizen ware for export and Koimari-style Hizen ware for the Japanese market, see Rousmaniere, "Ornamental Culture: Style and Meaning in Edo Japan," in Singer, *Edo: Art in Japan 1615–1868*, pp. 80–81, figs. 15, 16.
181. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for technical information; also, see Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 85–86.
182. For discussion of Dutch enamellers, see J. V. G. Mallet, "European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 39–44. For examples, see van Dam in Dekking, *Imitation and Inspiration*, p. 41, fig. 15; p. 42, fig. 16. Also, Impey, "The Independent Decorators of Porcelain," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 240–241, figs. 262–265, 270; an example from the Ashmolean Museum in Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 38, fig. 3; W. B. Honey, "Dutch Decorators of Chinese Porcelain," in *Chinese Export Porcelain: An Historical Survey*, ed. Elinor Gordon (New York: Main Street, Universe Books, 1977), pp. 102–104, figs. 4, 7, 9. For discussion and examples of Dutch-enameled East Asian porcelain decorated before 1730 and in the collection of Augustus the Strong at Dresden, see Helen Espir, "Pretty China: Oriental Porcelain Decorated in Europe in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 62 (1997–1998), pp. 39–50.
183. Soame Jenyns questioned the origin of this image as indigenously Japanese in *Japanese Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 72–73, fig. 57B, and noted that the design is Dutch; he quotes a Japanese source who agreed. For variants of figure 58, see D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan in Europäischen Fassungen* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1980), p. 425, fig. 482, from Blenheim Palace, with early-eighteenth-century gilt bronze mounts; Oliver Impey, "Kakiemon," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 160–162, fig. 138, from Porzellansammlung, Dresden; L. Reidemeister, "Die Porzellankabinette der brandenburgisch-preussischen Schlösser," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin: Weidman, 1933), p. 271, fig. 7, now at Charlottenburg, probably originally at Oranienburg; *Porzellan aus China und Japan*, pp. 428–430, figs. 210a–e (pp. 445–446 in color), a garniture of two jars, three vases from Landesmuseum Wilhelmstal.
184. For examples of ceiling painting, see Reidemeister, "Die Porzellankabinette der brandenburgisch-preussischen Schlösser," p. 272, fig. 8; for discussion of the collections and ceiling paintings at Oranienburg, see Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," pp. 130–132, 168–169; also, Phillip Allen, "Porcelain in the

- Clouds: Oriental Ceramics Depicted on the Ceilings at Charlottenburg," *Oriental Ceramic Society Newsletter* 5 (January 1997), pp. 18–19.
185. I thank Suzanne Boorsch for information about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reproduction practices. Peter Schenk Jr.'s prints from the early 1720s reverse the originals by Dapper (illustrated in Ducret, "Die Vorbilder zu einigen Chinoiserien von Peter Schenk"; see n. 71).
186. For plates with figureless decoration, see *Porzellan aus China und Japan*, pp. 452–453, figs. 226a–d (p. 46, one in color), four plates with rock-bamboo-prunus-bird image only, flanked by flowers instead of figures; for a related ewer without the bird, see Impey, "Kakiemon," p. 141, fig. 101; for a jar with a variant image with two birds, see Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, fig. 57A. For smaller holloware items decorated with variants of figure 58, including figures, see Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan*, p. 432, fig. 495, ewer with late-seventeenth-century Dutch silver mounts; for a variant ewer without mounts, see *Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum*, p. 77, fig. 26 and p. 126; for a bowl with a cover from a French collection, now in the Louvre, OA 5488, and with French gilt bronze mounts, ca. 1770, see Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan*, p. 426, fig. 483 (in color in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 123); for a variant bowl with cover without mounts, see Luisa Ambrosio, *Kakiemon e Imari: Porcellane giapponesi del Museo Duca di Martina di Napoli* (Naples: Electra, 1984), p. 21, fig. 7.
187. For an example of floral-and-vine-framed panels on a late-Ming *Kraak*-ware bowl, see Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain* (London: Bamboo, 1989), p. 160, fig. 196. For Japanese examples with filled fields enclosed by floral-and-vine-framed panels, relating to the style of figure 58, and decorating shapes ordered by the Dutch, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 140–141, fig. 44; pp. 142–143, fig. 45; also, Barbara Brennan Ford and Oliver R. Impey, *Japanese Art from the Gerry Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: MMA, 1989), p. 72, figs. 40a, 40b.
188. See BK-1993.4, Grieksche A under Adriaen Kocks, coll. Rijksmuseum; I am grateful to Jan-Daniël van Dam for bringing the Delft jar to my attention.
189. For Ming blue-and-white porcelain decorated with related but fluid symmetrical compositions in which two figures flank a central figure, a tree and plants, or a rock-tree image, see Jean-Paul Desroches, *Le Jardin des porcelaines* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987), pp. 102–105, fig. 27, Ming ewer, Jiajing period; He Li, *Chinese Ceramics: A New Comprehensive Survey from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), pp. 222–223, fig. 412, jar, Jingtai and Tianshun reign periods (1450–1464); Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi*, vol. 2, p. 422, fig. 612 (both sides); Rita C. Tan, "A Note on the Dating of Ming Minyao Blue and White Ware," *Oriental Art* 44.4 (1998–1999), p. 76, fig. 17.
190. For an example, see Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 38, fig. 3.
191. For variants, see *Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum*, p. 81, fig. 30; also,

- Hinton and Impey, *Kakiemon Porcelain*, p. 52, figs. 28, 29; p. 55, fig. 33 (without bird).
192. For a Dutch-decorated Chinese example and its Japanese counterpart, see Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, figs. 77A, 77B; another Dutch-decorated Chinese example is in David Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West*, vol. 2 (London and New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), p. 529, fig. 540. For three Chinese wine cups, ca. 1640, decorated later, see S. Marchant & Son, exhibition catalogue, London, 1985, p. 36, fig. 88; for a Chinese mug, ca. 1700–1722, see Regina Krahl and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum, London* (Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1994), pp. 328–329, fig. 148. As John Mallet points out in “European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan,” pp. 40–42, unfortunately little research has been done on Dutch enamellers, and thus it is difficult to date the decoration on the above-cited Chinese porcelain. Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain was listed in the Condé inventory of 1740; see Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, “Oriental Art and French Patronage,” p. 40.
193. For an example of a Chinese lacquer model dated to the Southern Song (1127–1279) and discussion of aesthetics shared by Song-dynasty porcelain potters and lacquer craftsmen, see Clarence F. Shangraw, “Chinese Lacquers in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco,” *Oriental Art* 17.4 (April 1986), p. 26. For a lacquer model given a date of thirteenth to fourteenth century, see Watt in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 42–43, fig. 2. A Northern Song (960–1127) lacquer example is in the British Museum, OA 1974.2–26.1. For a Northern Song Ding-ware model, see Jan Wirgin, *Sung Ceramic Designs* (London: Han-Shan Tang, 1970), p. 143, plate 61:k.
194. For the resolution of the “Heeren xvii,” see C. J. A. Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain: Porcelain after Designs by Cornelis Pronk* (Groningen: Groninger Museum, 1980), p. 49; see also the letter from the VOC to the government in Batavia, pp. 51–52.
195. See Jan-Daniël van Dam, “Vroege uit Delft (1625–55) en de Invloed op Japans Porselein (1660–1670)” (Early Faience from Delft [1625–1655] and Its Influence on Japanese Porcelain [1660–1670]), *Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van de Ceramiek* 135 (1989/3), p. 29.
196. See Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain*, pp. 14–18, figs. 3a, 4b, 4c; also, Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, pp. 73–76, figs. 53–57; Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1974), pp. 54–57, figs. 19–22 and 24. For a discussion of possible Chinese and Japanese sources for Pronk’s pattern, see Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain*, pp. 24–26, 61, figs. 6a, 6.
197. For discussion and examples of Dutch influence on Japanese porcelain via Delft versions of Chinese porcelain sent to Japan to be copied, see van Dam, “Vroege uit Delft,” pp. 4–18 and 29–30; figs. 13–18 (plates are not numbered correctly on p. 30). For examples of Delft ordered by Japanese, see Hiroko Nishida, *Oranda: European Ceramics Imported into Japan during the Edo Period*

- (Tokyo: Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, 1987), pp. 2-4, figs. 1-14, 42-43, 56-68. For late-seventeenth-century blue-and-white Japanese porcelain presumably decorated with designs derived from Delft sent to Japan, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 158-177, figs. 54-64.
198. See Kilburn, *Transitional Wares*, pp. 24-25, for descriptions of early Dutch and French purchases of Chinese porcelain.
199. Mallet makes this point in "European Ceramics," p. 43; see Chavagnac and Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine*, p. 71; for more information about Gremy, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 436; also, Chantal Soudée-Lacombe, *La faïence de Sinceny 1737-1775* (Saint-Omer: Musée de l'Hotel Sandelin, 1990), p. 9.
200. I thank Christine Lahaussais for sharing research with me from her then forthcoming catalogue on Delft, *Faïences de Delft* (Paris, 1998). See Lahaussais, *Porcelaines de Saint-Cloud*, p. 15; Geneviève Le Duc, "La Manufacture de Faïence et de Porcelaine de Saint-Cloud 1664-1766," in Juvigny, *La porcelaine à Saint-Cloud*, pp. 11-17; Christine Lahaussais, "Saint-Cloud and Delft: Two Interpretations of Chinese Porcelain," in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 50; Bertrand Rondot, "The Saint-Cloud Porcelain Manufactory: Between Innovation and Tradition," in *ibid.*, p. 24.
201. See Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 193, fig. 118, and Clare Le Corbeiller, "Grounds in Color," in *ibid.*, p. 279. For the related Dutch-decorated Chinese example, ca. 1720, see Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, p. 60, fig. 34. Clare Le Corbeiller further discusses the Saint-Cloud example in a forthcoming catalogue of the French porcelain collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum.
202. See D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Opnieuw een décor met twee papegaaien en een versiering van bloemenmanden," *Antiek* 8 (October 1973), pp. 234-241, figs. 1-8.
203. For orders sent to India in 1662 and 1669 by the English East India Company, see Honour, *Chinoiserie*, pp. 49-50.
204. For examples of paper dated ca. 1730-1740, see Hamilton and Oman, *Wallpapers*, pp. 229-231, fig. 653; also Friederike Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989), plates 47-48, figs. 94-97, examples dated ca. 1756; also Reepen and Handke, *Chinoiserie*, p. 20, fig. 16; p. 236, figs. 63a-e.
205. See Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis, *Sitsen uit India* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1994), pp. 44-45, fig. 15.
206. For examples, see Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries," pp. 598-604.
207. See Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France 1700-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 164.

GLOSSARY

- Arima ko-kagami 有馬小鑑
 Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門
 Fangshi mopu 方氏墨譜
 Fang Yulu 方于魯
 Hashhu gafu 八種画譜
 Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣
 Huang Cheng 黃成
 Ise monogatari sho 伊勢物語抄
 Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛
 Jin Ping Mei 金瓶梅
 Kanō Hideyori 狩野秀頼
 Kanō Sanraku 狩野山樂
 Kanō Sansetsu 狩野山雪
 Kimmō zui 訓蒙圖彙
 Miyagawa Choshun 宮川長春
 Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕齋
 Renjing yangqiu 人鏡陽秋
 Sancai tuhui 三才圖會
 Soga Chokuan 曾我直庵
 Tachibana Yuzei 橘有稅
 Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康
 Wa-Kan sansai zue 和漢三才圖會
 Wang Hui 王翬
 Wang Shixiang 王世襄
 Wang Tingna 汪廷訥
 Wanshou shengdian chujū 萬壽盛典初集
 Xiushilu jieshuo 髹飾錄解說
 Yang Ming 楊明
 Yixiangtu 儀像圖
 Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛
 Zōho Edo Banashi 增補江戸咄

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