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*The East Asian Library Journal 10, no. 1 (2001), accessed January 14, 2017,
<https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/ealj.v10.n01.pdf>*

THE
EAST ASIAN
LIBRARY JOURNAL

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SPRING 2001

VOLUME X • NUMBER I

The East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection
of Princeton University

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The East Asian Library Journal

(ejlj@princeton.edu)

Published by the Trustees of Princeton University

Issued two times a year: Spring, Autumn

Subscription: Forty dollars in North America, fifty dollars elsewhere

Orders and remittances (U.S. funds only) payable to the

Trustees of Princeton University may be sent to the:

East Asian Library Journal

211 Jones Hall, Princeton University

Princeton, NJ 08544 U.S.A.

US ISSN 1079-8021

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From the Editor

Volume ten, number one, of the *East Asian Library Journal* presents all the papers originally delivered at the “Visible Traces, Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China” symposium held in February 2000 at the Queens Borough Public Library. This symposium was organized in conjunction with an exhibit of material from the National Library of China on display at the Queens Borough Public Library from December 10, 1999, to March 15, 2000. The journal is pleased to be able to publish these six papers on topics important to the study of the history of the book and of printing in East Asia.

The statements that follow by Gary Strong, director of the Queens Borough Public Library, and Philip Hu, editor of the exhibition catalogue, *Visible Traces, Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China*, illustrate the strength of the cooperative interaction between the National Library of China and the Queens Borough Public Library and the demonstrated commitment of these two libraries to promoting awareness of the book in East Asia.

The transmission of knowledge, the many ways texts were used, the reproduction of editions and documents, and copying as a means of preservation and extension of culture are themes unifying the diversity of research presented by these six scholars of the book and reflecting the wide range of printed and manuscript materials in the exhibit. Translating, editing, and transforming these papers from symposium presentations to published articles took far more time than this editor, new to

managing the *East Asian Library Journal*, expected. I regret the delay in publication, but anticipate that you will find these articles informed and informative, and, I hope, worth the wait. I would like to express special thanks to Professor Frederick Mote for his willingness to offer help and advice in resolving many questions that arose during the editing of the articles for this issue and for translating the article by Chun Shum. Further, it is only because of remarkable and patient text editing by Barbara Westergaard and imaginative design and composition by Judith Waterman that this number of the journal has reached its final form here in your hands. I thank them for their consistent good cheer in working with me.

In the mid-1990s, Sören Edgren volunteered to serve as editor of the *East Asian Library Journal* at a time when the journal was in danger of ceasing publication for lack of an editor. Dr. Edgren brought to the journal a wealth of experience and expertise in the bibliography of books in East Asian languages. During his tenure as editor, the journal brought out volume eight in 1988 and volume nine in 2000 (a total of four issues), filled with articles that Dr. Edgren had gathered from his many contacts with scholars of the book in East Asia. I wish to extend thanks to my predecessor for keeping alive the vision of those who founded this journal in the mid-1980s.

In 1997 Dr. Edgren invited me to work as associate editor, and in July 2000, I became managing editor with full responsibility for the journal. Dr. Edgren continues his main full-time work as director of the Rare Books Project, a Chinese book-cataloguing project of singular importance, and has graciously agreed to serve on the editorial advisory board for this journal. For the next issue of the journal, he has promised to write a brief report on the progress of this work. And the journal also hopes to publish in future issues substantive articles arising out of his continuing research into the history of the book in China.

Although I began my work in the field of Asian books, paper, printing, and book history relatively recently, it has become a serious passion. My degree from Princeton is in Chinese literature, my dissertation on seventeenth-century Ming poetry. Over the past five or six years I have been researching the physical history of the book and documenting handmade paper in China. In 1998 and again in 2000 I designed and

taught a hands-on undergraduate history seminar-and-studio course, "The Book in China: History, Forms, and Transformations," at Bryn Mawr College. I feel honored to serve now as editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*, the only journal dedicated to the publication of research on the history of books and printing in East Asia, an important field of inquiry that, to date, has been sorely underrepresented in non-Asian-language publications.

When I became managing editor, the organization of the *East Asian Library Journal* was slightly rearranged to give the journal a more solid footing and future. The trustees of Princeton University continue as the journal's publisher; the Friends of Gest Library remain the major source of financial support. In addition, the East Asian Studies Program at Princeton has made the journal an integral part of its activities, which are separate from, but complementary to, the academic studies of the East Asian Studies Department. The support of the East Asian Studies Program consists of a sizable annual contribution to the journal's operating account, invaluable help from the office of the program and from its computer consultant, and office and storage space conveniently located on the second floor of the recently opened Frist Campus Center. This building, formerly known as Palmer Hall, houses part of the East Asian Library on its third and fourth floors, and is attached to Jones Hall, the home of the East Asian Studies Department.

The former advisory and editorial boards of the journal are now one single editorial advisory board whose members review articles submitted for publication to the journal and provide helpful assistance and advice to the editor. I rely on their dedication and expertise. With this issue we welcome three new members to the editorial advisory board. As mentioned above, Dr. Sören Edgren will join the board. Dr. Alfreda Murck is an independent scholar of East Asian art who lives in Beijing and whose scholarly work is familiar to the readers of this journal (see volume eight, number two, for "Misty River, Layered Peaks: Decoding Landscape Imagery"). Professor Wu Ge, head of the Rare Book Section at Fudan University in Shanghai, is a bibliographer and professor in the Ancient Book Research Center at his university. I hope to persuade him to submit articles for publication here on some of the many intriguing research threads that he pursues in the history of the book in China.

What can you expect from the *East Asian Library Journal* in its future issues? In July 2001, Dr. Ma Tai-loi came from his position as director of the Hong Kong University Library to fill the post of director of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection at Princeton, a post left vacant with the retirement of Dr. Anthony Marr in May 2000. I very much want you to get to know this scholar of history and of the book in East Asia, whose intellectual refinement and administrative acumen are transforming in a most agreeable fashion the atmosphere, the appearance, and the operations of this remarkable library of books and documents from and about East Asia. So, in volume ten, number two, you can look forward to an introduction to Ma Tai-loi and a description of the new face of the library.

That issue of the journal will also contain two or three scholarly articles on the book trade and book distribution in China. In addition, it will report on two book-related conferences held in East Asia in the last quarter of 2001, the first, on management and preservation of Chinese rare books, held at the National Library of China in Beijing in October and the second, on the history of printing and publishing in East Asia, held at Tohoku University in Sendai in December.

Several of our readers have written to inquire about the status of their subscriptions to the journal. When it is time for you to renew, I will send renewal notices, either as a separate mailing or enclosed with the mailing of a journal. Your renewals confirm your continued interest in reading what the *East Asian Library Journal* publishes on the history of the book and printing in East Asia. I am very much interested in hearing from the readers of this journal, with both evaluations of specific content and suggestions for topics that you would like to read about in its pages.

Preface

GARY E. STRONG

The written word has always been highly revered in Chinese culture. There is evidence of glyphs dating back some 6,100 years, and beautifully printed books were published in China hundreds of years before Gutenberg. Examples of exquisite calligraphy, writing, and printing are valued for their form, even today, as well as their content. It is appropriate, then, that *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* was arranged library-to-library, rather than through an art museum, since it is our libraries that are devoted to the written word.

The priceless treasures displayed in *Visible Traces* had not been shown outside of China in more than fifty years, and had never before been seen anywhere in North America. The exhibit was made possible through a unique interlibrary cooperation agreement between the Queens Borough Public Library, New York, and the National Library of China, which was signed in Beijing in October 1997, and renewed in New York in October 2000. The *Visible Traces* exhibit, catalogue, and February 2000 symposium on which the *East Asian Library Journal's* papers are based, are all grounded in that agreement, which also paved the way for the two libraries to exchange printed and electronic information and to assist each other in obtaining library materials and professional information.

Visible Traces now lives on in the beautiful exhibition catalogue,

and in the words of the accomplished scholars who made this journal issue possible. Although it was gratifying to have exhibited the National Library of China's treasures in a public library, we are also beholden to Princeton University's *East Asian Library Journal* for giving new life to this historic endeavor.

We thank our colleagues at the National Library of China for their professionalism and trust, which made the exhibit possible, particularly Zhou Heping and Sun Liping. Thanks also goes to our symposium moderator, Philip K. Hu, and presenters J. Sören Edgren, Robert E. Harrist Jr., Robert E. Hegel, Evelyn S. Rawski, Chun Shum, and Zhao Qian.

I would like to add a particular note of thanks to the generous sponsors who made the "Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China" symposium possible: the Henry Luce Foundation, the Starr Foundation, HSBC Bank USA, and the New York Council for the Humanities. Finally, we are grateful to the energy and enthusiasm of the *East Asian Library Journal's* Nancy Norton Tomasko, for making this project a reality.

Retracing *Visible Traces*

PHILIP K. HU

Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China was an exhibition held at the Queens Library Gallery in the Central Library, Queens Borough Public Library, from December 10, 1999 to March 15, 2000. The exhibition was subsequently presented at the Getty Gallery of the Central Library, Los Angeles Public Library, between April 15 and June 25, 2000. Conceived and organized by the Queens Borough Public Library in association with the National Library of China, it marked the first time since the establishment of the People's Republic of China that treasures from this superlative collection have traveled to the United States for public presentation. The exhibition was not only a vivid demonstration of the strong ties between the National Library of China and the Queens Borough Public Library but an exemplary model for international library cooperation. To increase the educational value of the exhibition, the Queens Library also collaborated with the Asia Society in New York to produce "Visible Traces," a multimedia program featuring a classroom kit, poster, and website.¹

The exhibition *Visible Traces* had several interconnected aims: to introduce the origins and development of Chinese writing, script styles, surface media, and presentation formats; to illustrate the Chinese uses of paper and printing technologies, as well as their roles in the dissemination of knowledge; and to showcase a variety of religious, literary,

artistic, epigraphical, cartographic, political, and ethnographic materials created in both Chinese and non-Chinese scripts. In addition to an introductory brochure written by Richard Pegg that was available to visitors free of charge, the exhibition was accompanied by a bilingual and fully illustrated catalogue, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China*, for which I was privileged to serve as editor and compiler.²

In conjunction with the New York exhibition, a public symposium was held on February 19, 2000, at the Flushing Library in Flushing, Queens. The papers delivered that day by six distinguished scholars and researchers are published in this volume, with the two Chinese-language presentations appearing in translation. Nancy Norton Tomasko, editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*, has graciously asked me to give a more elaborate account of the genesis of the exhibition and the production process of the catalogue, as well as to make some brief remarks on the papers published in this symposium volume. For the benefit of readers and researchers, I have also included additional bibliographical references in an attempt to render the information in the catalogue as complete and up to date as possible.

During the last few years, the Queens Borough Public Library has actively developed strong ties with two of China's most important libraries, the National Library of China and the Shanghai Library. Both of these relationships have been made most palpable through exciting exhibitions at the Queens Library Gallery—*Shanghai Library Treasures: Historical Rubbings and Letters* in July 1998 and *Visible Traces* in the winter of 1999–2000. I had assisted in the production of a brochure and wall labels for the Shanghai Library exhibition, and was again approached by the Queens Library when plans for the exhibition from the National Library of China began to materialize. In late May 1999, I began preliminary research on the exhibits (which had already been selected by the Rare Books and Special Collections Department of the National Library of China), starting off with a basic checklist of exhibits and small color photocopies of pictures supplied by the National Library of China.

The initial plan called for a modest brochure with an introductory text and a detailed checklist. However, while in Minneapolis in June 1999, I happened to be seated next to Jeffrey Moy of the Chicago-based

Paragon Book Gallery at a dinner following a symposium on Chinese furniture at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Our brief conversation about the planned exhibition stirred Moy's interest, and he immediately established a working dialogue between the Queens Borough Public Library and the Beijing-based Morning Glory Publishers (*Zhaohua chubanshe*), which was founded in 1982 as a subsidiary of the China International Book Trading Corporation. Soon after, it was decided that the Queens Library would publish an exhibition catalogue in association with Morning Glory Publishers, and a generous grant from the Henry Luce Foundation in New York made it possible to aim for a more ambitious publication with full-color illustrations. The decision to cooperate with Morning Glory Publishers was based in large part on its experience in producing books on culture and art with high-quality images. Notable recent publications by Morning Glory Publishers include several connected with the National Museum of Chinese History in Beijing: the lavishly illustrated and chronologically organized multivolume compilation based on the exhibition on permanent display in the museum; an illustrated book highlighting, in a thematic manner, objects of scientific and technological interest loaned from various Chinese cultural bureaus and provincial and municipal museums for an exhibition in 1997–1998; and an illustrated volume containing selections from an exhibition celebrating fifty years of discovery, preservation, and protection of China's cultural heritage held at the museum between August and October 1999.³

For two weeks in August of 1999, I was in Beijing to study the exhibits at the National Library of China and to oversee the photography sessions. Once again, I would like to acknowledge the gracious reception of Sun Liping, director of the library's International Cooperation Division; of Huang Runhua, director of the library's Rare Books and Special Collections Department; and of other staff members, especially Zhang Zhiqing and Zhao Qian. Budget considerations meant that judicious decisions had to be made about which parts of many of the exhibit items were to be photographed—for instance, folios of printed books, leaves from albums, and sections of handscrolls—so that their unique features would be highlighted in the best possible way.

Photographs were taken on the premises of the National Library of China over a six-day period. Wherever appropriate and possible, more

than one part of each object was photographed. The nearly 190 resulting images were all shot by Feng Jingchuan of Jabel Photo Service in Beijing (Beijing Jiabei tupian jiaoliu zhongxin), with the assistance of Zhao Chunhou; they worked efficiently and meticulously under constraints of time and space. While the objects were out of their storage locations and being laid out for photography, I was permitted to examine them in detail, taking measurements and notes for use in the catalogue. Four additional days were devoted solely to studying the objects in the Rare Books and Special Collections Reading Room.

On returning to New York, I began compiling the English and Chinese versions of the catalogue entries, making full use of the sinological library collections in New York, primarily the C. V. Starr East Asian Library at Columbia University and the Oriental Division of the New York Public Library. Having to deal with such a wide range of artifacts in so many non-Chinese scripts was overwhelming to say the least, and I had reservations about how much research material could be unearthed in such a short time. The growth of the catalogue was an organic one: I proceeded simultaneously on all the catalogue entries, sixty-eight in English and sixty-eight in Chinese, adding descriptive text and bibliographical references to the drafts of each one as I came across relevant information and illustrations. The completed bilingual manuscript, which amounted to 507 letter-sized pages, was delivered to the Queens Library on December 15, 1999. The exhibition had opened at the Queens Library Gallery on December 10, and the catalogue was scheduled to appear in time for the symposium on February 19, 2000.

On January 15, 2000, I returned to Beijing in the middle of a biting cold winter, this time to oversee the layout and production of the catalogue. Wang Chen and Xu Jun, two young and energetic members of the staff at Beijing Leefung-Asco Great Wall Graphics Co., Ltd. (Beijing Lifeng Yagao Changcheng dianfen zhiban zhongxin), were assigned to work with me to design the catalogue. A square format, inspired by that of the *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yipu* (Manual of Weiqi Strategies Carefully Edited by the Gentleman Zuoyin), number 10 in the *Visual Traces* catalogue, was chosen because it allowed maximum flexibility in laying out the considerable number of vertically and horizontally extended illustrations. The three-column layout of the catalogue

section was optimal for arranging illustrations across single, double, or triple columns. We tried to minimize the spreading of images across gutters, except in the case of long handscrolls and works mounted in album format; in the latter, precise photographic alignment of the folded album leaves with the page gutters simulates the experience of viewing the original objects (as in some of the illustrations for catalogue numbers 10, 17, 33, and 50). Using Adobe Pagemaker 6.5C on Power Macintosh G3 computers, we began by laying out the illustrations, which had been digitized from the original large-format color transparencies. Traditional character forms were used throughout for the Chinese texts as the exhibited materials predate the introduction of simplified characters.⁴

Several preliminary sets of proofs were produced, often after midnight and sometimes as dawn approached, by the tireless staff at Leefung-Asco. The editors of the Beijing-based quarterly publication *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, together with one of their staff members, assisted in the arduous task of proofreading. On January 22, 2000, I had the opportunity to present informally one set of the preliminary black-and-white proofs to a gathering of scholars, which included Wu Hung, Judith Zeitlin, Bruce Doar, Susan Dewar, Alain Thote, and Nixi Cura, at the home of Christian and Alfreda Murck. Color separation was also speedily and expertly carried out at Beijing Leefung-Asco; the final color proofs for the catalogue were ready January 30, a day before I departed Beijing for Singapore. Beginning February 4, all work ceased for about ten days in observance of the Lunar New Year, and it was only after this period that the catalogue was printed (by the Beijing Jiakai yinshua youxian gongsi). The first shipment of the catalogue dispatched by Morning Glory Publishers arrived in New York by express courier on February 18, one day before the symposium. Although the production process had been arduous, I found it gratifying to witness in person the tremendous speed and high quality of printing and publishing now possible in the People's Republic of China.

When I proposed in June 1999 that a scholarly symposium be held in conjunction with the exhibition in New York City, the Queens Borough Public Library enthusiastically endorsed the idea. I wish to thank Gary E. Strong, Sherman Tang, Mindy Krazmien, and Sarah Paul for their support in organizing the symposium. We were fortunate to

secure the participation of a distinguished group of sinological scholars and researchers: J. Sören Edgren of the International Chinese Rare Books Project based at Princeton University; Robert E. Hegel of Washington University in St. Louis; Zhao Qian of the Rare Books and Special Collections Department of the National Library of China; Chun Shum (romanized as Shen Jin in Pinyin citations) of the Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University; Robert E. Harrist Jr. of Columbia University; and Evelyn Rawski of the University of Pittsburgh. Together, they represent an enormous wealth of specialized knowledge about the books, rubbings, maps, and other kinds of materials that were featured in the exhibition. The speakers were given complete freedom to choose their own topics and to make use of slides of all the exhibit items. The resulting papers were remarkable for their treatment of trenchant themes as well as for their focus on certain issues and perspectives that were not dealt with in the catalogue itself.

The symposium was held on February 19, 2000, in the state-of-the-art auditorium of the Flushing Library, one of the Queens Borough Public Library's new and most impressive branches, which happens to be located in the heart of a heavily Chinese-populated neighborhood of New York City. Frosty weather did not deter many scholars, librarians, students, and members of the general public from attending; some had traveled from as far away as the United Kingdom and China to be a part of this event, which was open to all without charge. The six speakers were divided into two groups, with Edgren, Hegel, and Zhao in the morning session and Shum, Harrist, and Rawski in the afternoon. This grouping followed roughly the sequence of the exhibition catalogue's four sections, namely "Rare Books and Manuscripts," "Epigraphical and Pictorial Rubbings," "Maps and Atlases," and "Texts and Illustrations from China's Ethnic Minorities."

Because a significant number of the exhibits in the "Rare Books and Manuscripts" section were printed with two or more colors, it was appropriate that Sören Edgren delivered a paper entitled "Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing." He surveyed the history and techniques of color printing in China, discussed several important extant works from the Yuan (1279–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing (1644–1911) periods, and concluded with a fine example of the color-printing tradition,

which has continued to flourish in the twentieth century. Edgren also brought us up to date on the growing body of literature on this topic, including one of the latest scholarly debates on the *shuangyin* (twice printed) technique of printing.

Robert E. Hegel's paper, "Painting Manuals and the Illustration of Ming and Qing Popular Literature," drew on two related yet distinctive types of works shown in the exhibition. These were largely pictorial publications made for educational, didactic, or aesthetic purposes, and literary works whose accompanying pictures were designed to interact with texts and readers in various ways. Professor Hegel not only focused our attention on the aims and implications of these illustrated works, but stressed the complex interplay of the processes of painting, woodblock illustration, printing, and reading in late imperial China.

Chun Shum concentrated on a single item from the exhibition, using the Qing-dynasty album of rubbings *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage's Traces; number 43 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue) as a springboard for discussing the complex history and genealogy of the narrative illustration of the life of Confucius. The study of this subject involves a significant corpus of paintings, stone engravings, woodblocks, rubbings, albums, scrolls, and printed works that appear under this title or its variants. In his recent descriptive catalogue of Song, Yuan, and Ming editions in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, Shum catalogued two different editions of this title, one being a Wanli-period work with a postface dated 1592, the other a late-Ming edition, possibly from the Chongzhen period (1628–1644).⁵ Shum's presentation (given in Chinese) took the form and style of traditional Chinese descriptive bibliography and demonstrated the amount of preliminary work, in the form of documentation, that is necessary for studying the history of rare editions in general, and that of a title like the *Shengji tu* in particular. Any attempt to produce a definitive study of such a work and its many versions or recensions must take into account as many extant exemplars (in various media) as possible. In this regard, readers should also take note of the substantial body of research that has been conducted on this very topic by the art historian Julia K. Murray.⁶ I believe that the study of narrative illustrations such as the *Shengji tu* can be most fruitfully accomplished through the collaborative efforts of scholars of Chinese

bibliography and scholars of visual art, and through the cooperation of libraries, museums, and individuals who control access to scattered primary sources.

The “Rare Books and Manuscripts” component of the exhibition and catalogue featured a wide range of works, but there were certain lacunae. For instance, there were no examples of commercial printing from Fujian province, a region that is important in the history of print culture in China.⁷ Nor were there any works printed under the sponsorship of Ming imperial princes. A few titles within this latter category of publications have been studied, mostly for their content rather than for being part of a historical publishing phenomenon, and this significant aspect of Ming book culture deserves further attention. The paper by Zhao Qian (delivered at the symposium in Chinese) addressed this topic in a direct way. It is published here with Zhang Zhiqing as co-author under the title “Book Publishing by the Princely Household during the Ming Dynasty: A Preliminary Study” and lays the groundwork for further studies.

Another item featured in the exhibition, a handscroll-mounted rubbing entitled *Lanting xiuxi tu* (Illustration of the Spring Purification Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion, number 41 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), served as the starting point for the engaging paper by Robert E. Harrist Jr. In his presentation, entitled “Copies, All the Way Down: Notes on the Early Transmission of Calligraphy by Wang Xizhi,” Harrist discussed the elemental role of writing in Chinese history and highlighted one of the principal aspects of the exhibition—the National Library of China’s extraordinary collection of the written word in its various forms and formats. Harrist spoke about the transmission of written Chinese characters in terms such as “graphic DNA” and about tracing copies of earlier copies being like “genes passed down in a family.” He also pointed out how in China the ancient and well-developed tradition of copying did not diminish the value of originals, but could actually enhance their value and contribute to their preservation, in contrast to the relatively recent view of Walter Benjamin who lamented the loss of aura from mechanically reproduced works of art. Harrist’s paper is a fine addition to the growing body of his recent work on the relationship of calligraphy, painting, and landscape in Chinese

culture.⁸ Readers who wish to pursue the history of Chinese calligraphy should also consult the catalogue of a recent major exhibition on Chinese calligraphy, which Harrist wrote with Wen Fong.⁹

Evelyn Rawski had the challenging task of presenting a broad overview of the important roles that maps and materials in non-Sinitic languages and scripts played in China from the Tang dynasty (618–907) onward, and particularly during the Qing dynasty. Professor Rawski, the author of a recent study that focuses on the complex multicultural society of China's last imperial age, showed how many of the maps and documents in Chinese and non-Chinese scripts were not only of historical but also of historiographical interest.¹⁰ She emphasized the way boundaries between works of art and objects of political and ideological nature cannot always be distinguished. Additionally, she demonstrated how the Manchu rulers of China, rather than merely assimilating themselves to their Han, Tibetan, or Mongol subjects, were masterful in their exploitation of writings and scripts to manipulate and maintain power throughout the vast empire.

After the exhibition closed in New York City, I proposed to the Queens Borough Public Library that the symposium papers be published. The idea received strong support from the library administration, and we could not have been more pleased when the *East Asian Library Journal*, published by the Friends of the Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University, expressed an interest in printing all six papers in a single volume. The journal's editor, Nancy Norton Tomasko, is not only a scholar of Chinese literary history but a historian of the book and paper in China, and I am most grateful to her for making this symposium volume a reality.

Within the limited space of my introduction and acknowledgments in *Visible Traces*, I attempted to do several things: to provide a concise history of the institution that is now known as the National Library of China and its extraordinary collection; to describe the conceptual and organizational aspects of the exhibition catalogue; to introduce the reader, by way of an annotated bibliography, to the principal reference works and scholarly works concerning the exhibits; and to acknowledge my debts to the numerous individuals who assisted me in the course of research.¹¹ The catalogue entries were followed by a section called

“Sources, References, and Related Readings” keyed to each exhibit, and, finally, an extensive, but by no means exhaustive, bibliography.

It is hardly necessary to remind readers of this journal that keeping pace with new developments in Chinese studies, whether in China or the West, is becoming increasingly difficult, and given the scope of the *Visible Traces* exhibition, lacunae in documentation were inevitable. But because it was my hope that this volume of symposium papers might serve as a companion to the exhibition catalogue, I would like to take this opportunity to provide readers with corrections and additions in the form of selected bibliographical references. Some of these works have only recently come to my attention; others are newly available.

Let me begin by mentioning a few recent publications issued by major libraries that have taken steps to publicize their holdings of rare and unique materials to a wider audience. First, a notable set of three exhibition catalogues was published consecutively by the Bibliothèque nationale de France between 1997 and 1999 under the main title *L'Aventure des écritures*. These exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues cover the origin and development of scripts around the world, the materials and forms in which these scripts appear, and the ways in which texts are inscribed on their chosen surfaces.¹² The history of writing in China figures prominently in this set of publications, with numerous essays and catalogue entries by Monique Cohen, François Thierry, Annie Berthier, and Anne-Marie Christin. The Bibliothèque nationale de France has also recently published a handy illustrated guide to its Asian-language collections.¹³ Likewise, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. now has a handsomely illustrated introductory guide to its important Asian collections; several of the items featured are similar to those in the National Library of China exhibition.¹⁴ The National Library of China has long been active in publishing its holdings, and there is now a comprehensive bibliography of its publications between 1979 and 1999.¹⁵ Most recently, a selection of Chinese items drawn from the collection of the British Museum appears in Oliver Moore's new introductory study.¹⁶

The bibliography of works pertinent to the material in the exhibition from the National Library of China has grown considerably in a short span of time, and I attempt to list only the most important ones. About the time *Visible Traces* was in press, Endymion Wilkinson's ex-

tremely useful sinological manual, first published in 1998, was superseded by an even more useful revised and enlarged edition.¹⁷ Lothar Ledderose's series of Mellon Lectures delivered in 1998 at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., contains much material on Chinese writing and printing that is germane to the exhibition.¹⁸ A three-volume illustrated compendium of rare manuscripts and hand-annotated editions, drawn mostly from the Shanghai Library, is now available.¹⁹ The Shanghai Library was also the eventual destination of the renowned Weng Family Collection of Chinese rare books and manuscripts, which returned to China after having been in the United States for more than half a century.²⁰ And in London in 2000 Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts put on the market a selection of rare Chinese books and manuscripts.²¹

Scholars interested in the Dunhuang manuscripts held by the National Library of China (see number 1, *Visible Traces* catalogue) now have greater and easier access to them in the form of published reproductions.²² A new index of Dunhuang manuscripts is also a welcome addition.²³ Several important publications appeared in 2000 to coincide with the centenary of the discovery of the sealed cave library at Dunhuang.²⁴ With regard to illustrated frontispieces such as those found on a scroll containing part of the *Da boruo boluomiduo jing* (Greater Sutra of the Perfection of Transcendent Wisdom) from the Jin-dynasty *Tripitaka* deposited at Guangsheng Temple, Zhaocheng County (catalogue number 2), and on the *Xixia wen cibe daochang chanfa* (Rules for Confession in the Place of the Merciful and Compassionate One) in Tangut script (catalogue number 59), readers will do well to consult Jean-Pierre Drège's recent study on this subject.²⁵ Those wishing to learn more about the history and development of the game of *weiqi*, as represented in the *Manual of Weiqi Strategies Carefully Edited by the Gentleman Zuoyin* (catalogue number 10) may refer to several recent works.²⁶ For fine illustrated works of the Qing dynasty printed in the Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Glory) within the imperial palace complex in Beijing, such as the *Yuzhi gengzhi tu* (Imperially Commissioned Illustrations of Riziculture and Sericulture; catalogue number 17), reprints of selected titles are now available.²⁷

With regard to epigraphical and pictorial rubbings, several publications have only recently come to my attention, among them an article

on the value of ink rubbings for epigraphical studies.²⁸ Another is a small but informative bilingual book produced by the Hong Kong Museum of History to accompany an exhibition on historical inscriptions found in that city.²⁹ Also recommended is a compact volume that not only explains the many specialized types of rubbings, including those known as “cinnabar rubbing” (*zhu ta*) and “black-gold rubbing” (*wujin ta*), which were featured in the exhibition (catalogue numbers 32 and 46 respectively), but discusses the requisite tools, materials, and types of surfaces, objects, and vessels from which rubbings can be made.³⁰ Ink rubbings also form a significant portion of a little-known exhibition on paper, woodcuts, and the printing arts held in Böblingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany.³¹ On the rubbings of inscribed ancient bronze vessels (catalogue numbers 25–28), readers are encouraged to turn to the richly documented and insightful work of Thomas Lawton.³² Those wishing to learn more about the decorations and inscriptions found on bronze mirrors, such as those featured in the *Jing ming ji ta* (Collected Rubbings of Bronze Mirrors with Inscriptions; catalogue number 31), should consult the excellent catalogue of a recent exhibition at the Cleveland Museum of Art written by Ju-hsi Chou, in which all the cast inscriptions are transcribed and translated.³³

While researching the *Cao Wangxi zaoxiang ji* (Inscription and Illustrated Panels for the Base of a Buddhist Image Constructed by Cao Wangxi; catalogue number 36), I had erroneously followed a published Chinese source in stating that the object from which the rubbing had been taken was in a Parisian museum. The stone pedestal, which once supported a statue of Maitreya Buddha, is in fact in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia (accession number C 145), most probably after passing through the hands of the prominent Chinese dealer C. T. Loo (1880–1957), who had galleries in Shanghai, Paris, and New York. Information about the pedestal has recently been thoroughly discussed by Dorothy C. Wong.³⁴ Another object in the exhibition with Buddhist iconography, the *Guanyin xiang* (Portrait of the Bodhisattva Guanyin; catalogue number 38), is discussed in a newly published monographic study on Guanyin.³⁵ As for the *Zhong Kui tu* (Illustration of Zhong Kui the Demon Queller; catalogue number 42), I should like to draw attention to an exhibition

catalogue from the National Museum of History in Taipei devoted to illustrations of Zhong Kui, to which I did not have access during the compilation of *Visible Traces*.³⁶

Concerning the section "Maps and Atlases," scholars have long appreciated the importance of the *Pingjiang tu* (Map of the Prefectural City of Pingjiang; catalogue number 48) for understanding the social and urban development of Suzhou. This has been underscored in two recent historical studies of Chinese urban development: Heng Chye Kiang's broad overview of selected cities in Tang and Song China and Yinong Xu's focused diachronic study of Suzhou.³⁷ Readers interested in the exhibit item *Bishu shanzhuang quantu* (Complete Map of the Mountain Retreat for Escaping Summer's Heat; catalogue number 56) may wish to consult the new monograph by Philippe Forêt on the Qing imperial estate at Chengde for other renderings of the overall topography and specific scenic spots.³⁸

There is much new research related to the works in non-Chinese scripts featured in the exhibition; a selection is offered for further reading. A new study of the invention and early transmission of movable-type printing in Tangut (Xixia) and Uighur scripts provides the context for understanding works such as the *Cibei daochang chanfa* (Rules for Confession in the Place of the Merciful and Compassionate One; catalogue number 59) in Tangut script.³⁹ A dissertation from Harvard University is useful for biographical and bibliographical data concerning Rol-p'ai-rdo-rje (1717–1786), to whom the *Zang chuan fojiao sanbai foxiang tu* (Three Hundred Icons of Tibetan Buddhism; catalogue number 62) is attributed.⁴⁰ Pamela Kyle Crossley's new book on Manchu imperial ideology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is helpful in supplying the historical context for documents such as the *Man Han hebi zouzhe* (Palace Memorial in Manchu and Chinese Scripts; catalogue number 63) and the *Man Han hebi gaoming* (Imperial Patent of Nobility in Manchu and Chinese Scripts; catalogue number 64).⁴¹ Our knowledge of Yi culture, which was represented in the exhibition by the *Yiwen liu zu shi* (History of the Six Ancestors in Yi Script; catalogue number 65), is greatly enhanced by the first scholarly study on the Yi to appear in a Western language in four decades.⁴² Research on the artifacts of Naxi culture in southwestern China, as exemplified in the *Naxi zu Geba wen*

xiangxing wen Dongba jing er zhong (Two Dongba Texts of the Naxi People in Geba and Pictographic Scripts; catalogue number 67A-B) and the *Naxi zu Dongba tu san zhong* (Three Dongba Illustrations from the Naxi People; catalogue number 68A-C) is currently being undertaken at various locations worldwide and continues to gain momentum. This is evident from several recent works that may serve as useful references.⁴³ Another important resource for the study of Naxi manuscripts is the Asian Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Purchased from Joseph Rock (1884–1962), the division’s collection of 3,038 pictographic manuscripts by Naxi priests from Yunnan province are being catalogued by Zhu Baotian and will become more accessible to scholars when the finding list is published.⁴⁴

One of the underlying goals of *Visible Traces* was to emphasize the point that libraries, particularly those with departments devoted to rare books and special collections, are not merely repositories of written and printed materials in the bibliographic or documentary sense. They often possess holdings that are works of art in their own right, whether in aesthetic or technical terms, as well as items that can help bring new perspectives to cross-disciplinary endeavors. This has been made clear by the recent exhibition *Taoism and the Arts of China* and its accompanying catalogue, in which loans from several libraries around the world and library-type objects from museum collections played a critical role in presenting Daoism to specialists and the general public alike.⁴⁵ It is my hope that the *Visible Traces* exhibition and catalogue will encourage scholars and students working on any aspect of traditional Chinese culture and civilization to become better acquainted with and make use of the inexhaustible riches of the National Library of China.

NOTES

1. Additional information on the “Visible Traces” materials is available on the Asia Society’s website for teachers and students, www.askasia.org, which features downloadable readings, lesson plans, and innovative resource materials.
2. *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China*, comp. and ed. Philip K. Hu (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, in association with Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000). The parallel Chinese title for this publica-

- tion is *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan shanben tecang zhenpin li Mei zhanlan tulu*. The catalogue has been reviewed by Martin Heijdra of Princeton University in the *Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 2 (May 2001), pp. 526–527, and by Kathleen Ryor of Carleton College in the online CAARreviews (<http://www.caareviews.org/reviews/hu.html>).
3. These are *A Journey into China's Antiquity*, comp. the National Museum of Chinese History, 4 vols. (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1997) translated from the original Chinese edition of this work, also published by Morning Glory in four volumes under the title *Huaxia zhi lu*, comp. Zhongguo lishi bowuguan (Beijing: Zhaohua chubanshe, 1997); *Artefacts of Ancient Chinese Science and Technology*, comp. editorial board of the Artefacts of Ancient Chinese Science and Technology, translated into English by He Fei (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1998) from the original *Zhongguo gudai keji wenwu* (Beijing: Zhaohua chubanshe, 1998); and *Guo zhi guibao: Zhongguo wenwu shiye wushi nian, 1949–1999*, comp. and ed. Guojia wenwuju, Zhongguo lishi bowuguan, and Zhongguo geming bowuguan (Beijing: Zhaohua chubanshe, 1999).
 4. One particular challenge in designing the catalogue was the selection of visually complementary English- and Chinese-language text and display fonts. The graceful and highly legible Palatino was chosen for setting the main English text, with display headings in Sabon and Palatino Bold; descriptive captions were set in ITC Berkeley Oldstyle Book and inventory numbers in Sabon Italic. Chinese text was set using the classic serif Traditional Shu Song (Traditional Song-style Book) font in various point sizes and weights.
 5. Shen Jin, *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shuzhi*, *Hafo Yanjing tushuguan shumu congkan*, no. 7 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 183–184, no. 0344, and p. 184, no. 0345. Another edition in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, with seventy illustrations and bearing the title *Shengji quan tu* (block size 21 x 14.3 cm.), is not included in the descriptive catalogue but is mentioned in Shum's essay in this volume.
 6. Julia K. Murray, "The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (May 1996), pp. 269–300; "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius: Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late-Ming China," *Artibus Asiae* 55, nos. 1–2 (1997), pp. 73–134; and "The Evolution of Pictorial Hagiography in Chinese Art: Common Themes and Forms," *Arts asiatiques* 55 (2000), pp. 81–97, esp. pp. 91–93 for the life of Confucius. For a related study, see Julia K. Murray, "The Hangzhou 'Portraits of Confucius and Seventy-two Disciples (Shengxian tu)': Art in the Service of Politics," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (March 1992), pp. 7–18.
 7. For studies on Jianyang, one of the major printing centers until the late-Ming period, see Lucille Chia, "Printing for Profit: The Commercial Printers of Jianyang, Fujian (Song-Ming)" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996); and Lucille Chia, "The Development of the Jianyang Book Trade, Song-Yuan," *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996), pp. 10–48. For a study on two printing

- families in the Tingzhou region, Fujian province, see Cynthia J. Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China: The Zou and Ma Family Businesses," *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996), pp. 49–92.
8. See the recent articles by Robert E. Harrist Jr.: "Eulogy on Burying a Crane: A Ruined Inscription and Its Restoration," *Oriental Art* 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 2–10; "Record of the Eulogy on Mt. Tai and Imperial Autographic Monuments of the Tang Dynasty," *Oriental Art* 46, no. 2 (2000), pp. 68–79; and "Reading Chinese Mountains: Landscape and Calligraphy in China," *Oriental Art* 31, no. 10 (December 2000), pp. 64–69.
 9. See Robert E. Harrist Jr. and Wen C. Fong, *The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John B. Elliott Collection* (Princeton, N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999).
 10. See Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998). See especially pp. 244–263 for the nature and manifestations of Tibetan Buddhism at the Qing court.
 11. "Editor's Introduction and Acknowledgments," *Visible Traces*, pp. v–xii.
 12. *L'Aventure des écritures: Naissances*, ed. Anne Zali and Annie Berthier (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), published in conjunction with the exhibition *L'Aventure des écritures: Naissances*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, November 4, 1997–May 17, 1998; *L'Aventure des écritures: Matières et formes*, ed. Simone Breton-Gravereau and Danièle Thibault (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998), published in conjunction with the exhibition *L'Aventure des écritures: Matières et formes*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, November 4, 1999–May 16, 1999; and *L'Aventure des écritures: La page*, ed. Anne Zali (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), published in conjunction with the exhibition *L'Aventure des écritures: La page*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, October 19, 1999–February 6, 2000.
 13. *Manuscripts, xylographes, estampages: Les collections orientales du département des Manuscrits: Guide*, ed. Annie Berthier (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2000).
 14. *Library of Congress Asian Collections: An Illustrated Guide*, introduction by Mya Thanda Poe; text by Harold E. Meinheit (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2000). See esp. pp. 13–29 for Chinese, Naxi, and Tibetan materials in the chapter entitled "The Classical Tradition."
 15. Jiang Hong, comp. and ed., *Beijing tushuguan chubanshe tushu zongmu (1979–1999)* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999). The internal publishing house, known for some time as Shumu wenxian chubanshe, has been renamed the Beijing tushuguan chubanshe. Recent titles include Lin Shenqing, *Song Yuan shuke paiji tulu* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999), an illustrated collection of publishers' and printers' colophons; and the *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan mulu*, comp. Guojia tushuguan guji zu and Beijing tushuguan chubanshe (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2000), a comprehensive title index to its monumental 120-volume reprint series on rare printed editions.

16. Oliver Moore, *Chinese, Reading the Past* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 2000; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).
17. Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, rev. and enl. ed., Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, no. 52 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000). See esp. the sections "Cartography" and "Dunhuang and Turpan Documents" and the chapters "Oracle-Bone Inscriptions," "Epigraphy," "The Earliest Manuscripts," "Non-Han Peoples (Inside China)," and "Non-Han Peoples (Outside China)."
18. Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*, A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1998, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., vol. 46, Bollingen Series, no. 35 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000). See esp. the chapters "The System of Script" and "The Word in Print."
19. *Zhongguo guji gaochao jiaoben tulu*, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2000).
20. See the illustrated catalogue of the collection, *Changshu Weng shi cangshu tulu* (Changshu Weng's Family Collection of Chinese Rare Books), comp. Zhongguo Jiade guoji paimai youxian gongsi, text by Tuo Xiaotang (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2000). See also a catalogue of the collection in English by Sören Edgren, "The Weng Family Rare Book Collection," *East Asian Library Journal* 7, no. 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 72-132.
21. *Chinese Books*, Catalogue 23 [catalogue by Wei Chen Hsuan; edited by Crofton Black] (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 2000). Several items illustrated in the catalogue are useful for making comparisons to those in *Visible Traces*.
22. *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* (Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the National Library of China), comp. Zhongguo guojia tushuguan, ed. Ren Jiyu (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999-), vols. 1-5 published to date. See also *Beijing tushu guan cang Dunhuang yishu mulu suoyin*, comp. Chen Jing and Wang Xin, *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu xubian*, vol. 1, *Dunhuangxue wenxian*, vol. 3 (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 1999).
23. Dunhuang yanjiuyuan and Shi Pingting, comps., Tai Huili, ed., *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin xinbian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000).
24. See, for instance, Jean-Pierre Drège, ed., *Images de Dunhuang: Dessins et peintures sur papier des fonds Pelliot et Stein*, Mémoires archéologiques, no. 24 (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 2000); Roderick Whitfield, Susan Whitfield, and Neville Agnew, *Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000); and *Dunhuang: A Centennial Commemoration of the Discovery of the Cave Library China* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000).
25. Jean-Pierre Drège, "De l'icône à l'anecdote: Les frontispices imprimés en Chine à l'époque des Song (960-1278)," *Arts asiatiques* 54 (1999), pp. 44-65. The article is accompanied by numerous illustrations of Buddhist sutra frontispieces from the Tang, Liao, Xixia, and Song dynasties, spanning the ninth through twelfth centuries.

26. Paolo Zanon, "The Opposition of the Literati to the Game of Weiqi in Ancient China," *Asian and African Studies* 5, no. 1 (1996), pp. 70–82; Zhang Ru'an, *Zhongguo weiqi shi* (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 1998); Cai Zhongmin et al., *Zhongguo weiqi shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1999).
27. See *Qing dian banhua huikan*, ed. Liu Tuo and Meng Bai, 16 vols. (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1998). This compendium contains reproductions of twenty-two sets of woodblock prints originally produced by the Wuyingdian; a reproduction of the *Yu zhi gengzhi tu* of 1696 is found in vol. 1.
28. Su Yinghui, "Tan jinshi taben zhi zhongyao xing," *Gugong wenwu yuekan* (The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art) 1, no. 1 (April 1983), pp. 132–139. An ink-rubbing impression of the *Biqiu Huicheng wei wang fu Luozhou cishi Shiping gong zaoxiang tiji* (Inscription for a Buddhist Image Constructed by the Monk Huicheng to Commemorate His Late Father, the Duke of Shiping and Regional Inspector of Luozhou; catalogue number 35) is illustrated at the lower right portion of p. 136.
29. Lü Rongfang (Lui Wing-fong), *Zhongguo chuantong tayin jishu* (Traditional Chinese Rubbing Techniques), English translation by Zeng Zhuzhao (Gerald Tsang Chu-chiu) (Hong Kong: Xianggang shizhengju [The Urban Council], 1986). The book was published in conjunction with the exhibition *Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong* organized by the Hong Kong Museum of History and scholars from the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
30. Li Yi and Qi Kaiyi, *Tapian, taben zhizuo jifa*, *Zhongguo chuantong shougong jiyi congshu* (Beijing: Beijing gongyi meishu chubanshe, 1998).
31. *In China . . . längst vor Gutenberg: Papier—Holzschnitt—Druckkunst*, mit Beiträgen von Jean-Luc Balle, Jacques Goffin und Jean-Marie Simonet, herausgegeben von Günter Scholz, Böblinger Museumsschriften, no. 16 (Böblingen, Germany: Böblinger Bauernkriegsmuseum, 1996). The exhibition, held from December 15, 1996 through February 16, 1997, was organized by the Musée de l'imprimerie de Bruxelles, the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, and the Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles. See the contribution by Jean-Marie Simonet, "Das Papier, Steinabreibungen und die Druckkunst in China," pp. 16–26, and catalogue numbers 1–17 for rubbings from Belgian collections.
32. See Thomas Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 67 (1995), pp. 5–48, and esp. p. 7, n. 1 for bibliographical references to earlier writings on this subject. For the related topic of the illustration of bronze vessels in late imperial catalogues, see Lawton, "An Imperial Legacy Revisited: Bronze Vessels from the Qing Palace Collection," *Asian Art*, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 1997–1998), pp. 51–79; and "Rong Geng and the Qing Imperial Bronze Collection: Scholarship in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Apollo* 145, no. 421 (New Series) (March 1997), pp. 10–16.
33. Ju-hsi Chou, *Circles of Reflection: The Carter Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2000).
34. See Dorothy C. Wong, "Maitreya Buddha Statues at the University of Penn-

- sylvania Museum," *Orientalia* 32, no. 2 (February 2001), pp. 24–31; the four-sided pedestal is illustrated, along with a rubbing taken from one side, as figs. 8a–d on pp. 30–31. Following this lead, I have found more references to the artifact. The pedestal appears in two photographs showing its installation within the exhibition of Chinese art in the Charles Custis Harrison Hall of the University Museum beginning in 1916, the year of its acquisition; see Carl W. Bishop, "Recent Accessions of Chinese Sculpture," *Museum Journal* 9, no. 2 (June 1918), unnumbered plate facing the foreword on p. 95, and p. 134, fig. 36. Some six decades ago, the pedestal was featured in the museum's bulletin, with good illustrations of the three sides with pictorial reliefs, in Horace H. F. Jayne, "The Chinese Collections of the University Museum: A Handbook of the Principal Objects," *University Museum Bulletin* 9, nos. 2–3 (June 1941), p. 25, fig. 20, and Appendix I, p. 53, no. 13, where the inscription is partially translated. The two reliefs on the lateral sides of the pedestal are also illustrated in Bradley Smith and Wan-go Weng, *China: A History in Art* ([New York]: Doubleday & Company, Inc., [1972]), pp. 110–111.
35. Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
 36. *Wuri Zhong Kui hua tezhan* (Chung K'uei Paintings on the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month), comp. and ed. Guoli lishi bowuguan bianji weiyuanhui [Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan (National Museum of History), 1996]. Another rubbing taken from the same engraved stone of 1624 in the Shaolin Temple is discussed on p. 77 and shown in fig. 63.
 37. Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. xi–xiv and fig. 1; pp. 154–158 and figs. 53, 55; pp. 195–198 and fig. 77. Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). There are numerous textual and pictorial references to the 1229 stone map of Pingjiang throughout this work.
 38. Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). Many of the named sites in the map are also portrayed throughout the book in the form of other maps, drawings, and prints, as well as in historical and contemporary photographs. See esp. chap. 7, "Representations of Chengde."
 39. Shi Jinbo and Yasen Wushouer, *Zhongguo huozhi yinshua shu de faming he zaoqi chuanbo: Xixia he Huigu huozhi yinshua shu yanjiu* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000). The table of contents and abstract are also in English and French.
 40. Xiangyun Wang, "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, 1717–86" (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1995).
 41. Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

42. *Perspectives on the Yi of Southwest China*, ed. Stevan Harrell, Studies on China, no. 26 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001). See especially the two essays in Part One, "The Yi in History."
43. See, for instance, Maciej Gaca, *Literatura piktograficzna Naxi (Chiny Poludniowe)* (Pictographic Script Literature of the Naxi in Southern China), ed. Alfred F. Majewicz (with summary in English), Monograph Series, International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies, vol. 12 (Stęszew, Poland: IIEOS, 1997); *Naxi zu wenhua daguan*, ed. Guo Dalie, Yunnan minzu wenhua daguan congshu (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1999); and the monumental hundred-volume compendium of Chinese translations of Naxi text with synopses in English, the *Naxi Dongba guji yizhu quanji* (An Annotated Collection of Naxi Dongba Manuscripts), comp. and trans. Dongba wenhua yanjiusuo, ed. He Wanbao and He Jiaxiu (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1999).
44. The tentative title for the projected finding list is "A Research Guide to the Naxi Manuscripts in the Library of Congress."
45. See Stephen Little with Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, in association with Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). The exhibition was shown at the Art Institute of Chicago from November 4, 2000, through January 7, 2001, and at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco from February 21 through May 13, 2001. Of the 151 items featured in this exhibition and catalogue, no less than 26 were of the kind (manuscripts, printed books, scrolls, and ink rubbings) one would expect to find in library collections or other specialized museums. As Little and Eichman have shown in their erudite catalogue entries, the importance of these materials for the understanding of Daoism can hardly be overstated.

GLOSSARY

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Biqiu Huicheng wei wang fu Luozhou cishi</i> | <i>Lanting xiuxi tu</i> 蘭亭修禊圖 |
| Shiping gong zaoxiang tiji 比丘慧成爲
亡父洛州刺史始平公造像題記 | <i>Man Han hebi gaoming</i> 滿漢合璧誥命 |
| <i>Bishu shanzhuang quantu</i> 避暑山莊全圖 | <i>Man Han hebi zouzhe</i> 滿漢合璧奏摺 |
| <i>Cao Wangxi zaoxiang ji</i> 曹望愷造像記 | <i>Naxi zu Dongba tu san zhong</i>
納西族東巴圖三種 |
| <i>Da boruo boluomiduo jing</i>
大般若波羅密多經 | <i>Naxi zu Geba wen xiangxing wen Dongba jing</i>
<i>er zhong</i> 納西族哥巴文象形文東巴
經二種 |
| <i>Feng Jingchuan</i> 馮金川 | <i>Pingjiang tu</i> 平江圖 |
| <i>Guanyin xiang</i> 觀音像 | <i>Shengji tu</i> 聖蹟圖 |
| <i>Huang Runhua</i> 黃潤華 | <i>Shen Jin</i> 沈津 |
| <i>Jing ming ji ta</i> 鏡銘集拓 | |

shuangyin 雙印

Sun Liping 孫利平

Wang Chen 王晨

weiqi 圍棋

wujin ta 烏金拓

Wuyingdian 武英殿

Xixia wen cibe dao chang chanfa

西夏文慈悲道場懺法

Xu Jun 徐峻

Yiwen liu zu shi 彝文六祖史

Yuzhi gengzhi tu 御製耕織圖

Zang chuan fojiao sanbai foxiang tu

藏傳佛教三百佛像圖

Zhang Zhiqing 張志清

Zhao Chunhou 趙純厚

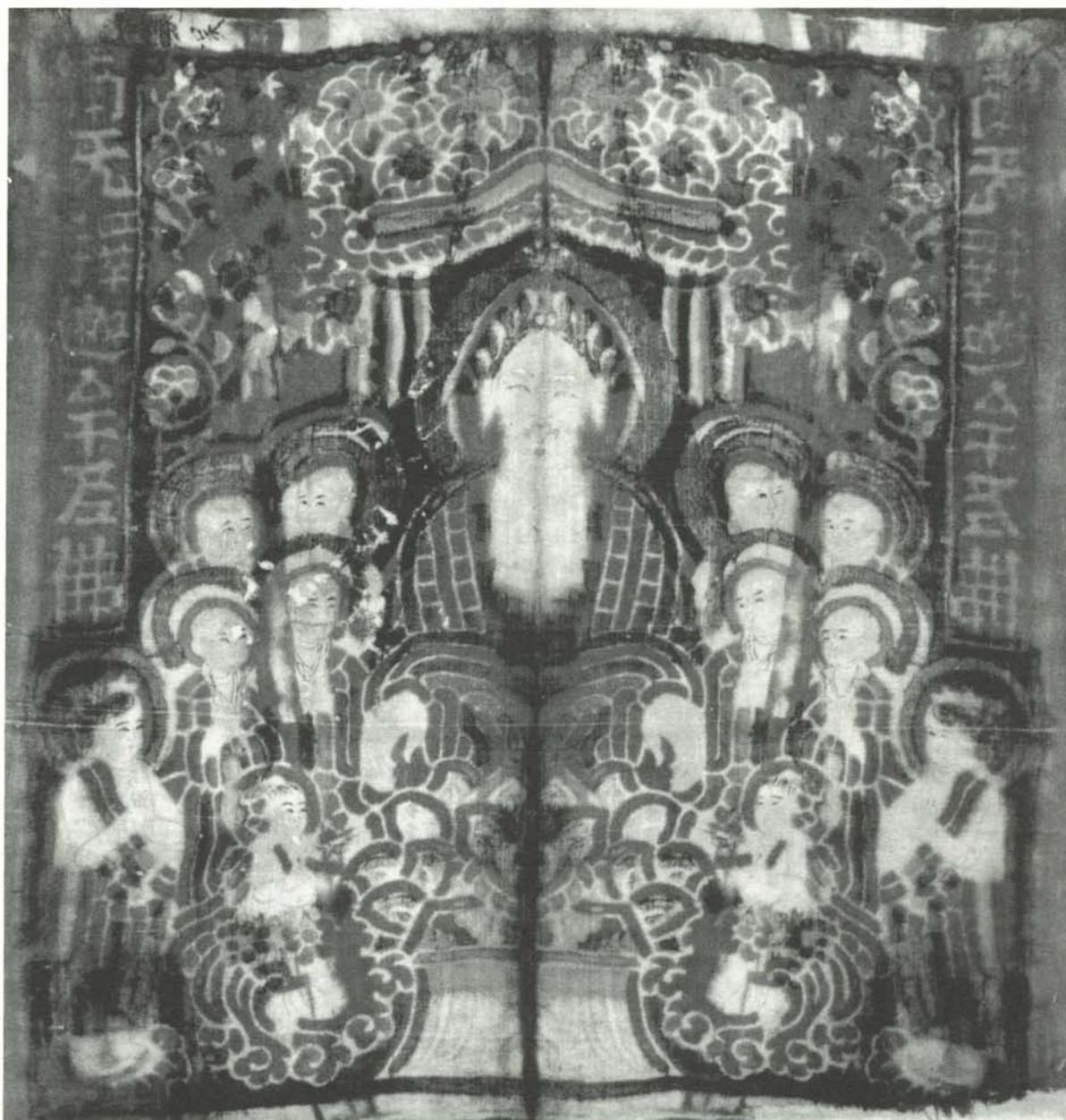
Zhao Qian 趙前

Zhong Kui tu 鍾馗圖

zhu ta 朱拓

Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yipu

坐隱先生精訂捷徑奕譜



1. Sakyamuni Buddha preaching the law (*Shijia shuofa xiang*), ink and colors on silk (66 x 61.5 cm.), from *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang*.

Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing

SÖREN EDGREN

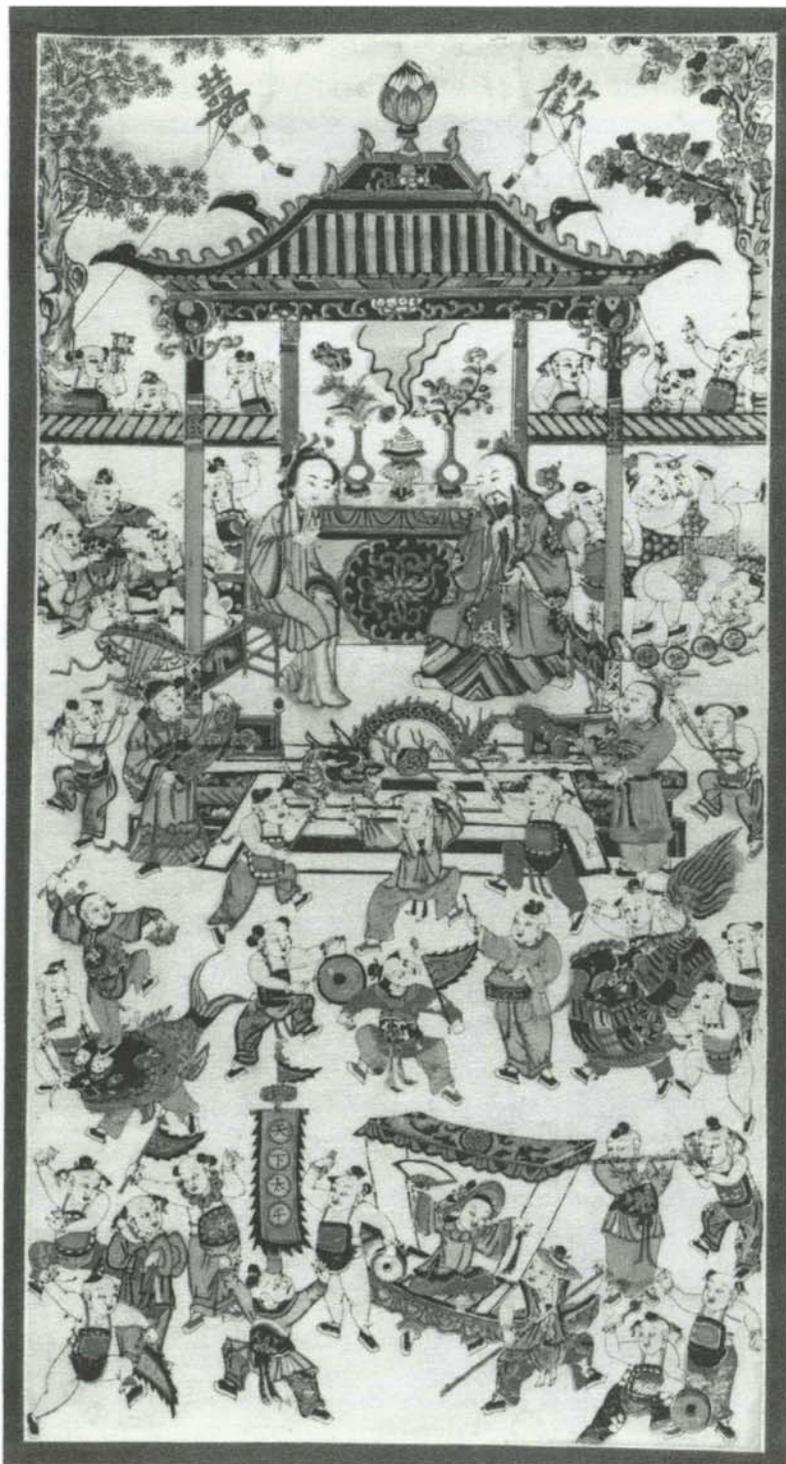
Color printing is a distinctive feature among Chinese rare books, and the innovation itself represents an important Chinese contribution to the history of printing. In fact, more than one-third (eight of twenty-one titles) of the Chinese printed books on display in the *Visible Traces* exhibition held recently at the Queens Library in New York are examples of some form of color printing.¹ We would do well, therefore, to begin by considering the history of color printing in China and by trying to understand what exactly is meant by the term color printing in the Chinese context.

One of the earliest examples of what I would call quasi-color printing was discovered in 1974 inside a Buddhist sculpture in the famous wooden pagoda, built in 1056, at Yingxian, Shanxi province.² The Liao-dynasty (907–1125) image (ca. eleventh century) of Sakyamuni Buddha preaching the law (*Shijia shuofa xiang*), surrounded by attendants, appears on a square sheet of silk (66 x 61.5 cm.) brightly colored in red, blue, and yellow, with some details, especially facial features, finished with thin strokes of brush and ink (see figure 1). Two other similar specimens were found together with this one. Although there is not a consensus of opinion regarding the precise method of production,³ it seems clear to me that the colors have been produced on the folded surface by some sort

of stenciling or dying technique, possibly by a silk-screen method, and not properly speaking by what can be called printing. Especially noteworthy is the crease in the center of the silk and the mirror image created by the right and left halves of the composition in figure 1, which represents a duplication in reverse of the half-image.

There are a few other isolated early examples reported of single-sheet prints in which one or more pigments in addition to ink has been applied to popular images, but there is nothing at an early date that unquestionably can be called color printing. One of the most important and interesting specimens is the large print attributed to the twelfth century depicting Dongfang Shuo (b. ca. 160 BCE), a character of popular folktales, reportedly printed in black and gray (that is, two tones of ink) as well as light green, and discovered in Xi'an in 1973.⁴ No doubt, some vague time in the recent past witnessed the emergence of the popular, decorative prints we have known quite well since the late-Ming (1368–1644) and early-Qing (1644–1911) dynasties as New Year pictures (*nianhua*). Besides pairs of elongated prints with auspicious words and images, there were also the familiar door gods (*menshen*), genre scenes, theatrical prints, and pictures symbolizing domestic bliss and tranquillity.⁵ The example shown in figure 2 is generally representative of the production of Hebei province in northern China about a century ago. After printing an outline in black (ink) from a key block, basic colors, in this case yellow, pink, dark red, dark blue, and dark green, were printed separately.⁶ These basic techniques, of course, are not unrelated to those used in Chinese color-printed books. Finally, additional colors were added by hand as part of a routine production line. In this print the bright orange, washes of light blue, light green, and flesh color for the faces of the happy parents have all been applied with a brush by hand. Human hair and patches of black have been added with brush and ink. As interesting as these prints are, they represent a special category of printing and are not treated in this paper. My aim is to focus attention on the specific subject of color printing and Chinese rare books.

The earliest extant specimen of color printing in the form of a bound book was produced in the middle of the fourteenth century in the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), at a time when Chinese woodblock printing had already reached full maturity (see figures 3 and 4). This is the famous



2. Happy parents seated outdoors on a covered dais and surrounded by a multitude of children, apparently all boys, playing and cavorting amid auspicious symbols and slogans. The two kites flown by boys at the top of the print represent Chinese characters meaning happiness. Polychrome print (84.6 x 43.5 cm.) from Hebei province, ca. 1910. Guanhaiou Collection.

Buddhist text of the *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* (Diamond Sutra), with commentary, published in 1341 at Zifusi, a Buddhist temple in Huguang Zhongxinglu (modern Hubei province).⁷ The first thing one notices in figure 3 is that the main text, in large characters, is printed in red, and the smaller characters of the commentary are printed in black. As we shall see, this is contrary to publishing practice in the early-seventeenth century at the end of the Ming, when texts were commonly printed in black with commentaries in red, but it possibly reflects the relationship of these two levels of text from a much earlier manuscript tradition.⁸ In figure 4 we see a seated portrait of Sicong, that is, monk Wuwen, who wrote the commentary. The juxtaposition of the monk and his disciples surrounding the desk and table all printed in red with the pine tree and small cartouche in the upper left-hand corner printed in black raises the question of color registration. Registration depends on the precise alignment of the image matrix, including the possible use of one or more separate blocks for each color in the composition of a polychrome print, together with the sheet of paper or other support.⁹ Both figures can help us understand the technique of registration that was not employed in this red and black (that is, vermilion and ink) color print. Traces of black lines separated from and also overprinting the red text inform us that a single carved woodblock was used and that an inked impression of the large characters that had been brushed with vermilion (cinnabar) pigment probably was first taken, and then the block was wiped clean, to be followed by an inked impression from the commentary.¹⁰ Some modern Chinese bibliographers have begun to call this technique *shuangyin* or "twice printed" after a term found in an essay published in the late sixteenth century by the Ming bibliophile Hu Yinglin (1551–1602).¹¹ Hu says, "Whatever is printed [nowadays] is either in red, or in black, or in blue. There are twice-printed [books] and there are once-printed [books]. Twice-printed [books] use vermilion (that is, cinnabar) and should be regarded as precious."¹² Twice-printed books were probably considered precious because of the added labor needed in printing twice and the cost of cinnabar used for the pigment.

Recently, an article challenging the assumption that *shuangyin* technique was used to print the *Diamond Sutra* in 1341 was published in China.¹³ The author, Tuo Xiaotang, viewed the original edition in

之類但屬血氣心念多端雜形類質為之衆生也若卵生却是想成欲情厚也

若胎生胎因情有生死根本若濕生濕因感合愛見妄生若化

生化因離應無而忽有此四種生不出若有色梵天人得

於禪定無有欲心惟在身若無色無色界天人念慮虛

若形受禪定樂為之色界若有想微細念慮似起不起第七若無想戒根清淨

慾想乾枯無想天中若非有想色空俱忘寂滅現前

禪定三昧未曾見性非無想如存不存若盡非盡三界至極我皆令

入無餘涅槃而滅度之如是滅

度無量無數無邊衆生實無衆

生得滅度者衆生者是妄想心多生巧見故號衆生若斷煩惱除妄想去貪嗔修戒定

3. Diamond Sutra (Jin'gang bore boluomi jing), National Central Library facsimile edition (1970). Leaf 7:b-c, main text (red) in large characters, commentary (black) in small characters.



佛慧命稟吹毛利訣深奧妙明明不墜佛之使也雖末法中亦有能信者敲空作響喚醒在家出家四衆之流向道佛子故以宣明釋開法爾竟悟天魔不被所惑辯鑑邪正勿被過謬後學般若菩薩持堅固志具擇法眼等諸佛心同諸佛願者

伏願上祝

皇圖鞏固帝道遐昌

佛日增輝法輪常轉

四恩總報三有齊資法界寃親同圓種智者

夫優曇現瑞普獲馨香善逝應真皆蒙

4. *Diamond Sutra (Jin'gang bore boluomi jing)*, National Central Library facsimile edition (1970). Leaf 38:b-c, seated portrait of Sicong, that is, monk Wuwen, with his disciples (red), adjoined by pine tree and text (black).

Taiwan in 1999, and he asserts that separate blocks were used to print the two colors of red and black. He claims to have observed two instances in the text where the small black characters of the commentary appear above and below one or more large red characters, and where overprinting occurs above and below simultaneously, which could only result from the use of movable blocks of text. Of course, overprinting can take place with imprints from a single block as well as from multiple blocks, because both techniques are susceptible to the misalignment of the paper when taking multiple impressions. In the only cases of overprinting in the *Diamond Sutra* I have observed, however, the entire section of black text has shifted uniformly in one direction, either up or down, or right or left. I have not found the kinds of examples suggested by Tuo.

I have only seen the original edition once and have worked primarily from the facsimile edition. The minor evidence to support my belief that a single woodblock was used includes the presence of cracks in the block that match up perfectly between the red and black text. There are, however, more instances where a crack begins and ends in the red or black text without continuing to the other, but I believe that this represents the presence of foreign matter (for example, fibers such as brush hairs) or the difference between superficial cracks and underlying cracks. The major evidence in favor of the *shuangyin* theory is not the presence of overprinting, but rather what I might call "underprinting." On numerous leaves we find careless inking of the block that results in portions of small characters bordering large characters that have left a slight red impression along with the printing of the main text, and conversely we find that the extremities of large characters have sometimes picked up black ink along with the printing of the commentary and left a corresponding mark. The two pages from leaf seven shown in figure 3 offer examples of the latter phenomenon. Circular reading marks (all from the same block) under the large characters *lei* (right page, column one, second character), *sheng* (right page, column two, third character), *xiang* (right page, column five, third character; left page, column two, third character), and *zhe* (left page, column five, fifth character) should be printed in red only, but here they have been printed twice, once in red and once in black. Horizontal marks from the bottoms of the three large characters, *sheng* and *xiang* (twice) have been inadvertently inked

and printed with the commentary in black. As can be deduced from the small character *zhong* overprinting the large character *ruo* (left page, column one), the black commentary has been printed a few millimeters too low. These results can only be brought about by faulty positioning of the paper on the second pull from the block, and not from the use of separate blocks. Figure 4 offers some additional proof. In the illustration, the diagonal space between the tree trunk and the cloud pattern behind the monk's chair shows that small bits of the trunk are attached to the outer curvature of the cloud and have been printed red, apparently the result of the trunk having been masked off with a straight line. Had the red part of the illustration been a separate block, it would have been easy to neatly sculpt the outline of the clouds. Furthermore, above the number thirty-eight, the number of the leaf printed black, there are two short strokes originally part of lines emanating from the clouds that have been printed black along with the commentary.

At this point, a simple survey of the terminology used for Chinese color printing and of the traditional understanding of the techniques employed may prove useful. The most general term for woodblock color printing is *caise taoyin*, "polychrome overlay printing," which refers to the use of black (that is, ink) and one or more colors together in the production of a printed sheet of paper. In its most primitive form, a single woodblock was carved and different colors were applied to different areas of the block as needed. The most common assumption is that different colors were brushed onto designated sections of the block and a single impression was taken, and this can also be called *fucai yinfa*, or the "applied-pigment printing method." An alternative procedure is the twice-printed method described above. The other *caise taoyin* method was first used in China in the early seventeenth century and is called *douban yinfa*, or "assembled-blocks printing method." This technique makes use of one or more wooden printing blocks for each color, with the blocks fastened to the work table with dabs of wax, thus employing registration in the production of printed color images. Registration is maintained by keeping the sheets of paper clamped in place for each sequential printing. In the case of textual printing, the composite blocks must be kept separate to produce well-defined, clearly legible elements. Contiguity of colors, overlapping, and overprinting are generally avoided. On the other hand, pictorial printing relies on the creation of color

gradation, contrast, and density caused by adjoining and overprinted colors.

I turn now to the simpler manifestations of the use of color in Ming printing. In the sixteenth century we begin to see single pages and even whole texts printed in light blue or pale red. For example, the 1579 edition of the historical work *Lüshi chunqiu* is completely printed in blue, and the 1575 edition of the collection of ancient seal impressions entitled *Jigu yinpu* is printed entirely in red, including all text and the facsimiles of prints from seals (figure 5). In the *Visible Traces* exhibition the *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yipu* (Manual of Weiqi Strategies Carefully Edited by the Gentleman Zuoyin; number 10 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), although printed throughout in black, has a cover page printed in red, which acted as an advertising medium somewhat akin to the modern book's dust jacket.¹⁴ Another copy of the same edition, with the cover page printed in blue, recently appeared at auction.¹⁵ Red and blue also came to be specially used for taking trial impressions from newly carved woodblocks for the purpose of proofreading, as in the *Duichuang yeyu*, a work of literary criticism, published in the late-nineteenth century (figure 6). All other copies of this edition known to me are printed with black ink and were intended for circulation. Of course, red and blue proof copies were printed in small numbers and are scarcely preserved today.

The printing of text in color naturally led to the printing of different levels of text in different colors. The Min and Ling families of Wucheng or Wuxing (modern Huzhou) in Zhejiang province monopolized this genre of publishing in the late Ming.¹⁶ Red and black printed editions (*zhumo taoyinben*) were most commonly produced, and item number 14 in the *Visible Traces* exhibition, *Tangshi yanyipin* (Exemplars of the Beautiful and the Refined in Tang Poetry), a classified anthology of Tang-dynasty poems, is a good example of such an edition.¹⁷ The catalogue illustration shows a typical page opening from this 1621 edition published by Min Yishi, with the main text printed in black and inter-linear and marginal notes printed in red, together with punctuation and reading marks also printed in red. *Caotang shiyu* (figure 7), a collection of *ci* poetry published by Min Yingbi in 1625, is a slightly more elegant edition by another member of the Min lineage. Here we should note that the marginal annotations are printed cursively in imitation of actual

集古印譜卷之一



太原王

常

延年編



武陵顧

從德

汝脩校

秦漢小璽



疾疾除永康休萬壽寧白玉盤螭鈕 國子博士文
壽承云璽以九字成文製作精妙其書乃李斯小篆
無毫髮失筆意非昆吾刀不能刻其文亦非漢已後
文字決為秦璽無疑舊藏沈石田先生家既歸陸叔
平後為袁尚之所得今藏顧光祿處居京師遭回祿
玉變黑色矣昔倪雲林有詩云匣藏數鈕秦朝印白
玉盤螭小篆文則此印又嘗入清閼閣也

5. *Jigu yinpu*, facsimiles of ancient seal impressions, collected and published in Suzhou in 1575 by Wang Chang and Gu Congde (1518-1587). Printed in red. Guanhaiou Collection.

對牀夜語卷之一

孤山人范晞文景文

羔羊之皮素絲五紵詩人美在位之辭也充耳琇瑩
會弁如星又駟馬既閑輶車鸞鑣之類皆借服御
以美其君也若楚詞高余冠之岌岌兮長余佩之
陸離是亦以服御自美也

古詩十九首有云冉冉孤生竹結根泰山阿與君爲
新婚兔絲附女蘿兔絲生有時夫婦會有宜千里
遠結婚悠悠隔山陂思君令人老軒車來何遲言
妻之於夫猶竹根之於山阿兔絲之於女蘿也豈
容使之獨處而久思乎詩云葛生蒙楚藪蔓于野

6. *Duichuang yeyu*, by Fan Xiwen (thirteenth century), published by Ding Bing (1832-1899) in 1896. Trial proof printed in light red. Guanhaiou Collection.

草堂詩餘卷三

西蜀升菴楊 慎批點

吳興文仲閔暎壁校訂

中調

一剪梅

離別

李易安

紅藕香殘玉簫秋。輕解羅裳。獨上蘭舟。雲中誰
寄錦書來。雁字回時。月滿樓。花自飄零水自

草堂詩餘卷三

離情欲淚
讀此始知高
則誠閔漢卿
語人又是劫

7. *Caotang shiyu*, anthology of *ci* poetry with annotations attributed to Yang Shen (1488-1559), published by Min Yingbi in 1625. Two-color printing. Guanhaiou Collection.

handwriting. *Dongpo chanxiji* (figure 8), published by Ling Mengchu (1580–1644) in 1621, is a collection of writings on Buddhism attributed to Su Shi (1037–1101) of the Song dynasty (960–1279), and represents the style of the Ling lineage.¹⁸ The late-Ming period also saw the development of three-color printing, using black, red, and blue; four-color printing, using black, red, yellow, and blue; and finally five-color printing, using black, red, yellow, blue, and light purple. Figure 9 shows a leaf of two pages from the famous work of literary criticism by Liu Xie (d. 473 CE), *Wenxin diaolong*, the sole unillustrated Ming edition printed in five colors.

One encounters varying terminology and differing opinions regarding which of the three methods was used to print the above category of editions.¹⁹ The first, the primitive *fucai yinfa* technique of spreading different colors on a single block from which a single impression was taken, seems to be an impossibility because of overlapping text and punctuation, which can be found in any of the editions of this genre, despite the great care that obviously was taken in printing. The phenomenon of overprinting can even be observed in virtually all of the editions. The second is the *shuangyin* method whereby multiple impressions, each producing a different color, were made from a single engraved woodblock. The third, which I believe to have been used without exception for these books, is a multiblock method, analogous to the *douban yinfa* used for pictorial color printing. My reasons for upholding the last method are the following: among these books there are no telltale marks of *shuangyin* printing as found in the fourteenth-century *Diamond Sutra* discussed above; overprinting and extreme crowding of annotations between the first line of text and the border of the woodblock, suggesting that the two lines of text could not have been carved on the same block, sometimes occur; and in books of this kind one often finds a red corner mark printed over the black border at one or both of the lower corners, implying some sort of guide to registration.²⁰ In such cases, the mark is always superimposed and cannot have been carved on the woodblock of the original text. An example of the L-shaped mark, printed in red and clearly separated from the border of the main block, can be seen in the lower left-hand corner of figure 9.

The tradition of texts printed with polychrome annotations con-

茅鹿門曰東坡
項此等文字轉
歐而不強為此
見解韓歐所不
能及由蘇長少
悟禪宗及過南
海後過唐初
以此心性超朗乃
至于此可謂絕世
之文矣
王聖俞曰坡公
諸頌得意處無
然忘言

東坡禪喜集一

頌

釋迦文佛頌 并引

真寔居士馮夢禎批點
即空居士凌濛初輯增

端明殿學士兼翰林侍讀蘇軾爲亡妻
同安郡君王氏閨之請奉議郎李公麟
敬畫釋迦文佛及十大弟子。元祐八年
十一月十一日。設水陸道場供養。軾拜
手稽首而作頌曰。

8. *Dongpo chanxiji*, published by Ling Mengchu in 1621, with annotations attributed to Feng Mengzhen (1546–1605). Two-color printing. Guanhaiou Collection.

梅子度曰越音
萬元仲娥
元作蘇孫改
夫元作天謝改
目元作星未改
孫樂說曰按
繪射鳥彈曰射
射也
惟元作露未改
曹維始曰橫其
考經曰使而知
惡之先和欲快
聖雅之初知此
疎音班
深聖深字四字
元畫二篇抄是
故聖聖之成日
休辭聖詩也
方聖六以何
和承聖字明易
之六招聖聖
而深聖招聖
秀而古朝
曹維始曰山水
格費而得教
深故文而見
與極真元也
深書批偽感

比與之義也。每一顧而淹涕。歎君門之九重。忠怨
 之辭也。觀茲四事。同於風雅者也。至於託雲龍。說
 迂怪。豐隆求宓妃。鳩鳥媒娥女。詭異之辭也。康回
 傾地。夷羿彈日。木夫九首。土伯三目。譎怪之談也。
 依彭咸之遺。則從子胥。以自適狷狹之志也。士女
 雜坐。亂而不分。指以為樂。娛酒不廢。沈湎日夜。舉
 以為懼。荒淫之意也。摘此四事。異乎經典者。故論
 其典詰。則如彼。語其夸誕。則如此。固知楚辭者。體
 慢於三代。而風雅於戰國。乃雅頌之博徒。而詞賦
 之英傑也。觀其骨鯁所樹。肌膚所樹。雖取鎔經意。
 亦自鑄偉辭。故騷經九章。朗麗以哀。志九歌九辯。
 綺靡以傷情。遠遊天問。瓌詭而惠巧。招蒐招隱。耀
 豔而深華。卜居標放言之志。漁父寄獨往之才。故
 能氣往轢古。辭來切今。驚采絕豔。難與並能矣。自
 九懷以下。遽躡其跡。而屈宋逸步。莫之能追。故其
 敘情怨。則鬱伊而易感。述離居。則愴怏而難懷。論
 山水。則循聲而得貌。言節候。則披文而見時。是以
 枚賈追風。以入麗馬。揚汾波。而得奇。其衣被詞人。

文心雕龍 上

9. *Wenxin diaolong*, published by Min Shengchu after 1612. Five-color printing. From *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan tecang xuanlu* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1987).

tinued in the Qing dynasty, especially among palace editions, of which *Yuzhi guwen yuanjian* (Imperially Commissioned Profound Mirror of Ancient Essays), number 19 in the *Visible Traces* exhibition, is a renowned example.²¹ The illustration is from *juan* 10 of this 1710 edition, printed in five colors on fine white *kaihua* paper.²² A century later, in 1834, a private publisher in Guangzhou produced an edition of the collected literary works of the Tang-dynasty (618–907) poet Du Fu (712–770), using six colors (figure 10) in an unprecedented technical display. Black is used for the main text of Du Fu (and also for some of the text by the commentator who uses primarily red), and purple, blue, red, green, and yellow represent the critical comments of two Ming and three Qing scholars.²³ No doubt, more research still needs to be done to understand fully all the processes for producing these magnificent publications.

In the case of polychrome pictorial editions we are somewhat better informed thanks to traditions that have persisted right up to our own time. The earliest printed edition containing some polychrome illustrations of more than two colors is the *Chengshi moyuan* (Ink Garden of the Cheng Family; number 9 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), a collection of decorative inkstick designs published in 1606.²⁴ As far as can be determined, each color plate in this work was printed by the tedious method of applying colors separately to parts of a single carved woodblock and by printing the colors successively. The second and third illustrations (pages 42–43 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), depicting a dragon and phoenixes, display a range of color from vermilion red to golden yellow,²⁵ and the first illustration (page 39 in the catalogue) uses three different colors to decorate the components of four Chinese characters running horizontally across the top of the page. By comparing the same page in two different color-printed copies of this book,²⁶ we can understand that a liberal attitude was taken toward coloration of the four characters.

The next two decades witnessed the remarkable transition from *shuangyin* color printing, as we have seen in the red-black text of the *Diamond Sutra* and in the polychrome illustrations of the *Ink Garden of the Cheng Family*, to the use of *douban* printing and related technologies. The earliest dated editions of texts printed with two or more colors are from

杜工部集卷六

古詩五十三首

居雲安及夔州作

杜鵑

西川有杜鵑東川無杜鵑涪萬無杜鵑雲安有杜鵑
 我昔遊錦城結廬錦水邊有竹一頃餘喬木上參天
 杜鵑暮春至哀哀叫其間我見常再拜重是古帝魂
 生子百鳥巢百鳥不敢嗔一作喧仍為餒其子禮若奉
 至尊鴻鴈及羔羊有禮太古前行飛與跪乳識序如

善評正是突兀
 奇怪非此村朴
 老人能耳起語
 恍然有得
 典觀羣怨讀此
 參之何必拘斷不可為訓宋
 人諸家評款皆
 誕語也

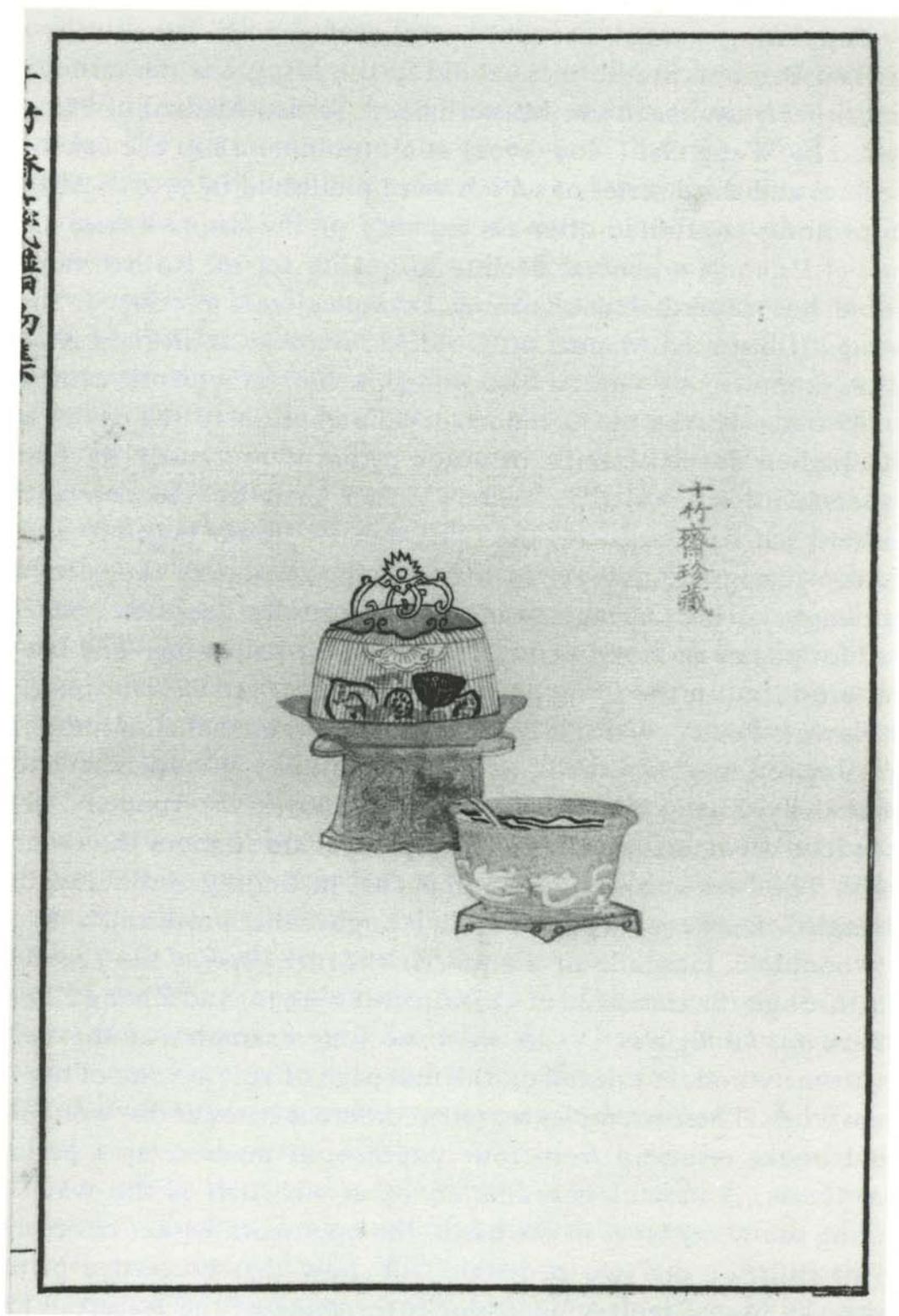
10. *Du gongbu ji*, published in Guangzhou in 1834 by Lu Kun (1772–1835). Six-color printing. Guanhaiou Collection.

around 1616, and one of them, the classical *Chunqiu zuozhuan* published by Min Qiji (b. 1580), offers further proof of the printing method used. In comparing later and earlier impressions of this edition we learn that blocks for the main text are the same but that the blocks for the commentary printed in red have been replaced, perhaps because they had been damaged or lost.²⁷ This example leaves no doubt that the two levels of text were not carved on a single set of woodblocks.

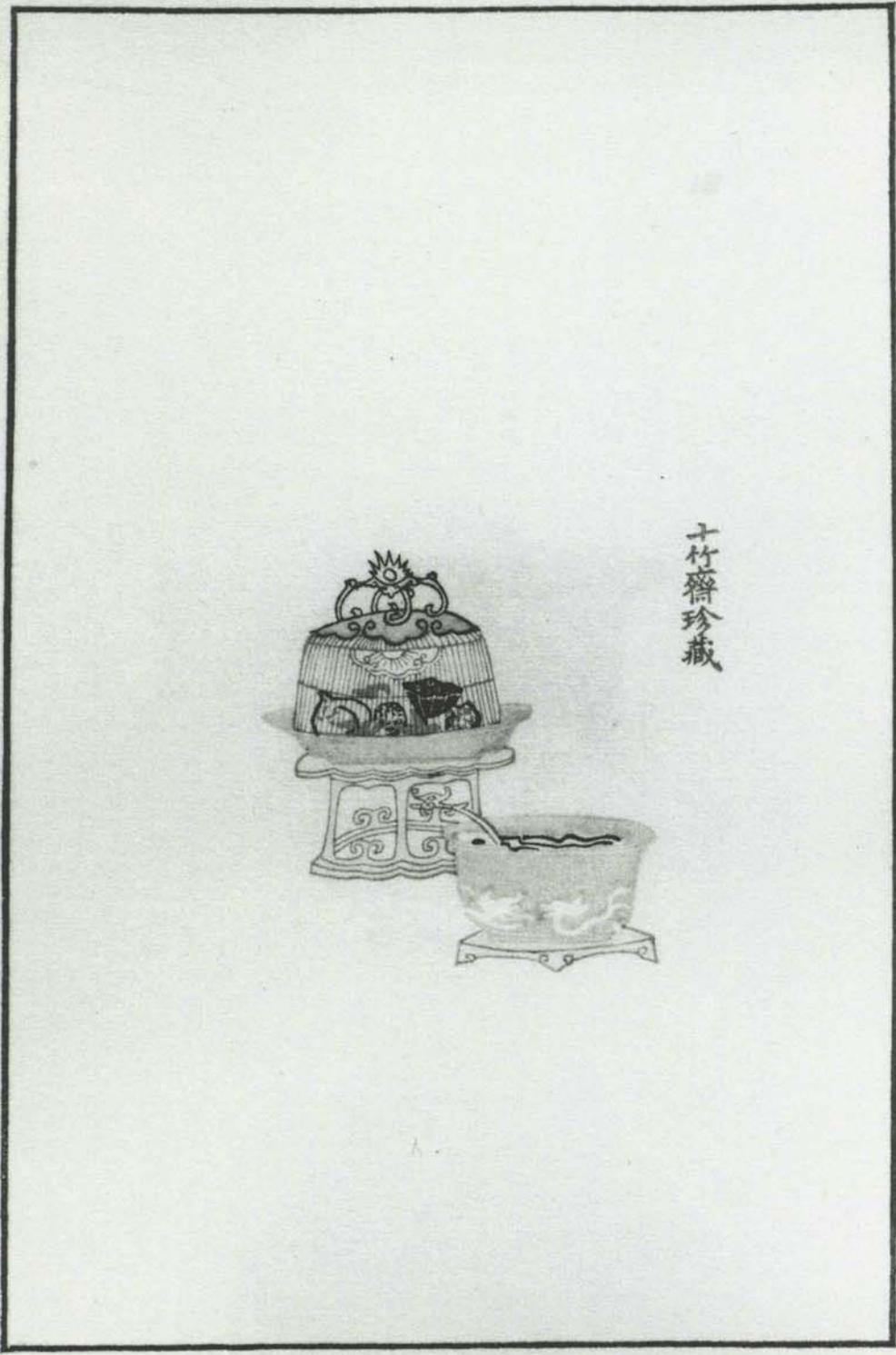
Around 1619 Hu Zhengyan (1582–1672) began to produce woodblocks for what was to become one of the most renowned works of pictorial color printing, the *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting; number 15 in the catalogue), which took more than a decade to complete. For examples of the delicate color printing in imitation of Chinese album paintings, see the illustrations in the *Visible Traces* catalogue.²⁸ It is not known whether or when parts were published separately, but it appears that complete sets of the eight parts were first published between 1633 and 1644. In 1644 Hu also published *Shizhuzhai jianpu* (Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio), in which the *douban* multiblock technique for color printing is mentioned for the first time by Li Kegong in a preface. Another pioneer in this field was Wu Faxiang (b. 1578) whose *Luoxuan biangu jianpu* (Models of Letter Paper of the Wisteria Studio) was published as early as 1626. All these publications are luxurious products with polychrome plates using as many as six or more colors as well as the refined technique of blind printing (*gonghua*) including a variety of embossed designs, sometimes combined with color, but most strikingly used alone. During the last decades of the Ming, roughly the first half of the seventeenth century, there was an apparent vogue for printing delicate albums with color plates, but few have survived, and those often exist as sole exemplars. Several of these surviving treasures have been described, exhibited, and published in recent years. *Hushan shenggai* is a poetic guidebook to Hangzhou, which borrows its title from a work attributed to Zhou Mi (1232–1308);²⁹ *Xixiang ji* is a masterful pictorial interpretation of Wang Dexin's (fl. 1295–1307) drama of the same name (West Chamber);³⁰ and *Jianxia ji*, edited by Shen Linqi (1603–1664),³¹ is an album of imaginative embroidery patterns, in which sense it reminds us of the *Chengshi moyuan* inkstick decorations.

A painting manual that achieved almost as much fame in the Qing as the Ten Bamboo Studio manual did in the Ming was the rather more technical *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), compiled by Wang Gai (1605–1701) et al. (number 18 in the catalogue), the second and third series of which were published in 1701.³² Although color printing continued after the success of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, a general decline in quality set in. Rather carelessly executed but nevertheless charming examples were produced, such as *Jinyu tupu* (Illustrated Manual on Goldfish; number 21 in the catalogue) of 1848, compiled by Gouqu Shannong (fl. mid-nineteenth century).³³

Ultimately, the most important contribution to the preservation of the highest level of skills in color printing was made by Chinese stationers with a scholarly clientele rather than by the conventional publishers, who by the end of the Qing dynasty slowly began to embrace western printing technology. In this way the stationery shops followed the example of Hu Zhengyan and his beautifully decorated paper intended for poetry or letter writing, and even for collecting. The last such album produced in the Qing period, *Wenmeizhai baihua shijianpu* (Hundred Flowers Poetry-Writing Paper from the Wenmeizhai; number 23 in the catalogue), was published in 1911 in Tianjin by Wenmeizhai and was illustrated by Zhang Zhaoxiang (fl. 1892–1907).³⁴ Fortunately, several studios like Wenmeizhai continued to prosper throughout the twentieth century. The best known are Rongbaozhai in Beijing and Duoyunxuan in Shanghai. Between 1934 and 1944 Rongbaozhai produced a magnificent woodblock facsimile of the *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio* through the initiative of Lu Xun (1881–1936) and Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958). In figures 11A–D we have four examples of the delicate polychrome woodcut printed on the first page of volume one of the four-volume work. These examples represent different states of this woodblock-printed book, resulting from four impressions made over a period of twenty years. A careful examination of details such as the wavy lines depicting the water level in the basin, the openwork basket covering the bowl of fruit, or the two pedestals will show that successive printings could make use of replacement blocks for some of the features. This is one of the peculiar features of *douban* printing that can teach us something about Chinese rare books and color printing among the scarce



11A. *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio*, published and printed by Rongbaozhai in 1934. Volume one, page one. Guanhaiou Collection.



11B. *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio*, printed by Rongbaozhai in 1942. Volume one, page one. Guan hailou Collection.

十竹齋珍藏



11C. *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio*, printed by Rongbaozhai in 1952. Volume one, page one. Collection of the Gest Library.

十竹齋箋譜

十竹齋珍藏



11D. *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio*, printed by Rongbaozhai after 1952. Volume one, page one. Collection of the Gest Library.

exemplars of older editions. This splendid book, from the first half of the twentieth century, displays the ingenious *douban* color technique as well as the exquisite *gonghua* embossing technique, both of which originated precisely three centuries earlier.³⁵

NOTES

1. The eight titles are described and illustrated in the exhibition catalogue of the same name. See Philip K. Hu, ed., *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, 2000), nos. 9 (*Chengshi moyuan*), 10 (*Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yipu*), 14 (*Tangshi yanyipin*), 15 (*Shizhuzhai shuhuapu*), 18 (*Jieziyuan huazhuan erji*), 19 (*Guwen yuanjian*), 21 (*Jinyu tupu*), and 23 (*Baihua shijianpu*). All exhibits were lent by the National Library of China in Beijing. This essay is a revised version of the paper presented at the *Visible Traces* symposium held at the Queens Library on February 19, 2000. I am grateful to Nancy Norton Tomasko for encouraging me to expand specific portions of the paper.
2. Volumes from the Liao Tripitaka and other important documents were found at the same time. The artifacts are reproduced and described in Shanxi sheng wenwuju and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan, comps., *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).
3. See the preface to *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang*.
4. The discovery was reported in *Wenwu* (1979), 5, pp. 3-4, plate 2. It is also described by T. H. Tsien in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Paper and Printing) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), vol. 5.1, pp. 280-282, fig. 1188.
5. A good introduction to the genre is found in John Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996).
6. Although I agree that woodblocks were often used in these instances, I suspect that some form of stenciling was also employed more often than is generally acknowledged in the literature.
7. Immediately after the Second World War in 1947, the National Central Library (Guoli zhongyang tushuguan) acquired this extraordinary rare book in Nanjing. I have used the superb photo-facsimile edition of *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970). The volume, in sutra folded binding form, is about 32 cm. tall. The printed leaves are pasted end on end; each measures approximately 32 x 64 cm. and is folded four times to produce the equivalent of five pages. There are single-line borders above and below, and the printed area of each page is 28 x 12.5 cm. The text of each page is divided into five single columns of twelve large characters or five double columns of twenty-four small characters. The leaves are numbered in the middle of the block from three to thirty-nine, which is the number of the

final leaf. The leaf preceding the text contains an illustration of Sakyamuni Buddha preaching the law drawn by hand in red, and after the text the guardian figure Weituo is also drawn in red. The single illustration found in the text (figure 4) is printed.

8. Although there are obscure references to the existence of manuscripts from the early centuries of the Common Era with the main text written in red and commentaries written in black, it is difficult to find authentic examples. In the National Library of China (formerly Beijing tushuguan) we do find a manuscript of a rare commentary on the *Daodejing* of Laozi from the Tang period (618–907) in which the text of Laozi is written in red and the commentary is written in black. The work in scroll form, entitled *Laozi yishu*, is illustrated in *Dunhuang yishu jingpinxuan* (Beijing: Zhongguo guojia tushuguan, 2000), p. 21.
9. I wish to thank Brian Shure and Roger Keyes for discussing print-related terminology with me.
10. It is possible that the masking of sections of the block may have been used alternatively with the method of wiping sections of the block clean. Toward the end of the volume the order of printing red before black appears to be reversed. With no other examples of this edition to look at, some of these questions must remain moot. It is my opinion that the upper and lower red border lines were carefully drawn by hand to resemble printed lines after the printing of the text and commentary was completed, and possibly at the same time that the illuminations at the head and tail of the volume were produced. The appearance of thinner black lines parallel to the border lines (see top of figure 3) may have resulted from inadvertent contact with the edge of the carved block while printing the commentary. The lines do not seem to be printed from an actual border line carved on the block.
11. For example, see Chang Bide's foreword to *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* (see note 7 above).
12. Hu Yinglin, *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), p. 58.
13. Tuo Xiaotang, *Jiade tongxun: qiuji 2000* (Beijing: Zhongguo Jiade guoji paimai youxian gongsi, 2000), p. 29.
14. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 44–45.
15. *Zhongguo Jiade: guji shanben* (Beijing: Zhongguo Jiade guoji paimai youxian gongsi, 1995), lot 455.
16. The modern bibliophile Tao Xiang (1871–1940) compiled a catalogue of the publications of the Min lineage known to him entitled "Ming Wuxing Minban shumu." See Tao Xiang, *Shumu congkan* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 1–16.
17. See *Visible Traces*, p. 63.
18. It should not be surprising that differences in style are scarcely discernible, since the two families of printers shared a regional labor pool of blockcarvers. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that Min-family editions tend to be slightly more refined than those of the Lings, which may be the result of materials used, scribal calligraphy, and editorial supervision.
19. See, for example, Qiao Yanguan, "Taose yinben," *Guji jianding yu weihu*

- yanxihui zhuanji* (Taipei: Zhongguo tushuguan xuehui, 1985), pp. 224–241, as well as entries in *Zhongguo guji banke zidian* (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1999), ed. Qu Mianliang.
20. The shape and position of this right-angled mark suggest it might possibly have been the inspiration for the famous *kentō* device of Japanese color printing. Those who suggest the *kentō* was independently developed in Japan may not be aware that Chinese books printed in red and black and employing the registration device described here were available in Japan at least sixteen years before the first color-printed book was published in Japan. See David Chibbett, *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977), pp. 35–38, and *Nagoya-shi Hōsa Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Nagoya: Hōsa Bunko, 1975), p. 4.
 21. *Visible Traces*, p. 84.
 22. This fine white paper made from the bark of the paper-mulberry tree was produced in and near the village of Kaihua in Zhejiang province. Although the paper was well known and highly regarded as early as the late-Ming period, its reputation reached new heights after it was designated by the Qing imperial court to be used for printing the finest palace editions, especially during the eighteenth century.
 23. Color distribution is recorded on the cover page. Purple: Wang Shizhen (1526–1590); blue: Wang Shenzhong (1509–1559); red and black: Wang Shizhen (1634–1711); green: Shao Changheng (1637–1704); and yellow: Song Luo (1634–1713).
 24. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 39, 42–43. Most copies of this work were printed in black only, and the few polychrome copies that exist surely represent an exclusive and limited printing.
 25. By comparing these plates with the same ones in a copy of this edition printed in black only we can easily confirm that a single woodblock has been used. See Chang Bide, *Mingdai banhua xuan chujī* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1969), pp. 43–44.
 26. The two copies are in the National Library of China, Beijing. I have a color slide from the library's other color-printed copy, which I was able to compare with the illustration in *Visible Traces*. I wish to thank Lin Li-chiang for making the slide available to me. Another color-printed copy is available in the library of the Percival David Foundation, London, and two copies are in Tokyo in the Sonkeikaku Bunko and in the National Diet Library.
 27. Both impressions are found in two copies in the collection of the Gest Library, Princeton University. See Qu Wanli, *Pulinsidun daxue Geside dongfang tushuguan zhongwen shanben shuzhi* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975), pp. 43–44.
 28. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 65–68.
 29. See Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1992), pp. 152–153.
 30. The unique copy of this edition is preserved in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne. The museum has published a full-color facsimile edition

accompanied by a volume of research notes. See *Hsi-hsiang chi: Chinesische Farbholzschnitte von Min Ch'i-chi 1640* (Köln: Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln, 1977).

31. See Sören Edgren, ed., *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), pp. 112-113.
32. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 80-81, for illustrations from the second series.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98, 100.
35. The eminent Swiss typographer and book designer Jan Tschichold has praised the Rongbaozhai edition of the *Models of Letter Paper of the Ten Bamboo Studio* as "an incomparably perfect facsimile; the best printed book of modern times anywhere." See his *Chinese Colour Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), p. 52.

GLOSSARY

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| <i>Baihua shijianpu</i> 百華詩箋譜 | <i>Gouqu Shannong</i> 句曲山農 |
| Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館 | Guangzhou 廣州 |
| caise taoyin 彩色套印 | Guanhailou 觀海樓 |
| <i>Caotang shiyu</i> 草堂詩餘 | Gu Congde 顧從德 |
| <i>Chengshi moyuan</i> 程氏墨苑 | Guoli zhongyang tushuguan |
| <i>Chunqiu zuozhuan</i> 春秋左傳 | 國立中央圖書館 |
| ci 詞 | <i>Guwen yuanjian</i> 古文淵鑿 |
| <i>Daodejing</i> 道德經 | Huguang Zhongxinglu 湖廣中興路 |
| Ding Bing 丁丙 | <i>Hushan shenggai</i> 湖山勝概 |
| Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 | Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 |
| <i>Dongpo chanxiji</i> 東坡禪喜集 | Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 |
| douban 餛板 | Huzhou 湖州 |
| douban yinfa 餛板印法 | <i>Jianxia ji</i> 剪霞集 |
| Du Fu 杜甫 | <i>Jieziyuan huazhuan</i> 芥子園畫傳 |
| <i>Du Gongbu ji</i> 杜工部集 | <i>Jieziyuan huazhuan erji</i> 芥子園畫傳二集 |
| <i>Duichuang yeyu</i> 對床夜語 | <i>Jigu yinpu</i> 集古印譜 |
| Duoyunxuan 朵雲軒 | <i>Jin'gang bore boluomi jing</i> |
| Fan Xiwen 范晞文 | 金剛般若波羅蜜經 |
| Feng Mengzhen 馮蒙禎 | <i>Jinyu tupu</i> 金魚圖譜 |
| fucai yinfa 敷彩印法 | kaihua 開化 |
| gonghua 拱花 | kentō 見当 |

- Laozi yishu* 老子義疏
 lei 類
 Li Kegong 李克恭
 Ling 凌
 Ling Mengchu 凌濛初
 Liu Xie 劉勰
 Lu Kun 盧坤
Luoxuan biangu jianpu 羅軒變古箋譜
Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋
 Lu Xun 魯迅
 menshen 門神
 Min 閔
 Min Qiji 閔齊伋
 Min Shengchu 閔繩初
 Min Yingbi 閔映璧
 Min Yishi 閔一栻
 nianhua 年畫
 Rongbaozhai 榮寶齋
 ruo 若
 Shao Changheng 邵長蘅
Shaoshi shanfang bicong 少室山房筆叢
 sheng 生
 Shen Linqi 沈遴奇
Shijia shuofa xiang 釋迦說法相
Shizhuzhai jianpu 十竹齋箋譜
Shizhuzhai shuhuapu 十竹齋書畫譜
 shuangyin 雙印
 Sicong 思聰
 Song Luo 宋榮
 Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫
 Su Shi 蘇軾
Tangshi yanyipin 唐詩豔逸品
 Tuo Xiaotang 拓曉堂
 Wang Chang 王常
 Wang Dexin 王德信
 Wang Gai 王概
 Wang Shenzhong 王慎中
 Wang Shizhen (1526–1590) 王世貞
 Wang Shizhen (1634–1711) 王士禛
 Weituo 韋陀
 Wenmeizhai 文美齋
Wenmeizhai baihua shijianpu
 文美齋百華詩箋譜
Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍
 Wucheng 烏程
 Wu Faxiang 吳發祥
 Wuwen 無聞
 Wuxing 吳興
 xiang 想
Xixiang ji 西廂記
 Yang Shen 楊慎
 Yingxian 應縣
Yuzhi guwen yuanjian 御製古文淵鑒
 Zhang Zhaoxiang 張兆祥
 zhe 者
 Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸
 zhong 中
 Zhou Mi 周密
 zhumo taoyinben 朱墨套印本
 Zifusi 資福寺
Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yipu
 坐隱先生精訂捷徑奕譜

Painting Manuals and the Illustration of Ming and Qing Popular Literature

ROBERT E. HEGEL

Scholarly comparisons between painting and printed pictures generally focus on the shortcomings of the printed illustration. The limitations of the technology, specifically of the knife on the wooden board, would seemingly prejudge any comparisons between these two media in terms of the fluidity of linear form or movement, the range of line breadth and darkness, the ability to create shading of the brush on paper or silk. Yet as the Queens Library exhibition *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* demonstrated, printed pictures on paper could achieve many of the same effects of shading, coloration, and modulation of line. To do so, however, required enormous skill and painstaking effort on the part of many craftsmen working together to create a block-printed page, again a marked contrast to the more solitary studies in ink by the individual painter. It is on this point that the operative dissimilarities between paintings and prints become visible: in terms of social status and cultural stature, paintings and prints are seemingly separated by a greater cultural gulf than they are by the details of the images created on the paper. My purpose here is not to examine paintings, but instead to use printed albums, many of which ostensibly recreate paintings, as a lens through which to understand the art and significance of a range of other printed pictures. I compare printed works from this exhibition that occupy various positions along the artistic and social continuum bounded by painting albums and manuals on the one end and various types of popular

literature on the other. My concern here is with what we see on the paper, why, and, most important, what these images might mean in social and cultural terms, rather than with the process of their production.¹ My conclusions are necessarily more intuitive than scientific; hence I present them as reflections and speculations.

ALBUMS OF PICTURES

It is well known that China's earliest printed books were illuminated religious texts first produced during the Tang period (618–906). The most famous is the ninth-century *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* (Diamond Sutra) now in the British Library. Its frontispiece is the only illustration: presumably it was intended to set the reader's mood for reading the scripture itself (see figure 1). It presents the Buddha in his glory, surrounded by monks, heavenly beings, and earthly donors as he begins his dialogue with his disciple Subhuti. In contrast to the portraits of individual Buddhist figures to be seen in later religious texts and in temples,

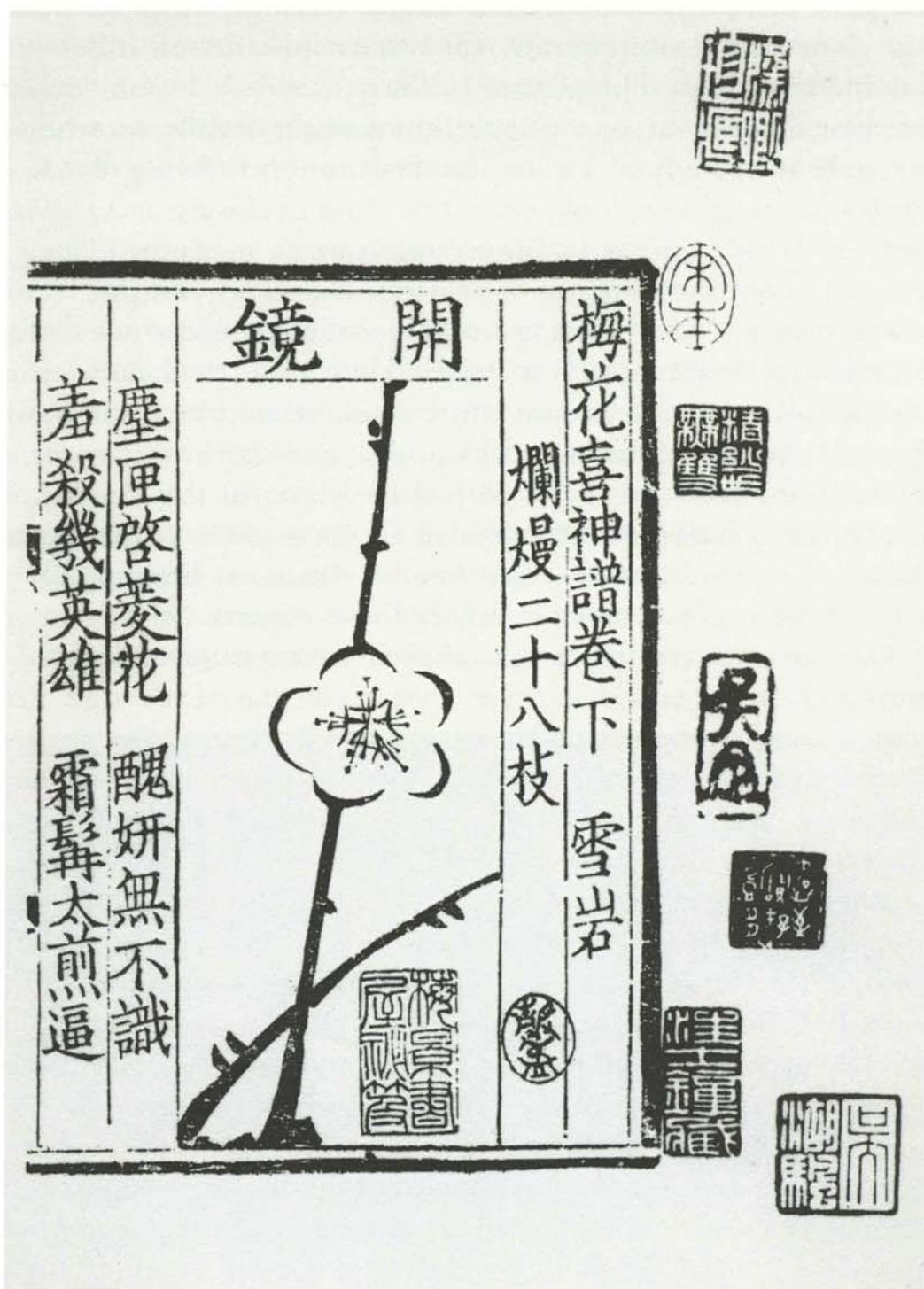


1. Frontispiece from the *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing*, dated 868, in the British Library, reprinted from Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: British Library, 1985), pp. 8–9.

this image is complex, consisting of floor coverings, hangings from the ceiling, cloud and flower motifs, apsaras, at least fifteen other human figures, and two lions. The picture is “busy,” crowded with detail: one cannot take it all in at one glance; one must carefully scrutinize the picture, gaze at it, study it. To use the terminology of Ming (1368–1644) authors on painting, one might expect to observe closely (*guan*, *xikan*, or *guan**cha*), or “read” (*du*, as in the meaning of *du* in Zhou Lianggong’s seventeenth-century evaluation of painters, *Duhua lu*), not just “look at” (*kan*) such pictures. One need not consider this picture a work of great artistic value to be drawn into it. Inevitably we must conclude that it is invested with the sort of intense effort demonstrated by other works of Buddhist art, both sculptures and paintings, and that it elicits the same sort of intense interaction (*xisi*) with the viewer. In this context especially, one could interpret the intended action as the sort of concentration of focus suggested in the directive for Chan meditation, *zhi guan*: “stop (all self-conscious mental activity), and observe.”²

Of course the picture in this religious text was never equated with a painting. I have explored these aspects of the text’s one printed illustration as an avenue for addressing printed albums, the pictures in works of fiction, and painting manuals. My contention is that in viewing these several types of printed pictures one should rely on the clues provided by the works themselves.

The earliest extant block-printed album is generally considered to be Song Boren’s (fl. 1235) *Meihua xishen pu* (The Plum: A Portrait Album) of 1261 (see figure 2). This beautiful work, now in the Shanghai Museum, contains one hundred illustrations with brief poetic commentaries, each of which is filled with complex allusions to contemporary political events and personages. But its individual pictures are simple: they tell no stories, include no strange or exotic images. Each was carefully drawn and carefully carved onto a board for printing; the carver used broad black areas judiciously to indicate the dark, perhaps wet, branches of a gnarled old plum tree. Here it is the level of art, and the richness of variation between these hundred images, not the complexity of any one, that demand the reader’s attention. Although the motivation might be different, with this text as with the Buddhist scripture, the appropriate response on the part of the viewer is extended careful



2. *Meihua xishen pu*, in the Shanghai Museum, reprinted from *Songke Meihua xishen pu*, compiled by Song Boren (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), p. 26a.

attention, especially if one is to savor the political commentary imbedded in the poetry as well as the art of the blossoms.³

This approach was clearly intended with every album of paintings produced by block-printing techniques; it would appear that albums were intended to be scrutinized carefully to appreciate their artistic complexities, to discern the allusions to earlier works, and to respond intellectually and emotionally—rather like one might respond to fine paintings. Several of the major late-Ming albums of paintings involved acknowledged painters in their production. For example, *Lidai minggong huapu* (The Manual of Paintings by Famous Masters of Successive Periods), also known as *Gu shi huapu* (The Gu Family's Manual of Paintings), was compiled by the court artist Gu Bing and published in 1603. Another copy of the original edition, carved by Liu Guangxin, is in the Shanghai Museum.⁴ The 106 illustrations in this album reputedly reproduce famous paintings of the past.

Gu Bing was a member of a family of professional painters, artists whose skills could be called upon to paint pictures that would serve as decorations and as gifts for customers and, if they had a court appointment, for members of the imperial family. In 1599 Gu Bing was selected to work in the palace because of his consummate skill in bird and flower painting; it may be that pictures in his album were drawn from paintings he saw in imperial collections. But some of the pictures here cannot be reproductions of paintings that he had seen in the capital; they had been lost for centuries before his time. Likewise, although certain of these printed illustrations reproduce paintings relatively well, others seem to recreate subjects and elements of style associated with the painter they identify rather than a specific known painting (see figure 3).⁵ Some have speculated that Gu's manual might have served as a "buyer's guide" to help distinguish genuine paintings from false attributions,⁶ but I would suspect a less commercial appeal for books of this sort: I believe that the primary function of these pictures was to be educational. Like so many other books of philosophy, history, and literature published by woodblock technology over the previous centuries, this album, too, was primarily meant to be a textbook, a book to be studied carefully, pored over, in an effort to notice every small detail of every picture as a means to distinguish differences among the styles and techniques of famous painters.



3. *Lidai minggong huapu*, compiled by Gu Bing, 1603; National Library, Beijing. *Visible Traces* catalogue, no. 8, p. 38.

Gu's manual seems to be a guide for the relatively uninitiated viewer of paintings with which he might expand his knowledge of artists of the past and thereby refine his own cultural sensibilities.

Other, later, albums might have functioned more as elegant curiosities. *Cheng shi moyuan* (The Ink Garden of the Cheng Family), for example, edited by Cheng Dayue and published in 1606 (see figure 4), includes reproductions of drawings by well-known contemporary artists such as Ding Yunpeng (1547–ca. 1628). It was carved by at least three members of the famous Huang family of artisans from Huizhou. Produced in part to compete with another catalogue of inkblock pictures

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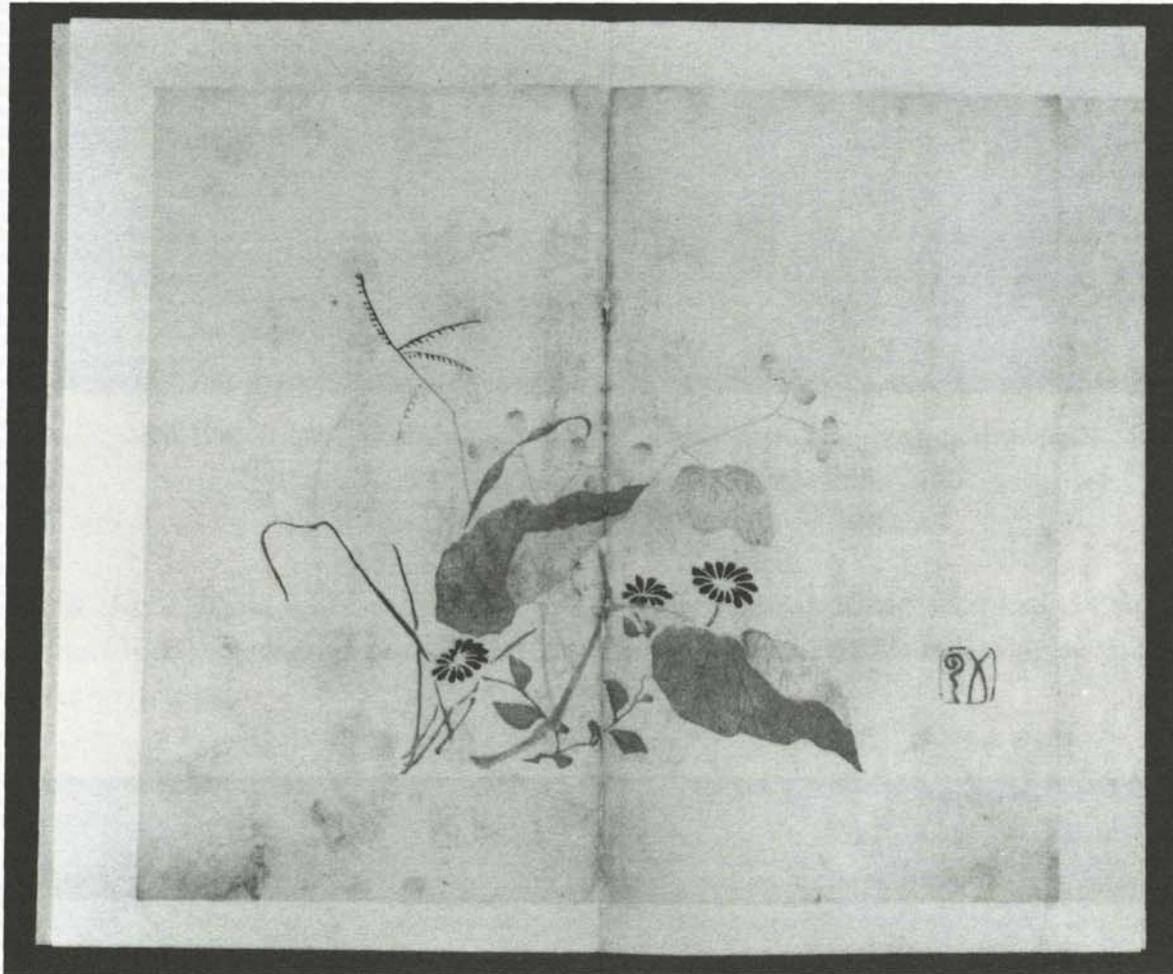


4. *Cheng shi moyuan*, edited by Cheng Dayue and published in 1606, National Library, Beijing; reprinted from Chang Pide, ed., *Mingdai banhua xuan*, First Collection (Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan, 1969), vol. 1, p. 48.

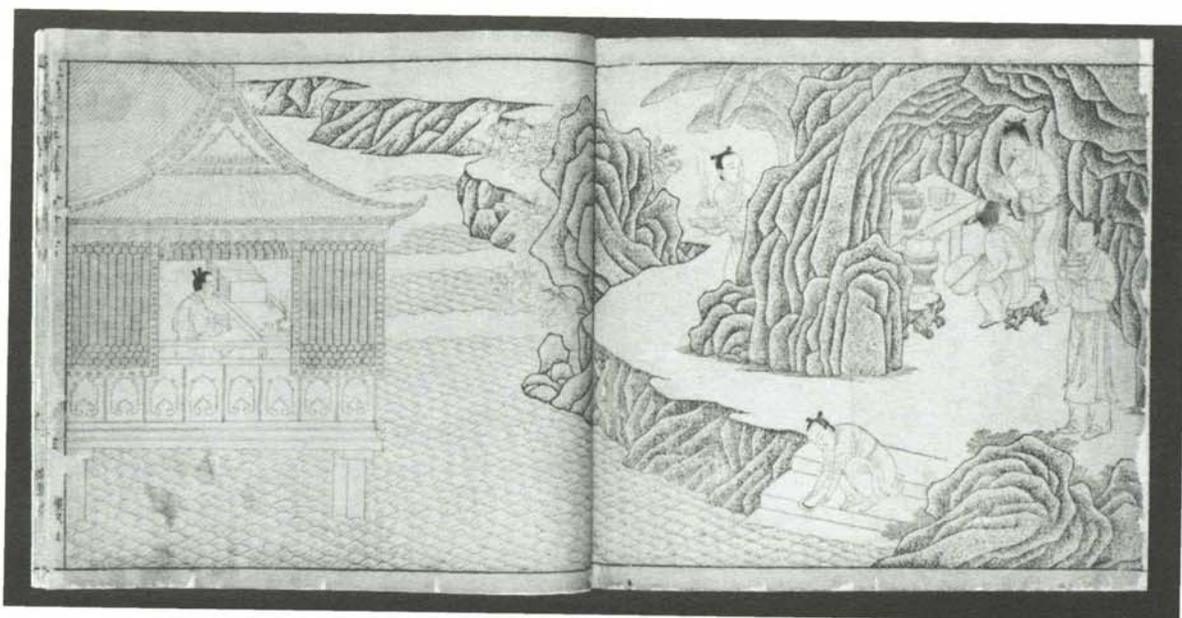
published around 1589 by a rival entrepreneur, it responded to the late-Ming “culture of curiosity” by even including European pictures on Christian subjects produced by foreigners and provided to the compiler by the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) when they met in Beijing.⁷ One can only conclude that such prints were also carefully scrutinized for all their details, but from a sense of curiosity rather than as a means of either cultural instruction or religious edification.

Hu Zhengyan’s *Shizhu zhai shuhua pu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting), published in Nanjing between 1619 and 1633, is an extraordinary accomplishment of the printer’s art (see figure 5). Printed with dampened paper and partial printing blocks (*taose yinshua*), it uses five colors to achieve shades of color normally not possible in block-printed images. That same technology today can produce reprints indistinguishable to the untrained eye from modern watercolors (witness the Rongbaozhai reprints of works by Qi Baishi [1863 or 1864–1957] or the reproductions of paintings by Xu Beihong [1895–1953] printed recently in Beijing).⁸ However, these pictures were not designed to deceive the viewer about the means of their production; instead they meant to impress the connoisseur of the book with the skill required for their creation. Here, as in the other albums already discussed, proper appreciation requires careful attention—and extended, attentive viewing.

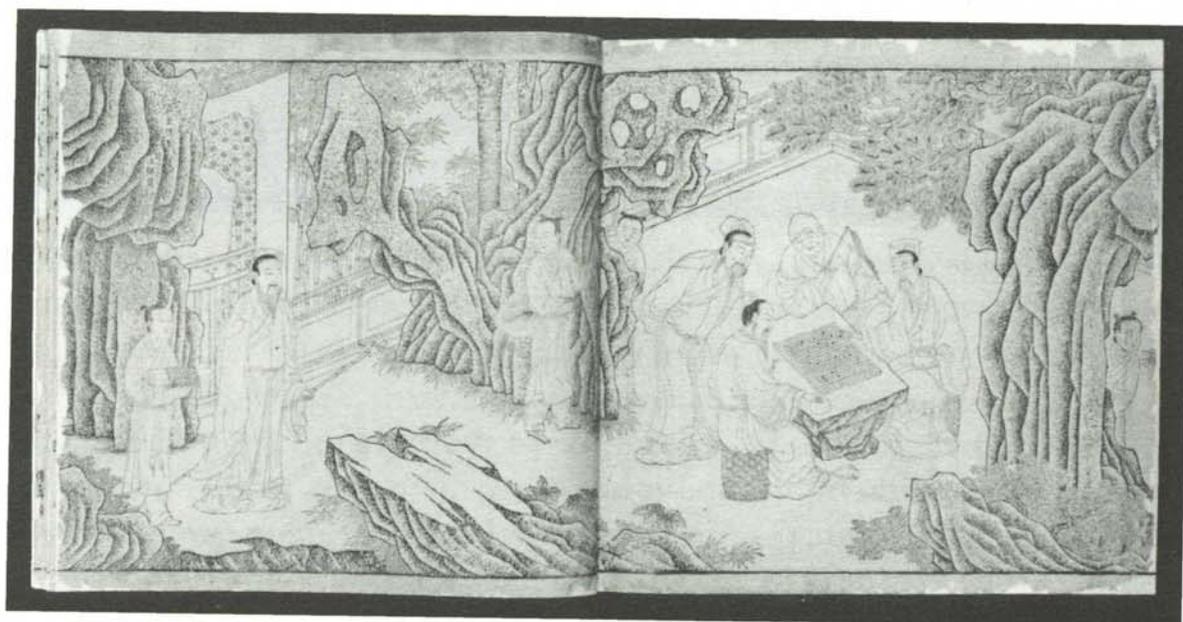
The same is generally true for *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yi pu* (Manual of Chess Carefully Edited by Gentleman Zuoyin), compiled by Wang Tingna (ca. 1569–after 1628). Its illustrations place the chess players and their servants in the foreground; backgrounds are rich with sometimes fantastic details of close-up rocks and trees (see figures 6A–C). The great looming stones are particularly significant for the texture imparted to their surfaces by the careful carving by another member of the renowned Huang family, Huang Yingzu (1563 or 1573–1644). Likewise, the larger tree trunks appear twisted and misshapen from age, as indicated by the lines in their bark. In terms of subject matter (especially the gatherings of scholars), composition, and individual decorative elements, these pictures resemble the narrative paintings of professional artists popular at that time, such as Qiu Ying (fl. 1494–1552) and others. Given the enormous effort and skill invested in their production, these books must have been very expensive, as were the other books produced



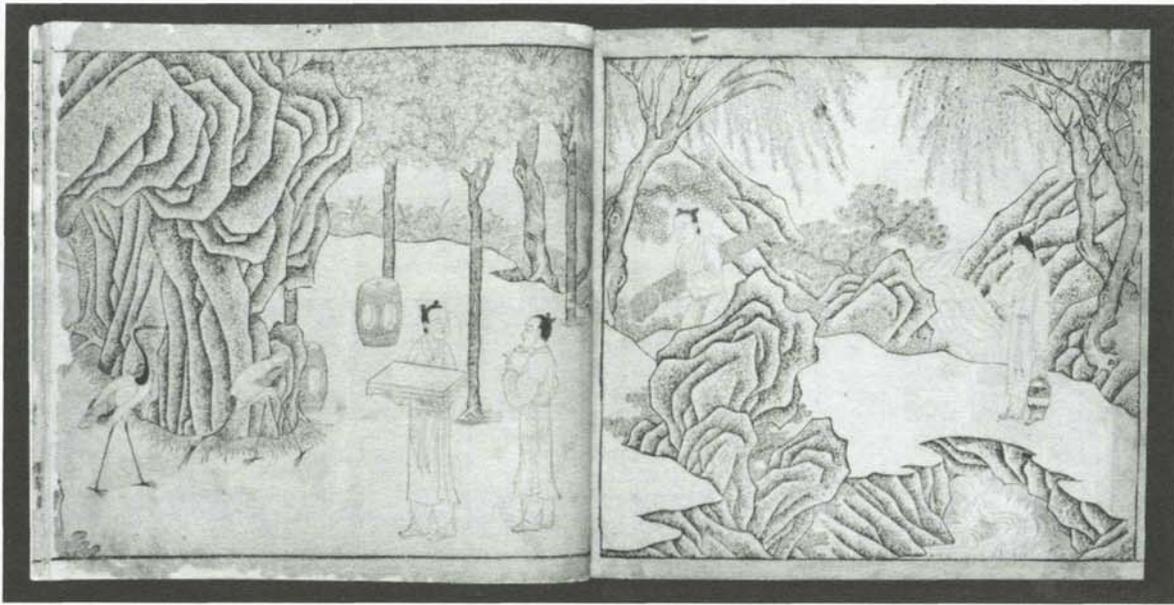
5. Hu Zhengyan's *Shizhu zhai shuhua pu*, published in Nanjing between 1619 and 1633, National Library, Beijing. *Visible Traces* catalogue, no. 15, p. 66.



6A. *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yi pu*, National Library, Beijing. *Visible Traces* catalogue, no. 10, pp. 48-49.



6B. *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yi pu*, continued.

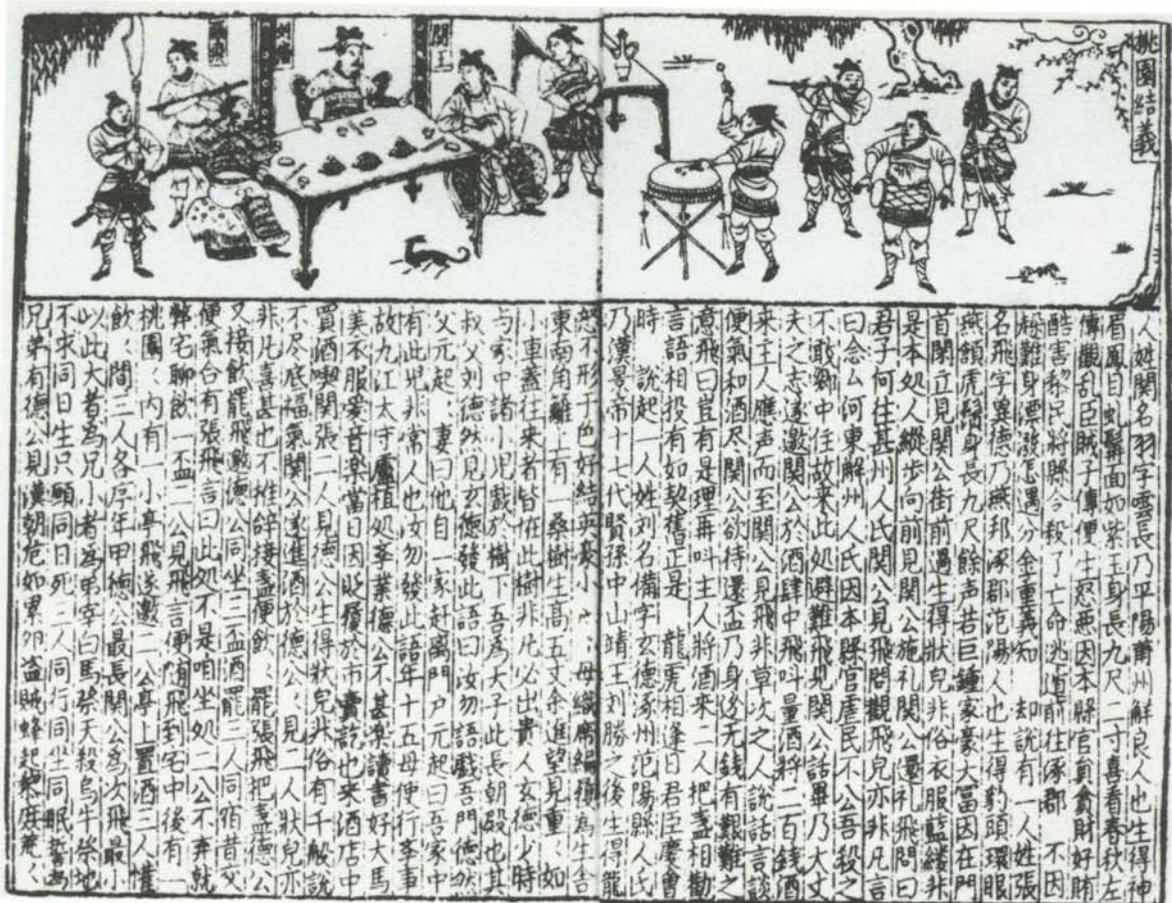


6c. *Zuoyin xiansheng jingding jiejing yi pu*, continued.

by Wang Tingna's *Huancuitang*.⁹ And their figural complexity must have demanded extensive consideration before one could fully appreciate their artistry.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR POPULAR LITERATURE

The oldest extant examples of illustrated popular literature in China are the “fully illustrated” lengthy historical narratives (*quanxiang pinghua*) printed in Fujian in the 1330s. Although they did not originate it, these long stories exemplify what was to become the dominant format for printing fiction and plays through the middle of the Ming period, that of “illustration above, text below” (*shangtu xiawen*; see figure 7). Readers could either look at the illustrations or read the text or, more likely, let their eyes wander back and forth between text and pictures as they proceeded through the book. Many have interpreted this format as designed to give hints about character and plot development to the poor reader; in my opinion these editions were intended to give a range of aesthetic experience simultaneously—and inexpensively—from both words and images. This is because the illustrations only picture the highlights

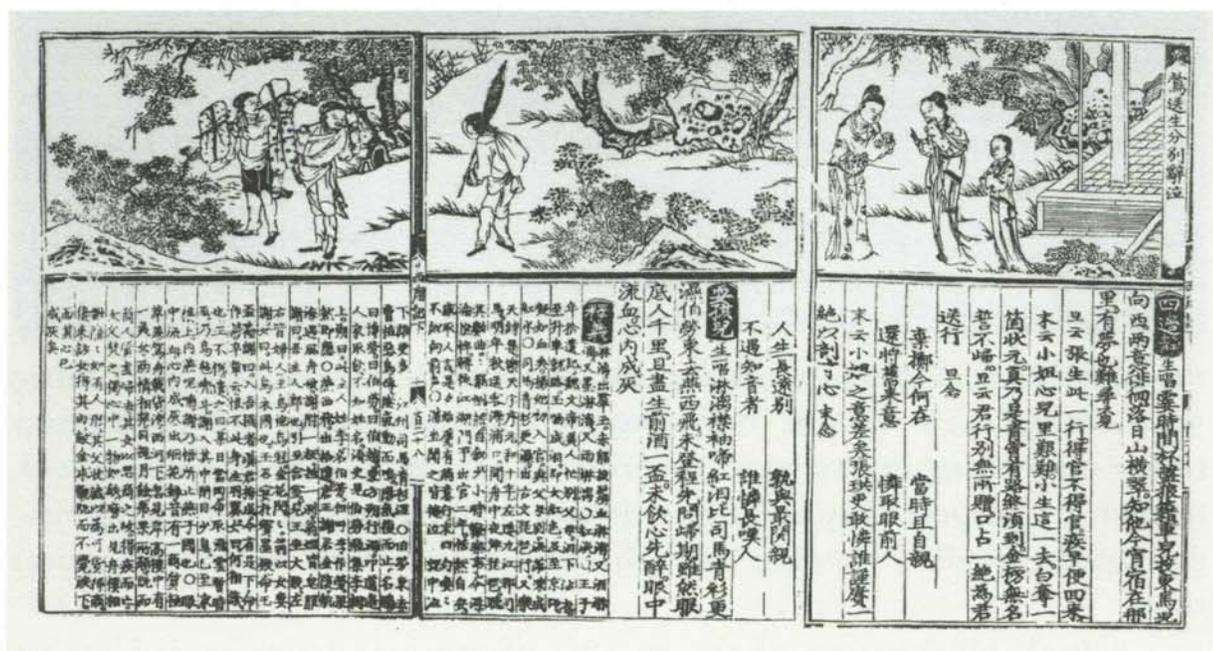


7. *Quanxiang pinghua Sanguo zhi* (Fully Illustrated Plain Tale from the Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms), reprinted from *Yuan Zhizhiben quanxiang pinghua Sanguo zhi* (Tokyo, ca. 1925), p. 6; personal collection.

of the attached narrative; they do not reveal the whole story's narrative continuity or the motivations of characters. Many of these illustrations are, however, quite complex and, as we can see, were hardly lacking in artistic appeal. Like the later albums we have been considering, these fourteenth-century illustrations for narrative place central characters in the foreground while filling in backgrounds with appropriate secondary figures and natural and architectural details. Because, like the plum-blossom album, these pages were bound "butterfly style" (*hudiezhuang*), the picture was carved on a single block, and when the printed page was folded inward, the entire picture was visible at one time. But compared to that exquisite Song-period (960–1279) plum-blossom album, these popular books were physically much smaller—necessitating, it would

seem, that more pains be taken in the carving of the block. I infer, then, that readers might have lingered over these illustrations, too, to drink in the artist's rendering of the scene, to ponder their differing presentation of the narrative of the text.

Popular literature printed in this format could be considerably more attractive than these early examples. Perhaps the most impressive is the 1498 large-format edition of the Yuan-period (1271–1360) play cycle *Xixiang ji* (The Western Wing) by Wang Dexin (fl. 1295–1307; also known as Wang Shifu), printed in Beijing and now in the Beijing University Library. Highly detailed illustrations here continue onward page after page in some instances, leading the reader, like the viewer of a painting mounted as a handscroll, through segment after segment of what is essentially one very long picture (see figure 8). Each of these illustrations is rich in detail and, again, worthy of extended, observant, viewing.¹⁰ Their immediate analogue in the field of painting is the extended narrative scrolls produced by professional painters of the Ming and Qing (1368–1911), the same models followed by the *Manual of Chess* discussed earlier; like handscrolls these play illustrations include narrative



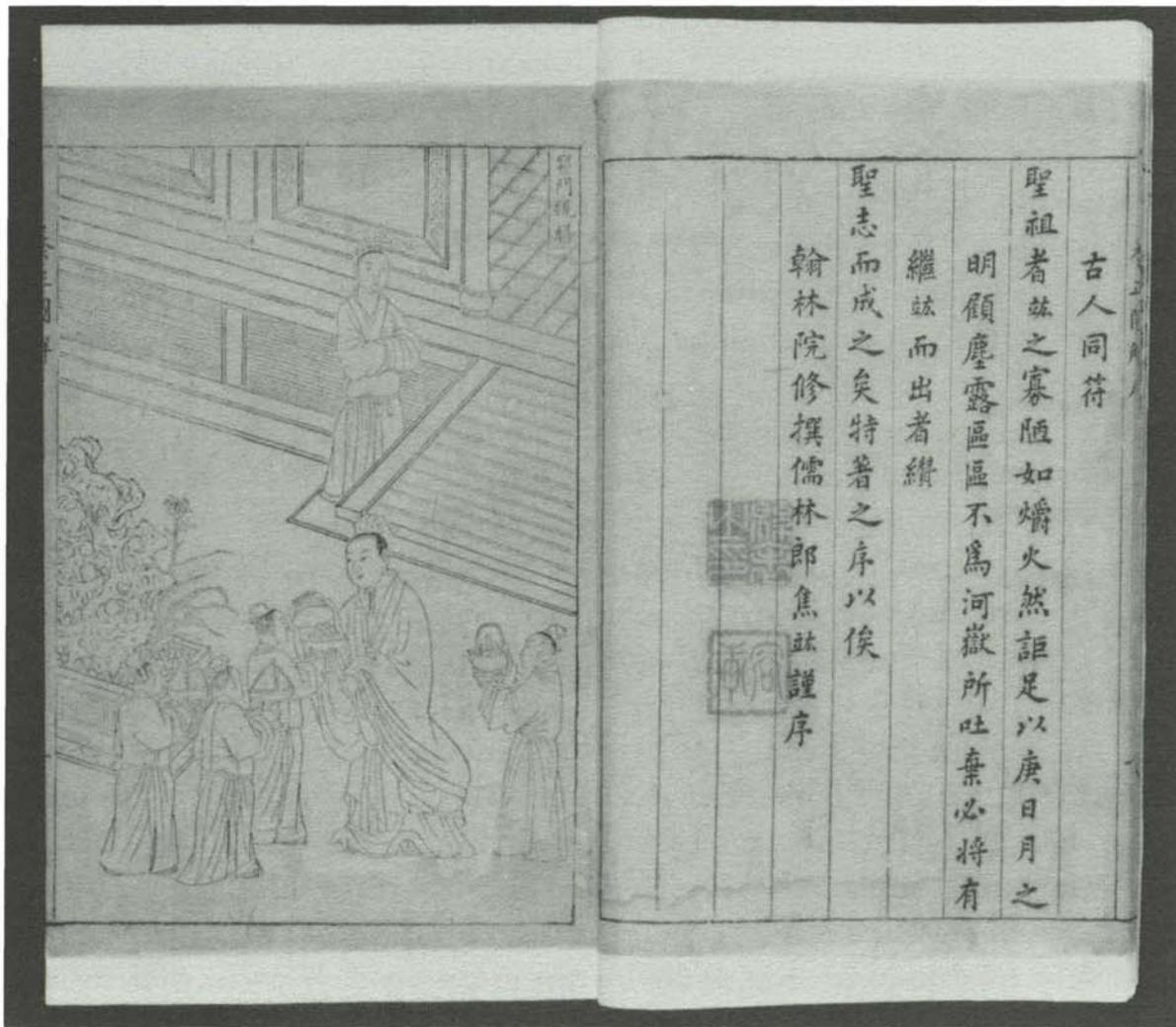
8. *Xixiang ji*, 1498, Beijing University Library, reprinted from *Xinkan qimiao quanxiang zhushi Xixiang ji* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955).

segments, character studies, and landscape scenes. But narrative art came to be scorned by the amateur scholar-painters of China's elite after about 1600, with the result that such elaborate pictures became increasingly rare in novels and plays published during the Qing period.¹¹

Several elements of these popular-literature illustrations are worth pointing out. First, the faces here tend to lack individuality. Both heroine and hero, both Yingying and Zhang Sheng, have virtually the same face. Likewise, the settings are generic rather than specific; they are comprised of stock elements to be found elsewhere in popular book illustrations. Like the role types (*jiaose*) of theatrical performance, all individual elements in these pictures—the balustrades, the banana-palm leaves (*bajiao*), the doors, the trees—are drawn from a very limited supply of stock items. This does not mean that they are unattractive, however; this large-format edition is stunning in its beauty. As in this case, many pages could function together as a lengthy narrative-picture presentation of the lovers' parting.

As with expensive albums, known artists, both professional and scholarly painters, might be involved in the production of popular works. The Queens Library exhibition's *Yangzheng tujie* (Illustrations and Explanations on Correct Cultivation), compiled by Jiao Hong (1541–1620) and dated 1594, was illustrated by the famous painter Ding Yunpeng (1547–ca. 1628; see figure 9). Ding also supplied several of the pictures for the collection of ink-block images mentioned previously. Unquestionably those pictures are well drawn, but they lack the individual distinctiveness of paintings recreated or reproduced by Gu Bing in his *Manual of Paintings by Famous Masters*. Instead, the faces tend to look alike, and other elements—carriages, doors, and the like—resemble those in other popular-literature illustrations. If indeed the artist Ding was involved here, he was following the conventions of book illustration rather than trying in any way to reproduce paintings using the woodblock format.¹² I suspect that the repetitiousness of these stock elements discouraged extended viewing by sophisticated readers of this simple moral text.

Probably because of the success of these and similar publishing ventures, block-printed editions of plays and novels having dozens of illustrations were produced in great numbers during the late Ming. One



9. *Yangzheng tujie*, compiled by Jiao Hong, 1594. National Library, Beijing.
Visible Traces catalogue, no. 6, p. 29.

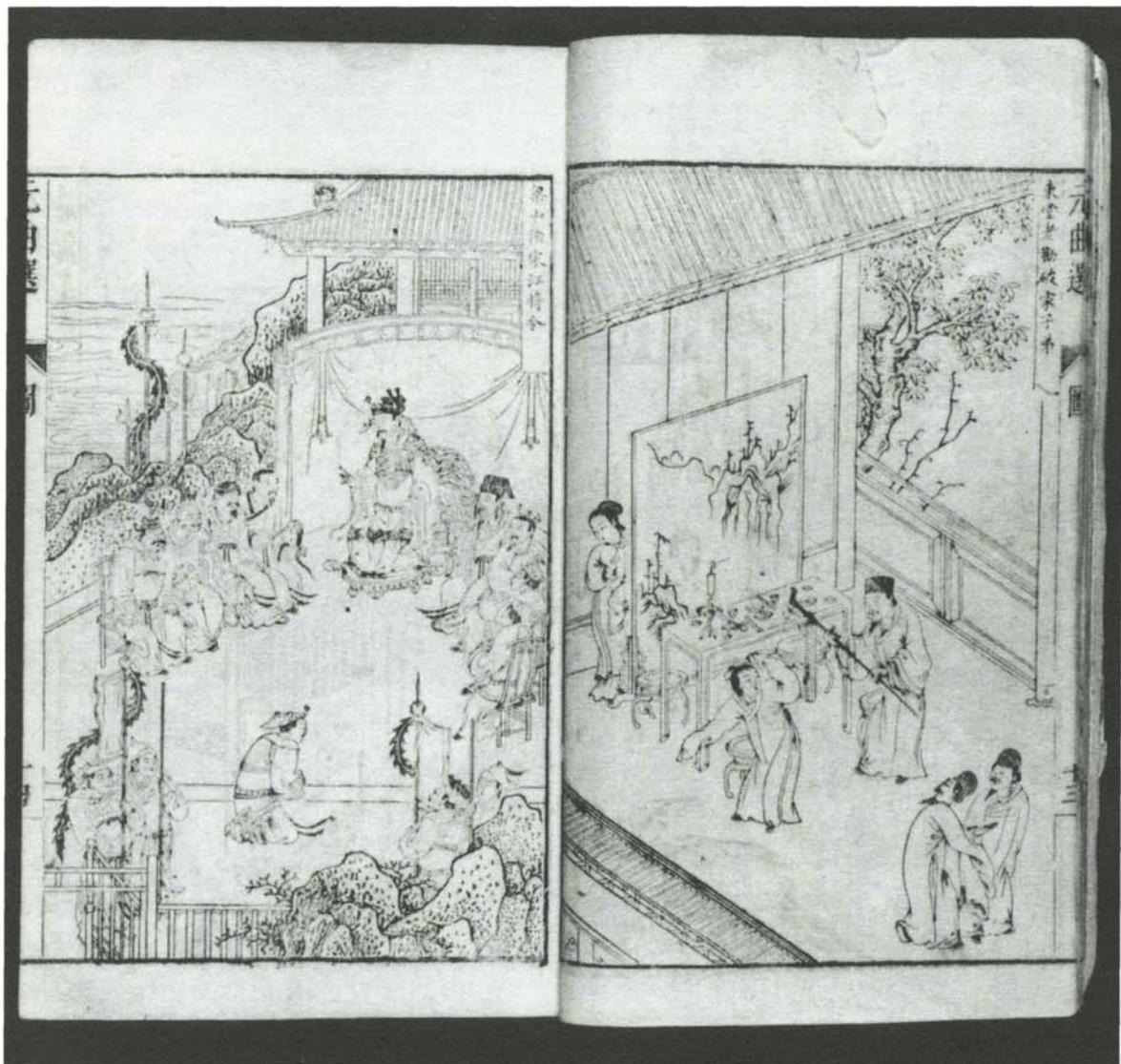
can argue, as I have elsewhere, that the development of the novel form was in part the product of the development of this printing technology: block printing made possible the reproduction of lengthy texts that were both attractive and not prohibitively expensive, especially as standardization facilitated rapid reproduction of rather high-quality images; chances for commercial success attracted publishing houses to seek new—or old—works to produce. Fine editions of plays in the lengthy romance form (*chuanqi*) appeared in great numbers during the early decades of the seventeenth century; virtually all were illustrated. Some of these pictures, such as those produced for Fuchuntang editions (see figure 10), were done in what I consider to be a repetitious, unattractive, and even awkward style. Others, such as *Xinjiaozhu guben Xixiang ji* (The Newly Edited and Annotated Classic Edition of the Western Wing) of 1614 (number 11 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), are extraordinary in their beauty of execution and richness of artistic detail. Likewise, Zang Maoxun's (1550–1620) famous collection of Yuan-period *zaju* plays, *Yuan qu xuan* (Selected Yuan Dramas, number 13 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), published in 1615 and 1616 are remarkable, but they are not exceptional; many plays were published during the late-Ming period with illustrations of this quality (see figure 11).

Given their diversity, it hard to generalize about late-Ming editions of plays. Some, like the Fuchuntang series of similar editions of dozens of plays, include notes to explain literary allusions and obscure terms, as if for the benefit of less-well-educated readers.¹³ These editions may have been relatively inexpensive. Certainly they seem to me to be relatively unattractive, but then I am personally less impressed by the Jinling style (*Jinling pai*) of illustrating, derived from earlier and even less appealing Fujian styles, than I am by other late-Ming schools. Other publishers produced editions, such as *The Western Wing* and *Selected Yuan Dramas* in the Queens Library exhibit, the illustrations for which were drawn and carved by Anhui artists and craftsmen. These books with Anhui school (*Huipai*) pictures were probably sold at premium prices to book lovers who may have regarded their block prints as highly as their literary content.

An exceptional book from this exhibit, and one that deserves more scholarly attention, is Zheng Zhizhen's (1518–1595) *Xinbian Mulian*



10. The Fuchuntang edition of *Baishhe ji* (The White Snake), Nanjing, ca. 1600), Beijing University Library, reprinted from Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo guben xiqu chatu xuan* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu, 1985), p. 18.



11. *Yuan qu xuan*, compiled by Zang Maoxun, Hangzhou, 1615–1616, National Library, Beijing. *Visible Traces* catalogue, no. 13, p. 59.

jiumu quanshan xiwen (New Compilation of the Play Text about Maudgalyayana [Mulian] Rescuing His Mother and Exhorting Her to Goodness, number 5 in the catalogue) dating from 1582. Like the fancier albums and later plays, its illustrations were carved by members of the illustrious Huang family from Huizhou, Huang Ting and Huang Fang. Altogether this play has fifty-seven illustrations, some taking up a single page or half-folio, others taking up two facing pages.¹⁴ But unlike the later Anhui styles of *Selected Yuan Dramas* and the *Western Wing* pictures, these illustrations are decidedly less elegantly drawn. To a degree they preserve something of a simpler, earlier style of book illustration; in their focus on individual characters more than on dramatic action they also set the model for most later illustrations for popular literature.

One of its first pictures reproduces many features of the appearance of a stage during the Ming period: there is a short curtain with decorative ribbons hanging from the ceiling, presumably the front edge of the covered stage; it has a painting in the background, on a folding screen of the sort that could easily serve double duty as the back of the visible stage and the front wall of the dressing room immediately to the rear (see figure 12). The balustrade in the lower right corner of the picture could be nothing other than the barrier that separated actors from audience in the more elaborate permanent stages in temples and palace buildings dating from the Ming.¹⁵ In recreating a stage on the page, this illustration is rare, if not unique, among pictures made to accompany plays. Furthermore, certain characters from this Mulian play are stylized in the manner of religious decorations rather than in the manner becoming conventional for albums and more elegant plays such as *chuanqi* and the edited *zaju* of Zang Maoxun's collection. The clothing of these characters, even their faces, may be represented by large inked areas, quite unlike the use of fine, delicate lines to delineate the faces in more elegant books. Characters are presented with weapons and other accouterments as identified in the play and in religious stories circulating in the oral and written popular traditions. Many are supernatural beings; their backgrounds are obscured and mysterious, an attribute represented by simple cloud patterns rather than by the details of human structures and activities.¹⁶ The role of these pictures seems to be more as aids in identifying these heavenly (and demonic) beings; deprived of context,



12. *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen*, 1582; National Library Beijing; reprinted from Zhou Wu, ed., *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1984), p. 4.

the pictures seem more like religious icons than like scenes representing episodes from the play. One might marvel at their curiosity, but the pictures themselves do not invite extended study.

Mulian Rescuing His Mother may be the only example of illustrated popular literature in the Queens Library exhibit that was designed for unsophisticated tastes. The play was one of a sequence of dramatic presentations on the theme of the filial Buddhist monk who saves his mother from the torments of Hell and then helps her to reform. Plays on this theme have been performed for centuries at religious festivals where the audiences were comprised largely of illiterate or poorly educated people; they are probably still being performed today in rural areas, if not in Chinese cities as well.¹⁷ People of all ages would be familiar with the story at least in outline; few educated people would need, or presumably want, to have a well-illustrated text of the play in their personal libraries. From the popular and the religious content of the play—most *chuanqi* plays are purely secular in content—I conclude that this text was seen as having a religious function. It seems to fit with other literary texts dating from around 1600 that focus on religious figures, like the novels by Deng Zhimo (fl. 1600) on Taoist figures and novels on Avalokiteshvara or Guanyin, the Eight Immortals (Baxian), and on one of their number, Han Xiangzi.¹⁸ I suspect these illustrations might have met with two quite dissimilar responses: veneration by the pious on the one hand, and bemused curiosity on the part of the less devout on the other. In either case, these pictures might have been highly regarded, and carefully examined, by at least some of their readers.

ALBUMS, MANUALS, AND POPULAR LITERATURE

As I have mentioned, the earliest printed popular narrative literature appeared in a format that divided the page between the upper register, the one-third of the page devoted to the illustration, and the lower two-thirds remaining for text. This format was common through the middle of the Ming period, although it persisted much longer among the Fujian publishers than it did in other publishing centers, especially those in the Jiangnan cities such as Hangzhou and Suzhou. Both novels and plays published there during the second half of the sixteenth century were

increasingly complemented with full page (half-folio) or even double facing-page illustrations. Initially these were scattered through the text, usually a page or two into a chapter for novels, but this practice had limited duration: I suspect that readers simply found it distracting to have their reading interrupted by pictures of scenes yet to be narrated.

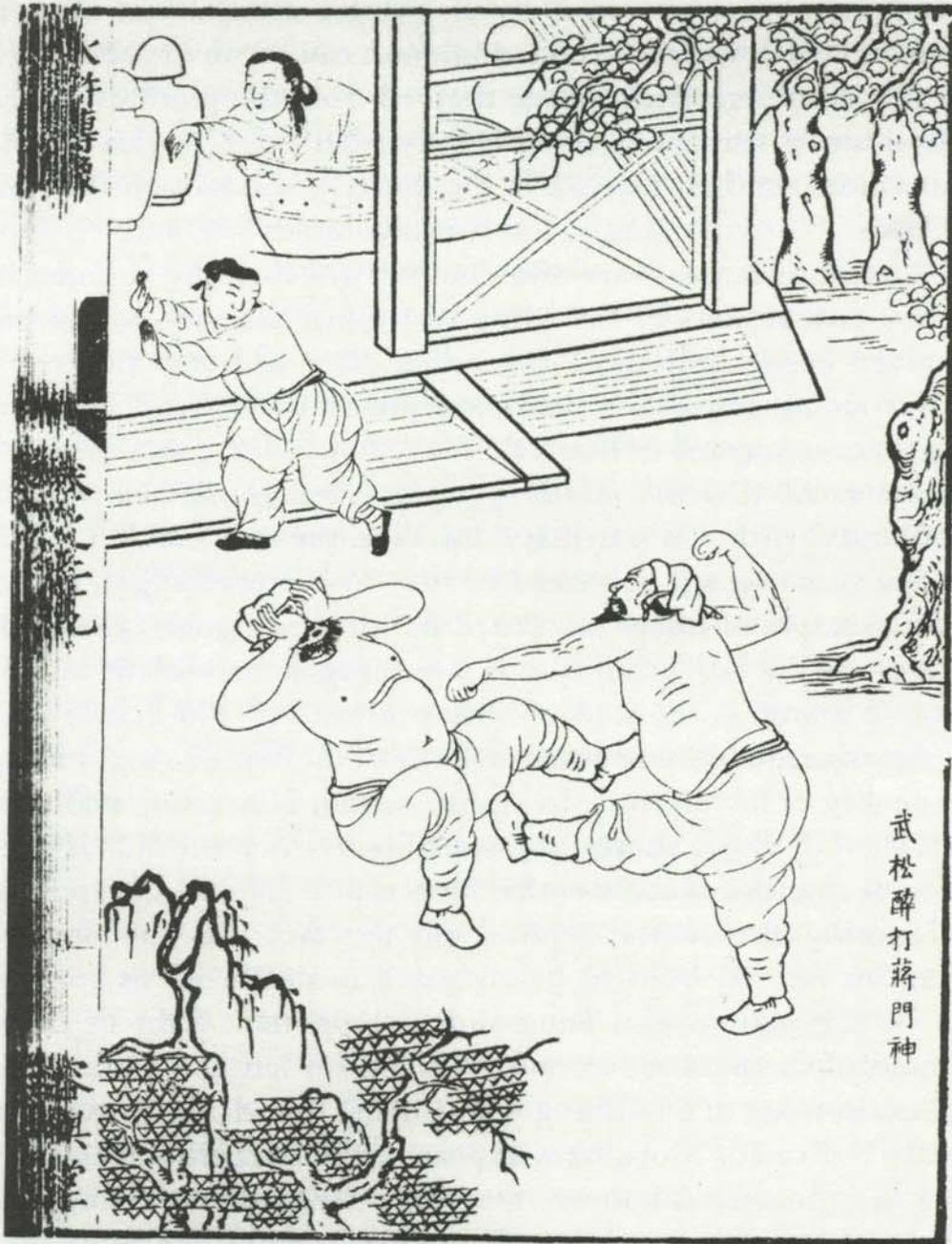
Whatever the reason, from the Wanli era (1580s) onward, illustrations for plays and fiction increasingly appeared clustered before the beginning of the text, sometimes grouped with the several prefaces and introductory commentary in a separate fascicle (*ce*) termed the “head volume” (*shoujuan*). As such, these “capping illustrations” (*quantu*), as they came to be called, function as a virtual picture album prefixed to the narrative, to be appreciated separately and, most likely, in a different way from the story itself. The reader might not be able to reconstruct the plot from these illustrations, but since most were narrative in design, they did suggest the highlights of the tale to be tasted if the reader proceeded to the accompanying text. And many were executed with great skill and precision: the carving of individual illustrations might take several days to complete.¹⁹ Thus the reader could be expected to read these pictures very carefully, as closely as the marginal commentaries might tell him to read the text.²⁰

During the late-Ming period most capping illustrations were relatively attractive, and relatively complex artistically. No one would mistake them for fine art of the sort that scholar-amateurs produced in their paintings, of course: most were narrative pictures, and in general their subject matter was “common” as the label “popular fiction” (*tongsu xiaoshuo*) clearly indicated. But when one examines the elements of their content, one finds much that is comparable or even similar to the painting albums and in fact to painting itself. I refer to the elements of polite culture: representations of mountains, trees and bushes, decorative Taihu rocks, plantain-palms and other decorative plants, bamboos, cranes. Likewise, the fact that carvers are regularly named in these fine editions of fiction and drama indicates that they took pride in their work—and that publishers saw a commercial advantage to advertising the names of their artisans (in contrast to professional painters, who generally did not sign their creations). The relationship between the text and the illustrations became problematic during the late Ming, however, when fine

illustrations appeared in editions of poorly carved and formulaic fiction such as the numerous historical novels printed around that time. Given the frequency with which this phenomenon can be observed, I am led to believe that commercial advantage derived from the pictures rather than from the literary texts and, concurrently, that book buyers based their selections more on their interest in the illustrations than on their interest in the fiction. Not surprisingly, the “head volumes” of fiction having fine quality “capping pictures” are often more worn than the volumes having only text—as if readers of the Ming and Qing had viewed the pictures of any given copy many more times than they had read the text itself.

But let us consider a final example to understand what interest pictures that accompany fiction held for seventeenth-century readers and book buyers. *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping Zhongyi Shuihu zhuan* (The Water Margin with Commentary by Li Zhuowu, number 12 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue), published in 1615 by Rongyutang in Hangzhou, is a good example of finely illustrated fiction (see figure 13).²¹ Although the figures in the foreground may be engaged in violent action, the background matter is the stuff of both professional and literati painting. The Rongyutang publishing house was one of the best known in Hangzhou for the quality of its imprints; its Anhui-school illustrators availed themselves of the full visual vocabulary available to the professional painter as well as to decorators of other crafts, such as porcelain and even furniture.

Ignoring the central figures and the fact that the hapless man clutching his face is about to be cudgeled to death, let us consider the setting for this action. Wu Song and his opponent fight in the center foreground of the picture; trees flank them on left and right. The fight takes place in front of a building with pillars, foundations, and steps that are clearly indicated. More trees appear in the background in the upper right of the picture. All these trees have stylized leaves suggested by conventional leaf shapes and gnarly, twisted trunks denoting age; such elements appear as well in the works of professional and even of more scholarly painters during the late Ming; the architectural elements can likewise be found in all levels of paintings of the period. The composition effectively juxtaposes fixed, background elements with the rapid movements of the combatants and of the boy who rushes out of the way. The action captures a moment from the narrative, but the background



13. *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping Zhongyi Shuihu zhuan*, published in 1615 by Rongyutang in Hangzhou, National Library, Beijing. First illustration for chapter 29, reprinted from *Ming Rongyutang ke Shuihu zhuan tu* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), p. 29a.

identifies the picture with the greater tradition of decorative illustration of the time. To that extent the picture might be identified as *artistic* if not as art, and, like other complex pictures, it might well merit the reader's extended attention.

In my book *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* I searched for personal connections between the world of the painters and the world of the book illustrators. I traced the efforts of several professional painters who were engaged to some extent in the book trade during the seventeenth century, among them Chen Hongshou (1598–1652). I also examined some of the stock of images (tree trunks, dogs, running horses, gates in walls, furniture) that appear alike in the various paintings and book illustrations of the late Ming. But it was far easier to demonstrate parallels in images than it was to find connections among the people who engaged in both trades. And in fact book illustrators tended to juxtapose these shared elements in pictures for books without any regard for what we might term perspective or even logic: large human figures might be peering over a mountain range supposedly far away from the central action; tiny trees might function as decoration near the feet of the major figures in the composition. To use a linguistic metaphor, it is as if the artisans who drew the pictures knew all the vocabulary of painters, but often did not get the syntax right: the pieces all too frequently do not match in size or weight.²² How could it be that artists who were quite competent in some regards might fail so miserably in others?

Some answers might be found again in the painting manuals that were produced during the late Ming and early Qing. One of the best known now also circulated most widely in late imperial China: *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, number 18 in the *Visible Traces* catalogue) of 1701 was comprised of elements and images that had appeared in other manuals over the previous century. Such painting manuals offered reproductions of the painting styles of master artists of the past; they also provided models for all elements that might typically appear in any kind of picture: precisely the architectural structures with their various details, the rocks, the trees, the bushes, the leaf types, the dogs, the horses, the writing desks, the offering tables—the list is very long indeed—that one might also see in illustrations for

popular literature. Students from elite families learned how to paint from manuals such as this; it would appear that workshops producing everything from ceramic pillows and jars to embroidered cushions to illustrated books might have all used such manuals as compendia of models to be copied into their several media. The effect was to produce a surprising degree of unity among the decorative arts, on the one hand, and the elite artistic traditions on the other. Different media shared the same forms and yet held sometimes widely differing separate positions on the continuum of cultural value. The works at the poles of this continuum obviously did not look the same, despite a shared artistic vocabulary.

To explain the world of the arts in late-imperial China, art-historian James Cahill has identified three strata of painters: the commercial artists, the educated professionals, and the literati amateurs. There were many overlaps among these three groups in practice, but these separate status levels became ever more clearly divided after about 1600 and through the Qing period. Commercial artists all learned the craft from masters as apprentices; since many art projects given to professional artists were to be collaborative works, it is hardly surprising that artisans were rather narrowly trained. We know, for example, that some members of a painting workshop might specialize in background details while others might specialize on the figures at the center of the work. Still others, often the master artisans, would fill in the most demanding parts, the facial details that needed to represent reality. This kind of specialization, no matter how efficient it might be, limited the creativity of individual craftsmen—whose names are generally not known.²³ Design apparently was yet a higher level of learning than that of individual elements; one could make progress in that area only by extensive study of whole paintings. Surely the painting manuals provided examples of entire compositions, and surely painters learned from them. It would seem, however, that few book illustrators learned enough in this area, perhaps because they lacked the leisure for study and practice. Consequently, skill at *composition* may have been what effectively separated the educated professionals from the commercial artisans; thus the cultural continuum might be defined in part by distinguishable levels of creativity in design rather than by the appearance of any elements of composition

or even by skill in their reproduction. This might explain, too, why during the Qing period popular literature came to be illustrated only by simply drawn, conventional portraits from which all of these rich, and technically demanding, details had been omitted.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The Queens Library *Visual Traces* exhibition had only examples of the most outstanding books. Consequently the distance between their illustrations and the best professional art of the time would be relatively small (the Mulian play being the only exception here). But if we were to examine a broader sample of illustrated works of fiction and drama from late imperial China, to say nothing of encyclopedias and other books of practical knowledge, we could perceive the real divisions in the arts; we could see the great cultural and aesthetic distances that separate the fine works of the elite tradition from the more common, artistically less complex, and less attractive pictures in books produced strictly for popular tastes and low book-buying budgets. What, ultimately, we could discern is a clear continuum between those pictures that deserved, and presumably received, extended attention for what one could learn from them, and those illustrations that were so crude as to merit only a passing glance. When during the Qing period popular fiction generally came to be filled with pictures having no artistic value, most of the cultural elite concluded that the art of the educated amateur and the arts for common consumption were utterly separate traditions—and occupations. It is exhibitions such as this, and its magnificent catalogue, that show how closely intertwined the various strands of the world of the arts really were in late imperial China. We can only conclude that during the period of its greatest development, the block-printed book could be a beautiful object, regardless of its content.

NOTES

1. See Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 74–135, or, for more detail,

- Sören Edgren, ed., *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), and Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, *Paper and Printing*, in Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), vol. 5, pt. 1.
2. I am indebted to Craig Clunas's discussion of these terms; see his *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 112–119.
 3. See Maggie Bickford, "Stirring the Pot of State: The Sung Picture-Book *Mei-Hua Hsi-Shen P'u* and Its Implications for Yuan Scholar-Painting," *Asia Major*, 3rd series 6.2 (1993), pp. 169–225. The entire book was reproduced as *Songke meihua xishen pu*, comp. Song Boren (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982). For an extended study of the influence of this album, see Bickford's *Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese Scholar-Painting Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); for a broader study of the political implications of Song-period painting, see Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).
 4. See Zhou Wu, ed., *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1984), p. 65; selected illustrations can be found as plates 181–183. For information about Gu Bing and his album, see Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, pp. 39, 138–148. See also Philip K. Hu, ed., *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, 2000), pp. 37–38.
 5. Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, pp. 138–148. Clunas makes a great deal of the fact that in reproducing earlier paintings Gu Bing does not recreate any of the owners' seals that cover the binding and even the faces of famous works (see pp. 140, 142). Viewers of his pictures, then, would have a more direct, unmediated view than would those whose attention might be distracted by proofs that others had "consumed" (my term; Clunas discusses the album partially in commercial terms) these paintings before them. See also Clunas, *Art in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 181–182.
 6. Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 146. See Clunas's persuasive discussion of this album as a "collection" of historical documents, here paintings, outside time that functions to classify the past more than to exemplify or to recreate it.
 7. See *ibid.*, pp. 172–173; Zhou Wu, *Huipai*, p. 57 and plates 47–55; Clunas, *Art in China*, pp. 183–185. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 39–43.
 8. See Zhou Wu, *Huipai*, pp. 73–74 and plates 327–333; Chang Pide, ed., *Mingdai banhua xuan*, First Collection (Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan, 1969), pp. 136–140. For modern blockprinting, see Qi Baishi *huaji*, ed. Rongbaozhai (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1952). Xu Beihong's paintings have been reproduced widely, but probably never so successfully as by the craftsmen at the Xu Beihong Museum in Beijing. One of the best published collections of his work is *Jo Hikō kaigaten* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun and Seibu Museum of Art, 1988).
 9. For illustrations of the *Qipu*, see Zhou Wu, *Huipai*, p. 66 and plates 203, 1–6. In Zhou Wu, ed., *Jinling gu banhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe,

- 1993), Zhou Wu lists other Huancuitang imprints as having been produced in Nanjing (Jinling). Clearly the illustrations were all drawn in the Anhui style, and Wang was an Anhui native. The location of his printing establishment, probably his studio after all, is harder to establish. See *Visible Traces*, pp. 44–51.
10. A modern reprint of this play is *Mingkan xixiang ji quantu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983). For a study of its illustrations, see Yao Dajun, “The Pleasure of Reading Drama,” in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, ed. and trans. Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 437–468; most of the illustrations from this earliest Ming edition are reproduced there.
 11. On the declining fortunes of narrative painting among the elite during the Ming period, see Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, esp. p. 181; he lists more prestigious subjects of that time (bamboo, boulders, mountains, branches, and the like) on pp. 18–20.
 12. See Zhou Wu, *Huipai*, p. 55, with illustrations on plates 23–24; *Visible Traces*, pp. 29–31; and Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, p. 39. On albums and their function as models for illustrators as well as for painters, see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, pp. 255–270.
 13. Scarlett Jang, “Form, Content, and Audience: A Common Theme in Painting and Woodblock-printed Books of the Ming Dynasty,” *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1998), pp. 1–26.
 14. For information concerning this edition, see Zhou Wu, *Huipai*, p. 54; he reproduces three illustrations from this edition in plates 12–13. Sun Kaidi, *Xiqu xiaoshuo shulu jieti* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 291–292, quotes the prefatory material to the play which states that it was printed to meet the demand for it from far and near. Its author, a failed scholar, supposedly made this common entertainment more elegant. In fact, Sun points out, the language of both arias and dialogue is crude, and some sections contain rather low humor. The interest of this edition, he postulates, lies in its being the largest printed collection of Mulian materials. This conclusion is consonant with the illustrations having been printed to attract broad, rather than discriminating, buyers; the dramatist, an Anhui man, surely had access to more talented craftsmen had he chosen to engage them.
 15. See, for example, the photographs of stages between pp. 486 and 487 in the *Xiqu quyī* volume of *Zhongguo dabaikē quanshu* (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo dabaikē quanshu chubanshe, 1983). Most early stages had hanging scrolls as backdrops; see the illustration facing p. 39 and those between pp. 102 and 103. For an excellent study of the manifold meanings of screens, see Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Zhou Wu regards this edition as a watershed in Anhui-school illustrations, which were to become far more detailed subsequently. See Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo guben xiqu chatu xuan* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 108; for a representative illustration, see pp. 108–109. For art historians’ slightly different perspectives on the

- relationship between the appearance of stage performance and that in printed play illustrations, see Jang, esp. pp. 14–15; and Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb, “Li Bai, a Hero among Poets, in the Visual, Dramatic, and Literary Arts of China,” *Art Bulletin* 81.3 (1999), esp. pp. 374–375, 377–378.
16. See *Visible Traces*, p. 28, figure 5.
 17. See essays by Kenneth Dean, Ch’iu K’un-liang, Kristofer Schipper, and Gary Seaman in David Johnson, ed., *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual: “Mu-lien Rescues His Mother” in Chinese Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1989); see also the extensive bibliography of relevant writings published as *Chinese Mulian Plays: Resources for Ritual and Performance*, ed. Fei Peng and Gary Seaman (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Ethnographics Press, 1994).
 18. See Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, pp. 35–36, for a list of Deng Zhimo’s novels and other writings.
 19. See *ibid.*, p. 198, in reference to the poetry collection *Qinglou yunyu guangji* (An Expanded Collection of Rhymes from the Courtesan’s Quarters), ed. Fang Wu (fl. 1600–1620) of 1631.
 20. On the role of commentary in reading popular literature, see David L. Rolston, ed., *How to Read the Chinese Novel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), and Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading and Writing between the Lines* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
 21. In the reproduction of these illustrations in Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjiso, ed., *Ming Rongyutang ke Shuihu zhuan tu* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), “Chuban shuoming,” p. 1, it is pointed out that in the original edition the illustrations appeared separately, two at the head of each chapter, and not grouped into a *shoujuan* as in other editions of novels.
 22. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, pp. 267–268. For an extended discussion of the role of models in the production of the commercial arts and for other purposes, see Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 202–203.
 23. See Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, pp. 268–289, for historical examples and extended references to art historians’ comments on the social levels of artists during the Ming and Qing periods. I refer to James Cahill, “Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming as Artist Types: A Reconsideration,” *Artibus Asiae* 53.1–2 (1993), pp. 228–248.

GLOSSARY

Baishhe ji 白蛇記
 bajiao 芭蕉
 Baxian 八仙

ce 冊
 Chan 禪
 Cheng Dayue 程大約

- Cheng shi moyuan* 程氏墨苑
Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬
chuanqi 傳奇
Deng Zhimo 鄧志謨
Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬
du 讀
Duhua lu 讀畫錄
Fang Wu 方悟
Fuchuntang 富春堂
guan 觀
guancha 觀察
quantu 冠圖
Guanyin 觀音
Gu Bing 顧炳
Gu shi huapu 顧氏畫譜
Han Xiangzi 韓湘子
Huancuitang 環翠堂
Huang Bang 黃鏘
Huang Ting 黃筌
Huang Yingzu 黃應組
hudiezhuang 蝴蝶裝
Huipai 徽派
Hu Zhengyan 胡正言
Jiao Hong 焦竑
jiaose 腳色
Jieziyuan huazhuan 芥子園畫傳
Jin'gang bore boluomi jing
 金剛般若波羅密經
Jinling pai 金陵派
kan 看
Lidai minggong huapu 歷代名公畫譜
Liu Guangxin 劉光信
Li Zhuowu xiansheng piping Zhongyi Shuihu
zhuan 李卓吾先生批評忠義水滸傳
Meihua xishen pu 梅花喜神譜
Mingdai banhua xuan 明代版畫選
Qi Baishi 齊白石
Qinglou yunyu guangji 青樓韻語廣集
Qiu Ying 仇英
quanxiang pinghua 全相平話
Quanxiang pinghua Sanguo zhi
 全相平話三國志
Rongbaozhai 榮寶齋
Rongyutang 容與堂
shangtu xiawen 上圖下文
Shizhu zhai shuhua pu 十竹齋書畫譜
shoujuan 首卷
Song Boren 宋伯仁
taose yinshua 套色印刷
tongsu xiaoshuo 通俗小說
Wang Dexin 王德信
Wang Shifu 王實甫
Wang Tingna 汪廷訥
Wu Song 武松
xikan 細看
Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen
 新編目連救母勸善戲文
Xinjiaozhu guben Xixiang ji
 新校注古本西廂記
Xinkan qimiao quanxiang zhushi Xixiang ji
 新刊奇妙全相註釋西廂記
Xiqu quyì 戲曲曲藝
xisi 細思
Xixiang ji 西廂記
Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻
Yangzheng tujie 養正圖解
Yingying 鶯鶯
Yuan qu xuan 元曲選

Yuan Zhizhiben quanxiang pinghua Sanguo zhi

元至治本全相平話三國志

zaju 雜劇

Zang Maoxun 臧懋循

Zhang Sheng 張生

Zheng Zhizhen 鄭之珍

zhi guan 止觀

Zhou Liangong 周亮工

Zuoyin xiangsheng jingding jiejing yi pu

坐隱先生精定捷徑奕譜

Book Publishing by the Princely Household during the Ming Dynasty A Preliminary Study

ZHAO QIAN AND ZHANG ZHIQING

TRANSLATED BY NANCY NORTON TOMASKO

Book publishing by the princely households in China's Ming dynasty (1368–1644) refers to the books published by Ming-dynasty regional princes (*fanwang*) or by collateral members of the princes' lineage (*tongfan zongshi*). Scholars sometimes refer to these books as “books published by Ming princedoms” (*Mingfan keshu*), “books published by regional princes” (*fanwang keshu*), or “books published by the Ming imperial clan” (*Ming zongshi keshu*).

One distinctive aspect of the granting of princely estates in the Ming lay in a prince “going out to his princedom” or “taking up residence at his princely estate” (*zhi fan*); that is, after the hereditary prince was granted his title and estate, he would usually establish his princely line in his domain. A description of the institution of regional princes and collateral members of the lineage of regional princes in *Ming shi* (The Official History of the Ming Dynasty) includes the following:

Sons of the emperor who are granted the rank of hereditary prince were presented with "gold patents" (*jince*), "golden seals of office" (*jinbao*), an annual stipend of 10,000 piculs [of grain], and a domain staffed with civil officials. They had escort guards and armed soldiers numbering between 3,000 and 19,000 men who were subordinate to the Ministry of War. Their caps and robes, carts and banners, and domain residences were one grade lower than those of the emperor. Dukes, marquises, and high-ranking officials respectfully sought audience with them, none daring to arrogate ritual parity to themselves. At the age of ten *sui* the eldest son of the principal wife of an imperial prince received a patent in gold and golden seals of office, and was established as heir to the prince. The eldest grandson was established as the grandson-heir, and both wore caps and robes of the first rank.

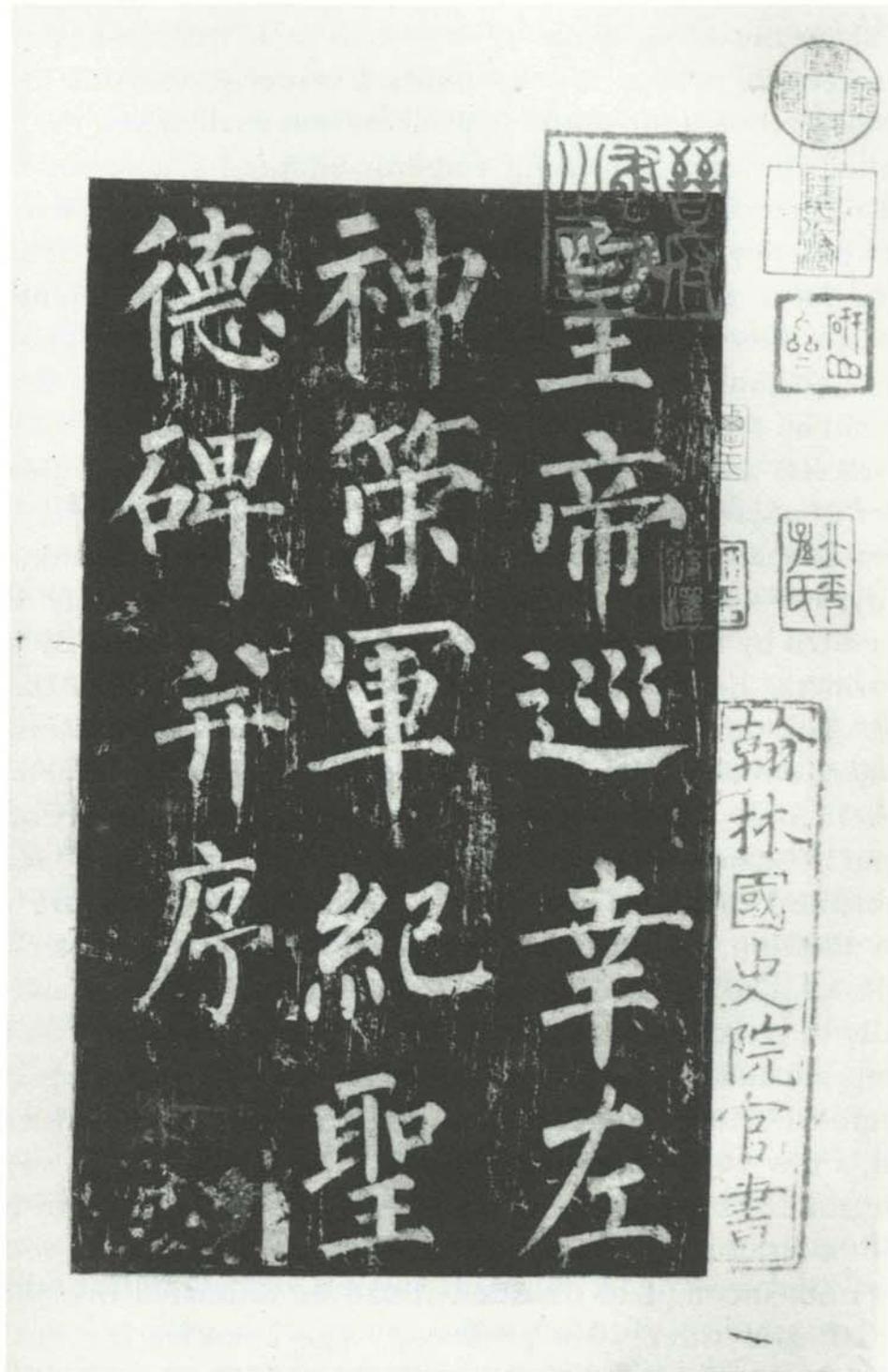
When all other sons reached the age of ten *sui*, they received patents of gold-plated silver (*tujin yince*) and silver seals of office (*yinbao*) and were given the rank of commandery princes (*junwang*). The eldest son of the primary wife was designated as heir to the commandery prince and the eldest grandson of the primary wife as grandson-heir [to the commandery prince], both wearing caps and gowns of the second rank. Any other son [of a commandery prince] was granted the rank of defender-general of the state (*zhenguo jiangjun*), any grandson as bulwark-general of the state (*fuguo jiangjun*), any great-grandson as supporter-general of the state (*fengguo jiangjun*), any fourth-generation descendant as defender-commander of the state (*zhenguo zhongwei*), any fifth-generation descendant as bulwark-commandant of the state (*fuguo zhongwei*), and any sixth-generation descendant as supporter-commandant of the state (*fengguo zhongwei*). At birth each [through his proxy] requested his name, and at maturity each requested a marriage partner; each was granted a stipend for life and received money to pay for funeral and burial expenses. These procedures promoted amicable and proper relationships among the princes of the blood.¹

During the Ming dynasty, sixty-two men were ennobled as regional princes, of whom fifty established princely domains in various locations. To prevent the outlying princes from challenging the emperor and creating disorder, the Ming emperor adopted a series of measures designed to promote their education and introduce preemptive models of proper princely behavior.² In addition to being granted rich emoluments and large allotments of fertile land, they were presented with various major literary works, including poetry in all genres, dramas, and novels, in keeping with the precept that “households of hereditary princes shall be presented 1,700 volumes of *ci* and *qu* poetry” to enhance their characters and eliminate any unbounded political ambitions.³

For example, two rare books now in the collection of the National Library of China were presented to the prince of Jin in Shanxi. One is a Song-dynasty (960–1279) edition of the literary anthology *Wenyuan yinghua*, edited by Li Fang (925–996) and published by Zhou Bida (1126–1204), formerly held in the Qixidian, the archives within the Palace Treasury.⁴ The other is a Song-dynasty rubbing of the stele inscription *Shence junbei*, which was once held in the Historiography Academy of the Hanlin Academy.⁵ Proof that both books were on the shelves of the Jin principedom in Shanxi is the seal impression in each that reads “Seal of the Library of the Domain of Jin” (*Jinfu shuhua zhi yin*; see figure 1).

In addition, no small number of regional princes either devoted themselves to scholarship or grew passionate about literature and the arts specifically to remove themselves from any jealous suspicion on the part of the emperor and to avoid internecine conflict within the imperial clan. Many regional princes and branches of the imperial clan were very well educated, a few even becoming rather profound scholars. It was against this background that publishing by princely houses came into being.

Book publishing grew significantly in the Ming, and even on the basis of rather incomplete statistics, it can be estimated that more than twenty thousand titles were produced. The stimulus for this speedy development in publishing can be credited partially to an edict issued by Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398, r. 1368–1398), the founder of the Ming, in the eighth month of the first year of his reign, abolishing taxes on books.⁶ In response to this advantageous government policy, both official publication



1. Cui Xuan, *Shence junbei*, calligraphy by Liu Gongquan, Northern Song rubbing (960–1127). Image taken from Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan zhenpin tu lu* (Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999), p. 247. Original in the collection of the National Library of China. The seal identifying this as a publication of the Jin princely house is the large square seal over the first character in the first column on the right.

and private printing flourished. Publications by Ming regional princes number about five hundred titles or about 2.5 percent of total book production in the Ming. The numbers may not be great, but the quality of these publications was rather high, a special phenomenon that early on received the attention of book collectors and researchers.

Catalogues such as Zhou Hongzu's (*jinshi* 1559) *Gujin shuke* and Huang Yuji's (1629–1691) *Qianqingtang shumū*, as well as *Siku quanshu zongmu*, the bibliography of the imperial library, all refer to books published by Ming princely houses.⁷ Among contemporary scholars of the history of books and printing in China, both Zhang Xiumin and Qian Cunxun (Tsien Tsuen-hsuein) have discussed this aspect of the history of book publishing in China.⁸

In addition, there is Chang Bide's article "Mingfan keshu kao" (Study of Books Published in Ming Princedoms), which provides an outline description and verification of books published in the various princely domains. Chang Bide offers this critical comment: "The descendants of Ming princedoms, as the most elevated imperial descendants, continued to carry forth their ancestors' abundant heritage, devoting their available assets vigorously to promote book publishing, far surpassing the efforts of previous eras, and thus well deserving the abundance of praise that the world has offered."⁹ He also wrote that

Publishers in the Ming often took delight in altering the wording of older texts, which misguided approach has received the world's censure; *shupa* [books in small-page format printed by officials to be used as conventional gifts to superiors] and *fangben* [books printed by bookstores for the popular market], which, because they usually were carelessly edited and collated likewise have been disdained, [giving Ming editions a bad name]. In contrast, however, books published by the various regional princely houses were for the most part finely produced works, because in many cases the books presented to them [by the court] were good Song and Yuan editions that could be recarved in facsimile, often resulting in fine new editions.

The information and statistics on publishing in the Ming in Li Zhizhong's *Lidai keshu kaoshu* (Study of Book Printing through the Ages)

were based on research that he did beginning in 1965 on the Beijing Library's (now the National Library of China) holdings of books published by princely houses.¹⁰ Of the books published in these outlying princely establishments, he wrote, "These recut editions copied a good edition, and the collation was done against a reliable text . . . so that through time, bibliographers have regarded most of these as excellent editions."¹¹ Qu Mianliang also included records of publications by Ming princely houses in his *Zhongguo guji banke cidian* (Dictionary of Printing of Antiquarian Books in China).¹² These initial studies have smoothed the way for later researchers.

The complexities of the Ming system of installing princes and of their taking up residence at their princely households, the distance in time between that era and now, the loss of prefaces and postfaces to books, and the plagiarism of texts by commercial publishers all present distinct difficulties to those who do research on books published by regional princely houses. Thus, in doing research on these books one must give special attention to such things as the critical abstracts (*zhulu*) in catalogues, making sure that they are accurate. And one must also give sufficient emphasis to the way information internal and external to the book is related to the place and era in which the books were published. This essay reflects a preliminary investigation of these issues, and the authors hope that the information presented about books published in regional princely houses will be of assistance to other researchers.

IN DOING RESEARCH ON BOOKS PUBLISHED BY MING PRINCELY HOUSEHOLDS,
ONE MUST FIRST DELINEATE WHAT IS CONTAINED WITHIN THE BOOK AND
THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE BOOK (THAT IS, THE CONTEXT IN
WHICH THE BOOK WAS PRODUCED)

The authors hold that the study of book publishing in Ming princely households must treat the books published by the Ming regional princes and those published by collateral members of the lineages of those princes together as one research topic, but in writing critical catalogue entries (*zhulu*), where the two can be distinguished, one must make that distinction.

Until now there has been a tendency to give weight to books

published by Ming princes and to regard lightly books published by collateral lineages to the end that failure to identify certain titles published by collateral lineages as books published by principalities has confused research on the subject. For many other books the descriptive catalogue entries have been far too general, throwing our understanding about the books into confusion. For example, a citation concerning an edition of the philosophical writings of the Eastern Jin (317–420) scholar Ge Hong (284–364), *Baopu Zi Neipian* (Baopu Zi Inner Chapters) in twenty *juan*, [Baopu Zi] *Waipian* (Outer Chapters) in fifty *juan*, and [Baopu Zi] *Biezhi* (Additional Record) in one *juan*, identifies it as an edition published in the forty-fourth year of the Jiajing reign (1565) by the Chengxun shuyuan (Chengxun Academy) in the princely estate of Lu (in modern Shandong province).¹³ (See figures 2A–C.)

This, however, proves to be far too general a statement that can easily mislead people into thinking that the blocks for this book were carved and printed by the prince of Lu at the Chengxun shuyuan. The actual situation surrounding this famous edition of *Baopu zi* was that it was published through the efforts of two collateral members of the Lu princely house, supporter-general of the state Zhu Jian'gen (fl. 1522–1566) and his son, defender-commander of the state Zhu Guan'ou (fl. 1522–1566).

Support for this argument is found in the following passage in the *Ming shi* in the section of biographies of princes of the blood:

Supporter-general of the state [Zhu] Jian'gen, a grandson of [Zhu] Yangying, prince of Juye,¹⁴ was widely learned in the classics and even at the age of seventy tirelessly engaged in wide-ranging conversations about “names and principles.”¹⁵ In the Jiajing era (1522–1566) an edict cited his wisdom and filial devotion. His son, defender-commander of the state [Zhu] Guan'ou, familiar name Zhongli, while observing mourning for his mother kept a vegetarian diet for many years, and was emaciated by his grief. He once did a painting entitled *Taiping tu*, which he presented to the emperor Shizong [that is, Zhu Houcong, the Jiajing emperor], who, delighting in it, rewarded him by bestowing on him a tablet bearing the name Chengxun shuyuan, as well as various books including the “five classics” (*wujing*).¹⁶

晉丹陽葛洪稚川著

論仙

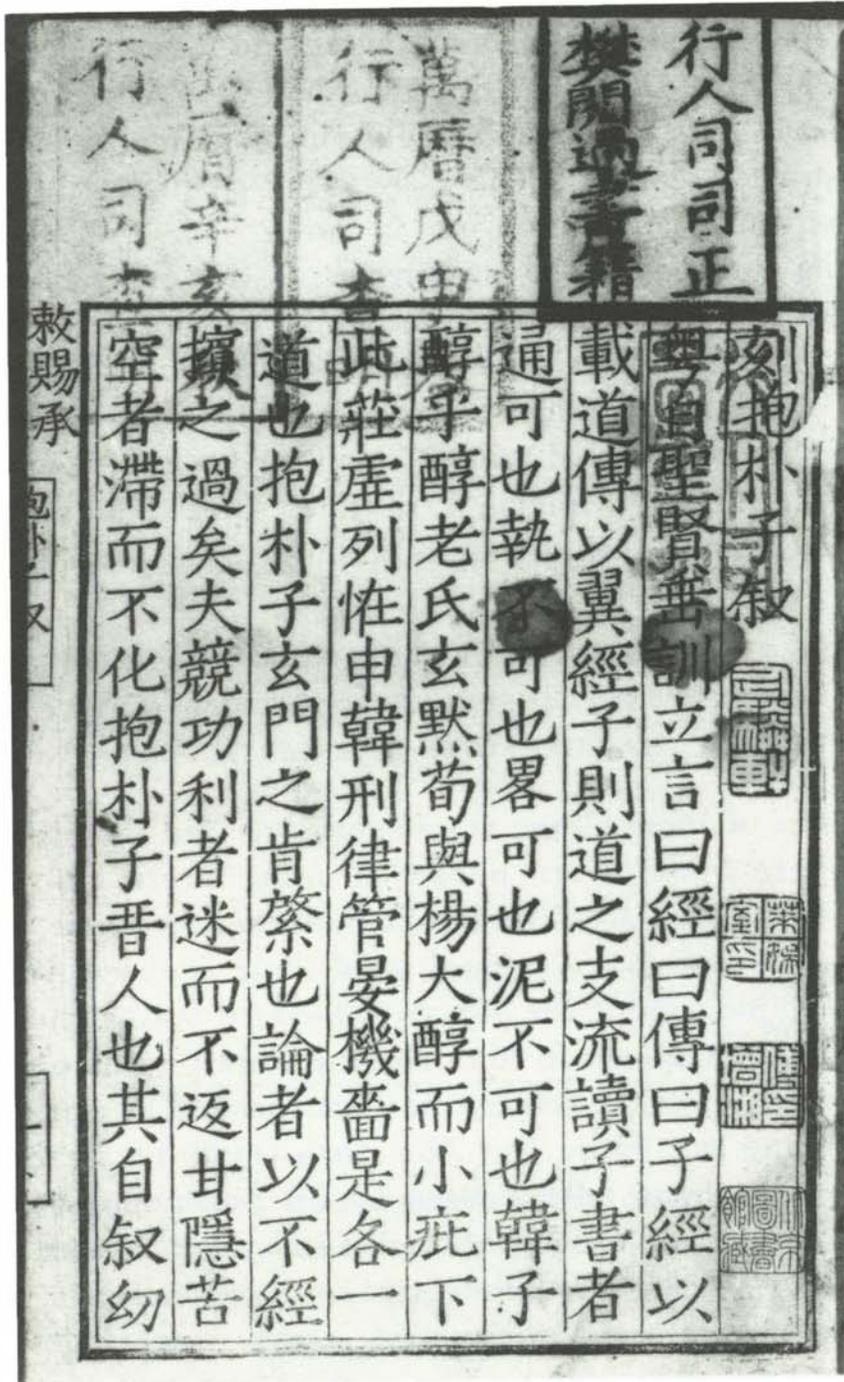
或問曰神仙不死信可得乎抱朴子答曰雖有至明而有形者不可畢見焉雖稟極聰而有聲者不可盡聞焉雖有大章堅亥之足而所常履者未若所不履之多雖有禹益齊諧之識而所識者未若所不識之衆也萬物云云何所不有况列仙之人盈乎竹素矣不死之道曷為無之於是問者大笑曰夫有始者必

承訓
抱朴子內篇卷二

一

有卒有存者必有亡故三五丘旦之聖棄疾良平之智端嬰隨酈之辯賁育五丁之勇而咸死者人理之常然必至之大端也徒聞有先霜而枯率當夏而凋青含穗而不秀未實而萎零未聞有享於萬年之壽久視不已之期者矣故古人學不求仙言不語怪杜彼異端守此自然推龜鶴於別類以死生為朝暮也夫苦心約己以行無益之事鍊水雕朽終無必成之功未若據匡世之高策招當年之隆祉使紫青重紆玄牡龍蹄華轂易步趣禹鍊代未耜不亦美哉每思

2A-2B. Ge Hong, *Baopu Zi*, 71 *juan* (n.p.: Lu Princely House, Chengxun shuyuan, 1565). In the collection of the National Library of China. Call number 2519. *Juan 2*, pp. 1a-1b. A single block was used to print this folded page, shown here in two parts. Note that at the top left of figure 2A and the top right of figure 2B are the four characters Chengxun shuyuan (Chengxun Academy), evidence that this work was published under this imprint.



2c. Ge Hong, *Baopu Zi*. Page 1a of the preface “*Ke Baopu Zi xu*.” Further evidence that this text was presented by the Jiajing emperor to the Chengxun Academy is found in the notation just outside the upper left corner of this half-page of this preface. The notation, partially visible, reads “Bestowed by imperial order on the Cheng [xun shuyuan].”

Thus we know that the Chengxun shuyuan was the place where supporter-general of the state Zhu Jian'gen and his son, defender-commander of the state Zhu Guan'ou, published their books and that this edition of *Baopu Zi* was without a doubt published by a collateral branch of a Ming princely house.¹⁷ There are many examples similar to this, which we will not elaborate on one by one.

Having established the parameters of the evidence within the book and the extenuating external circumstances for this example, the authors hold that the descriptive phrase "books published by princely households" (*fanfu keshu*) is more appropriate than such nomenclature as "books published by regional princes" (*fanwang keshu*), "books published by Ming princedoms" (*Mingfan keshu*), or "books published by the Ming imperial house" (*Ming zongshi keshu*).

IN DOING RESEARCH ON BOOKS PUBLISHED IN MING PRINCELY
ESTABLISHMENTS, ONE MUST GIVE ATTENTION TO THE SPECIAL
ASPECTS OF THE CHARACTER OF A PARTICULAR REGION

The boundaries of Ming China were expansive, and the princely establishments where books were published were spread throughout the entire state (see table 1).¹⁸ The books published by these princedoms reflected features distinctive to book publishing in the various regions.

For example, among the objects in the rare-book collection of the National Library of China is an edition of the literary anthology *Wenzhang leixuan*, which is one of the few extant works printed by a princely house early in the Ming (see figure 3).¹⁹ Zhu Zhan (1378–1438), the sixteenth son of Zhu Yuanzhang (also known by his posthumous title Taizu), compiled this work and then published it in 1398.²⁰ A substantial work in forty *juan*, it is printed in a rather large format; a half-page of the front matter (*juanshou*) measures 19.5 cm. wide and 25.1 cm. high. Publishing this work not long after the founding of the Ming, before the economy had been reinvigorated, and doing so in Ningxia, where the domain of Prince Jing of Qing was located, was truly not an easy undertaking. This work not only gives clear evidence of the care and sophistication of book publishing in outlying princedoms, it is a work representative of contemporary publishing in the Ningxia region.

Table 1
MING PRINCELY HOUSES

NAME OF PRINCEDOM	PROVINCE IN WHICH PRINCEDOM LOCATED
De	Shandong
Lu	Shandong
Heng	Shandong
Jin	Shanxi
Dai	Shanxi
Shen	Shanxi
Zhou	Henan
Zheng	Henan
Tang	Henan
Zhao	Henan
Chong	Henan
Lu	Henan
Qin	Shaanxi
Qing	Shaanxi
Han	Shaanxi
Su	Shaanxi
Chu	Huguang
Min	Huguang
Xiang	Huguang
Rong	Huguang
Huai	Jiangxi
Yi	Jiangxi
Shu	Sichuan
Liao	Multiple locations
Min	Multiple locations
Ning	Multiple locations
Qing	Multiple locations
Su	Multiple locations

On another point, books published in outlying principedoms that frequently moved their location can also reflect the special regional characteristics of publishing in those princely domains. When we speak of a princely residence moving its location (*qianfan*), we are referring to Ming regional princes, who, because they were reinstalled at a different place or for some other reason, moved from their original princely estate to a new princely estate. Of the fifty princes of the blood who took up residence in their principedoms, some ten princes later moved from the original estate to a new one, among them the princes of Liao, Qing, Su, and Min.

文章類選卷之一

賦類

風賦

宋玉

楚襄王遊於蘭臺之宮宋玉景差侍有風颯然而至
 王乃披襟而當之曰快哉此風寡人所與庶人共者
 邪宋玉對曰此獨大王之風耳庶人安得而共之王
 曰夫風者天地之氣濤暢而至不擇貴賤高下而加
 焉今子獨以為寡人之風豈有說乎宋玉對曰臣聞
 於師枳只音句音來巢空穴來風其所託者然則風氣
 殊焉王曰夫風始安生哉宋玉對曰夫風生於地起
 於青蘋之末侵淫谿谷盛怒於土囊之口太山之阿
 舞於松柏之下飄怒湖音水切滂音注切激颺音燥音怒眩
 眩音雷聲迴穴錯迂麗石伐木梢殺林莽至其將
 衰也披麗被華衝孔動機音胸結渙粲爛離散轉移

3. Zhu Zhan, comp., *Wenzhang leixuan*, 40 juan (Ningxia: Qing Princely House, 1398). In the collection of the National Library of China. Call number 13207.

Several princely houses changed location many times, among them that of Zhu Quan (1378–1448), Prince Xian of Ning, the seventeenth son of Ming Taizu, Zhu Yuanzhang.²¹ Books published by the Ning principedom demonstrate special characteristics of that region. In the twenty-fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1391), Zhu Quan was granted a princely title; between the twenty-sixth year and the thirty-first year of the Hongwu reign (1393–1398), he resided on a princely estate in Daning (near present-day Chengde). The works that he published during these years, which included his own study of phonology, *Taihe zhengyin pu*, and a work on rhymes that he compiled, *Qionglou yayun*, all were Daning editions.²²

Between the first and fourth years of the Jianwen reign period (1399–1402), Zhu Quan was placed under house arrest in Beiping by his elder brother, Zhu Di (b. 1360), prince of Yan (and later the Ming emperor Chengzu). Zhu Quan repeatedly drafted proclamations for the prince of Yan in this period when “the city of Daning stood empty.”²³ During the fourth year of the Jianwen reign (1402), Zhu Quan published his own research on Han and Tang historical topics, *Han Tang bishi*, a work that must be a Beiping edition.²⁴

In the first year of the Yongle reign (1403), Zhu Quan was reassigned to a new residence in Nanchang where he established an estate, and as before, continued to use his original princely title (prince of Ning). In the collection of the National Library of China is an edition of the collected prose writings of Ge Changgeng (fl. 1163) entitled *Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng wenji*, which Zhu Quan published in the seventh year of the Zhengtong reign period (1442), and hence a book that should be identified as one published in Nanchang (see figure 4).²⁵ Until the fifteenth year of the Zhengde era (1520) when Zhu Chenhao died, Prince Shanggao of Ning’s revolt was quelled, and the princely line abolished,²⁶ all books published by the Ning princely house were published in Nanchang.

That Zhu Quan himself “annotated and collated several tens of books”²⁷ makes quite evident how great the abundance of books published by the Ning princely house was. Clarifying the date and place of publication for each of these books is extremely valuable with respect to

海瓊玉蟾先生文集 卷一



南極遐齡老人懼仙重編

賦

紫元賦

客此身於寰中兮如鸚鵡之樊籠妙此道於象外兮如
鴻鵠之飛翮混沌於咸池兮呼飛廉而鞭靈霞謁元
始於玉京兮騎汗漫而泛空濛帝宓犧而國華胥兮子
栗陸而臣有熊家太極而亭寒沈兮女崑崙而塊衡宇
師廣脯而鍊飛肉兮坐鶴脊以凌南華僕鬱壘而威幽
爽兮驅豕車而鎖北鄴兄羲和而嫂后羿兮縛妖星而
斬流虹友羅睺而媒太乙兮躡梵雲而履剛風醉瑤池

4. Ge Changgeng, *Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng wenji*, 8 juan (Nanchang: Ning Princely House, 1442). In the collection of the National Library of China. Call number 11751.

research on the special regional character of books published in border prefectures during the Ming dynasty.

One must be aware, however, that not all books previously catalogued as being published by the Ning princely estate necessarily were. For example, the bibliographic work *Ningfan mulu* (Bibliography of the Ning Princely Estate) does not record the compiler's name, but rather has an inscription that reads "Book published in the Ning princely estate, twentieth year of the Jiajing era (1541)."²⁸ And one must also be aware of the following: after the fifteenth year of the Zhengde reign (1520) when Zhu Chenhao, Prince Shanggao of the Ning princely house, revolted without success, was executed and his line abolished, the princely estate in Nanchang was not again established elsewhere. By the twentieth year of the Jiajing reign (1541), the Ning princely house had been abolished for over twenty years, which makes the designation "Book published in the Ning Princely Estate, twentieth year of the Jiajing era" a spurious attribution. It is possible that this attribution resulted from a collateral branch descendant, prince of Yiyang, continuing to use the nomenclature of his ancestor.²⁹

In doing research into the regional character of books published in princedoms, one must also cautiously distinguish and verify the place of publication to avoid mistakes. For example, even though there is divergent speculation about just who the author of the pharmaceutical work *Xinkan xiuzhen fang daquan* (Great Compendium of Prescriptions, New "Sleeve-Treasure" Edition) is, some saying that it is Zhu Su (1361–1425), Prince Ding of Zhou, and some saying that it is Zhu Youdun (1379–1439), Prince Xian of Zhou, that it was published in Yunnan is, however, never questioned. Assertions about the place of publication are based on a preface in an edition published in an outlying princedom in the Hongzhi era (1488–1505) that reads:

Since coming to Yunnan now more than a year, I have looked for medical books, but have been able to find no more than two or three out of ten [of those for which I have searched]. Observing the way others handle illnesses, some make offerings to the gods and sacrifices to spirits; sometimes those with illnesses will seek out medicinal remedies, but in this locale there are no good

physicians. Some recklessly rely on [these doctors'] farfetched opinions and go in pursuit of extremely peculiar prescriptions, rashly applying them. Many are those who die. So, in my spare time I collected, recorded, and tested out various prescriptions, thus composing a volume and calling it a "sleeve treasure" (*xiuzhen*) edition,³⁰ which I had craftsmen carve in order to widen its circulation.³¹

Contradicting this is a passage in the *Ming shi* that reads,

Zhu Su, Prince Ding of Zhou, was the fifth son of Taizu. In the third year of the Hongwu reign [1370] he was invested with the title prince of Wu. In the seventh year of that reign period [1374], authorities requested an escort guard [for his eventual princely residence] be established in Hangzhou. The emperor said, "Qiantang [that is, Hangzhou] is a rich and fertile area; such is not permissible." In the eleventh year [of the Hongwu reign, 1378], Zhu Su's investiture was changed to prince of Zhou, and he was ordered to reside in Fengyang, along with the princes of Yan, Chu, and Qi.

In the fourteenth year [1381] he went to take up his residence in Kaifeng, on the site of the Song-dynasty imperial palace. In the twenty-second year [1389] Zhu Su abandoned his principedom and went back to Fengyang.³² Angered, the emperor was on the verge of dispatching him to Yunnan when he halted this and instead ordered him to reside in the capital [Nanjing], and [Zhu Su]'s heir Zhu Youdun managed the affairs of the princely domain [at Kaifeng]. In the twelfth month of the twenty-fourth year [January 1392] he was ordered to return to his estate.³³

This passage makes it clear that possibly neither Zhu Su, Prince Ding [of Zhou], nor his son Zhu Youdun, Prince Xian [of Zhou], ever went to Yunnan.³⁴ So, whence cometh the preface by the prince of Zhou? Huang Yuji, the famous Qing-dynasty bibliographer, in the record for this work in the catalogue *Qianqingtang shumu*, ascribes authorship to Li Heng (fl. 1368–1424), a court physician who served both the founder of the Ming and during the reign of the third emperor.³⁵

IN DOING RESEARCH ON BOOKS PUBLISHED BY MING PRINCELY
HOUSEHOLDS, ONE MUST GIVE ATTENTION TO THE
CHARACTER OF THE TIMES

Books published by princely establishments do not exist in a vacuum; their material qualities reflect the contemporary level of printing skills and the tastes of society, both of which in turn reflect characteristics of the times and also change continuously in response to political, economic, and cultural developments.

With respect to trends in block cutting in principalities, early Ming-dynasty books were influenced by lingering Yuan-dynasty block-cutting practices, preserving the style of books published in the Yuan with a wide "black mouth" (*heikou*),³⁶ characters in the style of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), and so on. The literary anthology *Wenzhang leixuan*, mentioned above, published in the thirty-first year of the Hongwu reign (1398) by Zhu Zhan in the Qing principedom, is one such work (see figure 3). Facsimile Yuan editions done in the Ming closely capture the spirit and the form of the originals. For example, the famous literary anthology *Wenxuan* was published in a sixty-juan edition in the Yuan dynasty in Chizhou circuit (Chizhou lu, in modern Anhui) and recut in the Chenghua era (1465–1487) in the Tang principedom.³⁷ Book dealers have regularly removed the Tang prince's preface in order to make it appear to be a Yuan-dynasty edition, and collectors have often fallen for this ruse. Even keen observers such as Sun Xingyan (1753–1818) and Mo Boji (1878–1958) were among those deceived.³⁸

Under the influence of the wave of interest in the revival of antiquity (*fugu sichao*) in the Jiajing (1522–1566) and Wanli (1573–1620) eras, the trend toward facsimile Song editions (*fan Song ben*) and imitation Song editions (*fang Song ben*) emerged. During this period, when many Song and Yuan editions were being recut, newly published books also used the rather square and regular imitation Song-style calligraphy, as well as paper and ink of a fine quality, with the columns and spacing uncluttered and elegant, almost completely in the mode of a Song edition. This produced a wellspring of renowned editions. Among them was a reprint (*chong kan*) that Zhu Weizhuo (d. 1544), Prince Ding of Qin, made in the thirteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1534) of *Shiji jijie*

suoyin zhengyi in 130 *juan*, an edition of the *Shiji* by Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 BCE), with three commentaries, edited by the Song scholar Huang Shanfu (fl. twelfth century).³⁹ It has one more page and preserves considerably more content than other contemporary editions of this work,⁴⁰ thus becoming a famous edition avidly sought after in its day by collectors.

Toward the end of the Ming, there was a major preference for observing taboo characters.⁴¹ The style of books published in the border prefectures was for the mouth of the book to be white (*baikou*), the characters to be rather vertically elongated,⁴² and taboo characters to be avoided. There are editions of books extant today reflecting these special features of printing in this era. One such example is the 1638 edition of *Lufan xin ke shu gu shufa zuan* (Compilation of Ancient Calligraphy, An Edition Newly Carved and Annotated by the Lu Princely House), Zhu Changfang's work on calligraphy and painting published in the princely house of Lu (see figures 5A and B).⁴³ Another example of a princely-house publication that reflects the special characteristics of this period is *Shenguo Mianxue shuyuan ji* (Anthology of the Mianxue Academy in the State of Shen), an anthology of poetry by four princes of the house of Shen, compiled by Zhu Chengyao (1550–ca. 1610), Prince Ding of Shen, and published in the first year of the Chongzhen reign (1628; see figures 6A and B).⁴⁴

The establishment and dissolution in the Ming of principalities in which book publishing occurred corresponded with the beginning and end of the Ming dynasty. One example is the princely house of Shu, which extended for more than nine generations and a total of 254 years, from the twenty-third year of the Hongwu reign (1390) when Zhu Chun (1371–1423), Prince Xian of Shu, first took up his princely residence in Chengdu, until the seventeenth year of the Chongzhen reign (1644), when Zhu Zhishu (fl. 1604–1644) ended his life by leaping into a well after the rebel Zhang Xianzhong (ca. 1605–1647) attacked and captured Chengdu prefecture.⁴⁵

Zhu Chun, Prince Xian of Shu, was said to have “in all ways mastered the classics and other writings and to have been sophisticated in every action” and was called by Taizu (the Ming founding emperor and his father) the “budding scholar of Shu” (*Shu xiucai*).⁴⁶ From the time he took up residence in Chengdu, Zhu Chun had great numbers of books

潞藩新刻述古書法纂卷之一之三

書制源流

卦畫按五行志云伏羲氏受圖書則而畫之八
卦是也又曰一為陰一為陽始於伏羲乃文
字之祖

易經云上古結繩而治後世聖人易之以書契
百官以治萬民以察蓋取諸夬

在天文奎星屈曲相鈎似文章之畫

造書尚書序云古者伏羲氏之王天下也造書

5A. Zhu Changgang, *Lufan xinke shu gu shufa zuan*, 10 juan (n.p.: Lu Princely House, 1638). In the collection of the National Library of China. Call number 5774. Juan 1, part 3, first half-page.

廣識人諒必不以述古爲孤啞因不揣固陋而
壽諸木蓋欲聖同志君子增廣而潤色之以爲
清時雅尚云爾

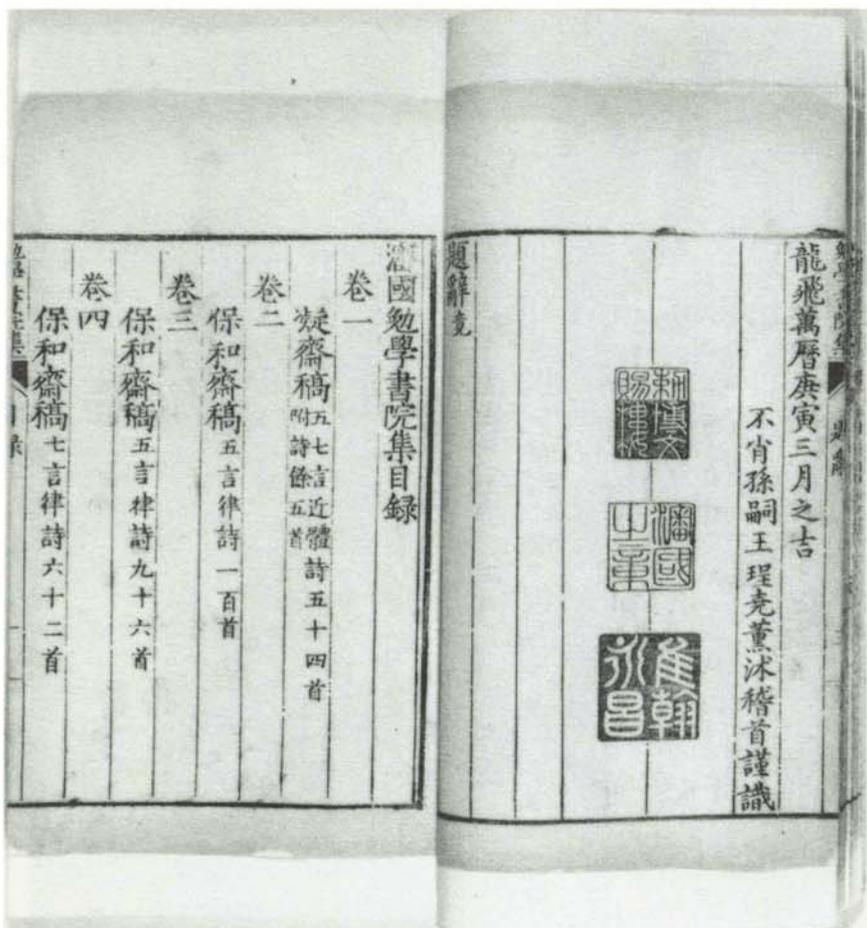
崇禎丙子七夕日

潞國敬一主人中和甫識

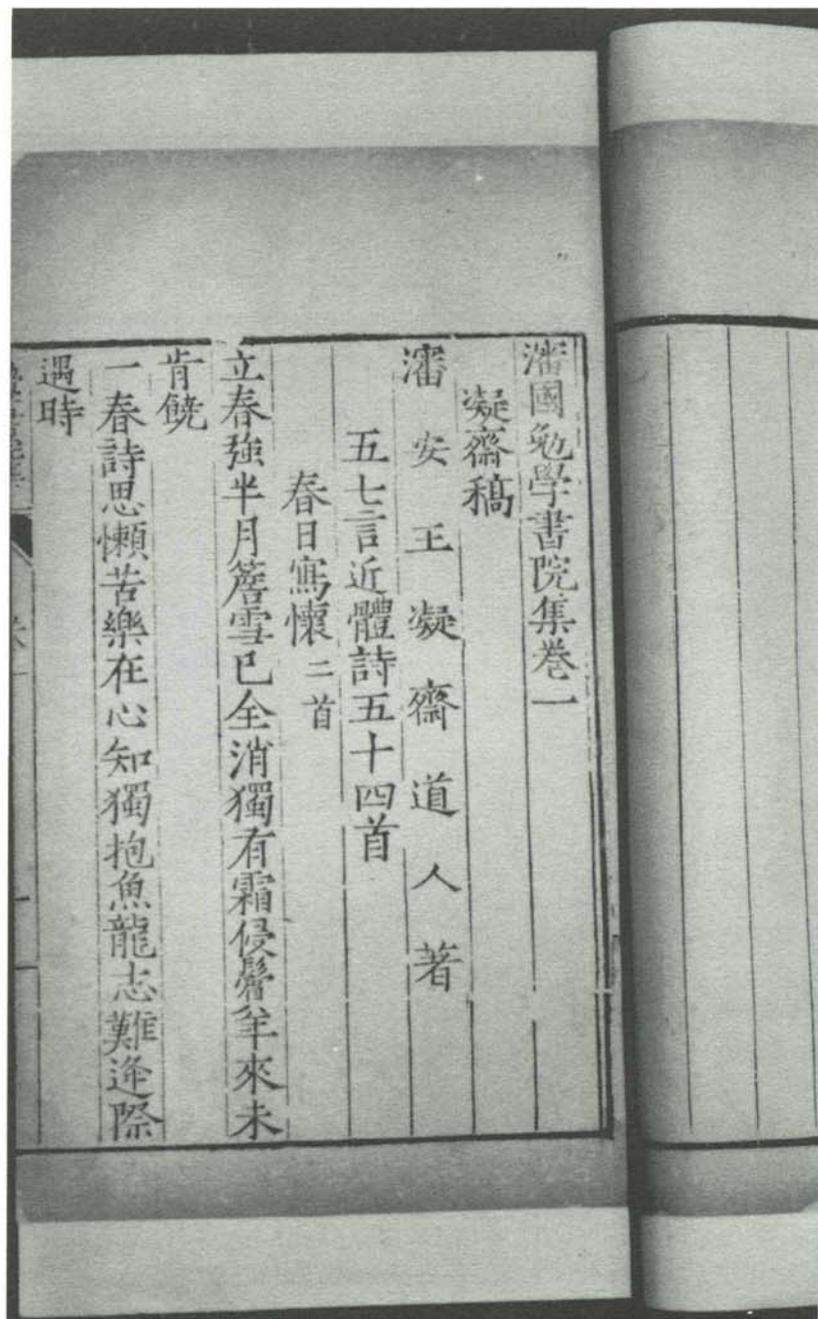


潞藩新刻述古書法纂卷之一之三

5B. Zhu Changgang, *Lufan xinke shu gu shufa zuan*. Juan 1, part 3, last half-page. The seal is that of the prince of Lu.



6A. Zhu Chengyao and Zhu Xiaoyong, comps., *Shenguo Mianxue shuyuan ji*, 11 juan (n.p.: Shen Princely House, 1590). In the collection of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection. Call number TD 68/377. Fourth preface in the front matter, p. 3b, and first half-page of the table of contents. In the second column from the right is Zhu Chengyao's signature for his 1590 preface to this poetry anthology. Note also the middle seal, the seal of the Shen princely house.



6B. Zhu Chengyao and Zhu Xiaoyong, *Shenguo Mianxue shuyuan ji*. Juan 1, p. 1a. The pages of this copy of this book have been repaired and interleaved and then rebound in a conservation-style binding called “gold-edged-in-jade.”

carved and printed. These include such works as histories of the Sichuan region in which his princely domain was located, *Shu jian* in ten *juan*, compiled by Guo Yundao (fl. 1236), and *Shu Han benmo* in three *juan*, compiled by Zhao Juxin (fl. fourteenth century);⁴⁷ philosophical texts such as Liu Xiang's (79–8 BCE) compilation *Shuoyuan* in twenty *juan* and his *Xinxu* in ten *juan*;⁴⁸ a geriatric-medicine text *Shouqin yanglao xinshu* in four *juan*, the compilation of which is attributed to Chen Zhi (fl. eleventh century) and Zou Xuan (fl. thirteenth-fourteenth centuries);⁴⁹ Zhang Zi's (b. 1153) compilation, *Shixue guifan*, a guide in forty *juan* for the conduct of those in official positions;⁵⁰ and Zhao Shanliao's (fl. 1231) *Zijing bian*, a nine-*juan* work on moral self-cultivation (see figures 7A and B).⁵¹

Various succeeding princes of Shu also actively engaged in the publishing of books on a variety of topics. Zhu Yuezhao (d. 1461), Prince He of Shu in the first year of the Tianshun reign (1457), published a medical work in 42 *juan* entitled *Zengxiu piya guangyao*, compiled by Lu Dian (1042–1102).⁵² Zhu Shenzuo (d. 1493), Prince Hui of Shu, had the collected prose writings of Liu Yin (1249–1293), *Liu Wenjing gong wenji*, in 28 *juan*, published in the fifteenth year of the Chenghua reign (1478) and in the same year published Zhang Tianxi's (fl. late-third century) work on calligraphy *Caoshu jiyun* in 5 *juan*.⁵³ In the seventh year of the Jiajing reign (1528), Zhu Rangxu (d. 1547), Prince Cheng of Shu, published *Zijing bian* in 9 *juan*,⁵⁴ and in the fourteenth year of the same era (1535) published the critical work on historiography, Liu Zhiji's (661–721) *Shitong* in 20 *juan*.⁵⁵ In the twentieth year of the Jiajing reign (1541) this same prince published two important collected writings, one, those of Fang Xiaoru (1357–1402) *Xunzhizhai ji* in 24 *juan* with an appended supplement, *Fulu*, in 1 *juan*,⁵⁶ and the second, those of the famous Song writer Su Zhe (1039–1112), *Luancheng ji* in 50 *juan* with its two additional collections, *Houji* in 24 *juan* and *Sanji* in 10 *juan*.⁵⁷ Zhu Chengyue (d. 1558), Prince Duan of Shu, published Zhu Rangxu's (d. 1547) *Changchun jingchen gao* in 13 *juan* and a supplement, *yugao* in 3 *juan*, in the twenty-eighth year of the Jiajing reign (1549).⁵⁸ In the twenty-first year of the Wanli reign (1593), Zhu Xuanqi, Prince Duan of Shu in a later generation, in 1593 published the famous abridgment by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) of Sima Guang's (1019–1086) great history, the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu quanshu*, in 108 *juan*.⁵⁹

自警編卷之一

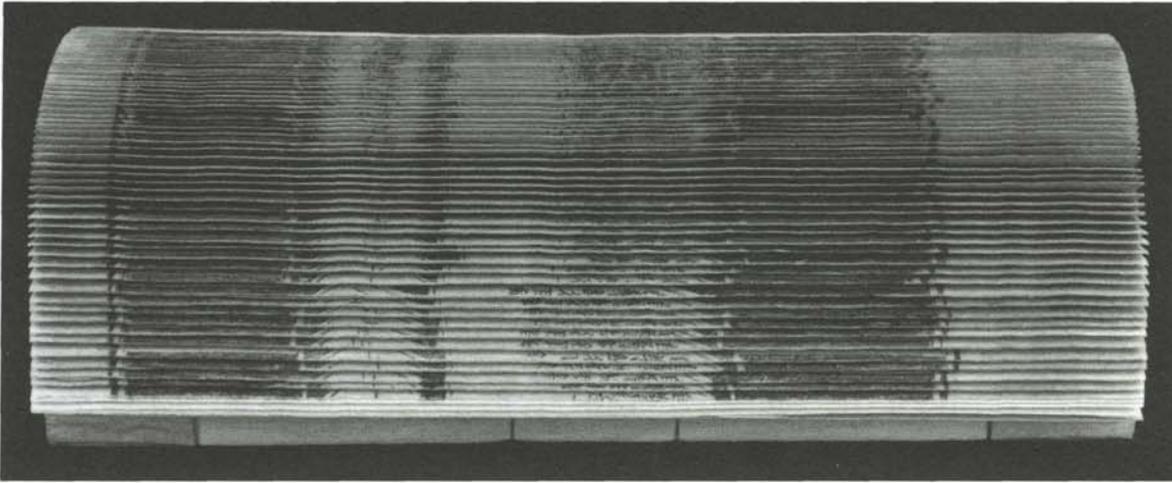
學問類

學問

范魯公質自後仕未嘗釋卷人或勉之質曰昔嘗有異人與吾言他日必當大任苟如其言無學術何以處之

太宗欲相趙普或譖之曰普山東學究惟能讀論語耳太宗疑之以告普普曰臣實不知善但能讀論語佐藝祖定天下終用得半部尚有一半可以輔陛下太宗釋然卒相之

7A. Zhao Shanliao, *Zijing bian*, 9 juan, possibly Shu Princely House, Zhu Chun, early-Ming edition. In the collection of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection, TC 328/344. The Gest copy is missing the last juan. The first page of the first juan.



7B. Zhao Shanliao, *Zijing bian*. The mouth or fore edge of a fascicle of this work; the bands of black are the so-called black mouth, the uncarved portion of the center of the printing block visible when the book pages are folded for binding. Conservation repair of the center folds throughout muddled the distinctness of the bands of black in this example.

With this introduction to book publishing in the princely estate of Shu, we have a general understanding of its extended and continuous character. In fact, the circumstances of book publishing in many of the principalities closely resembles that of the house of Shu, each having an internally continuous character. This kind of publishing, supported by one princely household and published in one locale, runs throughout the history of book publication in the Ming dynasty. And if we research this phenomenon further, we should be able to gain an even clearer understanding of the peculiarities of printing in every era of the Ming and of the overall situation as well.

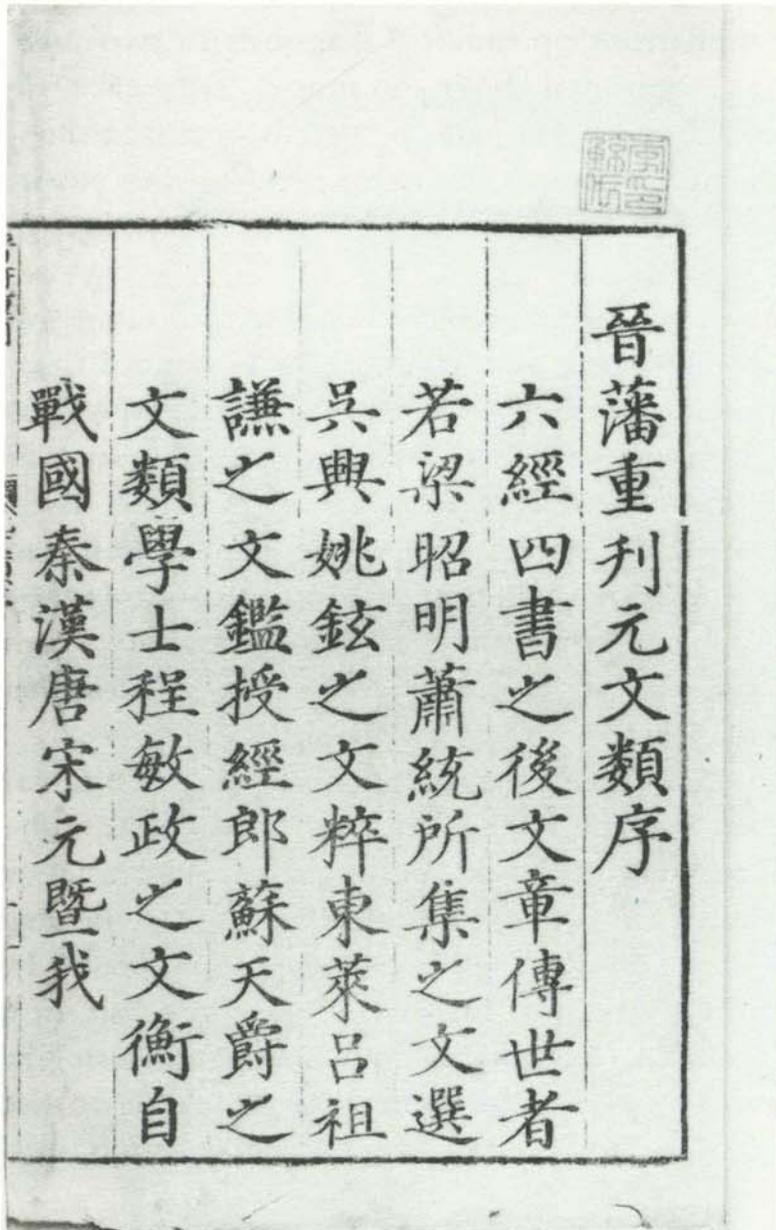
Of course, in doing this research we must try not to confuse people's names or muddle the sequence [of when books were published] to avoid making errors of attribution⁶⁰ that cause others not to know whether to cry or laugh and that adversely influence the progress of research.

THE PLACE AND VALUE OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE
MING PRINCIPALITIES

Printing in premodern China reached its peak during the Ming dynasty. As noted above, even according to incomplete statistics, the total number of titles published reached more than twenty thousand, with books published by principalities numbering about five hundred titles. One important reason that books published by principalities have been highly treasured through the ages by bibliographers and collectors is that these books took Song- and Yuan-dynasty editions as their models for recutting many rare and seldom seen antiquarian books.

For example, in the fifth year of the Jiajing reign (1526) Zhu Zhiyang (d. 1533), Prince Rui of Jin, under the imprint name of Yangde shuyuan of the principedom of Jin, ordered the carving and printing of *Songwen jian*, the 150-juan anthology of Song-dynasty literature compiled and edited by Lü Zuqian (1137-1181).⁶¹ The Ming edition copied an edition published in the first year of the Tianqing reign (1195-1200) of the Song dynasty by the prefectural school of Taiping prefecture (Taiping *faxue*). In the sixteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1537), Zhu Xintian, Prince Jian of Jin, using the imprint name of the princely house of Jin, carved and printed *Yuanwen lei*, the 70-juan anthology of prose from the Yuan dynasty, edited by Su Tianjue (1294-1352).⁶² (See figure 8.) This Ming edition was modeled on the Yuan edition published under the imprint of Xihu shuyuan.⁶³ Several of the original Song- and Yuan-dynasty books that were recut during the Ming were, even in the Ming dynasty, scarce as “phoenix down and Chinese unicorn horns” (*fengmao linjiao*), and for a multitude of reasons, many of these Song and Yuan works are no longer extant. Thus, these books published by Ming princely houses become a significant resource for research on lost Song and Yuan editions, and all have an important place in bibliographic research.

On another issue, no small number of Ming princes or their collateral descendants devoted themselves to literature and the arts, becoming renowned scholars in certain regions. For example, Zhu Quan (1378-1448), Prince Xian of Ning, who chose for himself such names as “Da Ming qishi” (Unusual Scholar of the Great Ming) and “Quxian”



8. Su Tianjue, *Yuanwen lei*, 70 *juan* (n.p.: Jin Princely House, Zhu Xintian, 1537), first page of the 1537 preface by Ma Peng. In the collection of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection, TD 63/286.

(literally, The Lean Immortal), was a famous Ming-dynasty drama theorist, playwright, and master of the zither (*guqin*). Zhu Quan's written works are numerous, including such works on music and drama as *Qin Ruan qimeng*, in one *juan*, and *Taihe zhengyin pu*, in two *juan*.⁶⁴ And he wrote twelve dramas in the *zaju* form, of which two are extant, *Da luotian* and *Siben Xiangru*.⁶⁵

Early in the Ming, Zhu Quan published many of his own works and the works of others as well. Among the titles that he published are

the following: his own compilations on medical diagnosis in two *juan*, *Quxian zhouhou jing*⁶⁶ and, as mentioned above, on music, *Taihe zhengyin pu*; Zhang Yuansu's (fl. 1208) *Bingji qiyi baoming ji*, a medical text in three *juan*;⁶⁷ Ge Changgeng's collected writings, mentioned early in this paper, *Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng wenji* in six *juan* and a continuation, *Xuji*, in two *juan*.⁶⁸

Other Ming princes, as well, were actively engaged in literary and scholarly endeavors and published their own works. Zhu Youdun, Prince Ding of Zhou, whose sobriquet was Chengzhai, was a famous playwright in the Ming.⁶⁹ He thoroughly understood various drama forms, such as *zaju* and *sanqu*, and wrote thirty-two plays published in a twenty-two-*juan* collection of *zaju* entitled *Chengzhai zaju*, which he himself had carved and printed during the Yongle (1403–1424) and Xuande (1426–1435) reign periods.⁷⁰ And in the seventh year of the Xuande reign (1434), he also had his own two-*juan* work of ballad-style songs, *Chengzhai yuefu*, carved and published.⁷¹

Zhu Zaiyu (1536–1611), heir to the princely house of Zheng, was a well-known mathematician and musician.⁷² In the Wanli era he published several of his own mathematical works, among them such titles as *Jialiang suanjing* in three *juan*, *Yuan fang gou gu tujie* in one *juan*, *Jialiang suanjing wenda* in one *juan*, and *Tujie gu Zhou bi suanjing* in one *juan*.⁷³ In that same era he also published fifteen of his own works on music in a collection entitled *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Collection on Music) in forty-eight *juan*.⁷⁴ (See figures 9A and 9B.) Of these, his research on the twelve-tone scale stood at the forefront of worldwide research into musical theory.

The books produced as these regional princes and their collateral descendants had their own writings carved and printed not only have a very high research value, but also are book of a quality that cannot be superseded or replaced by later editions.

Block carving and printing in the Ming were the best in the world. With respect to the culture of technology, people in the Ming displayed unlimited creativity, to the end that fine Song and Yuan editions also benefited from skillful Ming hands that extended their circulation, all of which is particularly evident in the publishing done in the principalities. Books published by princely houses manifest the authoritative culture of

律學新說卷之三

審度篇第一之下

分上下者上乃造律要法下乃審度旁證

素問靈樞經黃帝問于岐伯曰余聞人之合于天道也內有五藏以應五音五色五時五味五位也外有六府以應六律六律建陰陽諸經而合之十二月十二辰十二節十二經水十二時十二經脉者此五藏六府之所以應天道夫十二經脉者人之所以生病之所以成人之所以治病之所以起學之所始工之所止也麤之所易上之所難也又問岐伯曰經脉十二者外合于十二經水而內屬于五藏六府夫十二經水者其有大小深淺廣狹
近各不同五藏六府之高下小大受穀之多少亦不等相應奈何

星洲
五中
藏書

鄭世子臣載增謹撰



9A. Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuelü quanshu*, 48 juan (n.p.: Zheng Princely House, Zhu Zaiyu, Wanli era). In the collection of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection, TA 141/278. *Lüxue xinshuo* (New Explanation of the Study of Tones), the first of twelve titles in this collection of works on music and dance, juan 3, p. 1a.

內 轉 回 顧 勢

律字第六
作字第八
春
日入而息鑿井而飲耕田而食
此三句舞與首句同是故不載



9B. Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuelü quanshu*. *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), *juan* 6, p. 123a. One of the many illustrations, detailed diagrams, and charts that fill Zhu Zaiyu's treatises on music and dance, here demonstrating the dance posture of turning toward the inside and turning one's head to look back.

the Ming aristocracy and though small in number, nonetheless all have representative value and must be researched thoroughly. This essay has dealt with only the evidence contained within the books themselves, as well as the character of the region in which books were published, the character of the times, and other special features, all initial steps in the research process, and we hope that it makes some contribution to future research into book publishing in Ming princedoms.

NOTES

The notes were compiled by the editor with the generous help of Frederick W. Mote. Philip Hu also added bibliographic references in several places.

1. Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755) et al., eds., *Ming shi* (1736; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 116, p. 3557.
2. This does not refer to actions of the Ming-dynasty founding emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368–1398), but rather to the third emperor, Zhu Di (r. 1403–1424), commonly know by his reign name, Yongle.
3. This same information is quoted by Li Zhizhong (b. 1927) in the chapter on publishing in the Ming dynasty in his larger survey of book publishing in China, *Lidai keshu kaoshu* (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1989), p. 214. In a footnote in that chapter Li Zhizhong gives as one of his sources a short essay contained in the collected writings of the literatus Li Kaixian (1502–1568), “Zhang Xiaoshan xiao ling houxu,” *Li Kaixian ji*, ed. Lu Gong (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp. 369–370. In writing about the presentation of works of literature to princes of the blood at the beginning of the Ming, the wording that our authors use has copied that of Li Kaixian who has copied that of a yet unverified predecessor work. In that same footnote Li Zhizhong also gives a Qing-dynasty source, Liang Qingyuan, *Diaoqiu zalu*, *juan* 15. I have not yet located this work. It seems obvious that the “origin” of this “fact” is some even earlier work left unspecified by those who have transmitted it.
4. Li Fang et al., comps., *Wenyuan yinghua*, 1000 *juan* (982–987; Jizhou, Jiangxi: Zhou Bida, 1201–1204), 140 *juan* extant. For a discussion of the history of this anthology, see Chen Zhenghong and Zhang Peiheng, eds., *Wenxue juan*, in *Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu tiyao*, ed. Zhou Gucheng (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 26–31.
5. The stele, a text by Cui Xuan (fl. ninth century) engraved with the calligraphy of Liu Gongquan (778–865), was first erected in 843, but is now lost. For reproductions of rubbings of this stele, see Kanda Kiichirō and Shimonaka Kunihiro, comps., *Shodō zenshū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1954–1968), vol. 10, pl. 91. See also Liu Gongquan, *Tang shence junbei* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe,

- 1974). See Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan zhenpin tulu* (Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999), p. 247.
6. *Ming shi*, 2, p. 21. This information is also recorded in Xia Xie (1799–1876), comp., *Ming tongjian* (ca. 1870; 1959; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p. 200.
 7. Zhou Hongzu, comp., *Gujin shuke*, 2 juan, Guangutang shumu congke, nos. 5–6 (n.p., 1902); Huang Yuji, comp., *Qianqingtang shumu*, 32 juan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990); Ji Yun (1724–1805) et al. eds., *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 200 juan, completed 1782; (1971; Taipei: Taiwan changwu yinshuguan, 1978).
 8. Both these writers have published extensively on the subject of printing and publishing in China. See, for example, Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshu shi* (History of Printing in China) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989); and Qian Cunxun [Tsien Tsuen-hsuei], *Paper and Printing*, in Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (1985; 1987; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), vol. 5, pt. 1.
 9. Chang Bide, “Mingfan keshu kao,” in his *Banben muluxue luncong* (Collected Essays on Editions and Bibliography), 2 vols. (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1977) vol. 1, pp. 39–40; originally published in *Xueshu jikan*, vol. 3, nos. 3 and 4 (March and June, 1955), pp. 146–162 and pp. 139–147, respectively.
 10. Li Zhizhong’s continuing bibliographic research on old and rare Chinese books has recently been published in his *Guji banben zhishuo wubai wen* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2001).
 11. Li Zhizhong, “Mingdai keshu kaolue,” in his *Lidai keshu kaoshu*, p. 239.
 12. Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian* (Ji’nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1999).
 13. See Kuo Qunyi et al., eds., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*, “Zibu” (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), p. 83a (p. 1047). For a reduced photo-facsimile reproduction of this edition, see Ge Hong, *Baopu zi neiwai pian*, 2 vols., in *Sibu congkan chu bian*, vols. 124–125 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929).
 14. Zhu Jian’gen is not a second-generation descendent of Zhu Yangying, prince of Juye, but rather appears to have lived several generations later. This “grandson’s” name is not found in the “Table of Princes” in the *Ming shi*, jian 101, pp. 2627 ff.
 15. For a brief discussion of the significance of this concern in the history of Chinese philosophy, see Feng Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derke Bodde (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952–1953) vol. 2, p. 175.
 16. *Ming shi*, 116, p. 3577.
 17. For a reduced facsimile reproduction of this edition, see Ge Hong (284–364), *Baopu zi neiwai pian*, 2 vols., reprint of the copy of the Ming-dynasty edition printed by the princely household of Lu in the collection of the Jiangnan tushuguan in *Sibu congkan chu bian*, vols. 124–125 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929). This edition of *Baopu zi* has a preface signed by Zhu Jian’gen as “Da Ming liudai sun Lufan Wuben Jian’gen shi” (Verified by [Zhu] Jian’gen, familiar name Wuben, a sixth-generation descendant of the

- princely house of Lu of the Great Ming). A seal of his reads "Lu zongshi Wuben Zi Jian'gen yin" (The seal of [Zhu] Jian'gen, familiar name Wuben Zi, of the collateral lineage of [the princely house] of Lu).
18. For a somewhat fuller listing of the princedoms involved in book publishing, see the section on publishing by Ming princely houses in Li Zhizhong's *Lidai keshu kaoshu*, pp. 220-239.
 19. Zhu Zhan, comp., *Wenzhang leixuan*, 40 juan, photographic rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, no. 290 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), pp. 159-821. National Library number 13207.
 20. For biographical information on Zhu Zhan, see *Ming shi*, 102, p. 2715, and L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 305-307.
 21. Birth and death dates given for Zhu Quan are not consistent. See Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 141. For a comprehensive study on Zhu Quan, see Yao Pinwen, *Zhu Quan yanjiu*, Jiangxi lishi renwu yanjiu xilie (Nanchang: Jiangxi gaoxiao chubanshe, 1993). See also He Bingyu [Ho Peng Yoke] and Zhao Lingyang [Chiu Ling Yeong], *Ning wang Zhu Quan ji qi "Gengxin yuce"* (title in English on added title page: *Prince Zhu Quan and His "Gengxin yuce"*), Department of Chinese, University of Hong Kong, Monograph no. 1; Griffith University, Asian Papers, Publication no. 8 (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue Zhongwen xi and Brisbane, Australia: School of Modern Asian Studies, Griffith University, 1983), esp. pp. 1-3 (English pagination) and 1-10 (Chinese pagination).
 22. Danqiu xiansheng Hanxu Zi [pseudonym of Zhu Quan], comp., *Taihe zhengyin pu*, 2 juan (n.p., 1458). A facsimile reproduction of this edition is in the Wason Collection, Cornell University Library. Modern reprint editions of this work can be found in Hanfen lou miji, ser. 9, no. 4 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1926); and in *Zhongguo gudian xiqu lunzhu jicheng*, no. 3 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiqu chubanshe, 1959). Zhu Quan, comp., *Qionglin yayun*, rpt. of 1398 edition in the Nanjing Library in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, vol. 426 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 784-826.
 23. In Chinese the phrase is "*Daningcheng wei kong*." This refers to the Ming abandonment of Daning to the Mongols. *Ming shi*, jianwen 117, p. 3592.
 24. Zhu Quan, comp., *Han Tang bishi*, 2 juan, 1401 or 1402; rpt. of Jianwen-period edition in the library of Zhongguo renmin daxue in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, no. 45 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 284-423.
 25. Ge Changgeng, *Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng wenji*, 6 juan, *Xuji*, 2 juan, ed. Zhu Quan, 1442. Haiqiong is the author's familiar personal name, and Yuchan is a pseudonym under which Ge Changgeng wrote, hence the capitalization. National Library number 11751.
 26. The Ning line was passed to a junior branch and continued until the 1620s.
 27. *Ming shi*, jianwen 117, p. 3593.
 28. For references to this bibliography, *Ningfan mulu*, see Chang Bide, "Mingfan keshu kao," pp. 66-67.
 29. See *Ming shi*, 117, pp. 3596-3598 for the biographies of the members of the

- Ning princely line. These records verify that although the Ning principedom by that name was abolished in 1520, the lesser principedoms of the collateral lines continued to exist and produce some noteworthy persons, including scholars who collated and published books.
30. That is, a precious volume, small enough to be slipped into the sleeve of one's robes for easy access and consultation.
 31. The text of this preface is quoted in Chang Bide, "Mingfan keshu kao," pp. 66-67.
 32. The account in this article omits the facts that Zhu Su and Zhu Youdun were charged with treason and placed under arrest. They were then taken to Nanking and deprived of their principedom to be exiled as commoners to Yunnan. See Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, p. 351.
 33. *Ming shi*, 116, pp. 3565-3566. This is in the first biographical section of the princes of the blood. See also the lengthy biography of Zhu Su in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 350-354.
 34. As the authors indicate in this sentence, whether the prince of Zhou and his son(s) were actually sent to Yunnan is not clear from the historical records. In any event, they could not have been there for more than a couple of years during the Jianwen reign (1398-1402), for they were ordered to return from Yunnan and kept under arrest until the Yongle emperor's forces entered Nanking in July 1401. This information about the exile in Yunnan can be found in the *Ming shi*, 116, pp. 3566-3577, in the paragraphs immediately following the passage quoted above.
 35. See Huang Yuji, *Qianqingtang shumumu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), p. 379. For more on Li Heng, whose familiar name was Bochang and who was originally from Hefei in Anhui province, see Li Yun, ed., *Zhongyi renming cidian* (n.p.: Guoji wenhua chuban gongsi, 1988), p. 296.

A hint of some additional unresolved complexities surrounding the authorship and publishing history of this medical text can be found in a bibliographic entry under the title *Xiuzhen fang* in four *juan* in Wang Zhongmin's annotated bibliography of Chinese rare books, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), p. 263.
 36. "Black mouth" refers to the uncarved area at the center of the printing block, usually close to the head and tail of the block, that because the individual pages are folded along the center, shows black on the mouth, that is fore edge, of string-bound or wrapped-back bindings. "White mouth" mentioned below is this same area along the center line of the printing block that in this case has been carved out so that it appears only in outline form on the mouth of the book.
 37. Xiao Tong (501-553) and Li Shan (ca. 630-689), *Wenxuan*, 60 *juan* (Chizhou lu, 1271-1368; Tangfan, 1465-1487).
 38. For more on these two book collectors, see Su Jing, *Jindai cangshu sanshi jia* (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 151-155.
 39. Sima Qian, comp., *Shiji jijie suoyin zhengyi*, 130 *juan*, with commentaries by Pei Yin (fl. 438), Sima Zhen (fl. 720), and Zhang Shoujie (fl. 736) (n.p.: Qinfan Zhu Weizhuo Jianying xuan, 1534). Complete sets of this edition may

be found in the rare-book collections of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, and the Liaoning Provincial Library, Shenyang. The Jiajing-period edition in the National Library of China is the 1550 reprint of the 1534 edition. For further notes on this commentary edition of *Shiji*, see also Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 407–408.

Huang Shanfu, the Southern Song editor and publisher of the *Shiji sanjia zhu*, also called *Shiji huizhu*, the earliest extant edition of the *Shiji* to print the three great commentaries in the text at the point to which they applied, is a very obscure person. Takigawa Kametarō, who edited this work for publication in Japan in 1934, merely states that Huang was from Jian'an in Fukien and was active in the 1190s. He also notes that his given name was Zongren and his familiar name Shanfu. See Takigawa, *Shiki kaichū kōshō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1956–1960), appendix, p. 129.

40. Chang Bide, "Mingfan keshu kao," p. 51. Chang Bide mentions the fact that this edition had "one additional page," which would mean that in the production of this edition, one additional block would have been cut.
41. Out of respect, the use of characters in the names of reigning emperors or imperial ancestors was avoided. These characters were replaced with characters of a similar meaning or the same sound; sometimes the character was written with one or more of the strokes omitted. This revived a practice common during the Song dynasty.
42. This probably refers to the calligraphic style of the early-Tang calligrapher Ouyang Xun (557–641). This style, sometimes called perpendicular style, was revived in later Ming books in reaction against the early-Ming court-favored style of Zhao Mengfu.
43. Zhu Changfang, *Lufan xin ke shu gu shufa zuan*, 10 juan (Lufan, 1636), National Library of China, call number 5774.
44. Zhu Chengyao and Zhu Xiaoyong (fl. 1590–1628, granted title 1580), comps., *Shenguo Mianxue shuyuan ji*, 11 juan (n.p.: Shenfan, 1591). Qu Wanli [Ch'ü Wan-li], comp., *Pulinsidun daxue Geside dongfang tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shuzhi* (A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library) (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1974), pp. 526–527. The authors note that the calligraphic style of this work, although quite different from the calligraphic style of the book in figure 5, also reflects a style commonly seen in works published at the end of the Ming dynasty.
45. *Ming shi*, 117, p. 3581.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 3579. For Zhu Chun, Prince Xian of Shu, see Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 140.
47. Guo Yundao, comp., *Shu jian*, 10 juan. This work is available in the following modern reprint editions: *Guoxue jiben congshu* (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1968) and *Congshu jicheng chu bian*, vols. 3197–3198 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) and in a monograph (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1984). Zhao Juxin, comp., *Shu Han benmo*, 3 juan. For a modern reprint of this title, see *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, no. 19 (Ji'nan, Shandong: Qi Lu shushe,

- 1997), pp. 276–362. This is a reduced photographic reprint of a copy of a Yuan-dynasty edition (1351) published by the Jian'an shuyuan in Jianning Circuit.
48. Liu Xiang, comp., *Shuoyuan*, 20 *juan*. For a modern reprint edition, see Yang Yidang, ed., 3 vols., *Congshu jicheng chu bian*, vols. 526–528 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985). This reprint is based on an edition from the Qing imperial library Wenyuange. See also Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 443–445. Liu Xiang, comp., *Xinxu*, 10 *juan*. For a modern reprint edition, see Liu Xiang, *Xinxu; Shuoyuan*, in *Lu zhuzi baijia congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990). This edition of the *Xinxu* is based on a Ming edition. See also Lowe, *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 154–157.
49. Chen Zhi and Zou Xuan, comps., *Shouqin yanglao xinshu*, 4 *juan*. This study on geriatric care is available in the following modern reprint editions: *Zhongyi jichu congshu*, ser. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986), a reprint of the 1870 edition; *Siku quanshu*, vol. 738 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), a facsimile reproduction of the copy in the *Siku quanshu* of the Wenyuange, pp. 283–415; *Qigong yangsheng congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990); and *Zhongguo yixue dacheng san bian*, no. 2 (Changsha: Yue Lu shushe, 1994), pp. 103–231.
50. Zhang Zi, comp., *Shixue guifan*, 40 *juan*. For a modern reprint of this work, see *Siku quanshu*, vol. 875 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1–202.
51. Zhao Shanliao, *Zijing bian*, 9 *juan* (n.p.: Tang Yao, 1545); an imperfect copy of this edition, missing *juan* 9, is in the collection of the East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection, Princeton University (call number TC/328/344). See Qu Wanli, *Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection*, p. 291. For a reprint of another edition of this work, see *Siku quanshu*, vol. 875 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 203–461.
52. Lu Dian, comp., *Zengxiu piya guangyao*, 42 *juan*, supplemented by Niu Zhong (fifteenth century) (n.p.: Wu Congzheng, 1457). A reprint of the 1457 edition in the collection of the Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao tushuguan can be found in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, no. 250 (Ji'nan, Shandong: Qi Lu shushe, 1997), pp. 566 ff. For Zhu Yuezhaohao, Prince He of Shu, see Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 140.
53. Liu Yin, *Liu Wenjing gong wenji*, comp. Su Tianjue (1294–1352), 28 *juan*. For a modern reprint of this title, see *Beijing tushuguan guji chuban bianji zu*, comp., in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, vol. 93 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988). For Zhu Shenzuo, Prince Hui of Shu, see Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 140.
- Zhang Tianxi, comp., *Caoshu jiyun*, 5 *juan*. A reprint of the two extant *juan* in the Ming-dynasty manuscript copy in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing (call number 18505), may be found in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, no. 72 (Ji'nan, Shandong: Qi Lu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 573–619.
54. See note 49 above.
55. See Liu Zhiji, comp., *Shitong*, 20 *juan*, commentaries by Li Weizhen (1547–

- 1626) and Guo Kongyan (sometimes identified as Guo Yannian, b. 1574). A reprint of the Ming-dynasty edition in the Hubei Provincial Library original may be found in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, History section, no. 279 (Ji'nan, Shandong: Qi Lu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 1-299.
56. Fang Xiaoru, comp., *Xunzhizhai ji*, 24 juan, *fulu*, 1 juan (Chengdu: Shufan, 1541). Extant copies of the 1541 edition may be found in the collections of the National Central Library, Taipei, and the Yangzhou Municipal Library. For a recent reprint, see *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 1235, no. 174 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), pp. 43-724. This reprint is a facsimile reproduction of an edition in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. For information on the association of Fang Xiaoru, an important statesman and neo-Confucian thinker from the early part of the Ming dynasty, and the first prince of Shu, Zhu Chun, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 426-433.
57. Su Zhe, comp., *Luancheng ji*; *Zhengji*, 50 juan; *Houji*, 24 juan; *Sanji*, 10 juan; *Luancheng yingzhao ji*, 12 juan; reprinted in *Sibu congkan* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936?). In this reprint edition, the 84 juan that make up the first three collections were reproduced from the Ming-dynasty movable woodblock-print edition published by the domain of Shu. The final 12 juan, representing the *Luancheng yingzhao ji*, were reproduced from a Song-dynasty manuscript copy.
58. Zhu Rangxu, *Changchun jingchen gao*, 13 juan; [*Changchun jingchen*] *Yugao*, 3 juan (Chengdu: Zhu Chengyue Shufan, 1549). A copy of this edition is held by the library of the Chinese Academy of Science-Academia Sinica, in Beijing. For Zhu Chengyue, Prince Duan of Shu, see Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 140.
59. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu quanshu*, ed. Zhu Xi, 108 juan (Chengdu: Shufan, 1593). This work (National Library of China call number 9763) consists of the following parts: (1) Zhu Xi, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*, annotations by (Yuan dynasty) Wang Kekuan and Xu Wenzhao, 59 juan; (2) (Ming dynasty) Chen Jing, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu qianbian waiji*, 1 juan; (3) (Yuan dynasty) Jin Lüxiang, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu qianbian*, 18 juan and *Juyao*, 3 juan; and (4) (Ming dynasty) Shang Lu et al., *Xu Zizhi tongjian gangmu*, 27 juan.
60. The phrase in Chinese is *Zhang guan Li dai*, literally, "Mr. Zhang's hat worn by Mr. Li."
61. Lü Zuqian, *Songwen jian*, 150 juan, *mulu* 3 juan (Taiyuan, Shanxi: Zhu Zhiyang Yangde shuyuan, 1526-1529). A copy of this edition, formerly in the collection of Gan Pengyun (b. 1861), is held by the People's University Library, Beijing. Another copy is in the Liaoning Provincial Library, Shenyang. Another copy of this work in 142 juan plus *mulu*, 3 juan, is held by the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. For modern typeset and punctuated editions, see, for instance, *Songwen jian*, edited and annotated by Qi Zhiping, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992); and *Songwen jian*, 2 vols., in *Zhonghua chuanshi wenxuan*, vols. 4-5, ed. Ren Jiyu (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1998).

62. Su Tianjue, comp., *Yuanwen lei*, 70 juan; *mulu*, 3 juan (Taiyuan, Shanxi: Jinfan, 1537). A copy of this edition is held by the Liaoning Provincial Library, Shenyang. Another copy, bound in 20 juan in 4 cases, is held by the East Asian Library and Gest Oriental Collection, Princeton University (call no. TD 63/286). See Qu Wanli, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection*, p. 502.
63. See Su Tianjue, comp., *Guochao wen lei*, 70 juan, *mulu* 3 juan (Xihu shuyuan, between 1337 and 1368). A copy of this Yuan-dynasty edition, with repairs and additions made during the Chenghua period (1465-1487) of the Ming, is held by the Liaoning Provincial Library.
64. See Huang Yuji, *Qianqingtang shumu*, p. 57 and n. 22 above.
65. These dramas, with the titles *Chongmo Zi dubu daluotian* and *Zhuo Wenjun siben Xiangru*, may be found in *Guben xiqu conkan*, series 4, no. 3, no. 89 and no. 74, respectively (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.) For more information on these two dramas, see *Zhongguo xiqu quyī cidian* (1981; Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 251.
66. Zhu Quan, comp., *Quxian zhouhou jing*, 2 juan (n.p., n.d.), reprint of the Ming-dynasty edition in the collection of the National Library of China in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, no. 68 (Ji'nan, Shandong: Qi Lu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 47-101.
67. For this text, see Zhang Yuansu, comp., *Bingji qiyi baoming ji*, 3 juan, ed. Wang Kentang (*jinshi* 1589), 3 vols., *Yitong zhengmai quanshu*, vols. 38-40 (n.p.: Jingshi yiju, 1907); and also in *Siku yixue congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991).
68. See n. 25 above.
69. Some sources give 1374 and 1437 as the birth and death dates of Zhu Youdun. See Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 141. For Zhu Youdun, see William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 344-346. For book-length studies on Zhu Youdun, see Ren Zunshi, *Zhou Xianwang yanjiu* (Taipei: Ren Zunshi, 1974); and Ren Zunshi, *Mingdai qu zuojia Zhou Xianwang yanjiu*, rev. ed. (Taipei: Dai Yongzhen, 1995). See also Wilt L. Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)*, *Sinica Leidensia*, vol. 16 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985).
70. Wu Mei, ed., *Tumota shi qu cong erji* (1928) and *Guben xiqu congkan siji* (Beijing, 1958) both contain some of these plays.
71. See Zhu Youdun, comp., *Chengzhai yuefu*, punctuated and annotated by Weng Minhua, in *Sanqu juzhen* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
72. Zhu Zaiyu's familiar name was Boqin and his sobriquet Juqu shanren (Mountain man of Juqu). For additional information on Zhu Zaiyu, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 367-371; Kenneth Robinson, *A Critical Study of Chu Tsai-yü's Contribution to the Theory of Equal Temperament in Chinese Music*, *Sinologica Coloniensia*, Bd. 9 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980); Chen Wannai, *Zhu Zaiyu yanjiu*, in *Gugong congkan jia zhong* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1992); Xing Zhaoliang, *Zhu Zaiyu*

- pingzhuan*, in *Zhongguo sixiangjia pingzhuan congshu* (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1998); and Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian*, p. 146.
73. For a recent edition of *Jialiang suanjing*, see Zhu Zaiyu, comp., 3 *juan*, ed. Ruan Yuan (1764–1849), in *Xuanyin wanwei beicang*, vol. 14 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935). Zhu Zaiyu, comp., *Jialiang suanjing*, 3 *juan*; *Wenda*, 1 *juan*, in *Wanwei beicang*, no. 69 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1981). On the *Zhou bi suanjing*, see Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 33–38.
74. Citations of *Yuelü quanshu*, which consists of fifteen separate titles, variously list the total number of *juan* as 47, 48, or 49, depending on whether additional *juan* appended to each of two titles are included in the total. The East Asian Library and Gest Special Collection at Princeton University has a 48-*juan* set of 15 titles (call number TA 141/278, 20 *ce* in 2 cases), illustrated here. This library also has an incomplete set of four titles (call number TA 141/2377, 14 *ce* in 2 cases), which Qu Wanli clearly identifies as an edition produced around the same time by the imperial printing office. Although the text frame and the characters in the second example are only slightly larger than the edition carved and printed by the Zheng princely household, the upper and lower margins are significantly larger, the quality of the paper is finer, and the care with which the work was printed resulted in very cleanly printed pages. This contrasts sharply with the frequent misprints and smudging found on the princely household edition. See Qu Wanli, *Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection*, pp. 50–51, for more information on these two distinct editions of this title.

Philip Hu has added the following information: Among extant copies, one set of the 49-*juan* edition is in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Library, Shenyang; two sets are in the Rare Book Collection of the C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University; and another two sets are at the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. A 48-*juan* copy is in the East Asian Collection of the University of Toronto Library. A reprint edition of the 47-*juan*-version reprint, 36 vols., is found in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, no. 1, *Wanyou wenku*, ser. 1, 1000 *zhong* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934). The Wanli-period copy of the *Yuelü quanshu* in the National Library of China is reprinted in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, no. 4 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987).

GLOSSARY

baikou 白口

Baopu Zi 抱朴子

[Baopu Zi] Biezhi [抱朴子] 別旨

Baopu Zi Neipian 抱朴子內篇

[Baopu Zi] Waipian [抱朴子] 外篇

Beiping 北平

Bingji qiyi baoming ji 病機氣宜命機

Bochang 伯常

Boqin 伯懃

Caoshu jiyun 草書輯韻

- Chang Bide 昌彼得
Changchun jingchen gao 長春競辰稿
 [*Changchun jingchen*] *Yugao* 長春競辰餘稿
 Cheng 成
 Chengde 承德
 Chengdu 成都
 Chengxun shuyuan 承訓書院
 Chengzhai 誠齋
Chengzhai yuefu 誠齋樂府
Chengzhai zaju 誠齋雜劇
 Chengzu 成祖
 Chen Jing 陳經
 Chen Zhi 陳直
 Chizhou lu 池州路
 Chong 崇
 chong kan 重刊
Chongmo Zi dubu daluotian
 冲漠子獨步大羅天
 Chu 楚
 ci 詞
 Cui Xuan 崔鉉
 Dai 代
Da luo tian 大羅天
 Da Ming liudai sun Lufan Wuben Jian'gen
 shi 大明六代孫魯藩務本健根識
 Da Ming qishi 大明奇士
 Daning 大寧
 Daningcheng wei kong 大寧城爲空
 Danqiu xiansheng Hanxu Zi
 丹丘先生涵虛子
 De 德
Diaoqiu zalu 雕丘雜錄
 Ding 定
- Duan 端
 fanfu keshu 藩府刻書
 fangben 仿本
 fang Song ben 仿宋本
 Fang Xiaoru 方孝儒
 fan Song ben 翻宋本
 fanwang 藩王
 fanwang keshu 藩王刻書
 fengguo jiangjun 奉國將軍
 fengguo zhongwei 奉國中衛
 fengmao linjiao 鳳毛麟角
 Fengyang 鳳陽
 fuguo jiangjun 輔國將軍
 fuguo zhongwei 輔國中衛
 fugu sichao 復古思潮
 Gan Pengyun 甘鵬雲
 Ge Changgeng 葛長庚
 Ge Hong 葛洪
Gujin shuke 古今書刻
Guochao wen lei 國朝文類
 Guo Kongyan 郭孔延
 Guo Yannian 郭延年
 Guo Yundao 郭允蹈
 guqin 古琴
 Haiqiong 海瓊
Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng wenji
 海瓊玉蟾先生文集
 [*Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng*] *Xuji*
 [海瓊玉蟾先生] 續集
 Han 韓
Han Tang bishi 漢唐秘史
 He 和
 heikou 黑口

- Heng 衡
 Huai 淮
 Huang Shanfu 黃善夫
 Huang Yuji 黃虞稷
 Hui 惠
Jialiang suanjing 嘉量算經
Jialiang suanjing wenda 嘉量算經問答
 Jian 簡
 Jian'an 建安
 Jian'an shuyuan 建安書院
 Jianning 建寧
 Jin 晉
 jinbao 金寶
 jince 金冊
 Jinfu shuhua zhi yin 晉府書畫之印
 Jing 靖
 Jin Lüxiang 金履祥
 Ji Yun 紀昀
 juanshou 卷首
 junwang 郡王
 Juqu shanren 句曲山人
 Juye 巨野
 Kaifeng 開封
 Liang Qingyuan 梁清遠
 Liao 遼
Lidai keshu kaoshu 歷代刻書考述
 Li Fang 李昉
 Li Heng 李恆
 Li Kaixian 李開先
Li Kaixian ji 李開先集
 Li Shan 李善
 Liu Gongquan 柳公權
Liu Wenjing gong wenji 劉文靖公文集
 Liu Xiang 劉向
 Liu Yin 劉因
 Liu Zhiji 劉知幾
 Li Weizhen 李維禎
 Li Zhizhong 李致忠
 Lu (in Shandong) 魯
 Lu (in Henan) 潞
 [Luancheng] Houji [欒城] 後集
Luancheng ji 欒城集
 [Luancheng] Sanji [欒城] 三集
Luancheng yingzhao ji 欒城應詔集
 Lu Dian 陸佃
Lufan xin ke shu gu shufa zuan
 潞藩新刻述古書法纂
Lülü jingyi waipian 律呂精義外篇
Lüxue xinshuo 律學新說
 Lu zongshi Wuben Zi Jian'gen yin
 魯宗氏務本子健根印
 Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙
 Ma Peng 馬朋
 Mianxue shuyuan 勉學書院
 Min 岷
 Mingfan keshu 明藩刻書
 Mingfan keshu kao 明藩刻書考
 Ming shi 明史
Ming tongjian 明通鑑
 Ming zongshi keshu 明宗室刻書
 Mo Boji 莫伯驥
 Nanchang 南昌
 Ning 寧
Ningfan mulu 寧藩目錄
 Niu Zhong 牛衷
 Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢

- Pei Yin 裴駟
 Qi 齊
 Qian Cunxun [T sien Tsuen-hsuein] 錢存訓
 qianfan 遷藩
 Qianqingtang shumu 千頃堂書目
 Qiantang 錢塘
 Qin 秦
 Qing 慶
 Qin Ruan qimeng 琴阮啓蒙
 Qionglou yayun 瓊樓雅韻
 Qixidian 緝熙殿
 qu 曲
 Qu Mianliang 瞿冕良
 Quxian 瞿仙
 Quxian zhouhou jing 瞿仙肘後經
 Rong 榮
 Ruan Yuan 阮元
 Rui 瑞
 sanqu 散曲
 Shanfu 善夫
 Shanggao 上高
 Shang Lu 商輅
 Shen 沈
 Shence junbei 神策軍碑
 Shenguo Mianxue shuyuan ji
 沈國勉學書院集
 Shiji 史記
 Shiji huizhu 史記會注
 Shiji jijie suoyin zhengyi
 史記集解索隱正義
 Shiji sanjia zhu 史記三家注
 Shitong 史通
 Shixue guifan 仕學規範
 Shizong 世宗
 Shouqin yanglao xinshu 壽親養老新書
 Shu 蜀
 Shu fan 蜀藩
 Shu Han benmo 蜀漢本末
 Shu jian 蜀鑿
 Shuoyuan 說苑
 shupa 書帕
 Shu xiucai 蜀秀才
 Siben Xiangru 私奔相如
 Siku quanshu zongmu 四庫全書宗目
 Sima Guang 司馬光
 Sima Qian 司馬遷
 Sima Zhen 司馬貞
 Songwen jian 宋文鑑
 Su 肅
 sui 歲
 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍
 Su Tianjue 蘇天爵
 Su Zhe 蘇轍
 Taihe zhengyin pu 太和正音譜
 Taiping fuxue 太平府學
 Taiping tu 太平圖
 Taizu 太祖
 Tang 唐
 Tianqing 天慶
 tongfan zongshi 同藩宗室
 Tujie gu Zhou bi suanjing 圖解古周髀算經
 tujin yince 塗金銀冊
 Wang Kekuan 汪克寬
 Wang Kentang 王肯堂
 Wenxuan 文選
 Wenyuange 文淵閣

- Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華
Wenzhang leixuan 文章類選
 Wu 吳
Wuben 務本
Wuben Zi 務本子
wujing 五經
Wu Mei 吳梅
Xian (Prince Xian of Zhou) 憲
Xian (Prince Xian of Ning; Prince Xian of Shu) 獻
Xiang 襄
Xiao Tong 蕭統
Xia Xie 夏燮
Xihu shuyuan 西湖書院
Xinkan xiuzhen fang daquan
 新刊袖珍方大全
Xinxu 新序
xiuzhen 袖珍
Xunzhizhai ji 遜志齋集
 [*Xunzhizhai ji*] Fulu [遜志齋集] 附錄
Xu Wenzhao 徐文昭
Xu Zizhi tongjian gangmu
 續資治通鑑綱目
Yan 燕
Yangde shuyuan 養德書院
Yi 益
yinbao 銀寶
Yiyang 弋陽
Yuan fang gou gu tujie 圓方勾股圖解
Yuanwen lei 元文類
Yuchan 玉蟾
Yuelü quanshu 樂律全書
zaju 雜劇
Zengxiu piya guangyao 增修埤雅廣要
Zhang guan Li dai 張冠李戴
Zhang Shoujie 張守節
Zhang Tianxi 張天錫
Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠
Zhang Xiaoshan xiao ling houxu
 張小山小令後序
Zhang Xiumin 張秀民
Zhang Yuansu 張元素
Zhang Zhiqing 張志清
Zhang Zi 張鎡
Zhao 趙
Zhao Juxin 趙居信
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
Zhao Qian 趙前
Zhao Shanliao 趙善瑋
Zheng 鄭
zhenguo jiangjun 鎮國將軍
zhenguo zhongwei 鎮國中衛
zhi fan 之藩
Zhongguo guji banke cidian 中國版刻辭典
Zhongli 中立
Zhou 周
Zhou Bida 周必大
Zhou bi suanjing 周髀算經
Zhou Hongzu 周弘祖
Zhu Changfang 朱常芳
Zhu Chengyao 朱瑄堯
Zhu Chengyue 朱承爚
Zhu Chenhao 朱宸濠
Zhu Chun 朱椿
Zhu Di 朱棣

Zhu Guan'ou 朱觀焮

Zhu Houcong 朱厚燧

Zhu Jian'gen 朱健根

zhulu 著錄

Zhuo Wenjun siben Xiangru

卓文軍私奔相如

Zhu Quan 朱權

Zhu Rangxu 朱讓栩

Zhu Shenzuo 朱申鑿

Zhu Su 朱橐

Zhu Weizhuo 朱惟焯

Zhu Xi 朱熹

Zhu Xiaoyong 朱效鏞

Zhu Xintian 朱新典

Zhu Xuanqi 朱宣圻

Zhu Yangying 朱陽瑩

Zhu Youdun 朱有燉

Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋

Zhu Yuezhao 朱悅

Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉

Zhu Zhan 朱橐

Zhu Zhishu 朱至澍

Zhu Zhiyang 朱知烺

Zijing bian 自警編

[Zizhi tongjian gangmu] Juyao

[資治通鑑綱目]舉要

Zizhi tongjian gangmu qianbian waiji

資治通鑑綱目前編外紀

Zizhi tongjian gangmu quanshu

資治通鑑綱目全書

Zongren 宗仁

Zou Xuan 鄒鉉

Pictures of the Sage's Traces
A Preliminary Investigation of the
Editions of *Shengji tu*

CHUN SHUM

TRANSLATED BY FREDERICK W. MOTE

Confucius (Kong Zi; 551–479 BCE) is a great figure in Chinese history, regarded as the “First Teacher” in traditional Chinese culture and the historic founder of a Chinese thought system. His thought and wisdom have constituted the fountainhead of the Chinese spirit, his learning and philosophy taken to represent the essence of the Chinese nation. He has been seen as the “Model Teacher for All Ages” (*Wanshi shibiao*), and the people have venerated and emulated him for more than a thousand years. The Chinese are known for honoring their teachers and stressing ethical norms, values that have sprung from the legacy of Confucius’s teachings, to grow and flourish. In the chapter “Kong Zi shijia” (The Hereditary House of Confucius) of his *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian), Sima Qian (145–after 90 BCE) has written:

The Grand Historian Comments: One of the *Odes* says, “The great mountain, I look up to it! The great road, I travel it!”¹ Although I can not reach him, my heart goes out to him. When

I read the works of Confucius, I try to see the man himself. In [Confucius's home state of] Lu, I visited his temple and saw his carriage, clothes, and sacrificial vessels. Scholars go regularly to study ceremony there, and I found it hard to tear myself away. The world has known innumerable princes and worthies who enjoyed fame and honor in their day but were forgotten after their death, while Confucius, a commoner, has been looked up to by scholars for ten generations and more. From the emperor, princes, and barons downwards, all in China who study the Six Arts take the master as their final authority. Well is he called the Supreme Sage!²

Confucius's subtle words and great principles are carried in the Six Classics,³ and only one who has memorized the *Odes* and studied those books can fully comprehend his teachings. Yet if one wants to make all the people aware of Confucius's teachings, there could be no better way than to disseminate widely pictures and paintings that the people can acquire and preserve. Thereby even the illiterate can, as it were, encounter the Sage wherever they may be. Such a tradition existed as early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), when screens in the Han palaces all bore painted likenesses of ancient worthies to serve as admonitory exemplars. With the same intent, printing blocks were cut during the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE) for publishing the *Lienü zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Women), to which portrait illustrations were appended.⁴ The Song-dynasty scholar Zheng Qiao (1104–1162), in his *Tong zhi* (Comprehensive Treatise), repeatedly stressed the importance of text and of pictures (*tupu*, a word that can also refer to illustrated books). He wrote that “for reference use, scholars of early times kept pictures at one hand and books at the other” (*gu zhi xuezhe wei xue you yao zhi tu yu zuo zhi shu yu you*), and would “not dispense with either” (*buke pian fei*). However, Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE) in writing his *Qi lue* (Seven Summaries) “included only texts, and no illustrations” (*shou shu bushou tu*),⁵ and the same was done when Ban Gu (32–72 CE) wrote his “*Yiwen zhi*” (Treatise on Literature).⁶ In consequence, from that time onward, “albums of pictures became ever more rare, while books have become ever more numerous” (*tu xiao er shu ri sheng*), thus burdening scholars and overwhelming fine talents. Zheng Qiao argued that when one “turns to

pictures, what one seeks is easily found, but when one takes up books, the seeking becomes difficult" (*ji tu er qiu yi ji shu er qiu nan*). And thus, in forgoing what is easy and pursuing what is difficult, success is seldom attained.⁷

In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the eminent statesman Zeng Guofan (1811–1872) wrote in his "Shengzhe huaxiang ji" (Note on Painting Portraits of Wise Sages):

The great extent of books and writings and the masses of writers are as boundless as the rivers and seas; if one person tried to drink it all in, no stomach could hold so much. It is essential therefore to select carefully. Recognizing that the problem is beyond my reach, I have selected thirty or more wise sages of past and present, and ordered my son [Zeng] Jize (1839–1890) to paint their posthumous portraits, forming a work in one fascicle to be preserved in our family school. Those of later generations who have the will to acquire learning will take what they need from this. They will not then have to overreach with their minds and attempt to encompass everything. In the transmission of our culture, nothing could be more important than this. Long ago in Han times there were things such as the Shrine of Wu Liang (*Wu Liang ci*) and the Hall of Numinous Radiance (*Lingguang dian*) in the region of Lu,⁸ in both of which the deeds of great men were pictured. The *Biographies of Virtuous Women* also had illustrations. Such works stirred the feelings and aroused readers' interest; that has been true through the ages. They have helped to mold character. For seeking to grasp the essence [of exemplary worthies], to comprehend their subtleties and commune with their ineffable spirit, when the mind is sincerely seeking, can benevolence then be far away?⁹

Throughout the ages when such paintings have been made, incised on stone, and engraved on printing blocks, the intent has always been to improve social practices and benefit human minds. This essay attempts to offer some insights into the editions and the content of the *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage's Traces) in which people of later ages depicted the life and activities of Confucius.

According to historical accounts, during the reign of the emperor Jing (156–141 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–25 CE), a man named Wen Weng (fl. mid-second century BCE) served as prefect of Shu commandery [in Sichuan], where he built a school with walls of masonry and had a seated portrait of Confucius sculpted on a stone wall.¹⁰ The practice of depicting Confucius as the principal figure in paintings probably started in the second year of the Guanghe reign period (179 CE) of the Eastern Han. At that time, when the Hongdu Gate Academy (Hongdumen xue) was founded in the capital, paintings were made there of Confucius amid the likenesses of his seventy-two disciples.¹¹ That was 657 years after the death of Confucius, and today those painted likenesses are no longer to be found. The Eastern Han emperor Huan (r. 147–167 CE) also established a temple to Lao Zi (sixth century BCE?), where a portrait of Confucius was painted on the walls. And, in Jiayang of Shandong province, the stone walls of the Shrine of Wu Liang were engraved with illustrations, including one entitled *Kong Zi jian Lao Zi tu* (Picture of Confucius Meeting Lao Zi), which is the earliest image of Confucius that is still to be seen.¹² Here are some of the later painters who have created paintings in which Confucius is the subject: During the Tang dynasty (618–907), Yan Liben (d. 673), Wu Daozi (ca. 689–after 755), and Zhou Fang (ca. 780–810); during the Southern Tang period (937–976), Dong Yuan (d. 962), Wei Xian (fl. seventh century), and Wang Qihan (fl. seventh century); during the Song dynasty, Shi Que (fl. mid- to late-tenth century), Gao Keming (fl. early-eleventh century), Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), Wang Guan (fl. tenth century), Ma Yuan (fl. 12th–13th centuries), and Liang Kai (fl. 12th–13th centuries); during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322); during the Ming period (1368–1644), Wu Wei (1459–1508) and Wu Bin (ca. 1573–1620); and during the Qing dynasty, Huang Shen (1687–after 1768).

The *Pictures of the Sage's Traces*, or *Shengji tu*, refers to paintings based on the life and career of Confucius, created by later persons for the purpose of making him known to future ages. The word *sheng* in that title designates the Sage. In the *Meng Zi* (Book of Mencius), “Wan zhang,” it states, “Confucius was the Sage whose actions were timely.”¹³ From the time Confucian teachings were established as the predominant school, Confucius has been explicitly designated the Sage. In *juan* 18 of his

collected works, *Fuli ji*, the Tang-dynasty writer Lu Guimeng's (fl. ninth century) "Fu yousheng lun wen shu" (Letter in Response to a Young Friend, Discussing Writings) says, "Among the Six Classics, only *Shi* (Odes), *Shu* (Documents), *Yi xiang* (Changes), and *Chun qiu* (The Spring and Autumn Annals) have come to us from the hand of the Sage."¹⁴ As for the word *ji*, "traces," it can also be written with the character *ji*, "tracks, footprints," as in the expressions *yeji* (life achievements) or *shiji* (accomplishments). In the section "Wu cheng" (The Completion of the War) in the *Documents*, there is the sentence "Coming to the time of the king Tai, he first founded the traces of imperial sway."¹⁵ The *Zhuang Zi* chapter "Tian yun" (The Turning of Heaven) contains the line: "The Six Classics, they are the old traces of the former kings."¹⁶ In the *Pictures (of the Sage's Traces)*, each picture presents a story based on *The Analects* and "The Hereditary Household of Confucius" chapter in the *Historical Records*, which record Confucius's words and deeds.

The *Shengji tu* exists in three forms: paintings, incised stones, and engraved wood printing blocks. According to tradition, the earliest of the painted versions was done in the Yuan dynasty by Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1280–ca. 1329). A set of ten, these once were held in the important Ming-dynasty collector Xiang Yuanbian's (1525–1590) Tianlai Pavilion (Tianlai ge).¹⁷ Subsequently they ended up in Japan, where in 1908 they were photographically reproduced by Deng Shi (d. ca. 1948) and were published by the Shenzhou guoguang she publishing house of Shanghai.

Of those incised on stone, today we know of only three versions. The first is the *Shengji tu* compiled in the Ming dynasty by Zhang Kai (1398–1460; *jinshi* 1424), and inscribed on stone at the Kong residence (Kongzhai) in Qingpu county of Shanghai; Zhang's descendants had them incised on the four walls of the building, but those incised stones no longer exist. Zhang Kai, courtesy name Shizhi, was a native of Siming in Zhejiang. During the Xuande reign period (1426–1435) he was appointed investigating censor, and on one occasion he impeached the minister of punishments for malfeasance, bringing down several tens of officials and earning a great reputation. He also overturned many unjust convictions, and was promoted to assistant surveillance commissioner for Shaanxi province, concurrently censor-in-chief. Later he was appointed army inspecting censor and supreme commander for Fujian and Zhejiang

provinces. At the beginning of the Jingtai reign (1450–1456), having been slandered and defamed, he was deprived of his official positions, but in 1457 he was restored to office and reinstated as supreme commander, then assigned to the Censorate at Nanjing, where he died in 1460.¹⁸

A second set is the reportedly still-existing version engraved on stone that is held at the Shengji Hall or The Hall of the Sage's Traces (Shengji dian), in Qufu county, the original home of Confucius, in Shandong province. The creation of this set goes back to the nineteenth year of the Wanli reign (1591) when the governor of Shandong, He Chuguang (*jinshi* 1583),¹⁹ was moved by the fact that the Temple of Confucius possessed a set of the *Shengji tu* engraved on wooden blocks that were scattered in different covered walkways of the temple. Moreover, because wood readily deteriorates whereas stone endures, he promoted the idea of having the woodblock pictures transferred to stone. The following year the assistant surveillance commissioner Zhang Yingdeng (*jinshi* 1583), a native of Sichuan,²⁰ added illustrations entitled *Ke fu chuan Yan* (The Doctrine of Overcoming the Self and Returning to Propriety as Transmitted by Yan Yuan) and *Xiaojing chuan Zeng* (The Teaching of Filial Piety as Transmitted by Zeng Zi) and other pictures, bringing the total number of stone-engraved *Pictures of the Sage's Traces* to 120.²¹ The illustrations for this stone-engraved set of *Shengji tu* were assembled and their texts emended by a Qufu-county government student, Mao Fengyu, and then painted by an artisan-painter, Yang Zhi, from Huaiyang, and incised on stone by Zhang Cao of Wu (Suzhou), the work all completed by the last lunar month of the twentieth year of the Wanli reign (1592–1593). The work was praised for its harmonious design, fluidity of line, and moving depiction of human figures. He Chuguang later raised four thousand strings of cash to build a Hall of the Sage's Traces (Shengji dian) where the sculpted stones could be preserved, directly behind the mausoleum hall of Confucius.²²

Each picture in this stone-incised set of *Shengji tu* is about sixty centimeters high and thirty-eight centimeters wide, and is set into the stone walls of the hall; the pictures are arranged sequentially. This is the first time in Chinese history that a fully developed narrative was rendered in a sequence of paintings incised on stone. In his *Lu Zou shengji ji* (Notes on the Traces of the Sage in Lu and Zou) the twentieth-century scholar Zhang Zhaosong has written,

As for the sequence of the 120 separate tablets of incised stone, they are the set that He Chuguang, during the Wanli period, had the artisan-painter Zhang Cao augment; they convey all the interest and variety of the older pictures, having nothing in common with the dull and lifeless portraits of princes and lords, but truly are paintings of antique elegance, which can be displayed for study and emulation.²³

According to Shao Yiren's (*jinshi* 1739) "Shengdian tu shuo" (Explanation of the Pictures in the Sage's Hall):

In the winter of the year *xinmao*, I received the assignment to make military preparations in Eastern Lu [a sector of Shandong province], and ascended the Apricot Terrace (Xing tan) [where Confucius once taught], crossed the Zhu and Si Rivers [central to the region where Confucius and Mencius once lived], everywhere admiring the beauty of the ancestral shrines. A desire to learn rushed over me, many times stronger than I had ever known before. And now, must it not also be that the construction of this hall for the Sage's pictures will similarly stir people's minds in the future! This undertaking was begun by the censor, his excellency He Chuguang, and was brought to completion by the county magistrate Kong Hongfu. The section "Gongyi" (Construction Works) includes a separate account so those matters need not be related here.²⁴

The year *xinmao* corresponds with the nineteenth year of the Wanli reign (1591). Furthermore, according to the "Guji" section (Ancient Monuments) in the Qianlong-period (1736-1795) *Qufu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qufu County), "there is the *Shengji tu* of 120 scenes, painted by the artisan-painter Zhang Cao on command of the censor He Chuguang in the twentieth year (1592) of the Ming dynasty's Wanli reign, to augment an older set in order to have them incised on stone."²⁵

We may note that He Chuguang, courtesy name Zhaowen, was a native of Fugou county in Henan. Assigned to be magistrate of Quwo county in Shanxi, he then received appointment as supervising censor with responsibility for surveillance of the Western Ward of the capital city,²⁶ and subsequently was made grand coordinator for the southern

zone of the Metropolitan Province, then surveillance commissioner for Shandong province. At the time of the provincial civil service examinations in Shandong in the autumn of the year *xinmao* (1591), the minister of rites improperly leaked information to people of his home region about the names of the officials who would be conducting the examinations.²⁷ He Chuguang submitted a memorial of impeachment exposing the felonious act, but supporters of the minister of rites claimed he had been wronged and eventually caused He Chuguang to lose his office; he was sent away from the court to serve as prefect of Taiyuan (Shanxi), and again demoted to magistrate of Ding county (Hebei), where he died in office.

Kong Hongfu, courtesy name Yicheng, was a lineal descendant of Confucius.²⁸ In the first year of the Wanli reign (1573) the grand coordinator of Shandong province submitted the request that this county's administration should revert to hereditary office [within the line of Confucius], and conducted an examination that selected Kong Hongfu to be the magistrate of Qufu. During his twenty-three years in this office, Kong gained the warm approval of the people, and later was promoted to the office of co-commissioner of salt distribution, his title when he retired from office.

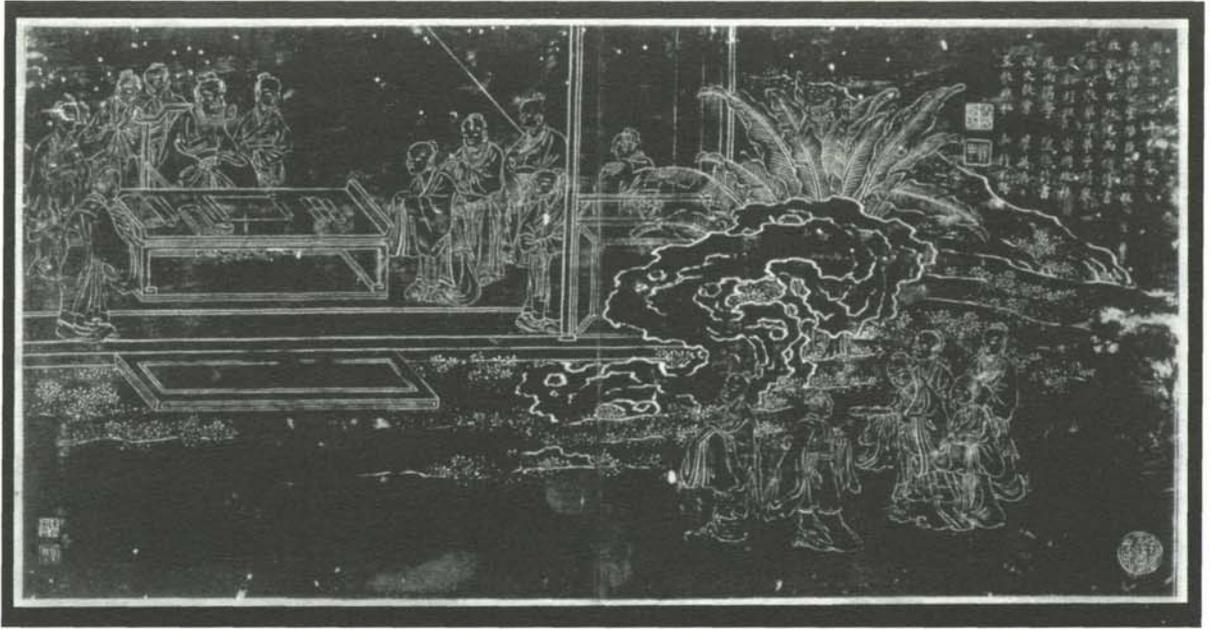
For the "Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China" exhibition, the National Library provided a set of rubbings made from another *Shengji tu*. This set bears the alternate name *Dacheng zhisheng wenxuan xianshi zhou liu zhi tu* (Pictures of the Wanderings of the All-Encompassing Supreme Sage and Cultivated First Teacher),²⁹ and is dated the sixteenth day of the first lunar month of the twenty-first year of the Kangxi reign (1682). The stone tablets reportedly are in the municipality of Shanghai.³⁰ The paintings were done by Chen Yin (fl. late-seventeenth century); the brief laudatory texts composed to accompany the portraits (*xiang zan*), and the postscripts, are by the calligrapher Lin Youfang (fl. late-seventeenth century); and they were incised on stone by Zhu Bi (fl. late-seventeenth century), all of the Qing dynasty. The set consists of thirty-six pictures, each having on its upper-left or upper-right corner an explanatory text as well as Lin Youfang's *xiang zan*. The volume of rubbings included in this exhibition preserves thirty-four of the pictures, lacking number six, *Kong Zi shi Jin xue qin yu Shi*

Xiang [Confucius While Visiting the State of Jin Learning to Play the Zither (*qin*) from Master Xiang], and number seven, *Kong Zi shi Zhou jian Lao Zi* (Confucius Meeting with Lao Zi in the State of Zhou). The sequence of the volume corresponds to the chronology of the Sage's life, although in later remounting and binding that sequence has been somewhat confused. (See figures 1A and 1B.)

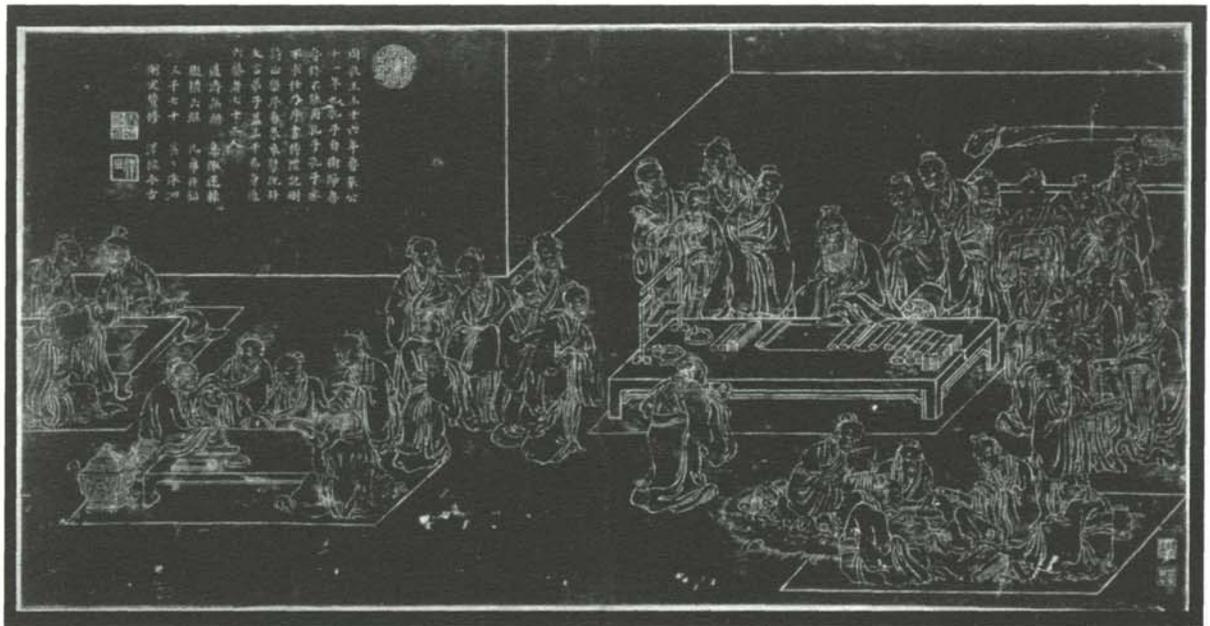
Lin Youfang, courtesy name Zhongshan, was a native of Wanping county in the Metropolitan Province and a student at the National Academy. In the eighteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1679) he was appointed magistrate of Qingpu county, where he served until 1682.³¹ He must have prepared this set of the *Shengji tu* before he left office there. In his postscript (*ba*) to the pictures he wrote (see figure 2):

Those who investigate the history of Confucius quite commonly make detailed study of the *Queli zhi* (Gazetteer of Queli),³² making use of its full and detailed coverage of such matters as the physical setting, sacrificial sites, ancestral temples, ritual vessels, and the music and dance performances. But I had never walked along the chariot way, nor wandered through the Sage's family burial groves, nor entered into [the hall] to gaze aloft and delight in that sight. So when I read the stele inscriptions and laudatory poems by emperors and kings, great lords and ministers, as well as learned scholars and high officials, I could only bring [my failure to have visited Queli] to mind as a cause of deep regret. The best I could do was to take up the book about Queli, to avail myself of its several fascicles and peruse them.

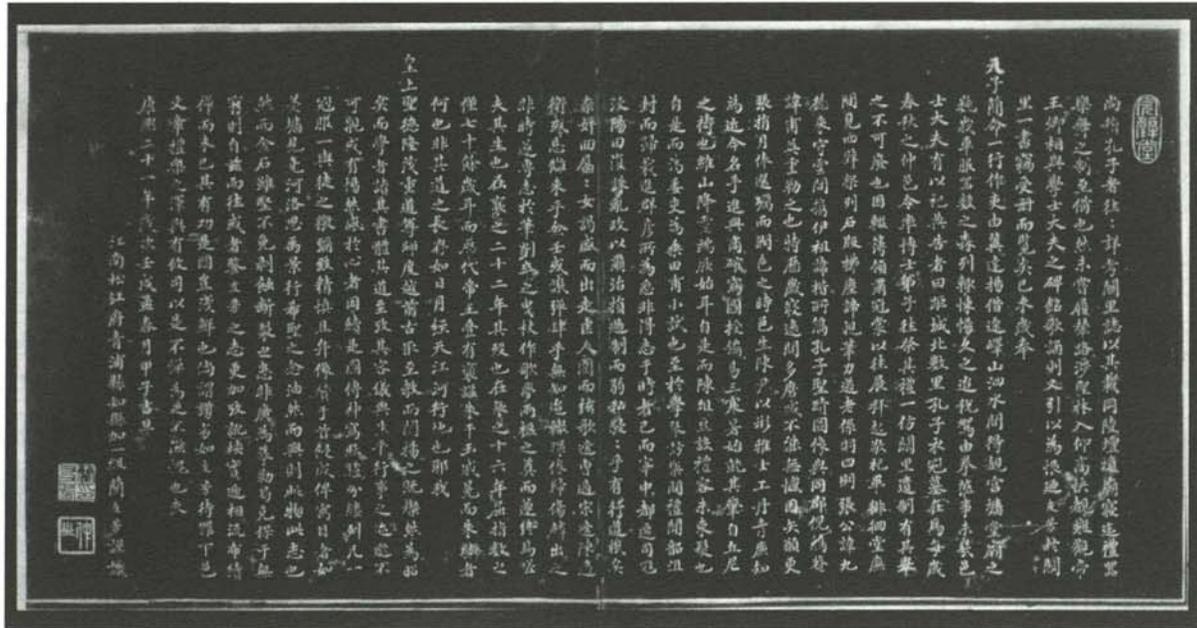
Then in the year *yiwei* (1679) I received an imperial command to travel to serve in office, going from the region of Ji (Hebei) to Yangzhou, including a side trip via Mount Yi (Yishan) and the Si River (Sishui), where I was able to see some of the majestic palace walls and family shrines, and the carriages, costumes, and ritual implements in bountiful display,³³ arousing lasting emotions of awe and wonder. Then I resumed my journey, ending it at Youquan,³⁴ and had been in my magistracy only a short time when the county's gentry informed me that there would be a ritual ceremony, saying that it would be held a few *li* north [of Qingpu] city where there is a grave containing caps



1A. [Confucius Teaching His Disciples in 509 BCE at the Age of Forty-three *sui*] from *Shengji tu*, illustrated by Chen Yin, 1682. Number 12 of thirty-four illustrations. Original in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing.



1B. [Confucius Teaching His Disciples in 484 BCE at the Age of Sixty-eight *sui*] from *Shengji tu*, illustrated by Chen Yin, 1682. Number 34 of thirty-four illustrations. Original in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing.



2. Lin Youfang, "Postscript" to *Shengji tu*, illustrated by Chen Yin, 1682. Original in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing.

and robes of Confucius's descendants, and where in the second lunar month of spring and of autumn³⁵ the magistrate leads the erudites and their students to the place to offer ritual sacrifices. The rituals used are based on those maintained [at Confucius's own home] at Queli, and they are punctiliously maintained. I therefore set aside my official duties, dressed in formal robes, and went to the site, where I made my obeisances and prostrations with fullest respect. After the rites were concluded I walked back and forth through the halls and verandas [of this home and shrine], noting the stone tablets displayed on the walls, brushing off the dust to examine them more closely. The calligraphic lines were forceful and elegant. The pictures dated from the time during the Ming dynasty when his excellency Zhang, of Siming prefecture, by name Jiude, had come here to serve as prefect of Yunjian [Songjiang], bringing with him a set of the "Pictures of the Sage's Traces" that his forebear, Zhang Kai, had caused to be incised, and which Ni Fuying (fl. early seventeenth century), courtesy name Yian, later had re-engraved.³⁶ But many years had passed, and many of the stones were worn away, a matter that

one must deeply regret. In view of that, my resolve again grew strong; I donated my salary, selected rough stones, and had them polished. I entered into discussions with county official student Chen Yin, a scholar of attainment who had devoted himself to painting and become well-known hereabout as a skilled artist, about his painting a set of pictures to be used for engraving. Three winters and summers passed before the task was done. . . .

The sagely virtue of our imperial majesty is richly abundant. He values the moral Way and venerates the [First] Teacher to a degree surpassing all former ages. That he adopts Confucius's ultimate teachings and holds them aloft is brilliantly manifest. Moreover, scholars who study Confucius's writings to the point of intuitively comprehending the Way, may go on to investigate his manner and deportment, and the traces of his life and deeds, and though he is remote and beyond direct knowledge, a sense of deep awe and wonder may fill their hearts. Thus renewing these pictures is to transmit the spirit and to depict the likenesses, to arrange them for display so that each subtle element of a cap or a gown, or great processions of carriages and entourages, is fully portrayed in utmost refinement and detail, each scene headed by an encomium.

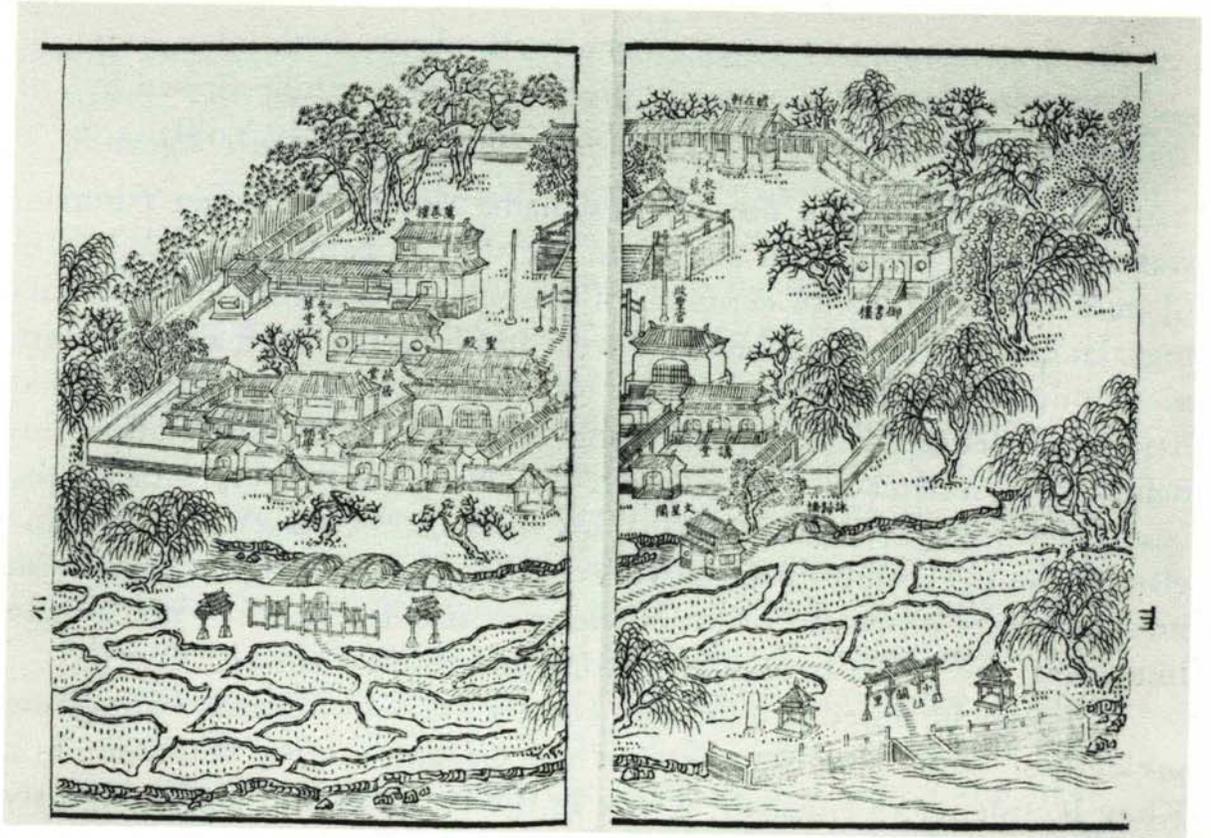
When the engraving was completed, the scenes that our eyes fell upon, such as the sage-emperor Shun seeing a vision of sage-emperor Yao when seated at a wall or again when eating porridge,³⁷ or thoughts of the emperor Yu when viewing the He and Luo Rivers,³⁸ depict the remembrance of splendid acts and high expectations, and that is the purpose of these pictures. Yet, though bronze and stone are strong, even they can suffer the ills of wear and breakage, so that unless these pictures are widely copied and again engraved, can they be expected to last forever? Hence from this time onward may there be others who will observe my intent, make further investigations and corrections, and pass these pictures on for ever wider dissemination, continuing onward from one to the next, without end, and in so doing, their contribution to these pictures cannot be insignificant. . . . The twenty-first year of the Kangxi reign (1682), the year *renxu*,

the first month of spring, on the lucky dawn of the day *jiazi*, Jiangnan province, Songjiang prefecture, respectfully signed by Qingpu county magistrate, with one added rank, Lin Youfang.³⁹

The painter Chen Yin, courtesy name Xinye, cognomen Yunqiao, was a native of Qingpu in Shanghai. He studied painting under Li Fan (fl. mid-late seventeenth century) of Shanghai; his human figure paintings, landscapes, birds, and flowers were in his earlier years all done with meticulous detail, but in later years became looser. He was described as having exceeded his teachers. Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715) said of his painting, “Unmatched by the earlier Qiu Ying (1495–1552)⁴⁰ or by the later Chen Hongshou (1598–1652), his work can be placed in the divine class.” The execution of the pictures in this volume displays fluency of line and great propriety of proportions in the depiction of the human likenesses; the brush strokes are strong and finely rendered.⁴¹

It may be noted that Qingpu county was subordinate to Songjiang prefecture. Nine *li* to the north of the Qingpu county seat there is a Kong Residence (Kongzhai), where in the last years of the Han dynasty a descendant of Confucius in the twenty-second generation, the grand mentor of the heir apparent Kong Qian, sought refuge, thus giving it the name Kong Residence. (See figure 3.) Subsequently, during the Xiao rulers' Liang dynasty (502–556), the twenty-ninth-generation descendant Kong Tao served as magistrate of Haiyan county [in northern Zhejiang], and during the Sui dynasty, a thirty-second-generation descendant, Kong Sizhe, held the office of assistant magistrate in Wu prefecture (Suzhou), while a thirty-fourth-generation descendant, Kong Zheng, was prefect of Wu. That the family of Confucius had established residence in the Wu region is thus well attested. At the Kong Residence the mausoleum containing the cap and robe is that of Kong Zheng, and was erected in the second year of the Daye reign period of the Sui dynasty (606). Qingpu also has a Temple of the All-Encompassing Sage (Xuansheng miao), in which is kept a sculpture made by an academy student at the end of the Ming dynasty (1644), Lu Yingyang (fl. early seventeenth century),⁴² who went to Queli to trace the portrait of Confucius in order to make the sculpture.

According to the late-Qing edition of the *Gazetteer of Qingpu*



3. *Kongzhai tu* (Kong Residence) from Xiong Qiying et al., comps. and Chen Qiyan et al., eds., *Qingpu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qingpu County) (n.p.: Zunjingge, 1879), *juanshou* (front matter), pp. 15a–16a. Gazetteer in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

County, in the forty-fourth year of his reign (1705) the Kangxi emperor, in the course of a southern tour (*nanxun*), visited Songjiang prefecture. His travels took him to the Kong Residence, where descendants within the Kong lineage there respectfully presented to the emperor to peruse *Kong shi huatu* (Paintings of the Kong Lineage) in one *juan*, *Kongzhai zhi* (Treatise on the Kong Residence) in one fascicle, a volume of rubbings of *Kongzhai shengji tu* (The Kong Residence's Pictures of the Sage's Traces) bound in one volume, *Kongzhai kaozheng* (Kong Residence Researches) in one *juan*, and a memorial requesting an official citation for the site. The emperor made a special award of his calligraphy to the Kong Residence, in the form of a horizontal tablet with the words "Shengji yi hui" (Bequeathed Glory of the Sage's Traces), as well as door couplets, headers, and other items. The gazetteer also states:

Previously, when the Songjiang prefectural authorities were carrying out river-channeling works in the eastern suburbs [of Qingpu], they uncovered an old stele more than six feet tall, on examination determined to bear a sculpted portrait of the Sage by the Tang painter Wu Daozi, which was respectfully transported to the Kong Residence and installed there. Vice-Censor Zhang [Jiude] also had given a set of the *Shengji tu* that his forebears had owned, to be incised on stone tablets and placed in the walls. Native of the county Fang Zhengfan had them restored and supplemented, and they still exist there.⁴³

The same county gazetteer has a frontispiece illustration of the Kong Residence, and within it are paintings of "the Sage's Traces." Also, the original stones from which Zhang Kai's rubbings were made are said to be stored there. On examining the newly compiled and recently published *Qingpu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qingpu County), however, one finds that all the old objects once present at the Kong Residence have totally vanished.⁴⁴ What is referred to above as a volume of rubbings from the Kong Residence, *Pictures of the Sage's Traces*, may have been made from Zhang Kai's stone-incised set, or may have been those incised on the basis of Chen Yin's paintings; because the accounts lack sufficient information, I will not venture an unsupported conclusion about that.

The earliest published woodblock edition of illustrations of the life of Confucius may be the *Kongsheng tupu* (Album of Pictures of the Sage Confucius) in three *juan*, engraved for printing in the Dade period (1297–1307) of the Yuan dynasty. Shandong provincial records state that the printing blocks were engraved for a fifty-third-generation descendant of Confucius, Kong Ze.⁴⁵ Copies of this publication have long ceased to exist, so we are unable to study it further. The noted Chinese scholar A Ying (Qian Xingcun), in his *Zhongguo lianhuan tuhua shihua* (Informal History of Chinese Narrative-Serial Drawings), has written: "The famous set of narrative-serial drawings depicting the life of Confucius, the *Shengji tu*, according to some accounts clearly already existed in the Song dynasty, but I can only say that I have never seen any such."⁴⁶ Despite that claim, there is no record whatsoever of any Song-dynasty woodblock edition of *Shengji tu*. Neither Chao Gongwu's (d. 1191) *Junzhai dushu zhi* (Record of Books Read at Junzhai) nor Chen Zhensun's (1190–1249)

Zhizhai shulu jieti (Analytical Abstracts of Books at Zhizhai) makes any reference to it.⁴⁷

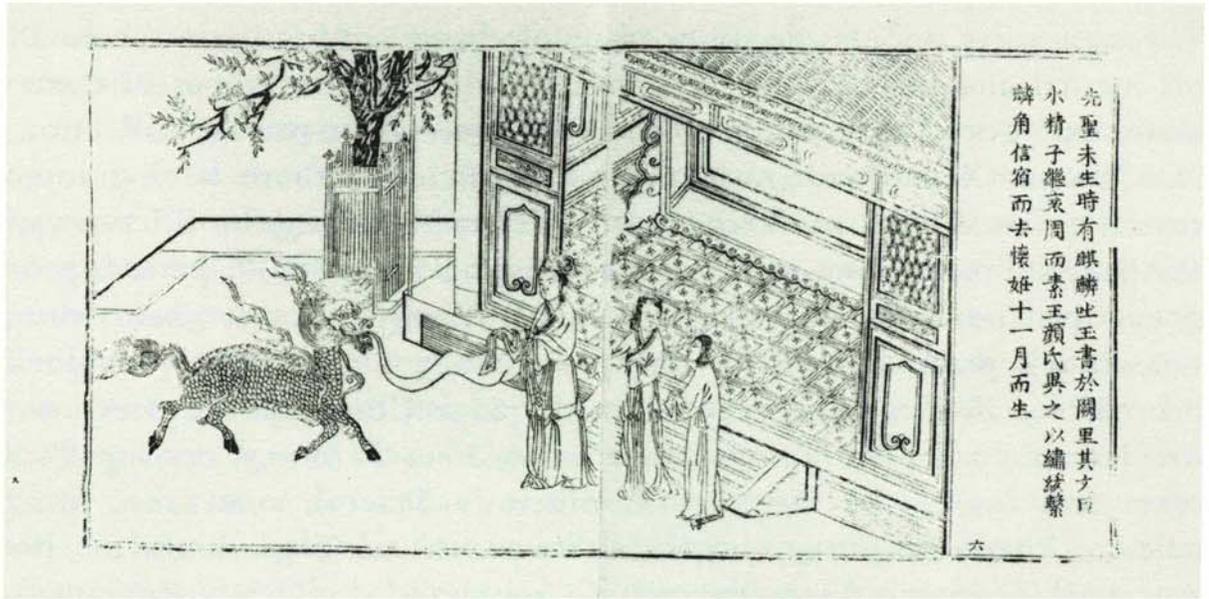
As for extant versions of the *Shengji tu*, there are numerous editions from the Ming period. The *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Catalogue of Rare Editions of Early Chinese Books) includes a total of seven, of which the finest as well as the earliest is the color woodblock print from the first year of the Zhengde reign (1506), held by the Beijing University Library.⁴⁸ Next to that is the work by Zhang Kai, from the twenty-seventh year of the Jiajing reign (1548), two copies held by the Beijing Library, and an edition produced by the prince of Shen, Zhu Yinyi (d. 1549), a descendant of the Ming founder, Taizu's, twenty-first son. Others include the edition of the sixth year of the Ming Longqing reign (1572), in the collections of the Anhui Provincial Library; an edition of the Ming Wanli (1573–1620) reign, held by the Beijing University Library as well as the Henan Provincial Library and the Beijing Normal University; a Ming edition printed in blue ink, held by the Beijing Library; and a Ming Chongzhen-period (1628–1644) edition, also held by the Beijing University Library. In addition, there is the version of the *Shengji tu* composed by Zhang Kai, in one *juan*, printed from blocks engraved during the Ming period, in the Beijing Library. There is also an exemplar of *Xinqie Kongsheng zongshi chushen quanzhuan* (Sage Confucius, the Ancestral Teacher's Antecedents and Complete Life, Newly Engraved), a Ming edition in the pictures above–text below format, each half-page having ten lines of seventeen characters each, with double-line text frame all around, white page edge. This exemplar is in the possession of the Beijing Library. Beyond these, none of the libraries in other important cities, such as the Shanghai Library, the Nanjing Library, the Zhejiang Provincial Library, and the Central Library in Taiwan, possesses a single example.

All the rare-book editions of *Shengji tu* held in China are as listed above; there are no others. Of these, the holdings of the Beijing Library, containing four examples, are the best. The reason the Beijing Library has so many versions of the *Shengji tu* is that they were all acquired through the arduous efforts of Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1957).⁴⁹

Among collectors and scholars who have owned larger numbers of *Shengji tu*, none within recent times has surpassed Zheng Zhenduo.

Through many decades he skimmed on clothing and food and exhausted his mental and physical energies to assemble a large number of documents and books. According to the catalogue of his private collection, *Xidi shumu* (Xidi Catalogue), the books included there having some relevance for *Shengji tu* number nine.⁵⁰ They are *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage's Traces), one *juan*, from the Jiajing (1522–1566) period, produced by the Shen princely household; *Shengji tu*, one *juan*, Ming woodblock print; *Shengji tu*, one *juan*, Ming Chongzhen woodblock print; *Kong Zi shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage Confucius's Traces), not divided into *juan*, Ming woodblock print; *Kong Zi shengji tuxiang* (Pictures and Images of the Sage Confucius's Traces), one *juan*, Ming edition; *Xinqie Kongsheng zongshi chushen quanzhuan* (Sage Confucius, the Ancestral Teacher's Antecedents and Complete Life, Newly Engraved), four *juan*, a Ming edition with illustrations above and text below; *Shengji quan tu* (Complete Pictures of the Sage's Traces), one *juan*, a Qing edition; *Kong Zi shiji tushuo* (Explanations of Pictures of Traces of Confucius's Activities), one *juan*, a Qing edition; and *Sheng hui quan tu* (Complete Pictures of Paintings of the Sage), one *juan*, printed from blocks engraved during the Guangxi reign (1875–1908). After Zheng's death in an airplane crash in 1957, these books were presented to the Beijing Library by his widow, Gao Junzhen, in accordance with his will, which provided that all of the 7,740 items he had assembled from the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties should be presented to the Beijing Library, to be retained in its collections.

To this date, I have not been able to see the various examples of *Shengji tu* held in mainland China's libraries. Yet I am confident that these different editions of *Shengji tu* surely must vary in the number of pictures in each, that the quality of their illustrations will differ in fineness or crudeness, and that their texts may well vary in completeness. At this time I can only point to the *Shengji tu* that is one of the items included in the series *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* (Collection of Old Chinese Books with Block-Print Illustrations) issued by the Shanghai gudian chubanshe in 1958, which was compiled by Zheng Zhenduo (see figure 4).⁵¹ This facsimile reprinting of *Shengji tu* uses the Ming edition of the twenty-seventh year of the Jiajing period (1548) printed by Prince Xian of Shen, Zhu Yinyi, the original of which belonged to



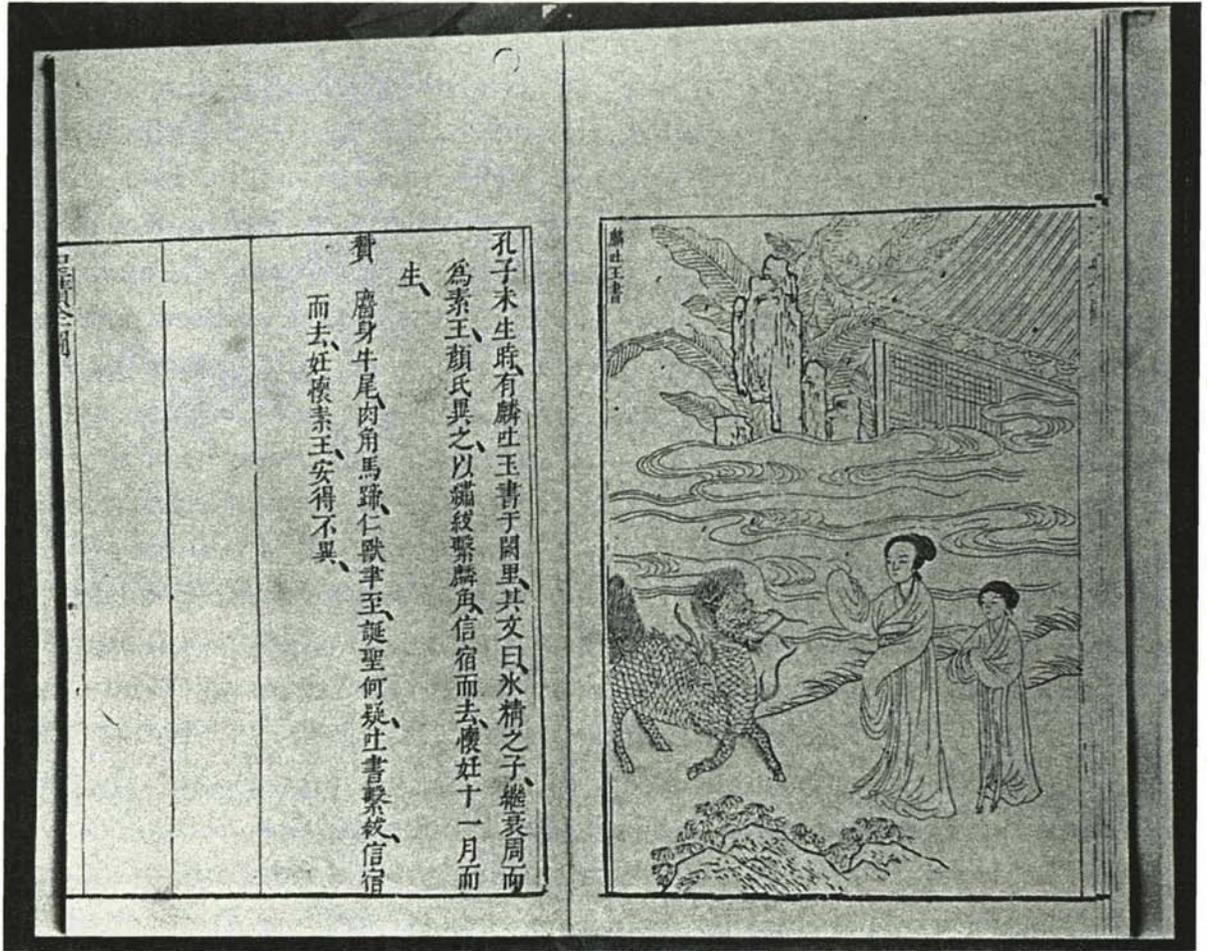
4. [Qilin tu yushu (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words)] from *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage's Traces), 1548, Prince Xian of Shen, Zhu Yinyi. Photograph of original from the collection of Zheng Zhenduo, now in the collection of the National Library of China. Reproduced in the series Cheng Chendu, ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* (Collection of Illustrations from Old Chinese Books) (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958). Forty-one illustrations in all.

Zheng. That this exemplar was owned by Zheng is shown by his seal, reading "From the Xidi Collection of Zheng Zhenduo of Changle (Changle Zheng Zhengduo Xidi cangshu)." This volume opens with portraits of the Sage Confucius and [his grandson] Zisi, and the rest of the volume depicts the events of Confucius's life from birth to death, with pictures on the left and text on the right, each of the texts being an explanation of the picture and an encomium (*zan*). There are forty-two pictures of great antique elegance, the calligraphic lines of the figure drawings both clear and spontaneous, very lifelike. But each picture is lacking its brief title; moreover, the Zheng exemplar also lacks (Prince) Zhu Yinyi's postface, "Ke Kong Fuzi shengji tu ba" (Postface on Publishing Pictures of the Sage Confucius's Traces), as well as the postface by Deng Wenzhi, so this facsimile reprinting also lacks those.⁵²

In his own postface to his facsimile reprinting of the work, Zheng writes that this set of *Shengji tu* was "acquired by me from a shop in Beijing selling old books. . . . It is the edition of the ninth year of the Ming Zhengtong reign period [1444]; and of all the various editions of

Shengji tu known today, none is earlier than this one.”⁵³ We may note that what Zheng stated there is in error. He based his determination that it should be dated to the Zhengtong period on the fact that in the book’s front matter, following the text of the *Shiji*, *juan* 47, “The Hereditary Household of Confucius,” there is a postface written by Zhang Kai in the year *jiazi* of the Zhengtong reign (1444). In fact, however, no exemplar of that Ming Zhengtong ninth-year edition still exists anywhere, and this volume that Zheng once owned must be a *recut* printing based on that Zhengtong edition. The printed edition of Zheng’s *Xidi Catalogue* issued by the Wenwu chubanshe in 1963 has corrected this to say that it is the edition of Prince Shen, Zhu Yinyi, dated to the twenty-seventh year of the Jiajing reign (1548). Zhu Yinyi was Prince Xian of the Shen principality who, as a younger cousin of Zhu Yunqi, assumed the headship of the Shen household in the ninth year of the Jiajing reign (1530) and was elevated to the princely title ten years later. His princely estate was located in Lu’an subprefecture, present-day Changzhi, in Shanxi. Zhu Yinyi died in the twenty-eighth year of the Jiajing reign (1549), the year following the completion of the printing blocks for this *Shengji tu*.

The Harvard-Yenching Library holds several editions of *Shengji tu*. One of these, with the title *Shengji quan tu* (Complete Pictures of the Sage’s Traces), not divided into *juan*, is bound in two fascicles (see figure 5). Each half-page has ten lines with twenty-four characters per line, double text frames on left and right, white fore edge, and no fishtail.⁵⁴ At the top of the center of the block are engraved the words *Shengji quan tu* (Complete Pictures of the Sage’s Traces), and the page frame measures 21 centimeters high and 14.3 centimeters wide. The front leaf (*feiye*) bears the four characters “Wanshi shibiao” (Model Teacher for All Ages), and the outer frame for these words is engraved with a design of auspicious clouds and paired dragons. Preceding the pictures is a page with the words “Zhisheng xianshi Kong Zi yixiang” (Posthumous Portrait of the Supreme Sage and First Teacher Confucius). The complete set of pictures (*quan tu*) begins with *Niqiu dao si* (Praying at Mt. Niqiu) and *Lin tu yushu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words), and ends with *Kongmiao zhi kuai* (Planting Cypress Trees at the Temple of Confucius), and *Zhenzong baisi* (Emperor Zhenzong Makes Obeisance at the Shrine), a total of seventy pictures.⁵⁵ Each has a four-character title, and has text

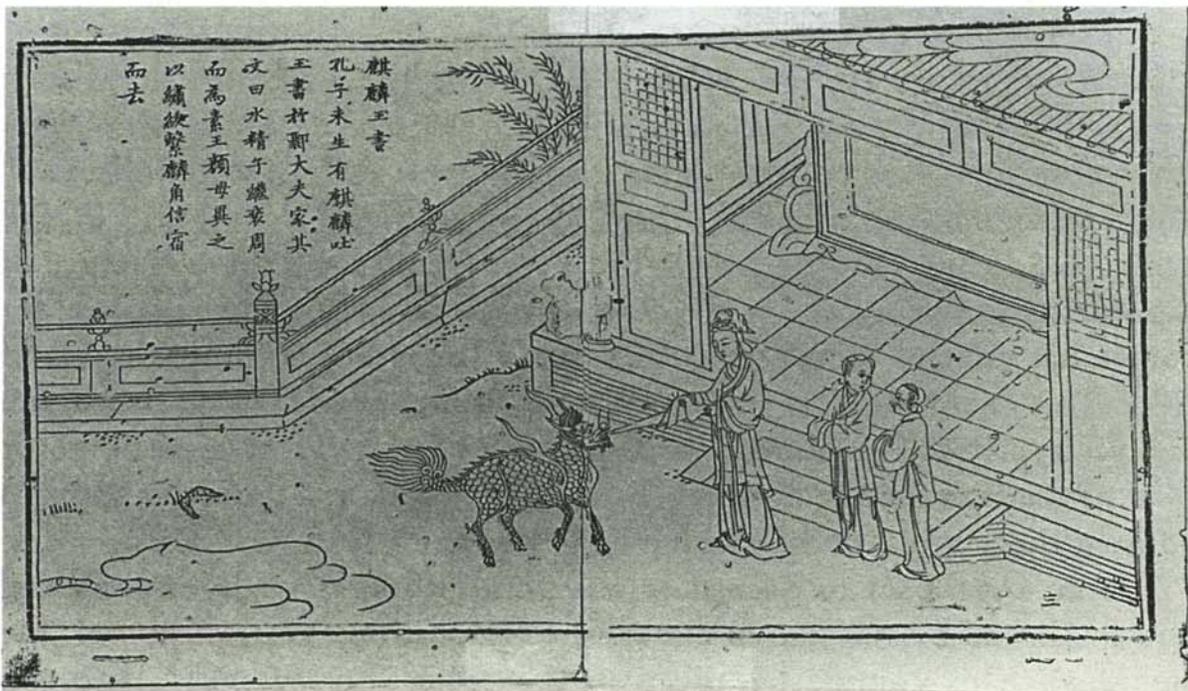


5. *Lin tu yushu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words), from *Shengji tu*, Ming-dynasty edition. Number 2 of seventy illustrations. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

on the left, picture on the right, the text consisting of an explanation of the picture and an encomium. At the end there also are portraits of [the four "attendant sages," *sipei*]: the *Fusheng xiang* (Portrait of the Continuator [Yan Hui]); the *Zongsheng xiang* (Portrait of the Exhibitor [of the Fundamental Principles, Zeng Zi]); the *Shusheng xiang* (Portrait of the Transmitter [his grandson, Zisi]); and the *Yasheng xiang* (Portrait of the Second [to Confucius himself, Meng Zi or Mencius]).⁵⁶ The final portion of this work contains a collection of poems, maxims, and encomiums from Song, Yuan, and Ming times. This album's illustrations are exceedingly fine; its portrayals of the human figures, its styles of robes, ornaments, and head dress, its displays of exterior scenes, its richly abundant layouts, and its compositions of the scenes, are all highly superior.

Moreover, the use of the knife in engraving the blocks is skillful to the point of complete proficiency, curving and turning in total freedom.

The second item titled *Shengji tu*, in one *juan*, is an edition whose printing blocks were engraved in the Wanli reign of the Ming dynasty (see figure 6). The opening uses the Song [scholar] Zhu Xi's abridgment of *Shiji*, "The Hereditary House of Confucius," plus the "Explanation of the Pictures in the Hall of the Sage" (*Shengji tu shuo*), written by Shao Yiren, who held the positions of restorer of the Yizhou [Shandong] military-defense circuit and former investigating censor for the Guangdong circuit. At the end of the volume there is a postface (*houxu*) dated to the twenty-second year of Wanli (1592), by Zhang Yingdeng, who signs himself surveillance vice-commissioner for the surveillance commission in Shandong; appointed supervisor of management of troop purification and of postal service and salt-control circuits; former supervising censor of the left and right in the Offices of Scrutiny for the three Ministries of Personnel, War, and Works; inspecting censor for the capital garrisons and granaries; and attending classics colloquium lecturer. The volume

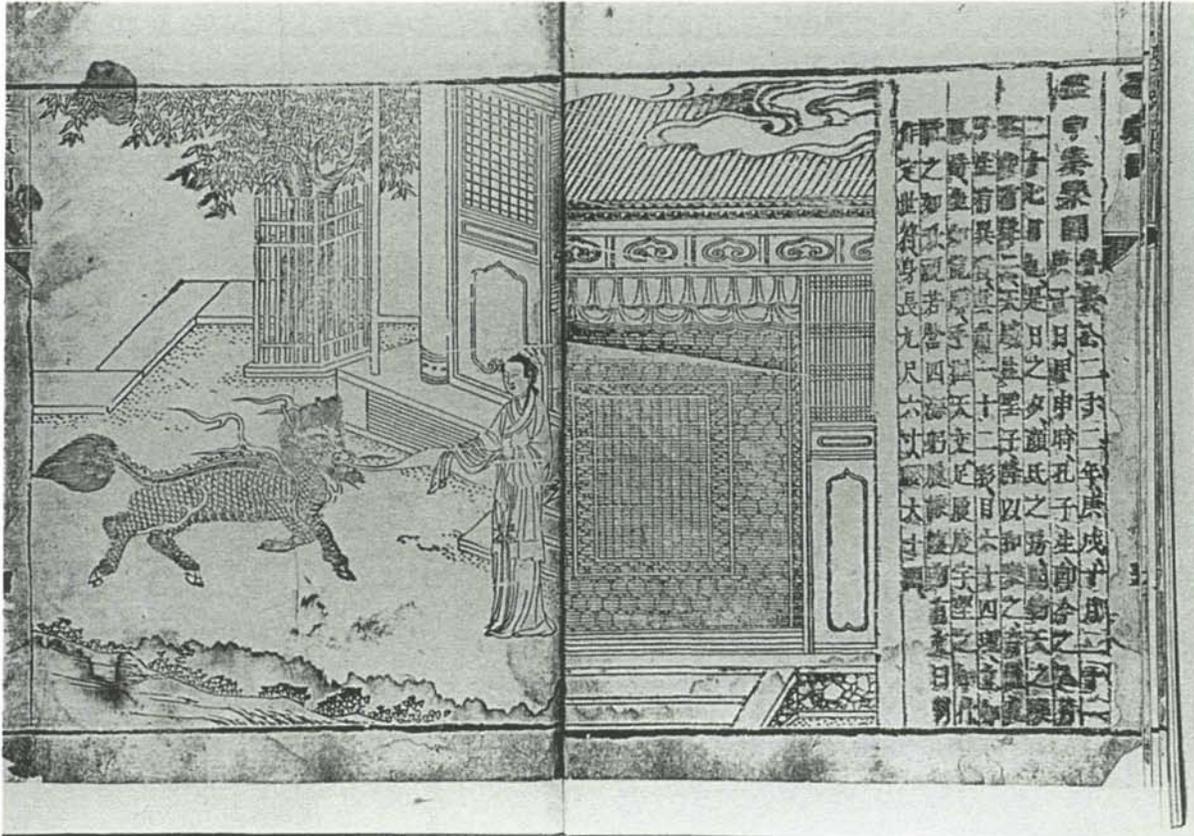


6. *Qilin yushu* (The Unicorn's Jade Words), from *Shengji tu*, Ming-dynasty, Wanli-era edition. Number 2 of 104 illustrations. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

opens to a *Yan Zi cong xing* ([Portrait of the First Sage] Walking with Yan Zi), followed by *Nishan zhi dao* (Offering Prayers at Mt. Ni), *Qilin yushu* (The Unicorn's Jade Words), and *Juntian jiang sheng* (High Heaven Sends Down the Sage). Pictures 4–95 show Confucius acquiring his learning, establishing his teachings, serving in office, traveling through the various states, engaging in writing, and other historical topics. Numbers 96–100 depict *Sanlong zhi kuai* (Planting Cypress Trees at the Three Graves), *Dizi shou mu* (The Disciples Attend the Grave), *Ai gong li miao* (Duke Ai Establishes the Shrine),⁵⁷ and pictures showing the Han emperor Gaozu and the Song emperor Zhenzong conducting sacrifices at the tomb. There are in all 104 pictures. Each opens to a double page, and also has an explanatory text. The block cutting and printing for this album must have been done by a book seller (*shufang*); the drawings and the engraving of them are crude and careless. Both in the composition of the pictures and in technical skills this volume is far inferior to the standards of refinement and beauty seen in the illustrated publications of fiction and drama produced by Nanjing and Hangzhou book sellers in the reigns from Wanli to Chongzhen (1572–1644) in the late-Ming period.

The third, also a *Shengji tu*, in one *juan*, is a late-Ming block-print edition (see figure 7). This volume has thirty-five illustrations, pictures on the left and text on the right. The texts consist of explanations with no encomiums. At the front there are two other portraits of Confucius. Each picture has a brief title, such as *Lin tu yushu tu* (Picture of the Unicorn Spitting Out the Jade Words) and *Wen li Lao Dan tu* (Picture of Confucius Inquiring about the Rites from Lao Dan). The pictures are somewhat inferior to the first of the three [Harvard] holdings described here. This exemplar lacks its second page. Someone has cut off half of the last picture in the volume, *Han Gaodi si Tailao tu* (Picture of Emperor Gao of the Han Conducting the Tailao Sacrifices), and moved it forward to give the semblance of a complete volume.

In 1994 a set of *Shengji tu* was photolithographically reproduced and published by the Jiaoyu chubanshe (Education Press) of Hubei (see figure 8). This volume had been in the collections of the Changyang county library of Hubei. The original was worn and tattered, and had signs of bookworm damage. It was said to have been purchased from a farmer by the head of the county Cultural Affairs Office around 1978.



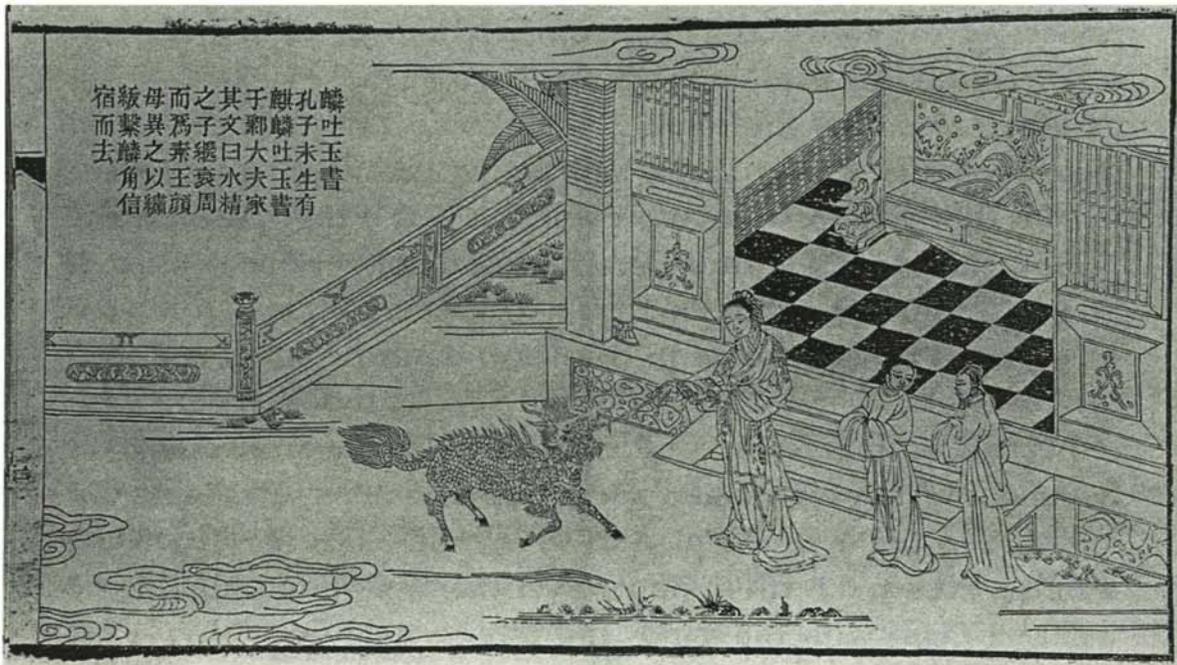
7. *Lin tu yushu tu* (Picture of the Unicorn Spitting Out Jade Words) from *Shengji tu*, late-Ming edition. Thirty-five illustrations in all. In the collection of Harvard Yenching Library, Harvard University.



8. *Qilin tu yu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade) from *Shengji tu*, late-Ming edition. One hundred illustrations in all. In the collection of the Library of Changyang county in Hubei province. Facsimile edition (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), third illustration.

This volume was assessed by specialists at the Beijing Central Academy of Art, the Hubei Provincial Academy of Art, the Hubei Provincial Library, and the Confucius Research Center in Shandong and declared to be “a late-Ming dynasty, Huizhou-school block print.” It was “specifically recognized as an illustrated volume possessing precious artistic value and value as a cultural artifact, in consequence of which it has aroused wide attention.”⁵⁸ Television and radio stations as well as newspapers and other print media have reported on it at one time or another. This volume has one hundred illustrations, printed from large blocks; the “engraving lines are fine and beautifully wrought, the various scenes and objects in the layout of each picture engraved with utmost delicacy, profuse and dense, but clear and well organized, to set forth clearly each picture’s central forms and figures.”⁵⁹ However these pictures and portraits have no brief titles, explanatory texts, or encomiums. The titles and explanatory texts in this volume have been recently added in handwritten brush calligraphy.

This writer has seen only one *Shengji tu* printed from blocks cut during the Qing dynasty (see figure 9). Printed from blocks recut from



9. *Lin tu yushu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words) from *Shengji tu*, ed. and comp. Kong Xianlan, 1874. In all 105 illustrations. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

a late-Qing edition, it was prepared by Kong Xianlan in the thirteenth year of the Guangxi reign (1874). Kong Xianlan was a descendant of Confucius in the seventy-second generation, a *juren* of the first year of the Tongzhi reign (1862) who served as assistant instructor in county Confucian schools in Xintai and Juye counties in Shandong. This edition of *Shengji tu* starts off with the text of *Shiji*, *juan* 47, "The Hereditary Household of Confucius," followed by Kong Xianlan's essay "Xin kan *Shengji tu* ji" (Note on This New Edition of *Shengji tu*), in which he has written:

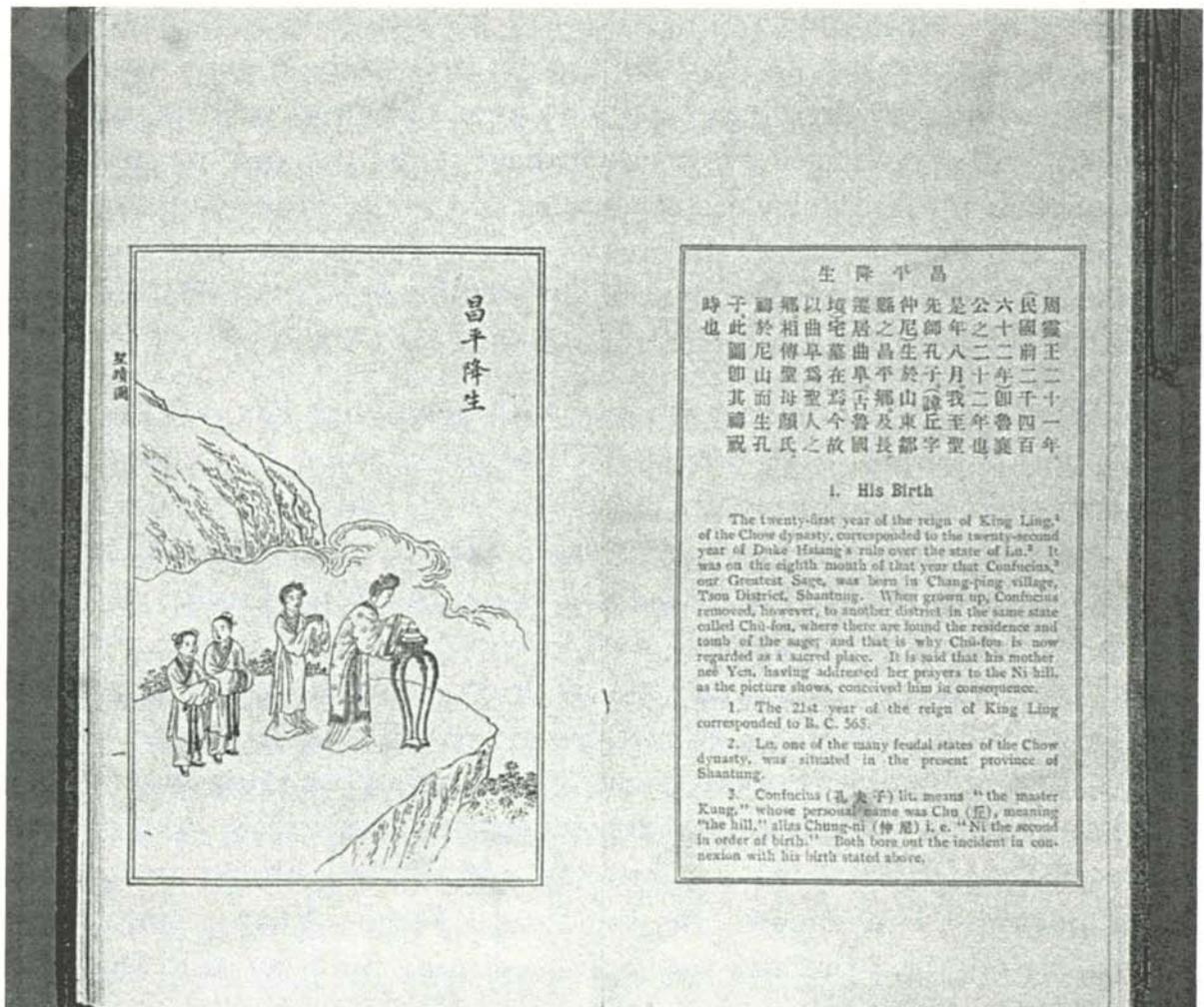
Ever since the Hall of the Sage's Traces was built, through the passage of the ages, in each generation it has been enlarged and restored. From the beginning, when the Sage, the First Teacher, was born, to the end of his career of seeking service, the stories about his words and deeds, his questions and answers, have undergone vicissitudes of continuity or change, of accord or dissent, all of which events have been thoroughly investigated and elucidated, painted in this complete set of pictures and incised on stone, in order that they should endure forever. From princes, great lords, and high officials above, to the learned teachers and scholars and ordinary people below, as they go looking around in the temple, they come to look upward on these pictures, gaze at them, and know what they truly represent; as they step forward into the hall it is as if they can hear the voices, enter into the room as if seeing those very persons. It is now more than two thousand years that seem to pass as if it were only yesterday, and for all in this latter day who study and love the past, who is not awestruck, and reverently overcome with respect! What one respects one must love, and because one loves them one cannot but then speak about the pictures with his mouth and point to them. And then, with head bowed while walking back and forth to linger over them, without thinking he will feel them with the hands and utter a sigh. So it always has been, for days into months, months into years, and though the pictures are as hard as jadestone, they cannot escape some wear and tear. It happened that just as the work on the temple was

completed and the Hall of the Pictures was again resplendent, I, least among those engaged in it, saw it with my eyes and was stirred in my emotions, fearing that with the passage of time the pictures of the traces would grow ever more obscure, so that the researches of learned scholars would have nowhere to begin. Calling up courage, I submitted the pictures to the block cutters who, using old drawings, applied them to wood of date and pear.⁶⁰ All was then there in full, radiant as the sun and the stars, almost as if the older were the events in the life of the Supreme Sage and First Teacher, the newer they became, the more they were remote the more splendid they had become, and serving not only to broaden our learning and knowledge.⁶¹

In all there are 105 pictures beginning with *Sheng xing Yan sui* (The Sage Walks with Yan Hui Following). Each of the pictures has engraved on its left or right upper corner an explanatory text, and each text has a brief four-character title, such as *Lin tu yushu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words), or *Wen li Lao Dan* (Inquiring about the Rites From Lao Dan). The pictures in this volume are not, however, of good quality, but are crude and clumsy. The paper used is glossy, so it obviously is printed from a recut edition of the end of Qing-early Republic period.

Among block-printed editions made during the Qing there is also one entitled *Shengji quan tu* that has seventy-four pictures, each picture followed by a page of text, and at the end of the volume are poems, lyrics, maxims, and encomiums by Tang-, Song-, Yuan-, and Ming-period writers. I have not seen this edition, held by the Shanghai Library.⁶²

During the Republican era many versions of the *Shengji tu* were published. This was significantly related to the veneration of Confucius in the early years of the Republic. Relying solely on exemplars of which this writer has knowledge, here is an approximate list: The earliest to appear is that compiled by Sun Yuxiu and published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai in the third year of the Republic (1914), and for which Gan Zuolin did a translation, making this a bilingual edition of the *Shengji tu* (see figure 10). This version, in the years up to 1935, went through as many as six printings. I have seen only two of those, one a



昌平降生

聖蹟圖



生降平昌
 時子邾邾以境遷縣仲先是公六民周
 也此於邾邾相曲宅居之尼師年之十二國靈
 圖尼傳早墓曲昌生孔八二二前王二
 即山母聖為在野平於子月二十午即千一
 禱生顏人今魯鄉山證我二午魯四一
 祝孔氏之故國長都字聖也襄百

1. His Birth

The twenty-first year of the reign of King Ling,¹ of the Chow dynasty, corresponded to the twenty-second year of Duke Hsiang's rule over the state of Lu.² It was on the eighth month of that year that Confucius,³ our Greatest Sage, was born in Chang-ping village, Tsou District, Shantung. When grown up, Confucius removed, however, to another district in the same state called Chi-fon, where there are found the residence and tomb of the sage; and that is why Chi-fon is now regarded as a sacred place. It is said that his mother nee Yen, having addressed her prayers to the Ni hill, as the picture shows, conceived him in consequence.

1. The 21st year of the reign of King Ling corresponded to B. C. 565.
2. Lu, one of the many feudal states of the Chow dynasty, was situated in the present province of Shantung.
3. Confucius (孔夫子) lit. means "the master Kung," whose personal name was Chu (丘), meaning "the hill," alias Chung-ni (仲尼) i. e. "Ni the second in order of birth." Both bore out the incident in connexion with his birth stated above.

10. Changping jiangsheng (The Birth at Changping) from *Shengji tu*, comp. Sun Yuxiu and trans. Gan Zuolin (1914; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1920). Thirty-four illustrations in all. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

thread-bound volume of 1920, the other a 1935 version printed in color.⁶³ For this version, Sun Yuxiu selected the most important pictures from rubbings of a stone-incised set, getting thirty-four pictures of which he had artists make tracing copies.

The most delicate lines could not be altered, and when the pictures were completed, drawing on the histories and traditions, the records of past events have been recorded and appended to the pictures, thereby joining pictures and history in one volume. From this time forward, our Master's refined appearance will be disseminated throughout the world, and no matter what sort of person, all will know to turn to Confucius. Can the consequences of this for human ethical relations be less than profound and vast?⁶⁴

This is the edition of *Shengji tu* that has been printed in the largest numbers.

In addition there are: (1) the publication of the Tongwen shuju of Shanghai of the *Shengji tu* compiled by Gu Yuan (fl. 1820s) during the Qing dynasty;⁶⁵ (2) the *Kong Zi shengji tu* assembled and published in 1923 by Cao Kun;⁶⁶ (3) the *Kong Zi shengji tu* published in 1934 by the Beijing Minshe Publishing House; and two different, undated picture albums, both entitled *Kong Zi shengji tu*, held by the Shanghai Library, one a photolithographically reproduced volume and the other an album of photographs.

In 1951, the Zhongguo wenjiao chubanshe in Taiwan photographically reproduced and published a *Kong Zi shengji tu* assembled by a descendant of Confucius, Kong Decheng, and others. I do not know what kind of a *Shengji tu* was used as the basis for making this facsimile edition.⁶⁷

China's neighbors Japan and Korea have been influenced by China's Confucian teachings. The Yi dynasty of Korea was established in 1392 on the basis of Confucian doctrines, and the status of Confucius achieved unprecedented elevation. At that time a Sŏnggyungwan (an educational institution) was established in the capital in the Sunggyobang quarter,⁶⁸ as was a Munmyo (Temple to Civil Culture; Chinese, Wenmiao), where rituals of veneration for Confucius were conducted. Confucian

temples (Korean, Kongmyo; Chinese, Kongmiao) were for some time to be found throughout Korea. This is amply attested to in Korean books such as *Nosŏng kwŏllisa sajok* (Evidence for Ritual Matters at Queli in the Capital City of the State of Lu).⁶⁹ According to records, during the Chosŏn dynasty (the Yi dynasty) Korean editions of the *Sŏngjŏkdo* (Chinese, *Shengji tu*) were brought out, one exemplar of which is in the possession of Fudan University Library in Shanghai.

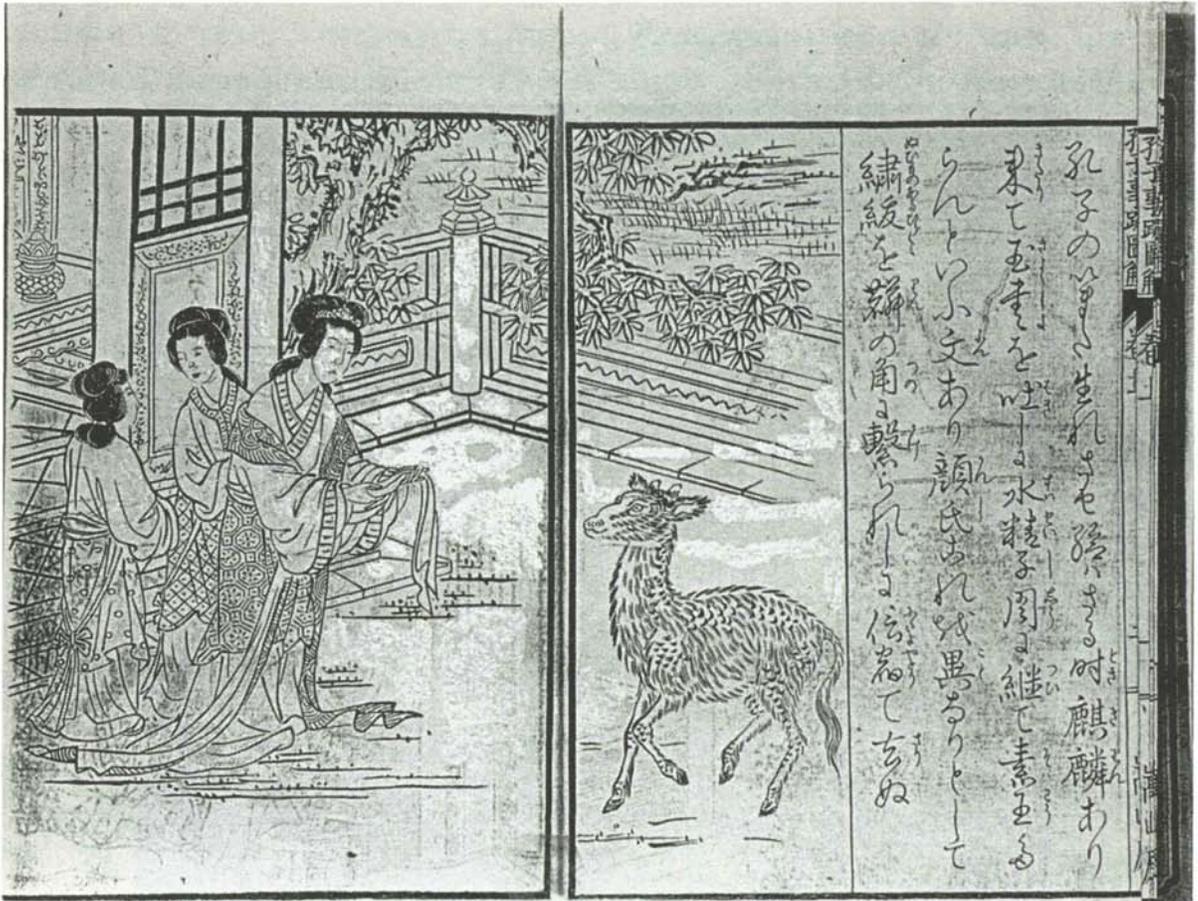
In Japan, we know only that Japan's Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko) has a 1630 exemplar in two *juan* of the Chinese edition published in the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505) of the Ming dynasty by the principedom of Ji, that is, the version written by Zhang Kai of the Ming.⁷⁰ There are also exemplars of an edition produced in the seventh year of the Japanese Kan-ei era (1630) and in the fourth year of the Genroku era (1691).⁷¹

From the eighth century to the twelfth, Japanese officials were selected by being given written examinations in which the subject fields were largely in keeping with Confucian doctrine and Chinese learning. In the Japanese schools ritual veneration of Confucius was conducted each year in spring and autumn, and Confucius was addressed as "The First Sage, Confucius, the All-Encompassing Patriarch" (*Sensei Kō Senfu*). Among old books for which printing blocks were engraved in Japan, there are some relevant to Confucius or promoting Confucian learning that take up the traces of Confucius's lifelong activities, and although they do not call these *Shengji tu*, their content and style are nevertheless quite similar to the *Shengji tu*. For example, there is a work printed in the first year of the Kansei era (1789, the fifty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign) by the Tokyo Shōkodō bookseller, in one *juan*, called *Kōshi gyōjō zukai* (Pictures and Explanations of Confucius's Career), with thirty-eight pictures, and above each picture are an explanation and notes written in Chinese (see figure 11). In the second year of the Bunka era (1805, the tenth year of the Jiaqing reign) there appeared a work called *Kōshi jiseki zukai* (The Traces of Confucius Illustrated and Explained), in three *juan*, published by the Tokyo bookseller (*Tōto shorin*) Kobayashi Shinbei's Sūzanbō, with forty-six pictures and explanations in Japanese at the side of each (see figure 12). In the ninth year of the Tenpō era (1838, the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign) Kobayashi Shinbei

家禮云孔子未生時有麒麟吐玉書於闕里其文曰
 水精子繼哀周而為素王
 顏氏異之以繡紵繫麟角
 信宿而去懷妊十有一月
 而生孔子
 孔子一歲係周靈王之二十
 一年魯襄公之二十一年
 巳酉冬十月乙亥庚辰朔
 越二十一日庚子甲申時
 孔子生於魯國之昌平鄉
 陬邑孔子父為鄆邑大夫
 故孔子生於鄆邑之宦邸
 也孔子誕生之辰有二龍
 繞室五老降庭
 右見明吳嘉謨校本



11. [Qilin tu yushu (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words)] from *Kōshi gyōjō zukai* (Pictures and Explanations of Confucius's Career), 1 juan (Tokyo: Shōkodō, 1789). Forty-six illustrations in all. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



12. [Qilin tu yushu (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words)] from *Kōshi issei taisei gaden* (Illustrated Biography of Confucius, the First Great Sage), 3 *juan* (Tokyo: Kobayashi Shibe, Suzanbo, 1805). Twenty-three illustrations in all. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

also produced an edition called *Kōshi issei taisei gaden* (Illustrated Biography of Confucius, the First Great Sage) in three *juan*, with twenty-three pictures, and an explanatory text in Chinese at the side. The preface to *Kōshi jiseki zukai* says:

In the past, a work called *Kōshi gyōjō zukai* was in circulation. On opening it one sees benevolence in the wake of virtue, made apparent at one glance through it, and for the standards to be learned by the young nothing could be better. But, as a book, it is in some places too complicated, in others too incomplete, and though in essence jade is after all jade, yet with its minor flaws it cannot measure up to a gem of priceless value. Recently I met

with Mr. [Kobayashi] Takahide of Sūzanbō [publishing house] in the company of my maternal uncle Zuiyō, and we discussed the compilation. Takahide wished to select the best from it, and make the explanations of the pictures more detailed, so it might better serve young persons who are learning from it—apparently his long-cherished wish. I therefore wrote down what the gentleman said, then consulted with the two gentlemen Tenmin [possibly Ōkubo Shibutsu (1767–1837 or 1838)] and [Shiba] Ranshū, asking them to make pictures to be used for engraving printing blocks, and gave it the title *Kōshi jiseki zukai*.⁷²

The books referred to above have altered names but are no more than direct reflections in Japan of the same (Chinese) subject matter.

From Ming and Qing times to the present day, many books devoted to research on Confucius have been published, yet books concerned with the *Shengji tu* are virtually nonexistent, and articles devoted to introducing the *Shengji tu* are also seldom seen. In the various works on the content of old editions, or their colophons, or reading notes, or records of collections of Ming and Qing times, one rarely encounters notices concerning *Shengji tu*. To cite one example, the *Guji banben tiji suoyin* (Index to Critical Notes Concerning Editions of Old Books), which covers the contents of 102 books, specializing in editions of old books, there is not a single reference to a *Shengji tu*.⁷³ Moreover, among the several specialized works published in the 1960s concerning *Zhongguo banhua shilue* (A Brief History of Chinese Blockprint Book Illustrations) no space is given to *Shengji tu*.⁷⁴ This writer has seen a book with the title *Kongsheng quanshu* (Complete Book of the Sage Confucius) of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584) in thirty-five *juan*, produced by the Nanjing bookseller Ye Gui⁷⁵ and containing a list of works consulted, among which are listed *Kong Zi tupu* (Illustrated Album about Confucius) and *Shengji tuzan* (Illustrated Encomiums of the Sage's Traces). But there is no way of knowing whether those are related to *Shengji tu*. A work in four *juan* entitled *Kong Meng shiji tupu* (Album Illustrating the Traces of the Deeds of Confucius and Mencius), written by the Ming figure Ji Ben (the printing blocks for which were cut in the Ming Jiajing period [1522–1566] for Tong Hanchen), whose second *juan* has the title *Kong Zi shiji*

tupu (Illustrated Album of the Traces of Confucius's Deeds),⁷⁶ does not have a single picture, revealing that it does not truly represent the specialized category of illustrated books.

The Way of Confucius pervades past and present, his Virtue matches Heaven and Earth; he is said to be "imperishable through ten thousand generations." Such pictures have come into being because those who had the printing blocks engraved were proceeding from the ideal of wishing to preserve them forever, hoping that all who saw them would recognize what they are based upon, would go up into the hall and seem to hear the Sage's voice, enter the room and feel that they could see him. In his encomium for his portrait of Confucius, the Song-dynasty painter Mi Fu (1052–1107) wrote: "Confucius, Confucius, how great is Confucius. There was no Confucius before Confucius, and much less has there been any Confucius since Confucius. Confucius, Confucius, how great is Confucius!"⁷⁷ Looked at from the point of view of the history of Chinese blockprint illustrations, the human beings are the dominant element governing the pictures. In many such blockprint pictures, we can see that the picture surfaces are crammed with human figures and overflow with their activities. These human figures are mostly Buddhas, or emperors and kings, or talented men and beautiful women, or lofty hermits in the mountains and groves. A relatively large number are found in dramas and works of fiction.

Confucius lived long before the Common Era, in the Warring States period (463–222 BCE), and for painters in Ming and Qing times to attempt to model an image of Confucius of his own time, to accord with the true appearance of the historical personage, was a relatively difficult undertaking. For this reason, all the *Shengji tu* that we can see today, no matter whether the illustrations are many or few, and including all the different subsequently re-engraved copies, are wholly the products of their makers' powers of imagination, making guesses based on the scenes of their own times and choosing to create their portrayals of those elements of Confucius's life and deeds that people most relished talking about and events that they were least apt to forget. Yang Yuwei (*jinshi* 1721), in his preface to the book *Wanxiaotang huazhuan* (Pictured Lives from the Wanxiao Studio), has written [quoting the artist]: "With whomever I discover there is a bond in my mind, I immediately draw that person

in my sketchbook, either by searching in old books to learn about his appearance, or by holding him in my thoughts until I draw out his full spirit.”⁷⁸ However that may be, the function of the *Shengji tu* in the development of China's block-print pictures is a matter that would be well worth the efforts of those engaged in research on art history, and art critics, to reach sound conclusions.

This slight essay takes as its starting point the editions of *Shengji tu* in order to engage in a preliminary investigation. My reason for using the term “preliminary investigation” is that for the time being I am unable to examine the various editions of *Shengji tu* held in collections on the China mainland. At some later time I may have the opportunity to supplement it.

NOTES

The notes were written by the translator and augmented by the editor with information from the author.

1. The quoted lines come from *Shijing* (Odes), no. 218, James Legge (1815–1897), *The Book of Poetry*, in his *Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 4, pt. 2, “Minor Odes of the Kingdom,” p. 393. Cf. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), pp. 171–172.
2. Sima Qian included chapter 47 of his *Records*, devoted to the life and the school of Confucius, in the section “Hereditary Households.” The final evaluative comment in that chapter, quoted here, follows with minor modifications the translation by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, *Records of the Historian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), p. 27. The Chinese text can be found in the standard edition, *Shiji, juan 47, “Kong Zi shijia”* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 1947.
3. The Six Classics are *Shi* or *Shijing* (The Classic of Poetry), *Shu* or *Shujing* (The Book of Documents), *Chun qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), *Meng Zi* (The Mencius), *Lunyu* (The Analects of Confucius), and *Yijing* or *Yixiang* (The Changes).
4. This apparently refers to the work of this name written by the Han scholar and bibliographer, Liu Xiang, which came to be known in various illustrated versions; see Sören Edgren, “The *Ching-ying hsiao-sheng* and Traditional Illustrated Biographies of Women,” *Gest Library Journal* 2 (Winter 1992), pp. 161–174.
5. See n. 4, above.
6. Ban Gu, *Hanshu* (History of the Han Dynasty; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), chap. 30.

7. This passage draws on Zheng Qiao's essay "Tupu" (Illustrated Books), which is easily found in the following two modern reprints of his larger work *Tong zhi*: Zheng Qiao, *Tong zhi*, 200 *juan* in Wang Yunwu, ed., *Shitong*, Wanyou wenku, series 2 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), *juan* 72, p. 837; and *Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), vol. 374, *juan* 72, pp. 494-495. Both reprints are based on a Qianlong-era (1736-1795) edition of this Song-dynasty work. The Gest Collection of rare books in the East Asian Library at Princeton has a pre-Qing edition of *Tong zhi* printed in the Chinghua era (1465-1487) of the Ming dynasty from blocks cut in the second year (1322) of the Zhizhi period of the Yuan dynasty. For all practical purposes, the text of this essay in the Qing edition does not vary from that in the Yuan edition.
8. There is a large literature on the Shrine of Wu Liang; see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989). On the Hall of Numinous Radiance and its painted walls depicting persons and events of history, see Xiao Tong (501-531), *Wen Xuan*, trans. David Knechtges, vol. 2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 263 ff. This famed building, in the vicinity of the tomb of Confucius in Shandong, that is, in the region of Lu, was built during the period 154-128 BCE.
9. Zeng Guofan, "Shengzhe huaxiang ji," *Zeng Guofan quanji* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995), p. 248.
10. Wen Weng was active at the end of Emperor Jing's reign and for some decades in the reign of Emperor Wu; for his biography see *Han shu*, *juan* 89, pp. 3625-3626.
11. The author refers here to the "Biography of Cai Yong," in the *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), *juan* 60-A, pp. 1953-1978.
12. See n. 8, above.
13. *Mencius*, V/ii/i/5. In Legge's translation this line is found on p. 372 of *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2. Here the translation by D. C. Lau is followed; see his *Mencius* (London: Penguin Classics, 1970), p. 150. For the Chinese text, see Yang Yong, ed., *Meng Zi yijie* (Hong Kong: Dazhong shuju, 1970), p. 236.
14. Quoting Lu Guimeng's "*Fu yousheng lun wen shu*" from his *Fuliji*, *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, vol. 1083 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), *juan* 18, p. 10. Lu was active in the mid- to late-ninth century.
15. The term is "*wangji*," or "kingly traces." This line in the spurious book in the *Documents* called "*Wu cheng*" is found in Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 311; the translation here follows Legge's notes on this line. For the Chinese text see, Cai Shen, ed., *Shujing duben* (Taipei: Zhengwen shuju, 1974), *juan* 4, p. 113.
16. See Wang Shumin, *Zhuang Zi jiaoquan*, 3 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yanjiusuo, 1988), vol. 1, *juan* 14, p. 546; in the text, this sentence is ascribed to Lao Zi. Or see Guo Qingfan (1844-1896?), *Zhuang Zi jishi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *juan* 5b, p. 532. The translation here is

- modified from that in Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 166.
17. For Xiang Yuanbian, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 539–544.
 18. For a list of biographical references for Zhang Kai, see Julia K. Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius: Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late-Ming China,” *Artibus Asiae* 57 (1997) pp. 82–83, n. 41.
 19. A biography of He Chuguang may be found in Wang Deying, ed., *Fugou xianzhi* (1833), *juan* 7, p. 12. See also Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius,” p. 111, n. 119.
 20. See Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius,” p. 112, n. 122.
 21. Yan Yuan, or Yan Hui, was Confucius’s most favored disciple; see *Analects* XII:1, in Legge’s translation, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 250. Zeng Zi, another disciple of special merit, traditionally has been credited with having written down the *Xiaojing* (Classic of Filial Piety), a tradition no longer accepted. See also below, n. 57.
 22. The government student Mao Fengyu, the artisan-painter Yang Zhi, and the stone carver Zhang Cao, have not been otherwise identified.
 23. In antiquity Lu and Zou, the native places of Confucius and Mencius, were neighboring states in western Shandong. See Zhang Zhaosong, *Lu Zou shengji ji* (Beijing: Beijing gonghe yinshuachu, 1916), p. 6.
 24. Zhang Kai and Shao Yiren, eds., *Shengji tu* (n.p., n.p., Wanli era, 1573–1620), preface. For more on Shao Yiren, see Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius,” p. 111, n. 118, and p. 112, n. 123.
 25. Pan Chengzhi and Pan Xiang, eds., *Qufu xianzhi* (1774), *juan* 49, p. 15.
 26. The Chinese for Western Ward is *Xicheng*, which the translator has taken to refer to the western ward within Beijing, the capital.
 27. This refers to Yu Shenxing (1545–1607), a native of Shandong province, *jinshi* of 1568, who was “allowed to retire” from his ministerial post in the ninth lunar month of 1591. See his biography in Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755) et al., eds., *Ming shi* (1736; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 217, pp. 5737–5739, esp. lines 5 and 6 on p. 5739.
 28. Kong Hongfu belonged to the sixty-first generation of the line residing at Qufu. His biography is found in *juan* 91, p. 3, of the 1774 *Qufu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qufu County).
 29. See the catalogue of the exhibition *Visible Traces* (New York and Beijing: Queens Borough Public Library, National Library of China and Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), pp. 157–160.
 30. This should possibly be taken to mean “always were in the municipality of Shanghai” (Qingpu county has been, since the 1950s, part of the newly expanded municipality of Shanghai), because the author later cites a recently compiled gazetteer of Qingpu county which says that all the old relics formerly in the Kong Residence have totally vanished, leaving nothing behind.
 31. Qingpu county was at the time subordinate to Songjiang prefecture. For a

- biography of Lin Youfang, see Xiong Qiying et al., comps. and Chen Qiyuan et al., eds., *Qingpu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Qingpu County) (n.p.: Zunjingge, 1879), *juan* 13, p. 5a.
32. The *Queli zhi*, in twenty-four *juan*, a history of the temple compound and the site of Confucius's home in Shandong (sometimes called the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu), including his genealogy, lives of followers, and the like, was composed by Chen Hao (*jinshi* 1483), and supplemented by Kong Yunzhi (variously, Kong Yinzhi, fl. 1620–1644), lineal descendant of Confucius in the sixty-fifth generation. See Fu Weilin (d. 1667), *Ming shu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), *juan* 28.
 33. Lin Youfang's itinerary is not explained in detail. He apparently traveled south from Beijing on the Grand Canal, taking a detour into southern Shandong, the region of the Si River, where Confucius taught his disciples, but which is associated with the home of the philosopher Mencius in antiquity, and to Mt. Yi, east of the Si River, in present-day Yi county, in southernmost Shandong. In short, he was able to visit some sites within the southern fringes of Confucius's home region, but clearly did not get to Qufu county where the descendants of Confucius have principally lived, tending the Sage's home and the historic shrines of Queli.
 34. Youquan is an ancient name for northern Zhejiang, apparently used loosely here to include the adjacent prefecture of Songjiang in southern Jiangsu, where Qingpu, Lin's new official post, was located.
 35. That is, in the second and eighth lunar months of the year.
 36. Zhang Kai has been mentioned above. The catalogue *Visible Traces*, p. 157, gives the dates 1609–1610 for the newly engraved set of pictures at Qingpu. See also Murray, "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius," p. 83, n. 47 and p. 116, esp. n. 138.
 37. The scene described depicts how Shun, selected by Yao to succeed him, so deeply venerated Yao that he had repeated visions of him in mundane circumstances several years after Yao's death.
 38. The Great Yu channeled the rivers to make agriculture possible; the specific source of the incident alluded to here has not been identified.
 39. Lin Youfang, [postface], *Shengji tu*, drawn by Chen Yin, engraved by Zhu Bi, 1682, rubbing undated, folio p. 36. In the collection of the National Library of China, Huaxiang 883.
 40. Some sources give Qiu Ying's birth and death dates as 1494–1561.
 41. Wang Yuanqi, with some exaggeration, compares Chen Yin with two of the greatest figure painters, Qiu Ying, courtesy name Shizhou, and Chen Hongshou, courtesy name Zhanghou. For a biographical note on Chen Yin, see Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* (1981; Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), p. 993.
 42. Lu Yingyang may be the native of Huating in Songjiang prefecture, personal name Bosheng, who is given a short notice in Chen Tian, *Mingshi jishi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), *juan geng* 29, p. 2767. The last character in this Lu Yingyang's name differs from that given by the author.

43. "Mingji" (Famous Sites), *Qingpu xianzhi* (Zunjingge, 1879), *juan* 11, pp. 1-2.
44. Feng Xuewen et al., eds., *Shanghai shi Qingpu xianzhi* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1990).
45. "Yiwen zhi" (Record of Literature), in Sun Baotian et al., eds., *Shandong tongzhi* (Provincial Gazetteer of Shandong Province) (n.p.: Shandong tongzhi kanyinju, 1915), *juan* 132, p. 3.
46. The term *lianhuantu* (serial drawings) in reference to more recent times usually refers to cartoons for comic strips and the like. A Ying [Qian Xingcun], *Zhongguo lianhuan tuhua shihua* (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe, 1957), p. 5.
47. The Song bibliographic writings of Chao Gongwu, whose bibliography was completed from notes and published after 1250, and of Chen Zhensun are considered most important for bibliography of the Song period. See Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, ed. Wang Lixiang (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990); and Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, in Congshu jicheng chubian (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985).
48. Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
49. Zheng Zhenduo's birth date is sometimes given as 1897 and his death date as 1958.
50. Zheng Zhenduo, *Xidi shumu*, 5 vols. (Beijing: Beijing wenwu chubanshe, 1963).
51. *Shengji tu*, in Zheng Zhenduo, ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe and Zhonghua shuju, 1958-1960).
52. The author notes that he has not yet been able to inspect these titles to confirm in which editions these two postfaces are preserved today. See also Murray, "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius," p. 89, n. 78.
53. The text of Zheng Zhenduo's postface may be found in *Shengji tu*, 2 vols., in *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958). See also Zheng Zhenduo, *Xidi shuba*, ed. Wu Xiaoling, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), p. 41.
54. Because book pages in a string-bound book are formed from sheets folded down the center, the center of the block is visible on the fore edge (or mouth, *kou*) of the book. The blocks for this book were carved out at the center giving it a white fore edge. Further, no v-shaped folding guides (fish-tails, *yuwei*) were carved into that center line.
55. The picture of the parents of Confucius praying at Mt. Niquiu refers to the legend that his parents prayed there for his birth; the mountain's name is alluded to in Confucius's formal name Qiu and his courtesy name Zhongni. The story about the unicorn, symbol of the coming of a sage, spitting out "jade words" is an old legend. "Jade words" can be taken to mean "words of auspicious omen," or "words engraved on jade," the two meanings being interchangeable. According to legend, prior to the birth of Confucius a unicorn, itself an auspicious symbol, appeared and "spit out" a brief text of thirteen characters, presumably engraved on jade, predicting that with the

- crumbling of the Zhou dynasty, a wise sage would appear to succeed it, though to remain "uncrowned." The earliest known source of this legend is in Wang Jia (late-fourth century), *Shiyi ji*, 10 *juan*, no. 16 in Baizi zhuan-shu (Taipei: Guji wenhua chubanshe, 1963), *juan* 3-5; see Wang's biography in Fang Xuanling (578-648) et al., eds., *Jin shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), *juan* 95, pp. 2496-2497. Of the final two pictures, that of planting cypress trees in the memorial temple may reflect some historical event; that showing the visit of the third Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 998-1022) to Qufu in early December 1008, depicts a historical event. See Tuotuo (1315-1355) et al., eds., *Song shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 7, pp. 138-139.
56. These four important followers of Confucius were awarded their titles by rulers in imperial times, from the Three Kingdoms era to the Song dynasty, and became fixed elements in the cult of Confucius. The four attendant sages, the term sometimes translated "the four correlates," are called by James Legge "the four assessors." The translation of the four titles here follows Legge, "Prolegomena," *Analects, The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 92.
57. Duke Ai was the reigning duke in the state of Lu from 494 to 469 BCE, during which time, 480 or 479, Confucius died. The story that he grieved over the passing of Confucius appears in *Chun qiu* (The Spring and Autumn Annals), sixteenth year of Duke Ai, as translated by Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5., p. 846. Nothing is said there about the duke having erected a memorial shrine to Confucius.
58. *Shengji tu*, late-Ming edition (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe), preface.
59. These words of praise for the quality of this reprint edition are quoted from the publisher's forward. See *Shengji tu* (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994). The author is skeptical about the publisher's assertion that the edition on which this reprint was based was actually a late-Ming, Huizhou-school work, saying that there was insufficient evidence to corroborate that claim.
60. The wood of the date, more properly *zyziphus jujube*, and the pear were among the best for cutting printing blocks.
61. Kong Xianlan, ed., "Xin kan *Shengji tu* ji," *Xin kan Shengji tu ji* (n.p., 1874), p. 2.
62. The author indicated that a friend in the Shanghai Library checked on its holdings of this title and learned that this seventy-four-illustration edition bears no indication of editor or compiler and is catalogued simply as a Qing-dynasty edition.
63. Both the 1920 and the 1935 editions of this work were published by the Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press of Shanghai).
64. Sun Yuxiu, "Preface," in Sun Yuxiu, comp., Gan Zuolin, trans., *Shengji tu* (Sketches of Confucius with Illustrations) (1914; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1920), pp. 1-2.
65. See *Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue putongben xianzhuang shumu* (Catalogue of Ordinary Thread-bound Books of the Taiwan Normal University) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1971), p. 48.

66. The Northern warlord General Cao Kun held the presidency of the Chinese government in 1923 and 1924. Cao himself provided the funds for this 1923 vanity publication.
67. Wang Shaozeng, ed., *Shandong wenxian shumu* (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1993), p. 121.
68. Both terms, for which the Chinese is Chongjiao fang and Chengjun guan, had been used as names for China's National Academy in early times, and are mentioned in the early classics on the Rites.
69. The author indicated that he had consulted various printed catalogues to gather clues about the location of various titles, among them one catalogue of Korean editions, the specific title of which he could not recall.
70. Zhang Kai's role in producing a famous version of *Shengji tu* in 1444 has been discussed above.
71. The author has noted that he drew this information from the catalogue of rare books in the Cabinet Library of Japan, *Nihon Naikaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo: Naikaku Bunko, 1956).
72. Zhang Fuli (fl. early nineteenth century), "Preface," *Kōshi jiseki zukai* (Tokyo: Sūzanbō, 1805). Zhang Fuli's courtesy name is Jinglong.
73. Luo Weiguo and Hu Ping, eds., *Guji banben tiji suoyin* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1991).
74. Guo Weizhu, *Zhongguo banhua shilue* (Beijing: Zhaohua meishu chubanshe, 1962).
75. Ye Gui is identified in Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), p. 291, right column, first item, as the person responsible for having the blocks engraved for another illustrated work, this one on fortune telling, published in 1595. In that work he identifies himself as the person responsible for having the printing blocks engraved, and describes himself as Ye Gui of Jianyang in Fujian, operating his bookstore on Sanshan Street in Jinling (Nanjing).
76. Ji Ben (1485–1563), native of Guiji in Zhejiang, was a follower of Wang Yangming who wrote extensively on textual studies of the classics. His brief biography appears in Xu Qianxue (1631–1694), *Ming shi liezhuan* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1970), *juan* 70. The identity of the bookseller Tong Hanchen who was responsible for the publication remains unclear.
77. The author has noted the source of Mi Fu's words about Confucius simply as the two-*juan*, Ming-dynasty edition of *Shengji tu*, *juan* 1, pp. 1–2.
78. Yang Yuwei wrote an interesting preface to the book of drawings and brief texts referred to here, depicting famous personages from Han times to the early Ming. Yang was a young friend of the artist-author Shangguan Zhou (1665–after 1743), the owner of the Wanxiao studio. In his preface, Yang attempts to explain what kind of inspiration motivated the artist, and why capturing a personality in a picture can contribute to the person's biography (*zhuan*), and can at the same time transmit (*chuan*) that person on into later ages, thereby preserving him or her for all later history. In that play on the

two pronunciations and two meanings of the word *zhuan-chuan*, "biography" and "transmit," he makes an effective point. See, Yang Yuwei, "Preface," in Shangguan Zhou, *Wanxiaotang huazhuan*, 3 *juan* (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), p. 2.

GLOSSARY

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|---|---|
| Ai 哀 | Daye 大業 |
| <i>Ai gong li miao</i> 哀公立廟 | Deng Shi 鄧實 |
| A Ying 阿英 | Deng Wenzhi 鄧文質 |
| ba 跋 | Ding 定 |
| Ban Gu 班固 | <i>Dizi shou mu</i> 弟子守墓 |
| Bosheng 伯生 | Dong Yuan 董源 |
| buke pian fei 不可偏廢 | Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 |
| Bunka 文化 | Fang Zhengfan 方正范 |
| Cao Kun 曹錕 | feiye 扉頁 |
| Changle Zheng Zhenduo Xidi cangshu
長樂鄭振鐸西諦藏書 | Fugou 扶溝 |
| <i>Changping jiangsheng</i> 昌平降生 | <i>Fugou xianzhi</i> 扶溝縣志 |
| Changyang 長陽 | <i>Fuli ji</i> 甫里集 |
| Changzhi 長治 | <i>Fusheng xiang</i> 復聖像 |
| Chao Gongwu 晁公武 | Fu Weilin 傅維麟 |
| Chengjun guan 成均館 | Fu yousheng lun wen shu 復友生論文書 |
| Chen Hao 陳鎬 | Gan Zuolin 甘作霖 |
| Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 | Gao Junzhen 高君箴 |
| Chen Qiyuan 陳其元 | Gao Keming 高克明 |
| Chen Yin 陳尹 | Gaozu 高祖 |
| Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 | Genroku 元祿 |
| Chongjiao fang 崇教坊 | Gongyi 工役 |
| chuan 傳 | Guanghe 光和 |
| <i>Chun qiu</i> 春秋 | Guiji 會稽 |
| <i>Dacheng zhisheng wenxuan xianshi zhou liu zhi</i>
<i>tu</i> [大成] 至聖文宣先師周流之圖 | Guji 古蹟 |
| Dade 大德 | <i>Guji banben tiji suoyin</i> 古籍版本題記索引 |
| | Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 |
| | Gu Yuan 顧沅 |

- gu zhi xuezhe wei xue you yao zhi tu yu
 zuo zhi shu yu you 古之學者爲學有
 要置圖於左置書於右
 Haiyan 海鹽
 Han Gaodi si Tailao tu 漢高帝祀太牢圖
 Han shu 漢書
 He 河
 He Chuguang 何出光
 Hongdumen xue 鴻都門學
 Hou Han shu 後漢書
 houxu 後序
 Huaiyang 淮陽
 Huan 桓
 Huang Shen 黃慎
 Huating 華亭
 Huizhou 徽州
 Ji (name of a princely domain) 冀
 ji (traces) 蹟
 ji (tracks, achievements) 跡
 Jiangnan 江南
 Jianyang 建陽
 Jiexiang 嘉祥
 Ji Ben 季本
 Jing 景
 Jinglong 景龍
 Jin shu 晉書
 ji tu er qiu yi ji shu er qiu nan
 即圖而求易即書而求難
 Juntian jiang sheng 鈞天降聖
 Junzhai dushu zhi 郡齋讀書志
 juren 舉人
 Juye 鉅野
 Kan-ei 寬永
 Kansei 寬政
 Ke fu chuan Yan 克復傳顏
 Ke Kong Fuzi shengji tu ba
 刻孔夫子聖蹟圖跋
 Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛
 Kobayashi Takahide 小林高英
 Kong Decheng 孔德成
 Kong Hongfu 孔弘復
 Kong Meng shiji tupu 孔孟事蹟圖譜
 Kongmiao 孔廟
 Kongmiao zhi kuai 孔廟植楸
 Kongmyo 孔廟
 Kong Qian 孔潛
 Kongsheng quanshu 孔聖全書
 Kongsheng tupu 孔聖圖譜
 Kong shi huatu 孔氏畫圖
 Kong Sizhe 孔嗣哲
 Kong Tao 孔滔
 Kong Xianlan 孔憲蘭
 Kong Yinzhi 孔胤植
 Kong Yunzhi 孔允植
 Kong Ze 孔澤
 Kongzhai 孔宅
 Kongzhai kaozheng 孔宅考證
 Kongzhai shengji tu 孔宅聖蹟圖
 Kongzhai tu 孔宅圖
 Kongzhai zhi 孔宅志
 Kong Zheng 孔正
 Kong Zi 孔子
 Kong Zi jian Lao Zi tu 孔子見老子圖
 Kong Zi shengji tu 孔子聖蹟圖
 Kong Zi shengji tuxiang 孔子聖蹟圖象
 Kong Zi shijia 孔子世家

- Kong Zi shi Jin xue qin yu Shi Xiang* 孔子適晉學琴於師襄
Kong Zi shiji tupu 孔子事蹟圖譜
Kong Zi shiji tushuo 孔子事蹟圖說
Kong Zi shi Zhou jian Lao Zi 孔子適周見老子
Kong Zi tupu 孔子圖譜
Kōshi gyōjō zukai 孔子行狀圖解
Kōshi issei taisei gaden 孔子一世大聖畫傳
Kōshi jiseki zukai 孔子事跡圖解
 kou 口
 Lao Zi 老子
 Liang 梁
 Liang Kai 梁楷
 lianhuantu 連環圖
Lienü zhuan 列女傳
 Li Fan 李藩
 Li Gonglin 李公麟
Lingguang dian 靈光殿
Lin tu yushu 麟吐玉書
Lin tu yushu tu 麟吐玉書圖
 Lin Youfang 蘭友芳
 Liu Xiang 劉向
 Lu 魯
 Lu'an 潞安
 Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙
Lunyu 論語
 Luo 洛
 Lu Yingyang (1) 陸應揚
 Lu Yingyang (2) 陸應陽
Lu Zou shengji ji 魯鄒聖蹟記
 Mao Fengyu 毛鳳羽
 Ma Yuan 馬遠
Meng Zi 孟子
 Meng Zi 孟子
 Mi Fu 米芾
 Mingji 名蹟
Ming shi 明史
Ming shi liezhuan 明史列傳
 Munmyo 文廟
 Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫
 nanxun 南巡
 Ni Fuying 倪甫英
Niqiu dao si 尼丘禱嗣
Nishan zhi dao 尼山致禱
Nosōng kwōllisa sajōk 魯城闕里祠事跡
 Ōkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩佛
 Qian Xingcun 錢杏村
Qilin tu yu 麒麟吐玉
Qilin tu yushu 麒麟吐玉書
Qilin yushu 麒麟玉書
Qi lue 七略
 Qingpu 青浦
Qingpu xianzhi 青浦縣志
 Qiu Ying 仇英
 Queli 闕里
Queli zhi 闕里志
 Qufu 曲阜
 Quwo 曲沃
Sanlong zhi kuai 三壟植檜
 Sensei Kō Senfu 先聖孔宣父
Shandong tongzhi 山東通志
 Shangguan Zhou 上官周
 Shao Yiren 邵以仁
 Shen 瀋
 sheng 聖

- Shengdian tu shuo 聖殿圖說
 Sheng hui quan tu 聖繪全圖
 Shengji dian 聖蹟殿
 Shengji quan tu 聖蹟全圖
 Shengji tu 聖蹟圖
 Shengji tu shuo 聖蹟圖說
 Shengji tuzan 聖蹟圖贊
 Shengji yi hui 聖蹟遺微
 Sheng xing Yan sui 聖行顏隨
 Shengzhe huaxiang ji 聖哲畫像記
 Shenzhou guoguang she 神州國光社
 Shi 詩
 Shiba Ranshū 司馬鸞洲
 shiji (accomplishments) 事跡
 Shiji 史記
 Shijing 詩經
 Shi Que 石恪
 Shiyi ji 拾遺記
 Shizhi 式之
 Shizhou 十洲
 Shōkodō 尙古堂
 shou shu bushou tu 收書不收圖
 Shu 蜀
 Shu 書
 shufang 書坊
 Shujing 書經
 Shun 舜
 Shusheng xiang 述聖像
 Si 泗
 Sima Qian 司馬遷
 Siming 四明
 sipei 四配
 Sishui 泗水
 Sōnggyungwan 成均館
 Songjiang 松江
 Sōngjōkdo 聖蹟圖
 Song shi 宋史
 Sunggyobang 崇教坊
 Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修
 Sūzanbō 嵩山房
 Tai 大
 Taiyuan 太原
 Tenmin 天民
 Tenpō 天保
 Tianlai ge 天賴閣
 Tian yun 天運
 Tong Hanchen 童漢臣
 Tongwen shuju 同文書局
 Tong zhi 通志
 Tōto shorin 東都書林
 Tuotuo 脫脫
 tupu 圖譜
 Tupu 圖譜
 tu xiao er shu ri sheng 圖消而書日盛
 Wang Deying 王德瑛
 Wang Guan 王瓘
 wangji 王蹟
 Wang Jia 王嘉
 Wang Qihan 王齊翰
 Wang Yangming 王陽明
 Wang Yuanqi 王原祁
 Wang Zhenpeng 王振鵬
 Wanping 宛平
 Wanshi shibiao 萬世師表
 Wanxiao 晚笑
 Wanxiaotang huazhuan 晚笑堂畫傳

- Wan zhang 萬章
 Wei Xian 衛賢
 Wen li Lao Dan 問禮老聃
 Wen li Lao Dan tu 問禮老聃圖
 Wenmiao 文廟
 Wen Weng 文翁
 Wen Xuan 文選
 Wu Bin 吳彬
 Wu cheng 武成
 Wu Daozi 吳道子
 Wu Liang ci 武梁祠
 Wu Wei 吳偉
 Xian 憲
 Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴
 xiang zan 像贊
 Xiao 蕭
 Xiaojing 孝經
 Xiaojing chuan Zeng 孝經傳曾
 Xiao Tong 蕭統
 Xidi shumu 西諦書目
 Xingqie Kongsheng zongshi chushen quanzhuan
 新鐫孔聖宗師出身全傳
 Xing tan 杏壇
 Xin kan Shengji tu ji 新刊聖跡圖記
 Xintai 新泰
 Xinye 莘野
 Xiong Qiyong 熊其英
 Xuansheng miao 宣聖廟
 Xu Qianxue 徐乾學
 Yang Yuwei 楊于位
 Yang Zhi 楊芝
 Yangzhou 揚州
 Yan Hui 顏回
 Yan Liben 閻立本
 Yan Yuan 顏淵
 Yan Zi cong xing 顏子從行
 Yao 堯
 Yasheng xiang 亞聖像
 Ye Gui 葉貴
 yeji 業蹟
 Yian 鷓庵
 Yicheng 以誠
 Yijing 易經
 Yishan 嶧山
 Yiwen zhi 藝文志
 Yi xiang 易象
 Yizhou 沂州
 Youquan 由拳
 Yu 禹
 Yunjian 雲間
 Yunqiao 雲樵
 yuwei 魚尾
 zan 贊
 Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
 Zeng Jize 曾紀澤
 Zeng Zi 曾子
 Zhang Cao 章草
 Zhang Fuli 張府里
 Zhanghou 章侯
 Zhang Jiude 張九德
 Zhang Kai 張楷
 Zhang Yingdeng 張應登
 Zhang Zhaosong 張肇崧
 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
 Zhaowen 兆文
 Zheng Qiao 鄭樵

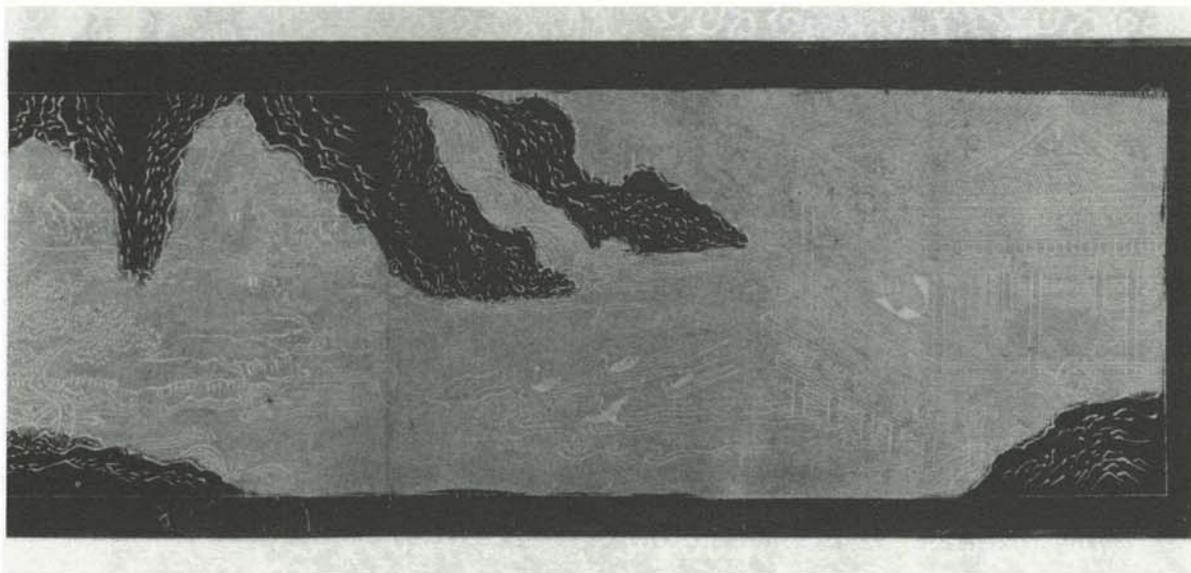
- Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸
 Zhenzong 真宗
 Zhenzong baisi 真宗拜祀
 Zhisheng xianshi Kong Zi yixiang
 至聖先師孔子遺像
 Zhizhai shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題
 Zhongguo gudai banhua congan
 中國古代版畫叢刊
 Zhongguo guji shanben shumu
 中國古籍善本書目
 Zhongguo lianhuan tuhua shihua
 中國連環圖畫史話
 Zhongni 仲尼
 Zhongshan 仲山
- Zhou Fang 周昉
 Zhu 洙
 zhuan 傳
 Zhuang Zi 莊子
 Zhu Bi 朱璧
 Zhu Xi 朱熹
 Zhu Yinyi 朱胤移
 Zhu Yunqi 朱允楨
 Zisi 子思
 Zongsheng xiang 宗聖像
 Zou 鄒
 Zuiyō 瑞陽
 Zunjingge 尊經閣

Copies, All the Way Down

Notes on the Early Transmission of Calligraphy by Wang Xizhi

ROBERT E. HARRIST JR.

A pictorial rubbing from the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), in the collection of the National Library of China, illustrates the most famous event in the history of Chinese calligraphy, the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion (figure 1).¹ Hosted by the calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303–361), this party devoted to composing poems, drinking wine, and viewing landscape scenery took place in the spring of 353. At the end of the party Wang collected the poems written by his guests and commemorated the occasion in a prose essay known as the *Lanting ji xu* (Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection), an inspired performance of calligraphic art that Wang himself considered his greatest work.² For over sixteen hundred years, Chinese critics and connoisseurs have viewed the *Preface* as a shining embodiment of one of the highest ideals of the art of calligraphy—the attainment of spontaneous, untrammelled creativity. In the *Preface*, and in various other informal texts, especially his personal letters, Wang Xizhi was thought to have achieved an unimpeded circuitry of self-expression flowing from mind, to hand, to brush. In the words of the critic and theorist of calligraphy Sun Guoting (648?–703), when Wang wrote the *Preface* “his thoughts roamed and his spirit soared.”³

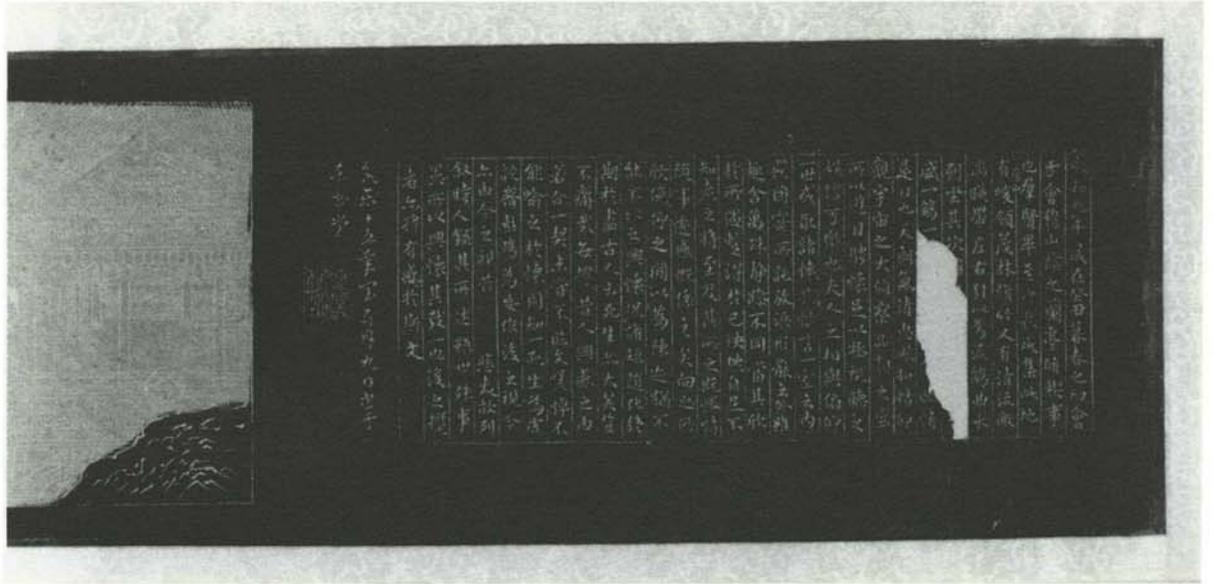


1. *Lanting xiuxi tu* (Illustration of the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion). Based on a composition attributed to Li Gonglin (1041–1106); copied by Zhu Youdun (1379–1439) in 1417. Handscroll, ink rubbing on paper. Height, 22.1 cm. Date of rubbing unknown. National Library of China, Beijing. Photo: National Library of China, Queens Borough Public Library. *Visible Traces* catalogue, no. 41.

It is this state of creative exhilaration that the image in the rubbing evokes. Wang Xizhi is seen seated in the Orchid Pavilion watching swimming geese, whose graceful movements were said to have inspired his calligraphy. A fresh sheet of paper spread on his desk, he collects his thoughts before beginning to write.⁴

Mounted before the pictorial scene in the National Library of China's handscroll is a rubbing that preserves the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi's now-lost manuscript (figure 2). Known as the *Dingwu ben* (Dingwu version), the rubbing is believed to be based on a copy made in the seventh century, carved on stone, and later preserved at Dingwu in modern Hebei province.⁵ Unlike Wang's fabled manuscript, the rubbing was not the product of spontaneous invention: it was made through the slow, laborious effort demanded by the rubbing process, and its value lies in the faithfulness with which it is assumed to replicate the appearance of Wang Xizhi's writing.

The visualization of Wang Xizhi's famous party and the shapes of the characters he wrote that day are familiar elements in a remarkably powerful and cohesive cultural tradition in China.⁶ The history of Wang's



2. After Wang Xizhi (303–361). *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection*. 353. Based on the Dingwu stone engraving. Handscroll, ink rubbing on paper. Height, 22.1 cm. Date of rubbing unknown. National Library of China, Beijing. Photo: National Library of China, Queens Borough Public Library.

Preface embodies, however, two paradoxes: the first concerns the nature of writing itself; the second concerns the means through which people acquired knowledge of Wang Xizhi's style.

Although creativity and personal expression are supremely valued achievements in calligraphy, the characters of Wang's *Preface* were not his original inventions: each was based on a preexisting configuration of graphic patterns transmitted from calligrapher to calligrapher over many centuries. Consider the character *tian* or "heaven." Originating as a pictographic representation of a human figure, the character appears in a bronze inscription of the Western Zhou period (1045–771 BCE) in essentially the same form used by Wang Xizhi in his *Preface* (figures 3A and B). The shapes of the strokes and the proportions of the elements that make up the character differ strikingly in the two examples: the bronze inscription, written in seal script, was produced by a stylus that made incisions in the surface of the clay used to cast the vessel, whereas the same character in Wang's *Preface*, in standard script, was written with a brush. In spite of the differences of media and script type, and in spite of the some thousand years separating the two acts of writing, the basic structure of the character, its graphic DNA, so to speak, was transmitted



3A.



3B.

3A. The character *tian* (heaven). Detail from a bronze inscription. Western Zhou period (1045–771 BCE). Photo from *Shodō zenshū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1966–1969), vol. I, plate 65.

3B. The character *tian* (heaven). Detail from figure 2.

unchanged. This continuity illustrates that once a character came into general use, all subsequent acts of writing it were (and always will be) acts of copying, of reproducing preexisting forms.⁷ The inescapability of replication in the history of writing calls to mind a story recounted by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz. Asking about Indian views of cosmology, a literal-minded Englishman was told that the world rests on a platform, which rests on the back of an elephant, which rests in turn on the back of a turtle. When he asked what was under the turtle, he was told there is another turtle. And below that? “Ah Sahib, after that it is turtles all the way down.”⁸

One could say of Chinese calligraphy that it, too, is copies, all the way down. This means that when Wang Xizhi brushed his immortal masterpiece on that splendid spring day in 353, spacing the characters with unerring sureness, shaping the silhouettes of the strokes as they had never been shaped before, quickening every dot and line with the genius of his invention, he was, nevertheless, working from top to bottom, right to left, observing the same stroke order a beginning calligrapher still uses today, reproducing the patterns of lines, dots, and hooks that he had learned from his teacher, Wei Furen (Madam Wei; 272–349), which she had learned from hers, on back, turtlelike, into the history of Chinese writing. Although it is true that the seemingly infinite variations produced by the brushwork of an individual writer result in a distinctive personal “touch” that some have likened to the timbre of the singing voice, at the level of the characters themselves the writer’s individuality and freedom of invention are virtually nil.⁹

Just as writing itself depends on the replication of preexisting forms, the transmission of famous works, most notably Wang's *Preface*, has depended on processes of copying. As early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE–CE 220) people seem to have begun to think of calligraphy as a fine art, more or less in the way we understand that elusive concept today; but it was not until the early Six Dynasties period (222–589) that what might be termed a “culture” of calligraphy took shape—a set of practices that included the emergence of a critical discourse on calligraphy, the formation of collections of calligraphy, and the appearance of a burgeoning art market in which pieces of calligraphy became valuable commodities.¹⁰ It is from precisely this period that we begin to find records of people making copies of calligraphy that were mistaken for originals. According to a story recorded by Yu He (fl. ca. 470) in his *Lunshu biao* (Memorial on Calligraphy), among the first to become confused by the existence of these copies was none other than Wang Xizhi:

[Wang] Xizhi himself wrote a memorial to emperor Mu (Mudi; r. 344–361). The emperor had Zhang Yi make a copy of it, which differed not by a single hair. He then wrote an answer after [the copied memorial and returned it to Wang]. At first, Xizhi did not recognize [it was a copy]. He examined it more closely, then sighed and said: “This fellow almost confounded the real!”¹¹

Scholars and connoisseurs who despair over sorting out originals from copies today should be both humbled and comforted by this story: if Wang Xizhi got confused, how can others expect to avoid making mistakes?

Emperor Mu's little joke heralded a proliferation of copies produced in response to a growing demand for Wang's calligraphy during the decades immediately following his death. Some copies were made for the purpose of preserving and transmitting Wang's style, but others were intended to deceive and deserve to be considered forgeries.¹² Yu He records that certain shameless followers of Liu Yizong (d. 444), who bore the noble title marquis of Hui, learned to copy Wang's calligraphy. After soaking these copies in dirty water to make them look old, the forgers sold their handiwork to the marquis, whose collection came to consist

mainly of these bogus works.¹³ Although imitations of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy that were pure fabrications, not copies of preexisting works, most likely were produced by forgers at this early point in the transmission of Wang's writing, sources from the Six Dynasties rarely mention them explicitly. Far more attention was devoted to recording the production and circulation of copies.¹⁴

Copyists had at their disposal two processes through which to reproduce calligraphy.¹⁵ In the process known as *lin*, literally "to look down over," a copyist studies an original piece of calligraphy, usually placing it next to the paper or silk on which the copy is to be made and reproduces the shapes of the characters freehand, just as a student calligrapher imitates a model in order to perfect his own writing. Although an expert copyist can produce a striking likeness of an original, freehand copying is far less exact than tracing processes known by the general term *mo*. To make a tracing, the copyist places a sheet of paper over the original calligraphy and traces the characters stroke by stroke. The most precise and the most laborious method of tracing is known as *shuanggou kuotian*, "outline and fill-in," also sometimes called *shuanggou motian*, or "outline and ink fill-in." In this process, for which paper coated with a thin layer of wax to make it semitransparent was sometimes used, the copyist begins by outlining the silhouettes of each character, taking care to observe even the most minute inflections of the original brush strokes. In one refinement of this method, called *xiangta*, the copyist places the original in front of a window to make it easier to see through the tracing paper. After the outlining is complete, the shapes of the characters are filled in with ink.

The *shuanggou kuotian* process for copying calligraphy was in use by no later than the early sixth century, when it was mentioned by the Daoist master and calligraphy expert Tao Hongjing (452–536) in his correspondence on calligraphy with the Liang-dynasty emperor Wudi (r. 502–549).¹⁶ As Lothar Ledderose has noted, Tao Hongjing also refers to the tracing process in his *Zhèn'gào* (Declarations of the Perfected), a compilation of texts associated with the Shangqing sect of Daoism:

People today know about tracing model calligraphy by the two Wangs but have absolutely no understanding of tracing the

Scriptures of the Perfected. In fact this began with me. Furthermore, it is not always necessary to outline first and then fill in; one has only to use a single brush stroke to achieve a sense of kinetic force that scarcely differs from the original. As to talismans [*fu*], however, regardless of whether they are large or small, they should always be outlined and then filled in.¹⁷

Tao Hongjing's principal concern was the accurate replication of scriptures and talismans through the outline and fill-in process, but he specifically states that this technique was first used to replicate calligraphy by the "two Wangs"—Wang Xizhi and his almost equally famous son, Wang Xianzhi (344–388).

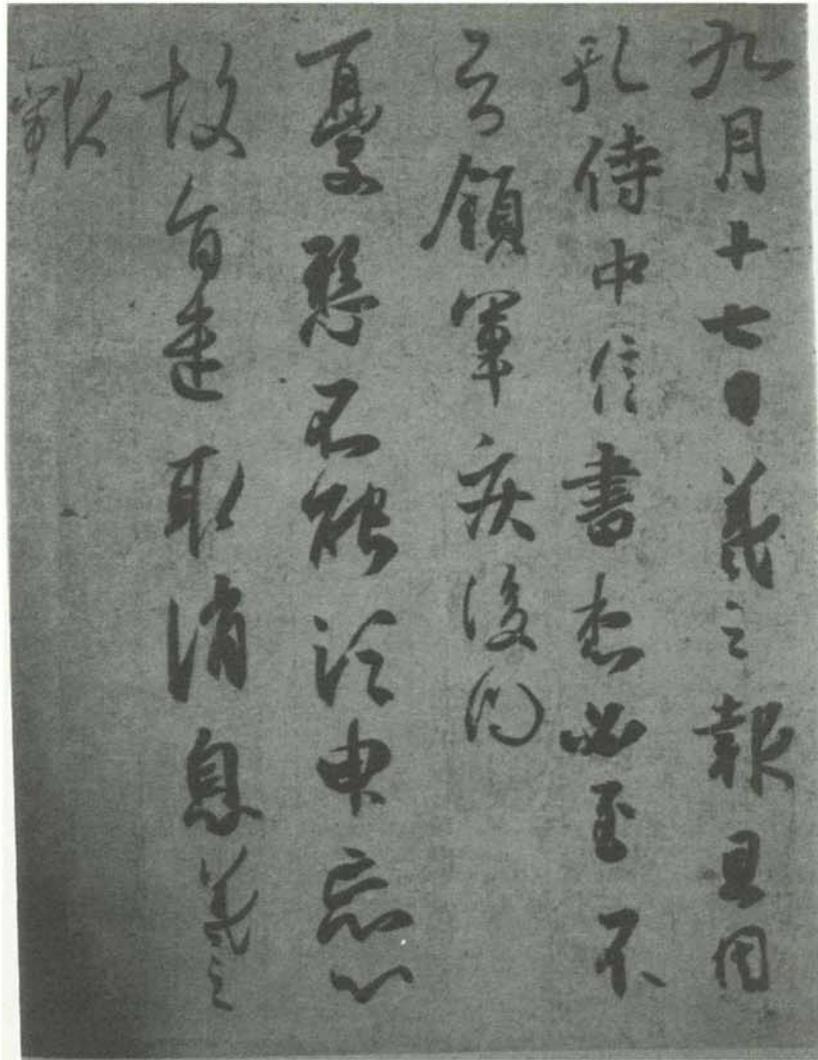
Unlike woodblock printing, invented in China no later than the seventh century CE, tracing requires no intermediate steps of engraving and printing. Considered within the context of world art, the tracing method of reproducing calligraphy seems to be unique in its accuracy and efficiency. Although artists in medieval Europe and in China used tracings to transfer designs from one surface to another, the traced pattern was not the finished work but merely a preliminary step yielding a visual guide or under drawing.¹⁸ And unlike a modern photographic image produced when light reflected from an object leaves an impression on the chemically treated surface of film, a calligraphic tracing is always the same size as the form it reproduces owing to the material contiguity of artifact and replica. Even when a copy is made from an earlier copy, this material linkage is maintained, like genes passed down in a family, or a handshake linking an individual to "the man who shook the hand of the man who shook the hand of Chairman Mao."¹⁹ At least in theory, all the traced copies of the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection*, and, as we will see, all the rubbings made from these copies, retain this bond with the original calligraphy.

The history of critical responses to Wang Xizhi can be charted through records of how and when his works were copied, beginning during his own lifetime. Copies continued to be made during the later Six Dynasties, especially during the reign of the calligraphy-loving Liang-dynasty emperor Wudi, who commanded Tao Hongjing and other experts to make copies of Wang's letters and of his transcription of the

“Yue Yi lun” (Essay on Yue Yi).²⁰ What might be called the golden age of tracing, the Tang dynasty (618–907), was also the period during which Wang’s status in the history of calligraphy was codified for all time through the intervention of the emperor Taizong (r. 627–649). Not only did Taizong assemble a huge collection of Wang’s calligraphy, he also sponsored the production of numerous copies that were disseminated during the Tang dynasty and later became invaluable records of lost original works.

Copying played an important role in the history of Taizong’s ownership of his most prized possession, the original manuscript of the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection*. It was after seeing a copy of the manuscript that Taizong resolved to acquire the original by means fair or foul, dispatching the imperial censor Xiao Yi (fl. ca. 626–649) to steal it from the elderly monk Biancai (fl. ca. 600–649)—the most notorious act of trickery in the history of Chinese art collecting.²¹ In 636, Taizong had copies of the *Preface* made at his court and conferred these on various high-ranking ministers and imperial relatives.²² The eighth-century authors who record these events use the word *ta* to refer to copies of the *Preface*. Although some scholars translate this word as “rubbing,” Nakata Yūjirō demonstrates that it actually designated ink copies, not rubbings. He argues also that the post of *tashu ren* or *tashu shou* established at Taizong’s court should be understood to mean “copyist,” not “rubbing maker,” the translation used in Charles Hucker’s dictionary of official titles.²³

In addition to the *Preface*, private letters by Wang Xizhi and other aristocrats of the Six Dynasties were reproduced through tracing copies at Taizong’s court and at the courts of his imperial successors. Extant examples believed to date from the Tang period include artifacts with truly remarkable pedigrees. One of these is the letter known as *Kong Shizhong tie* (Palace Attendant Kong; see figure 4).²⁴ Mounted with two other traced letters, this work is among copies of Wang Xizhi’s calligraphy that have been in Japan since the eighth century. The letter bears a seal of the emperor Kanmu (r. 781–806) from the Enryaku reign period (782–806), but the original calligraphy from which the letter was traced in China was owned by none other than the Tang emperor Taizong, and its opening passage is quoted in the inventory of Taizong’s collection



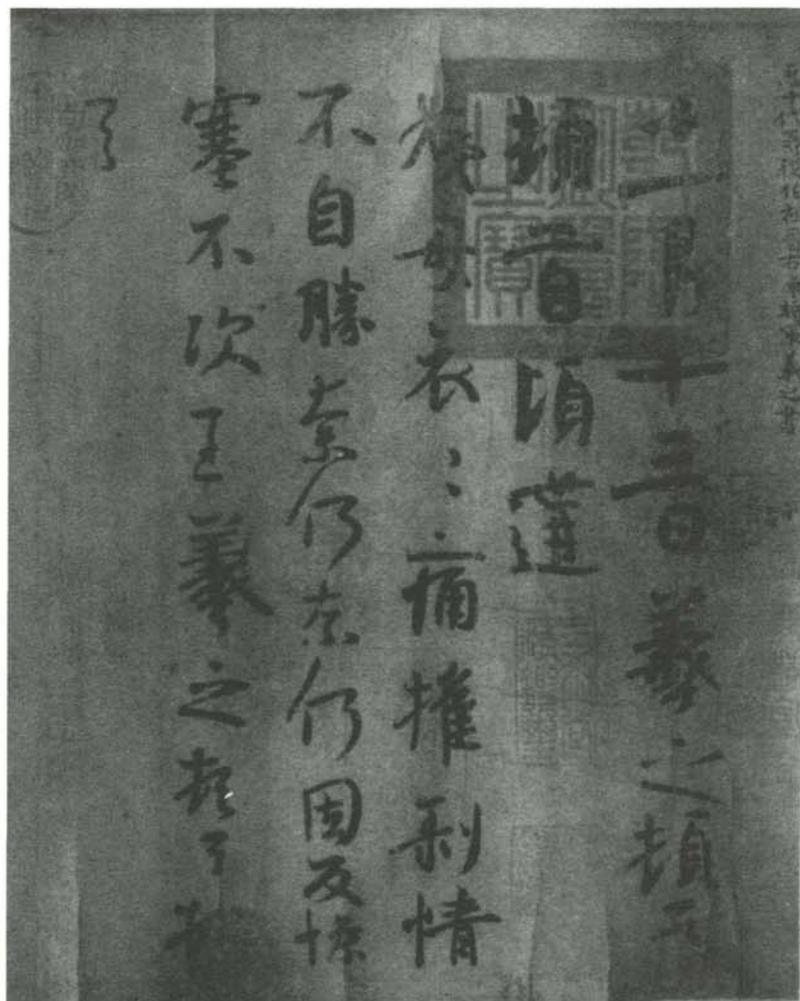
4. After Wang Xizhi. *Kong shizhong tie*. Tracing copy from the Tang dynasty. Handscroll, ink on paper. Height, 26.9 cm. Private collection, Tokyo. Photo from *Shufa zhuanke bian*, in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), vol. 2, plate 50, p. 83.

compiled by Chu Suiliang (596–658), a leading calligrapher of the seventh century.²⁵

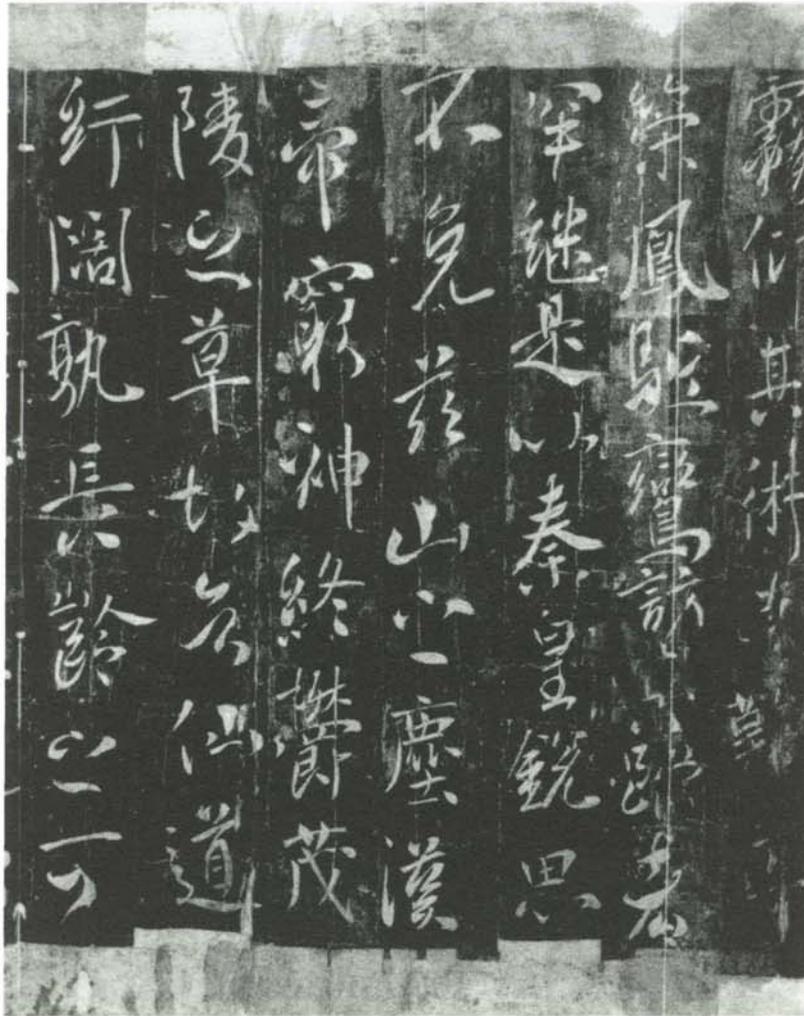
Another famous letter preserved in Japan, *Sangluan tie* (Disorder during Mourning), also bears a seal of the Enryaku period.²⁶ Although it does not appear among the titles in Chu Suiliang's inventory, the partial signatures of calligraphy experts of the Liang-dynasty court still visible on the letter lead some scholars to argue that it might be a tracing copy from the sixth century; it seems more likely, however, that these signatures were copied along with the original letter during the reign of Taizong. Partial signatures of Liang- and Sui-dynasty connoisseurs appear also on three letters recorded as separate items by Chu Suiliang that were combined as tracings in a single scroll, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.²⁷ Another set of tracings, dated 697, was produced during the reign of the Tang empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) and preserve calligraphy presented to the court by a certain Wang Fangqing (d. 702), a descendant of Wang Xizhi. The original letters, which were returned to Wang Fangqing after the tracing project was complete, vanished long ago. The first item in this set of tracings is the letter *Yimu tie* (My Great Aunt; see figure 5), which some scholars have argued represents the early style of Wang Xizhi.²⁸

In addition to tracings, rubbings played an important role in disseminating knowledge of calligraphy by Wang Xizhi. Although the technical means to produce rubbings from engraved or cast inscriptions became available as soon as paper was invented, no later than the second century CE, the early history of this process is surprisingly murky. Thomas Francis Carter probably was correct when he argued many years ago that “the practice [of making rubbings] began not so very long before the date of the earliest rubbings found—perhaps in the sixth century.”²⁹ The earliest indisputable evidence for the production of rubbings is an example found at Dunhuang bearing an inscription datable to 654. Known as *Wenquan ming* (Eulogy on the Hot Springs), this rubbing was taken from a stele engraved with the calligraphy of none other than the Tang emperor Taizong himself (see figure 6).³⁰

The initial steps in the process of replicating a piece of calligraphy as a rubbing are the same as those necessary to make a tracing copy. A sheet of translucent paper is placed over the original writing, and the



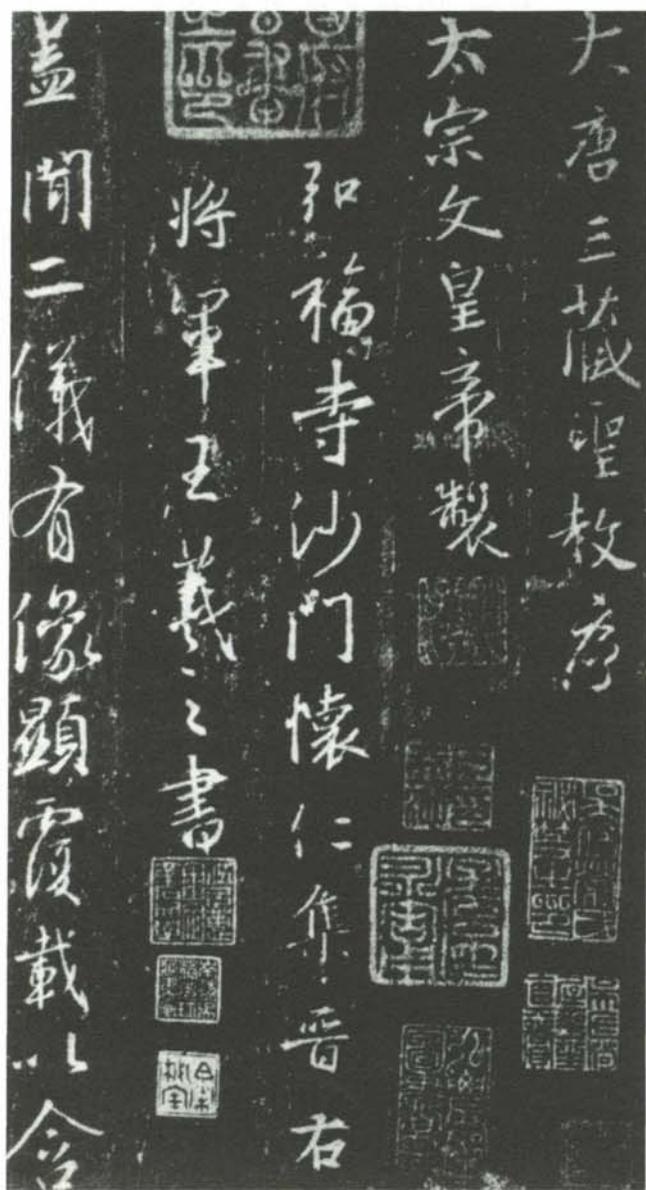
5. After Wang Xizhi. *Yimu tie*. Tracing copy from the Tang dynasty. Handscroll, ink on paper. Height, 26.3 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang. Photo from *Shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2, plate 43, p. 72.



6. Emperor Tang Taizong. *Wenquan ming*, 648. Rubbing of a stone stele. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Photo from *Shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 3, no. 34, p. 70.

characters are carefully outlined. According to the contemporary scholar Wang Zhuanghong the next step is to outline the characters again on the back of the paper using vermilion pigment, often referred to as cinnabar.³¹ In a description of this process the Southern Song poet and author of a treatise on calligraphy Jiang Kui (ca. 1155–ca. 1221) advised that “in filling in the outlines or putting cinnabar on the back of the paper, one must faithfully duplicate the thickness or thinness of the original [strokes].”³² Once the outlining in red is complete, the paper is pressed onto the surface of a stone coated with wax and ink that pick up the shapes of the outlined characters. Guided by these shapes, engravers incise the stone. A rubbing is made by placing a sheet of paper over the stone and tamping it with an ink pad to produce vivid white silhouettes of the engraved characters set off against the black background that corresponds to the flat, unengraved areas of the stone. Exactly the same process is used for reproducing calligraphy on wood, a process that the Ming-dynasty connoisseur Sun Kuang (1543–1613) labeled the “Five Barriers” (*wu zhang*) separating the original from the rubbing: tracing the characters on a sheet of paper, outlining on the back with red pigment, transferring the outlined characters to wood or stone, carving, and finally making the rubbing.³³ A calligraphic rubbing cannot be mistaken for an ink-written original, as a tracing copy easily can be; rubbings do retain, though less directly, a material link to the original works they reproduce through the interface of original to tracing paper, tracing paper to stone, and stone back to paper in the form of the rubbing.

The *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection* and a set of letters by Wang Xizhi known collectively as *Shiqi tie* (On the Seventeenth) may have been carved on stone and reproduced as rubbings at the court of Taizong, though evidence for this is ambiguous.³⁴ A far better documented example of calligraphy by Wang carved on stone during the Tang period is the stele titled *Shengjiao xu* (Preface to the Sacred Teachings). Carved in 672, the stele is preserved today in the Forest of Stelae (Beilin) in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum (figure 7).³⁵ The text of the stele includes the Tang emperor Taizong’s preface to a translation of sutras prepared by the Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang (ca. 599–664), an expression of gratitude written by Xuanzang himself, and a record of these events by the emperor Gaozong (r. 649–684). The production of



7. *Ji Wang shu Shengjiao xu* (Preface to the Sacred Teachings in the Calligraphy of Wang Xizhi). Rubbing from a stone stele dated 672. Photo from *Zhongguo shufa quanji* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1991), vol. 18, plate 128, p. 214.

the stele required three steps. The Buddhist monk Huairen (fl. ca. 672), said to be a descendant of Wang Xizhi, selected characters from various works by Wang, including *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection* and *Disorder during Mourning*, and collated these to yield a transcription of the texts to be carved on the stele. Zhuge Shenli (fl. ca. 672) carried out the work of tracing the characters onto the stone, after which the carving was done by Zhu Jingcang (fl. ca. 672). Consisting of 760 different characters, the *Preface to the Sacred Teachings* came to serve as an authoritative compendium of Wang Xizhi calligraphy that could be disseminated through rubbings taken from its surface.

The history of collecting rubbings into volumes known as “model calligraphies” (*fatie*) began in the Song dynasty (960–1279) with the production of the ten-volume *Chunhua bige fatie* (Model Calligraphies from the Imperial Archives of the Chunhua Era) sponsored by the Song emperor Taizong (r. 976–997).³⁶ Over half the calligraphy in this anthology consisted of works by Wang Xizhi and his son Wang Xianzhi. Rubbings of calligraphy by Wang Xizhi continued to dominate the hundreds of anthologies produced by the imperial court and by private connoisseurs in later centuries. The scale on which calligraphy by Wang Xizhi was reproduced through engravings and rubbings can be surmised from a statement in one of thirteen colophons written by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) for a version of the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection*:

When the Song had not yet crossed the river (before the fall of the Northern Song in 1127), all the literati had [a copy of the *Preface*]. When the stone engraving was lost, every family of connoisseurs in Jiangnan had a stone cut. There is no way to know how many tens of hundreds of versions were made, and it began to be hard to tell apart the real and the fake.³⁷

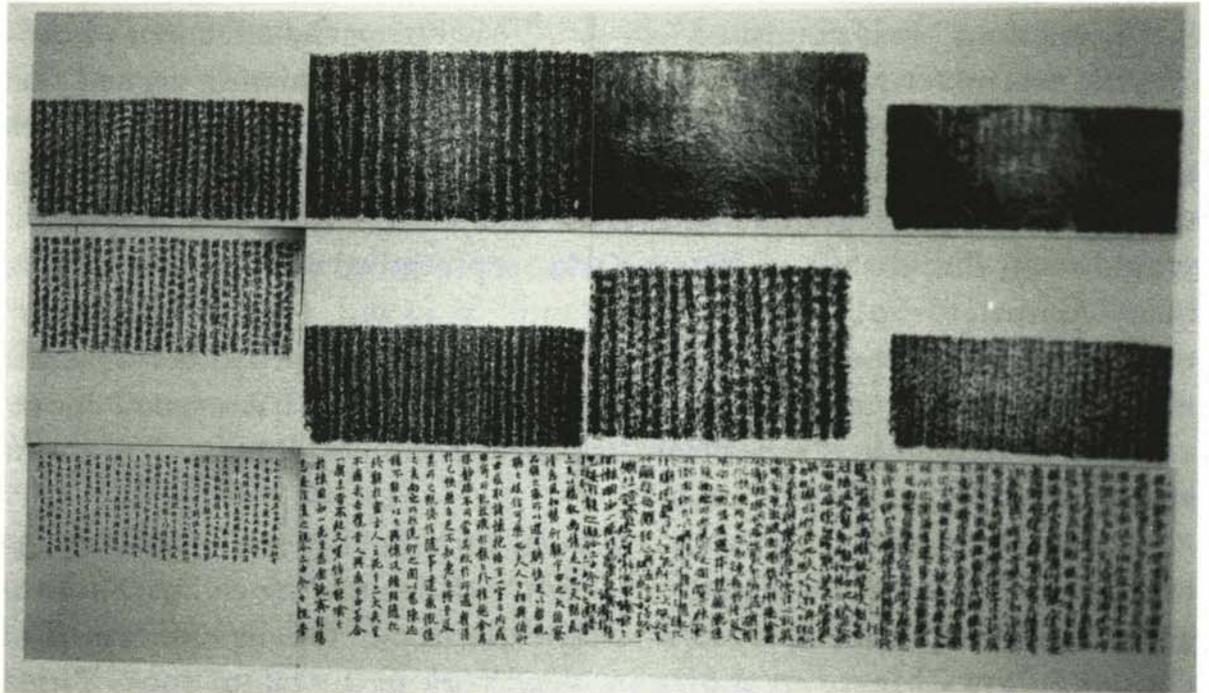
What these rubbings printed in large numbers achieved was a means of spreading knowledge of Wang’s calligraphy faster and more economically than the use of tracings alone could allow.

The multiplication of tracings and rubbings of calligraphy by Wang Xizhi calls to mind modern phenomena discussed in the famous essay by Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical

Reproduction," first published in 1936.³⁸ Analyzing the effects of photographic reproduction on the status of works of art, Benjamin argued that the quality he called an "aura," the near-sacred power associated with unique, original works of art, became fatally diluted through the mass circulation of photographic images. If Benjamin's theory is correct, it would seem that the art of Wang Xizhi, reproduced continuously for so many centuries, should have lost its "aura" long ago. Instead, the "aura" of Wang Xizhi actually increased, indeed, was created by, the dissemination of copies and rubbings. As David Freedberg has argued in his critique of Benjamin, "repetition, sheer repetition . . . engenders a new and compelling aura of its own."³⁹

Surely one of the most interesting, though also one of the strangest, of recent commentaries on the practice of replicating calligraphy was an installation produced by Qiu Zhijie (b. 1969) for an exhibition of contemporary Chinese art shown in New York in the fall of 1998. Titled *Writing the Orchid Pavilion Preface One Thousand Times*, Qiu's installation included video documentation and brush-written calligraphy. Like thousands, perhaps millions, of calligraphers before him, working in the method classified as *lin* rather than *mo*, Qiu performed the ritualistic act of replicating the brushwork of Wang's famous manuscript. Qiu's *One Thousand Copies* were not, however, on separate sheets of paper: instead, Qiu copied the *Preface* one thousand times on the *same* sheet of paper (figure 8). By the time his project was done, the overlaid copies had yielded not a replica of Wang's masterpiece but an impenetrable field of ink on which no calligraphy at all could be detected. According to Wu Hung, Qiu Zhijie has studied theories of postmodernism and deconstruction and is interested in making himself and his art seem invisible.⁴⁰ But paradoxically, Qiu makes *visible* the process of copying and calls attention to this act, even as he makes all vestiges of his model disappear.

What would Wang Xizhi make of this young artist's work? Perhaps Wang would say, as he said when tricked by the copy of his memorial to the Jin-dynasty emperor Mu: "This fellow almost confounded the real!" But far from confounding the real, Qiu Zhijie forces us to ponder, all the way down, the nature of invention and repetition, original and copy, in the art of calligraphy.



8. Qiu Zhijie, *Writing the "Orchid Pavilion Preface" One Thousand Times*. 1986–1997. Installation with video documentation and ink on paper calligraphy; installation approx. 500 x 500 cm.; calligraphy 75 x 180 cm. Photo from Gao Minglu, ed., *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*. Exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Asia Society Galleries, New York (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), plate 8.

NOTES

1. Philip K. Hu, ed., *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, 2000), no. 41, pp. 150–154. For an extensive bibliography concerning this rubbing, see p. 270.
2. The *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Collection* is the subject of a vast bibliography. For the best account in English, see Lothar Ledderose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 19–24. See also Kanda Kiichirō, ed., *Shodō zenshū*, 3rd ed., 26 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1966–1969), vol. 4, pp. 158–164, and Liu Zhengzheng, ed., *Zhongguo shufa quanji* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1991), vol. 18, pp. 35–40, vol. 19, pp. 353–355.
3. Sun Guoting, *Shupu*, in Chang Ch'ung-ho and Hans H. Frankel, trans., *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 10–11.
4. *Visible Traces*, p. 152. Note that Wang Xizhi appears again in the pictorial composition, as the second seated figure on the far bank of the stream.
5. *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 163; *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, p. 354.
6. For the concept of a “culture of calligraphy,” see Robert E. Harrist Jr., “A

- Letter from Wang Hsi-chih and the Culture of Chinese Calligraphy," in Robert E. Harrist Jr., Wen C. Fong, et al., *The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John B. Elliott Collection at Princeton University* (Princeton, N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 241-257.
7. The *Shuowen jiezi*, 15 juan, compiled by Xu Shen, of 100 CE, contains 9,353 characters; the dictionary *Leipian*, 45 juan, attributed to Sima Guang, actually compiled and edited by Wang Zhu, Hu Su, et al., of 1066, has 31,319. Clearly, *somebody* was inventing characters, although, according to Endymion Wilkinson, who cites these figures, "an unchanging core of no more than a few hundred basic characters have remained the most frequently used since the Shang dynasty to the present day." Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series, 46 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 47.
 8. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 28-29.
 9. Lothar Ledderose points out the essential role of copying in Chinese calligraphy in *Mi Fu*, p. 33, and in *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 196-199.
 10. Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, pp. 28-33. For the growing importance of calligraphy during the Han dynasty, see Michael Nylan, "Calligraphy, the Sacred Text and Test of Culture," in Cary Y. Liu, Dora C. Y. Ching, and Judith Smith, eds., *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton, N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 17-77.
 11. Yu He, "Lunshu biao," in Zhang Yanyuan (ninth century), comp., *Fashu yaolu*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), vol. 1, p. 39. For a slightly different translation, see Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, p. 37.
 12. I proceed here on the assumption that a forgery is not simply an artifact but a set of circumstances through which an act of deception takes place. See my essay "The Aesthetics of Replication and Deception in Calligraphy of the Six Dynasties Period" (forthcoming).
 13. Yu He, "Lunshu biao," p. 38.
 14. Harrist, "The Aesthetics of Replication and Deception."
 15. Among the studies of early copies and forgeries on which I have relied are Erik Zürcher, "Imitation and Forgery in Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy," *Oriental Art*, n.s. 1, no. 4 (Winter 1955), pp. 141-146; Wen C. Fong, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 25 (1962), pp. 95-140; Nakata Yūjirō, *Chūgoku shoronsū* (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1970), pp. 251-266; Fu Shen et al., *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1977), pp. 3-39; and Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, pp. 33-39.
 16. Tao Hongjing, *Tao Yinju yu Liang Wudi lunshu qi*, in *Fashu yaolu*, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, vol. 1, pp. 40-42.
 17. Tao Hongjing, *Zhen'gao*, in *Zhengtong Daozang* (1436-1449; reprint, Taipei:

- Yiwen yinshuguan, 1962), *juan* 20, p. 1b; trans. Michel Strickman, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy," *T'oung Pao* 63, no. 1 (1977), p. 56 (adapted), cited by Lothar Ledderose, "Some Taoist Elements in the Calligraphy of the Six Dynasties," *T'oung Pao* 70 (1984), pp. 271-272.
18. On tracing and pouncing techniques in European painting, see James Douglas Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Illuminator*, Nova Studies in the Humanities (Nova-NYIT University Press, 1976). Concerning the use of similar processes in China, see Sarah Fraser, "Formulas of Creativity: Artists' Sketches and Techniques of Copying at Dunhuang," *Artibus Asiae* 59, nos. 3-4 (2000), pp. 189-224, and, by the same author, "The Artist's Practice in Tang Dynasty China," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996.
 19. During the Cultural Revolution shaking hands with anyone who had shaken hands with Chairman Mao was considered a special honor. Weizhi Lu, personal communication, September 4, 2000.
 20. *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 153; *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, pp. 366-368.
 21. Han Chuang (John Hay), "Hsiao I Gets the Lan-t'ing Manuscript by a Confidence Trick," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 5, no. 3 (July-August 1970); 5, no. 6 (January-February 1971).
 22. He Yanzhi, *Lanting ji*, in *Fashu yaolu*, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, vol. 1, pp. 57-58, and Liu Su (fl. 742-745), *Sui Tang jiahua*, ed. Sheng Zhongjian et al., in *Zhongguo litai biji xiaoshuo xuanyi congshu* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 159.
 23. Nakata, *Chūgoku shoronshū*, pp. 255-256. Cf. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), no. 6125, p. 475.
 24. *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 165; *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, p. 361.
 25. Chu Suiliang, *Jin Youjun Wang Xizhi shumū*, in *Fashu yaolu*, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, vol. 1, p. 49. Chu Suiliang records that this letter had eight lines, whereas the extant letter has only six. The opening lines of the text are the same, however, and most scholars accept the letter now in Japan as a copy of the one in the Tang imperial collection.
 26. The letter known as *Disorder during Mourning* is mounted with tracings of two other letters. See Eugene Wang, "The Taming of the Shrew: Wang Hsi-chih (303-361) and Calligraphic Gentrification in the Seventh Century," in Liu, Ching, and Smith, *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, pp. 133-173.
 27. *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 165-167; *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, pp. 359-360.
 28. *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, pp. 355-356.
 29. Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Ronald Press, 1925), p. 23, n. 4.
 30. Other early rubbings believed to date from the Tang dynasty include Ouyang Xun (557-641), *Huadusi Yong chanshi ta ming* (Record of the Pagoda for the Chan Master Yong of the Huadu Temple), *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 7, plates 44-45; and Liu Gongquan (778-865), *Jingang jing* (Diamond Sutra), *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 10, plates 82-83. Both are in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.
 31. Wang Zhuanghong, *Beitie jianbie changshi* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985), p. 9.

32. Jiang Kui, *Xu Shupu*, in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises*, p. 25.
33. Fu Shen et al., *Traces of the Brush*, p. 4. For the term "five barriers," see Sun Kuang, *Shuhua baba*, in *Yishu shangjian xuanzhen xuji* (Taipei: Hanhua wenhua shiye yanxian gongsi, 1971), *juan* 2b, p. 1a (p. 111).
34. Wang Zhuanghong, *Beitie jianbie changshi*, pp. 9–10.
35. *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 8, pp. 167–168; *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, pp. 408–409. See also Wang Qile, "Da Tang sancang shengjiao xu yu Wang Xizhi zhi shufa," in Liu Zhengcheng, ed., *Wang Xizhi yanjiu lunwen ji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 1993), pp. 116–125. The stele is known by several different names. See *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 19, p. 408. For a second stele based on characters collated from works by Wang Xizhi, *Xingfusi bei* (Stele of the Xingfu Temple), see *ibid.*, pp. 409–410.
36. Amy McNair, "The Engraved Model-Letters Compendia of the Song Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 2 (1994), pp. 210–212.
37. Zhao Mengfu, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, ed. Ren Daobin, in *Liangze zuojia wencong* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 253.
38. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited and with an introduction by Hannah Arendt; translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), pp. 217–251.
39. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 126.
40. Wu Hung, *Transience: Chinese Experimental Art at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 1999), pp. 171–172.

GLOSSARY

Beilin 碑林	<i>Huadusi Yong chanshi ta ming</i>
Biancai 辨才	化度寺邕禪師塔銘
<i>Chunhua bige fatie</i> 淳化秘閣法帖	Huairan 懷仁
Chu Suiliang 褚遂良	Hui 惠
<i>Dingwu ben</i> 定武本	Hu Su 胡宿
Enryaku 延曆	Jiang Kui 姜夔
<i>Fashu yaolu</i> 法書要錄	Jiangnan 江南
fatie 法帖	<i>Jingang jing</i> 金剛經
fu 符	<i>Jin Youjun Wang Xizhi shumu</i>
Gaozong 高宗	晉右軍王羲之書目
He Yanzhi 何延之	<i>Ji Wang shu Shengjiao xu</i> 集王書聖教序

- Kanmu 桓武
 Kong Shizhong tie 孔侍中帖
 Lanting ji 蘭亭記
 Lanting ji xu 蘭亭集序
 Lanting xiuxi tu 蘭亭脩禊圖
 Leipian 類篇
 lin 臨
 Liu Gongquan 柳公權
 Liu Su 劉劼
 Liu Yizong 劉義宗
 Lunshu biao 論書表
 mo 墨
 Mudi 穆帝
 Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎
 Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢
 Qiu Zhijie 丘志傑
 Sangluan tie 喪亂帖
 Shangqing 上清
 Shengjiao xu 聖教序
 Shiqi tie 十七帖
 shuanggou kuotian 雙鉤廓填
 shuanggou motian 雙鉤墨填
 Shuowen jiezi 說文解字
 Shupu 書譜
 Sima Guang 司馬光
 Sui Tang jiahua 隋唐嘉話
 Sun Guoting 孫過庭
 Sun Kuang 孫鑛
 ta 搨
 tashu ren 搨書人
 tashu shou 搨書手
 Taizong (r. 976-997) 太宗
 Taizong (r. 627-649) 太宗
 Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
 Tao Yinju yu Liang Wudi lushu qi
 陶隱居與梁武帝論書啓
 tian 天
 Wang Fangqing 王方慶
 Wang Xianzhi 王獻之
 Wang Xizhi 王羲之
 Wang Zhu 王洙
 Wang Zhuanghong 王壯弘
 Wei Furen 衛夫人
 Wenquan ming 溫泉銘
 Wudi 武帝
 Wu Zetian 武則天
 wu zhang 五障
 xiangta 嚮揚
 Xiao Yi 蕭翼
 Xingfusi bei 興福寺碑
 Xu Shen 許慎
 Xu Shupu 續書譜
 Xuanzang 玄奘
 Yimu tie 姨母帖
 Yu He 虞龢
 Yue Yi lun 樂毅論
 Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠
 Zhang Yi 張翼
 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
 Zhao Mengfu ji 趙孟頫集
 Zhuge Shenli 諸葛神力
 Zhu Youdun 朱有燉
 Zhen'gao 真誥
 Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏
 Zhu Jingcang 朱靜藏

The Non-Han Peoples in Chinese History

EVELYN S. RAWSKI

The term “non-Han” is relatively new. In the late nineteenth century, thinkers like Liang Qichao (1873–1929) used the term “Han” to claim that the “yellow race” was led by the Han people, who “were the initiators of civilization and had civilized the whole of Asia.”¹ In his early revolutionary efforts, Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) used the term “Han” to denote a race. Today, just who is Han and who is or was not Han is a complex issue of self-identity. Applying the term to earlier periods raises a host of complex issues. For example, calling individuals whose native language was Chinese Han seems on the surface to be satisfactory, but many who fell into this category, for example Manchu bannermen (all Manchus were registered in banners, large civil–military units created from 1601 onward), were most assuredly not identified as Han, either by themselves or by others.

Archaeological discoveries in recent years have also complicated our understanding of the origins of Chinese civilization. Current scholarship contradicts the notion of a single “cradle” of Chinese civilization and instead suggests that five different regional Neolithic cultures fed into the “formation of civilization.”² Chinese civilization “can be traced back to several points of origin,”³ and precisely how these regional cultures interacted with one another remains unclear. Under these circumstances,

the formation of what would eventually become the "Han" people is itself a major unresolved issue for future research.

At the same time, documents throughout Chinese history testify to the persistence of contrasting social groups, divisible into "us" versus "them." The earliest Chinese-language texts refer not to Han versus non-Han but rather contrast the "civilized people," the "Hua" or "Xia," with specified groups of barbarians. A scholar has recently argued that "barbarian" was an essential concept against which, in contrast, the concept of civilization developed.⁴ In this essay, I use "us" to refer to the Han, and "them" to refer to the non-Han peoples who appear in Chinese history.

Although the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the People's Republic of China today are Han Chinese, peoples whose native language was not Chinese played major roles in China's long history. Non-Han peoples ruled over the Chinese speakers in whole or in part for over half of Chinese history, and contributed to the richness and diversity of Chinese culture. This interaction, in particular between steppe nomads and the Chinese speakers, most of whom were tied to an agrarian economy, was so important that it has given rise to several major theories.

According to the twentieth-century scholar Owen Lattimore, the rise and fall of steppe nomadic federations and Chinese dynasties were intimately linked.⁵ When the Chinese dynasty was strong, it defended its frontiers against steppe invaders with vigor; nomads had to purchase the silk, tea, and other Chinese goods they coveted. When the Chinese dynasty grew weak, the nomads could plunder border towns instead of trading for these goods. Nomadic khans attracted and expanded the numbers of their followers with the lure of booty; out of this process emerged steppe federations that posed major military challenges to the Chinese dynasty. Sometimes the nomad confederation conquered Chinese territory, but the nomadic political organization was ephemeral and tended to disintegrate with success. Over time the steppe federation would itself be crushed by a strong new Chinese dynasty. The cyclical appearance and reappearance of Chinese and Inner Asian conquest regimes thus characterized the historical interaction between a sedentary Chinese agrarian society and a mobile pastoral society.

In 1989, an anthropologist named Thomas Barfield challenged the Lattimore analysis. Barfield argued that the relationship between nomads and China was not confrontational but symbiotic. Cycles of unification and dissolution within China and the steppe were closely tied to one another, because "ultimately the state organization of the steppe needed a stable China to exploit."⁶ Nomads found that they could ally with Chinese rulers and obtain the goods they desired by treaty rather than by plunder. For their part, Chinese rulers decided that co-opting the nomads with subsidies in exchange for military aid against internal enemies was cheaper than fighting nomads. There are many examples of such alliances in the Tang dynasty (618–907), although historians note that the Tang ruling house was founded by people who originated outside the Chinese-speaking world.

Recent studies of conquest regimes ruling north and northwest China from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries have challenged Barfield in one part of his historical thesis, namely the assertion that only north-east Asian or "Manchurian" states were successful in creating stable polities that could hold on to the Chinese-speaking territories. Barfield argued that the typical nomad confederacy was too loosely organized to persist once the conquest was completed: only a continuous inflow of new booty acquired on the battlefield could ensure continuity. Once the new riches ceased to flow, nomadic tribal leaders frequently chose to return to the steppe, and the leader of the confederacy found himself stripped of significant portions of his army. Manchuria was different because groups living in that region were familiar with both the agrarian and the steppe regimes and could adapt to the political requirements for ruling large empires of sedentary peoples.

More recently, scholars have emphasized the great variety of ecosystems within the steppe, noting that nomadism was interspersed with some agricultural activity whenever the rainfall and climate permitted cultivation of crops.⁷ Through long historical exposure to sedentary societies, which provided essential commodities, nomads also learned about alternative modes of political and social organization and encountered new ideologies and religions, and they adopted many new technologies and ideas imported from sedentary agrarian societies. Specialists writing on the conquest regimes that ruled part or all of the Chinese-

speaking world from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries have suggested an alternative to the Barfield thesis, namely that a historical shift occurred during the Tang dynasty.⁸ States formed in Inner Asia along Tang borders adapted their own polities to synthesize Tang bureaucratic practices with the realities of their own political situations. Acting within a multistate context, they developed states before taking over portions of the Tang empire. The Tanguts controlled the land from Ordos westward to the Gansu corridor as the Western Xia (Xi Xia, ca. 982–1227). The Khitan became a major power in north Asia and ruled the north China plain as the Liao dynasty (907–1125). The Jurchen were able to overthrow the Khitan, expelling the Song dynasty from north China, and ruling as the Jin dynasty from 1115 to 1234, only to be defeated by the Mongols, who conquered the Song and established the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The inclusion of the Mongol empire in this group disproves Barfield's argument that steppe societies could not form stable political entities to rule sedentary populations.

The Qing dynasty (1644–1911) represents the culmination of this long tradition of interaction between Inner and East Asia. The founders of the dynasty were a northeast Asian people who claimed descent from the Jurchen rulers of north China during the Jin dynasty (1115–1260). In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, a minor tribal chieftain named Nurgaci (1559–1626) successfully united many of the tribes in northeast Asia. His son Hongtaiji (1592–1643) transformed these diverse peoples into a new solidary group, the Manchus. Incorporating the tribes into banners, the Manchus conquered the Ming territories and created a large empire that extended into Inner Asia. Elsewhere, I have argued that their northeast Asian origins were influential in shaping the cultural policies they used to create an empire that successfully incorporated Inner and East Asian peoples.⁹ Qing court robes copied the Inner Asian style of Manchu garments; seasonal sojourning on the Inner Asian model dominated the residential patterns of the emperors until the nineteenth century. While in Peking, emperors alternated between the Forbidden City and elaborate villas in the northwest suburbs; during the summer months they moved to Rehe, outside the Great Wall.

The *Bishu shanzhuang quantu* (Complete Map of the Mountain Retreat for Escaping Summer's Heat; see figure 1) depicts a site that was



1. Detail of *Bishu shanzhuang quantu* (Complete Map of the Mountain Retreat for Escaping Summer's Heat). Qing dynasty, undated, ca. 1900. Horizontal hanging scroll; ink, color, and white pigment on paper; 212.0 x 382.5 cm. The National Library of China, 074.45/(211.911)/1900-2. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 56-2, p. 206.

Drawn in the Guangxu reign (1875-1908), this massive map depicts a favorite Qing imperial summer destination, Rehe, which is located 250 kilometers northeast of the capital, beyond the Great Wall. The emperors spent several months of each year here, especially during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meetings with Uighur nobles, Mongol allies, and Tibetan prelates made Rehe an important center for relations with the Qing empire's Inner Asian subjects.

selected and named by the Kangxi emperor (reigned 1662–1722). A summer capital for the Qing rulers, the Mountain Retreat for Escaping Summer's Heat (Bishu shanzhuang) was located in Rehe (later renamed Chengde), in the region north of the Great Wall lying between the North China plain and the Mongolian steppe. The Liao, Jin, and Yuan had all had seasonal capitals in this area, and the Qing consciously followed their precedent. Beginning in 1681, as the conquest of the Ming territories drew to a close, the Kangxi emperor came annually to Rehe with a large entourage. Rehe was not only a refuge from the north China summer but a major arena for the conduct of Qing relations with its Inner Asian subjects and allies. After several months, the emperor would proceed with his Mongol allies to Mulan, an imperial hunting preserve north of Rehe, for the autumn hunt. Mongol nobles who had never been exposed to smallpox were invited to Mulan; this attendance was called the "hunting rotation" (*weiban*) as opposed to the "annual rotation" (*nianban*) to the court at Peking.¹⁰ Hunting provided an opportunity for the emperor to review the martial skills of his troops and to display his own prowess with the bow.

The Kangxi emperor at first lived in tents when he visited Rehe and Mulan. The late-Qing map seen in figure 1, however, shows the elaborate building of temples, pavilions, and landscape architecture that took place in the eighteenth century. Many of these edifices and landscapes were created by order of the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–1796), who spent many months every year at Rehe and Mulan.¹¹ Here he received the Panchen Lama in 1780, and during the visit built a replica of the lama's home monastery in Tibet as a guest house.¹²

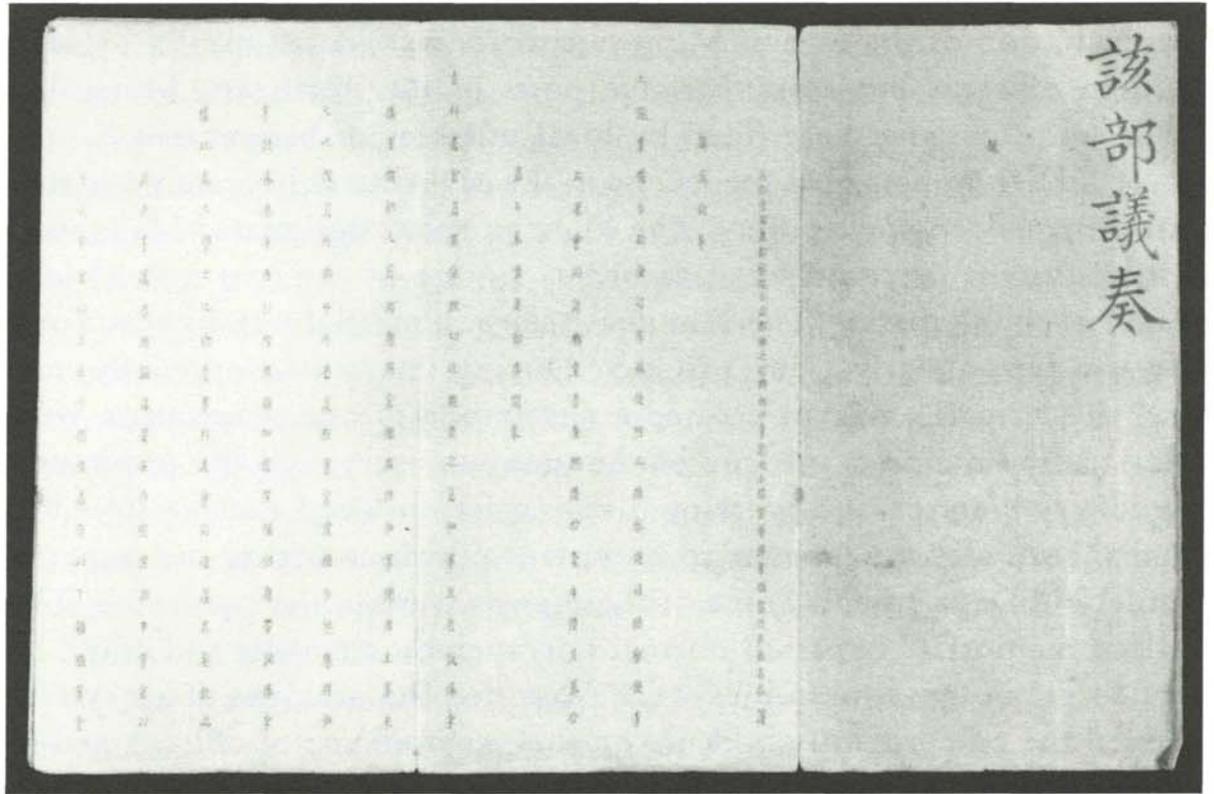
In contrast to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), when a succession of weak emperors sat on the throne, the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw strong-willed emperors who successfully centralized authority and decision making into their own hands. This was achieved by implementing the principle of checks and balances. The civil service, which was recruited and organized according to practices adopted from the preceding dynasty, was dominated by Han Chinese officials. Countering their influence, the emperors were careful to keep bannermen separate from the subjugated Han Chinese population. Since the Eight Banners included Manchu, Mongol, and Han-Martial components, the

division between the conquerors and the conquered was not ethnic but political. A bannerman and a Han Chinese headed each of the central government ministries; provincial governors tended to be Han Chinese, but governor-generals tended to be from the banner population. The administration of the former Ming territories was staffed mostly by Han Chinese officials, but administrative posts in the northeast, Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang were filled by local notables or bannermen.¹³

Like their non-Han predecessors, the Manchus deliberately adopted a multilingual language policy. The Manchu rulers designated Manchu (a writing system invented by state order) as one of the two official languages of the dynasty.¹⁴ The bilingual palace memorial (see figures 2 and 3) was a typical early-Qing product. During the late-seventeenth century, the Kangxi emperor created a new mode of communication with a few trusted bondservants and bannermen who served in the provinces. Hereditary bondservants were men who were enslaved and registered in companies under the banners to important positions within the Imperial Household Department. Some of these posts were in the provinces. The "palace memorial" bypassed normal bureaucratic channels and could be kept secret because no copies were made for the archives. This system enabled the emperors to check up on the performance of officials and to learn about actual conditions in key localities of the empire.¹⁵

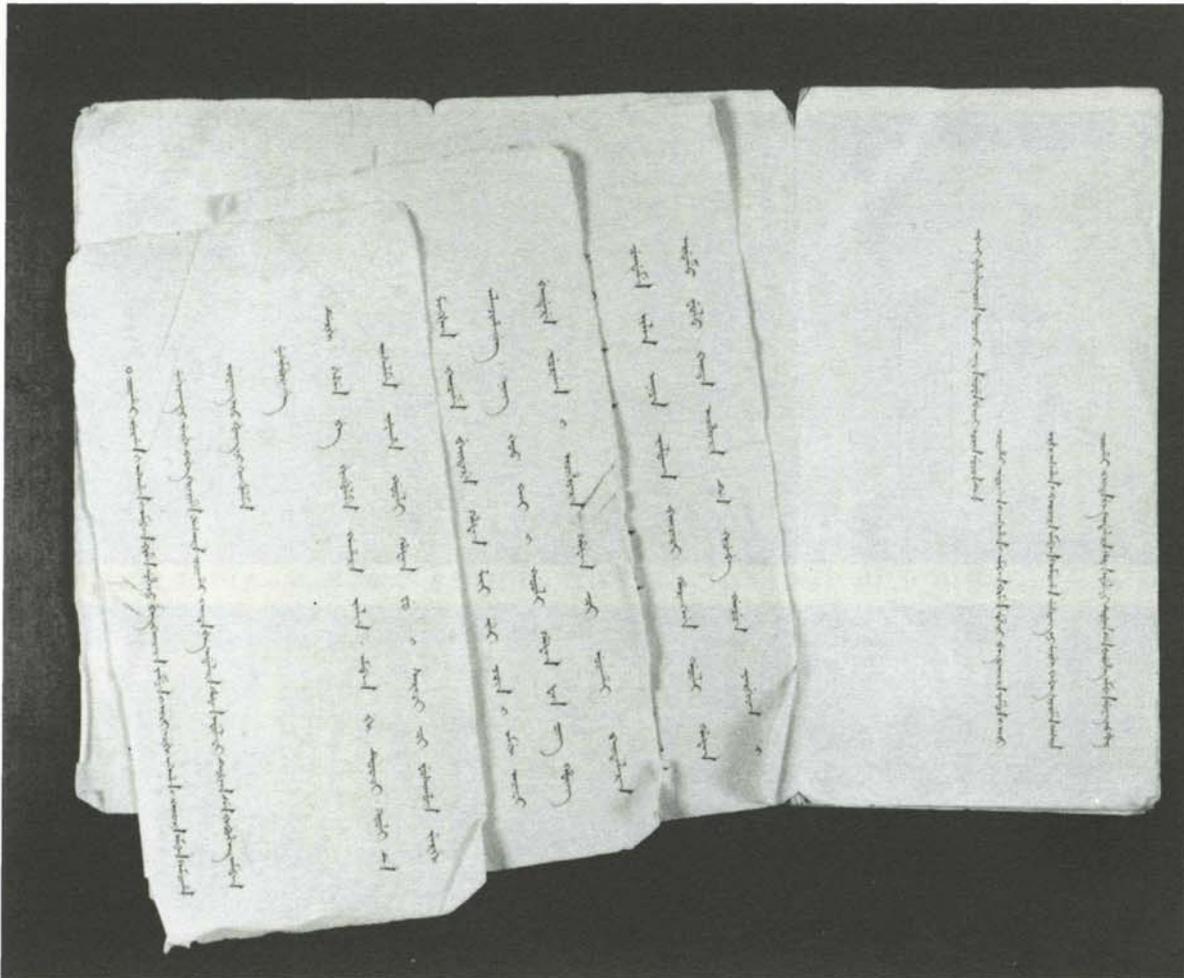
The imperial patent of nobility, recorded in Manchu and Chinese writing, is another product of the Qing (see figure 4). Patents, which often conferred posthumous titles on the parents of meritorious officials, were a way for the emperor to reward outstanding service. The rich brocade on which the patent was mounted provided a suitable setting for this imperial honor. Such patents were frequently inscribed on ancestor portraits.¹⁶

By the eighteenth century, when Qing territorial expansion reached its peak, an ideology of universal monarchy identified the empire as composed of five major groups of peoples: the Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs (Turkic-speaking Muslims), and Han Chinese. Each of these five groups was permitted its own language, culture, and religious practices. The elites of each group were summoned to court and presented with titles and gifts. Nobles were tied to the emperors through exchange of brides. What bound these diverse peoples together (from the



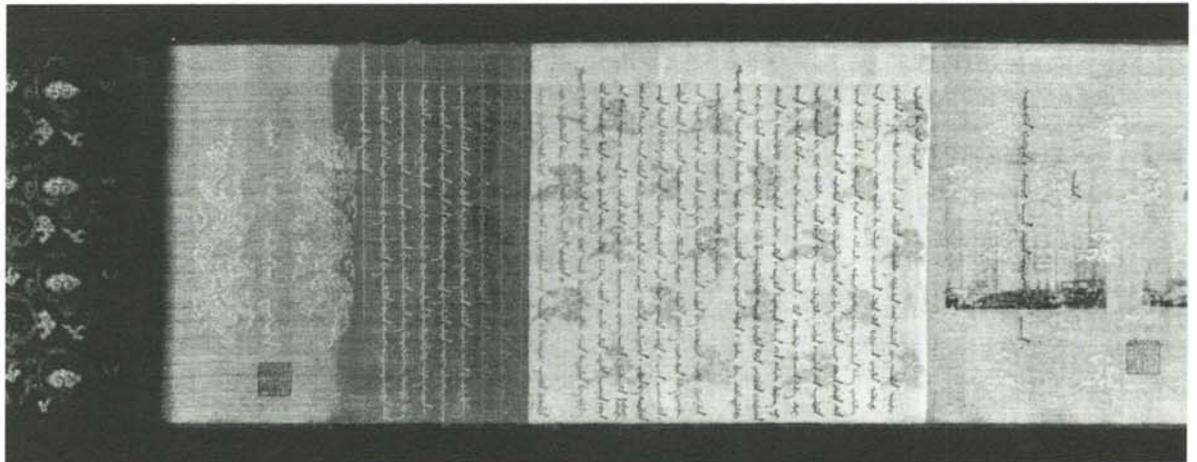
2. *Man Han hebi zouzhe* (Palace memorial in Manchu and Chinese scripts), Chinese cover. Qing dynasty, dated 1760. Composed by Zhuang Yougong (*jinsi* 1739, d. 1767). The National Library of China 1143. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 63-1, p. 233, top illustration.

Palace memorials were an innovation of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Initially such documents bypassed ordinary bureaucratic procedures to reach the emperor directly, and enabled him to receive information from handpicked underlings who had been sent to localities on imperial business. The emperor would write a response directly on the original document, in vermilion, as displayed here in the four characters at the far right, which state “Let the appropriate ministry deliberate and memorialize.” Although this kind of document became less secret in the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735), it remained the high-priority form of official communication through the rest of the Qing dynasty.



3. Palace memorial in Manchu and Chinese scripts, Manchu-language pages. Dated 1760. Composed by Zhuang Yougong. The National Library of China 1143. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 63-3, p. 232.

Unlike Chinese, which is written from right to left, Manchu is written from left to right. Bilingual documents such as this palace memorial thus start at opposite ends of the accordion-pleated paper and end together at the center. Manchu or “Qing writing” (*Qingwen*), as it was called, was one of the two languages used for official communications in the Qing. Memorials written only in Manchu were particularly numerous during the Kangxi reign. Military intelligence and discussions of military campaigns and imperial family matters used Manchu as a “security” shield. Bilingual memorials were written throughout the Qing dynasty.



4. Detail, *Man Han hebi gaoming* (Imperial patent of nobility in Manchu and Chinese scripts). Dated 1799. The National Library of China 80319. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 64-1, p. 234.

This handscroll records the award of honorary titles of nobility to the parents of Yulin (d. 1833), a bannerman who served in civil and military offices during the Jiaqing (1796-1820) and Daoguang (1821-1850) reigns. The detail shows the beginning of the Manchu-language portion of the document, showing off the multicolored silk brocade on which the text was written. Such honorary titles allowed the Qing court to reward meritorious officials in a way that reinforced the value of filial devotion: rewarding an individual's hard work by heaping honor on his parents.

perspective of the throne) was simply the emperor himself, the universal monarch.¹⁷

But the Qing empire held many more groups whose lifestyle and language were not Chinese. After 1683, when the Manchu conquest was completed, Han Chinese moved out of densely populated areas into previously unexploited lands to establish settlements and to farm. These "frontier regions" were often populated by non-Han peoples. Han Chinese settlers moving to the island of Taiwan, off the Fujian coast, found aboriginal peoples of Austronesian origin living there; other settlers, moving into the southwest, found many different groups, who practiced slash-and-burn agriculture and spoke in varied tongues. The eighteenth century was punctuated by conflict between the new settlers and these minorities (see figure 5).¹⁸

The Qing policy with respect to the minority peoples in south and southwest China differed sharply from their multicultural policy in the Inner Asian border regions. The south and southwest minorities were not strategically important; they could and should be subjected to the assimilatory process advocated by Han Chinese officials. In terms of the Han Chinese discourse, the process of assimilation, which involved introducing the Chinese language and Chinese culture to the minorities, was expected to transform barbarians into civilized Chinese. Qing provincial officials like Chen Hongmou (1696-1771) opened up elementary schools in the minority areas for just this purpose.¹⁹

Recent scholarship has emphasized the degree to which the Qing government and its officials behaved like imperialists, that is, like the British who took control over lands in Asia, North America, and Africa in the course of the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Emperors commissioned geographies of newly conquered regions, ordered officials to compile detailed reports of non-Han peoples living in the peripheries of the empire, and compiled multilingual dictionaries of the languages of the major subject groups in Inner and Central Asia.²⁰

During the eighteenth century the Manchu and Russian states subjugated the nomadic peoples of Eurasia. Russian advances into the Amur River basin in northeast Asia, stimulated by the Russian quest for sable, made the Kangxi emperor assign a top priority to the security of his northeast frontier after 1683. The boundary between the two empires



5. *Taiwan ditu* (map of Taiwan), detail. Qing dynasty, Qianlong period, undated, 1787 or earlier. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, approx. 40.5–40.6 x 437.9 cm. The National Library of China, 232/1784-2/3638. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 53-1, p. 193.

One of the earliest extant hand-painted maps of Taiwan adopts the perspective of someone in Fujian, the Chinese province directly across the Taiwan Straits from the island, focusing primarily on the half of Taiwan that is closest to the China mainland. Many Han Chinese migrants moved to Taiwan in the eighteenth century and interacted with aboriginal peoples on the western coastal plain. By 1800, the island had been transformed into a Chinese agricultural society.

was settled through a series of campaigns during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, concluding in the Treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kiakhta (1727).²¹

In the first half of the eighteenth century both the Russian and the Qing empires undertook vigorous campaigns against other nomadic tribes. Scholarship on the Russian-language side reveals the puzzlement and annoyance of Russian officials, who thought that “submission” was a binding act, unlike the Mongols, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, whose fluid political concepts enabled them to contract multiple alliances and submissions with equanimity. The Western Mongols, who were courted by Russian and Qing officials, engaged in a triangular geopolitical game but eventually lost their independence to the Qing. As Zungaria was incorporated into the empire, the Kazakhs and Uzbeks fell under Russian control in what one scholar has called “the partition of the steppe.”²²

The inclusion of Tibet under Qing “protection” was a byproduct of the court’s Mongol policy. Tibetan Buddhism spread among Mongols after its reintroduction (1578), and ambitious Mongol leaders patronized the religion to enhance their political legitimacy. The relationship between Inner Asian elites and Tibetan prelates had long historical precedents. Earlier non-Han rulers, like the Tanguts, found Buddhist patronage to be a valuable alternative base on which to construct legitimacy for their rule.²³ The Tangut-language *Xi Xia wen Cibe dao chang chan fa* (*Liang huang bao chan*) (Rules for Confession in the Place of the Merciful and Compassionate One; see figure 6) reminds us of these pre-Qing precedents for religious patronage.

During the seventeenth century Western Mongol khans who patronized Tibetan Buddhism put the dGe lugs pa hierarch, the Dalai Lama, on the throne of Tibet. Because the dGe lugs pa had successfully missionized in Amdo, Khams, and Mongolia, the Dalai Lama wielded great influence in seventeenth-century Inner Asia. Mongol khans sought recognition of their positions from him, he could order Mongol troop movements outside Tibet, and he could also make peace between warring tribes.²⁴

Historical records outside China show that the Dalai Lama’s authority among the Mongols during the seventeenth century was greater than the authority of the Manchus. The Qing allied with the Khosot



6. Illustrated frontispiece of *Xi Xia wen Cibei daochang chanfa (Liang huang baochan)* (Rules for Confession in the Place of the Merciful and Compassionate One [Precious Confessional of Emperor Wu of Liang]), ten *juan*, in Tangut script. Yuan dynasty, undated, ca. 1300. The National Library of China. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 59-1, p. 219.

This late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century Tangut translation of the late-fifth-century *Rules for Confession in the Place of the Merciful and Compassionate One* includes undated prefaces by Xia emperor Huizong (r. 1068–1086) and his mother, the empress dowager Liang (d. 1099). Tangut was the language devised by the Xi Xia state, and this work is an example of the vast translation of the Buddhist scriptures that was undertaken by the rulers, who were devout Buddhists, although the current edition dates from the Mongol or Yuan dynasty, who destroyed the Xi Xia empire in 1227. The illustrated frontispiece depicts the Liang-dynasty emperor Wu (r. 502–549), seated at the left, conducting a repentance ceremony in the presence of the Buddha, seated at the right. The snake on the ground in front of the emperor represents the empress Xi, who was said to have been reincarnated as a snake because she had committed murder. This ritual-penance text was composed by the emperor Wu to release his wife from the karmic consequence of her actions.

Mongols against the Zunghars (sometimes spelled Zungar or Jungar). When Mongol rivalries that focused on the Dalai succession sparked a Zunghar invasion of Lhasa, the Qing invaded Lhasa (1720). The eastern Tibetan territories of Kham and Amdo were detached and put under the control of the governor of Sichuan province. After quelling a Khosot Mongol rebellion (1723), the Qing also asserted suzerainty over Kokonor, which was renamed Qinghai. Although the western half of Kham was returned to central Tibet in 1725, the eastern half remained outside Tibetan control. Nominal in the first half of the eighteenth century, Qing control in Tibet increased after 1750 and remained in place until the Revolution of 1911.

The last great Qing conquest came at the end of its first century of rule, when the Tarim Basin was incorporated into the empire.²⁵ With the addition of what became Xinjiang, the Qing empire reached its territorial maximum, a size that was greater than the current People's Republic of China. The Qing empire in 1759 consisted of two rather disparate regions: the former Ming territories, which were inhabited for the most part by Chinese-speaking peoples, and the newly acquired regions, located on the Inner and Central Asian peripheries of East Asia, all of which were inhabited by non-Chinese speakers, with different cultures and histories.²⁶

The Qing conquests in Inner and Central Asia were comparable to the colonizing activities being pursued by European nations. Recent studies have underlined the many parallels between Qing imperial expansion and European imperialism before 1750. Michael Adas has noted that the historiographical bias that assigns "imperialism" and "colonialism" to Europe and "empire building" to the Chinese, Zulus, and others privileges Europe, because "colonialism is deemed to be one of the global forces that has defined the modern Age," while "empires are seen as modes of state expansion" that were "increasingly anachronistic in an era of industrialization and high technology."²⁷

Like European imperialists, the Qing systematically collected information about new territories and new subject peoples.²⁸ The map of Taiwan (figure 5) is an example of the Qing cartographic effort. The government encouraged local officials to collect data on various groups within the empire. The state's efforts to document local ethnic groups

supplemented an earlier spate of travel writing produced by seventeenth-century figures like Xu Hongzu (1587–1641), a geographer-explorer whose voluminous diaries, considered “to be the ultimate example of aesthetic realism in Chinese travel writing,” also carried “considerable documentary credibility.”²⁹

Xu Hongzu was a private subject who traveled for his own pleasure and edification. State-sponsored projects, on the other hand, were closely tied to strategic targets. One prominent example is the famous travel record by Tulišen (1667–1740), *Lakcaha jecen de takūraha babe ejehe bithe*. Tulišen was a Manchu official who conveyed the emperor’s message to the Turguts, a Mongol tribe that had fled the steppe and resettled along the Volga River. In his book he carefully recorded the terrain, water sources, and other information pertinent to military campaigns he had observed during his long journey (1712–1715).³⁰

Even more ambitious efforts were undertaken during the Qianlong reign. The emperor commissioned a military history of the victorious campaign against the Zunghars in 1755, but before the history could be written, the scholars appointed to write it laboriously collected the names of places and persons in the new western regions being added to the empire. The *Xiyu tongwenzhi* was modeled on a Tang work; the emperor was thus implicitly comparing the achievements of his ruling house with the achievements of “great Tang.” The new geography covered the northern and southern circuits of Zungaria, Chinese Turkestan, Qinghai, and Tibet. Completed in 1782, it gave the standardized Manchu and Chinese transliterations of proper names, accompanied by the spelling of the words in their original language and phonetic equivalents in Mongol, Tibetan, and Uighur pronunciation.³¹

Building on earlier precedents, Qing rulers also commissioned pictorial representations of tributary peoples, and of peoples beyond the tributary network, in a genre that also flourished in the sixteenth century. Whenever possible, these representations were based on empirical evidence, as the careful imperial instructions about sketching foreign ambassadors and subject peoples indicate. Nor was the interest in ethnography limited to Manchus and other members of the conquest elite, as shown by the eighteenth-century albums of the Miao, a minority living in Guizhou province who were targeted for assimilation, produced by Han Chinese officials and literati.³²

For some Mongols and Manchus, the Qing peace and imperial patronage opened linguistic doors that had formerly been closed. Some Mongol princes were invited to study at the Palace Schools (*guanxue*) in Peking, where Manchu princes learned Mongolian as well as Manchu and Chinese as a matter of course. There was a Mongol school in the Xian'an Palace (Xian'an gong) and another to teach Oirat, the dialect spoken by western Mongols. A Tibetan school was established under the Lifanyuan (Court of Colonial Affairs) in 1657 that trained people for work in the agency. The school recruited Mongols and sent students to Tibet for advanced study in writing, speaking, and translating Tibetan. This practice was continued until the late 1840s.³³

Qing officials also opened schools in Eight Banner garrisons and recruited graduates who were bilingual or trilingual to keep government records. Government schools taught students to read and write first Mongolian, then Manchu and Chinese. They emphasized learning to write with the Chinese brush; graduates who could write were obliged to serve in administrative offices three months each year as a corvée duty. The rest of the year graduates might teach at private schools, which mostly emphasized reading.

The most important Mongol educational centers were religious. Qing patronage and Mongol religiosity stimulated the creation of monasteries in Mongolia. By the early part of the Qianlong reign, there were nearly two thousand monasteries and temples there, with hundreds of others serving the Tibetan and Mongol population in the present-day provinces of Qinghai and Xinjiang. The monasteries all had schools, where Tibetan was the prestige language.³⁴ Mongol monks translated Tibetan texts and wrote biographies of religious notables, church histories, and philosophical dissertations in Tibetan. The most brilliant example of the polyglot Mongol monk was Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786, hereafter Rolpaidorje), the second lCang skya khutukhtu.

Heir to a reincarnate title conferred by the Qing (1705), Rolpaidorje was taken from his home monastery in Amdo in boyhood and educated alongside the imperial princes in the Palace Schools in Peking. He became a distinguished theologian and scholar who read Chinese, Manchu, Tibetan, and Mongolian. The Qianlong emperor assigned him to supervise important imperial projects such as the translation of the Tanjur (*bsTan 'gyur*, the collected Tibetan translations) into Mongolian (1741-

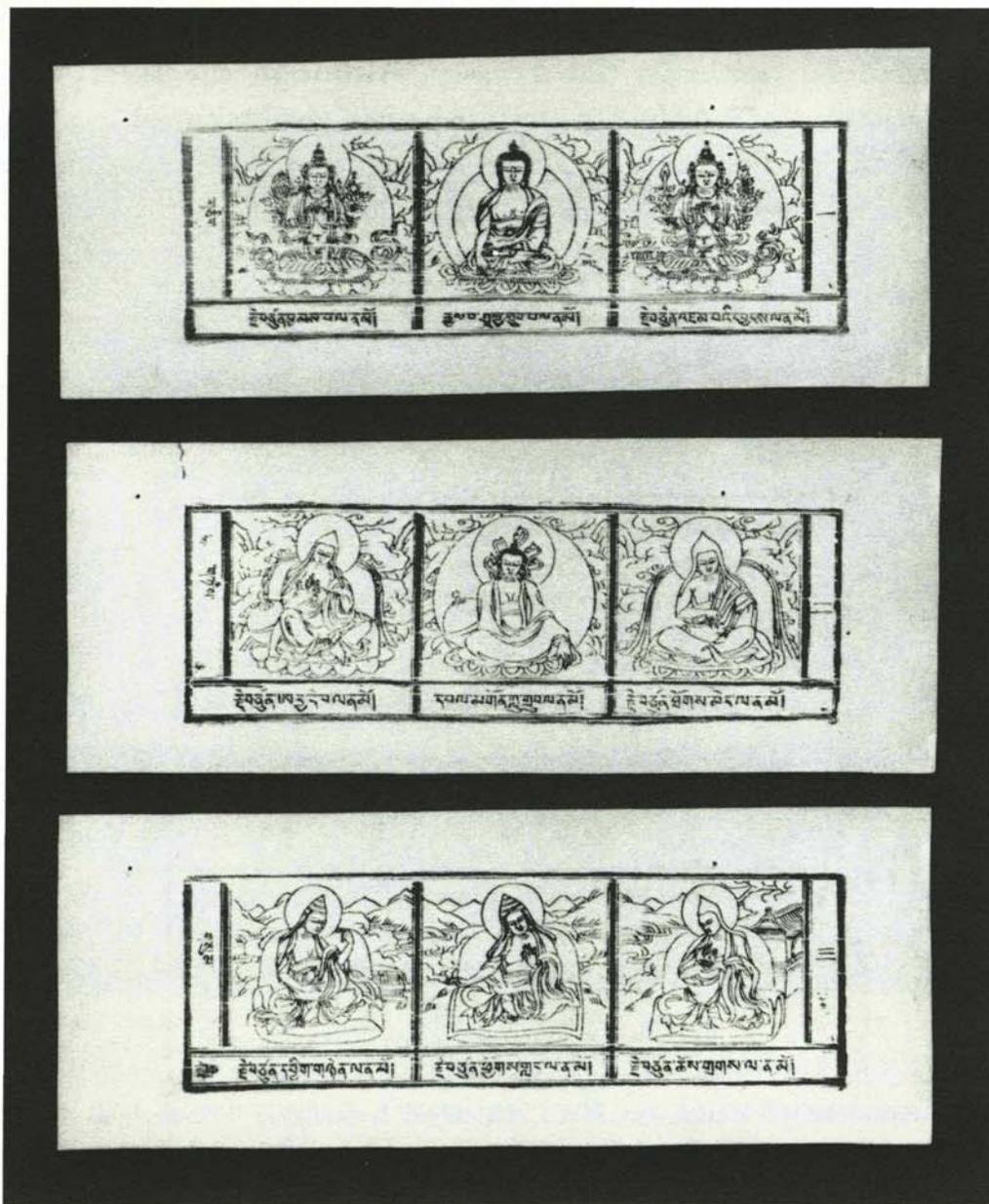
1749) and the translation of the Kanjur (bKa' 'gyur, the words of Buddha) into Manchu (1773).³⁵ Rolpaidorje was not limited to translating Tibetan-language texts into other languages; he also participated in the translation of a Chinese Buddhist work, the *Sūrangama sūtra*, into Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan.³⁶

According to historical documents, the emperor commissioned Rolpaidorje to compile the *Zang chuan fojiao sanbai foxiang tu* (Three Hundred Icons of Tibetan Lamaism; see figure 7). The work provides a visual representation of major Tibetan Buddhist deities and spiritual teachers along with renditions of their names in Tibetan, Manchu, and Mongolian. Since the correct information concerning the appearance of the deities was essential for visualization of the deities in meditative practice, *Three Hundred Icons* was an important resource for monastic training and in the creation of deity images for altars.³⁷

Qing Peking became a major center for publishing in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan. Dictionary compilations of the major languages—as identified by the Qianlong emperor—included Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Chinese. Compiled in part to glorify the achievements of the Manchu rulers, these were at the same time vehicles for the transmission of knowledge that was directly relevant to the administration and trade of the empire. Privately compiled dictionaries, published by commercial firms, appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to meet the needs of scholars, clerics, and traders.

Over two thousand unique editions or works were published in Manchu during the Qing.³⁸ Although almost 40 percent of these works were monolingual, 48 percent were bilingual (Manchu and Chinese), and the rest were multilingual editions in a great variety of languages. Printed Mongolian books, which first appeared in significant numbers during the Qing, were predominantly monolingual. Secular Mongol-language works dealing with trade, administration, and language tended to be in Mongol and Chinese or Mongol, Chinese, and Manchu; religious works were written in Tibetan and Mongolian or in Tibetan, Mongolian, and Sanskrit.³⁹

The Qing government was a major publisher of texts in non-Han languages. Three of the top five publishers of Manchu-language books were government agencies; the palace itself produced the greatest number



7. *Zang chuan fojiao sanbai foxiang tu* (Three Hundred Icons of Tibetan Buddhism). Qing dynasty, Qianlong period, undated. Attributed to lCang skya khutukhtu Rolpaidorje. Beijing: Songzhu si, n.d. The National Library of China. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 62-2, p. 229.

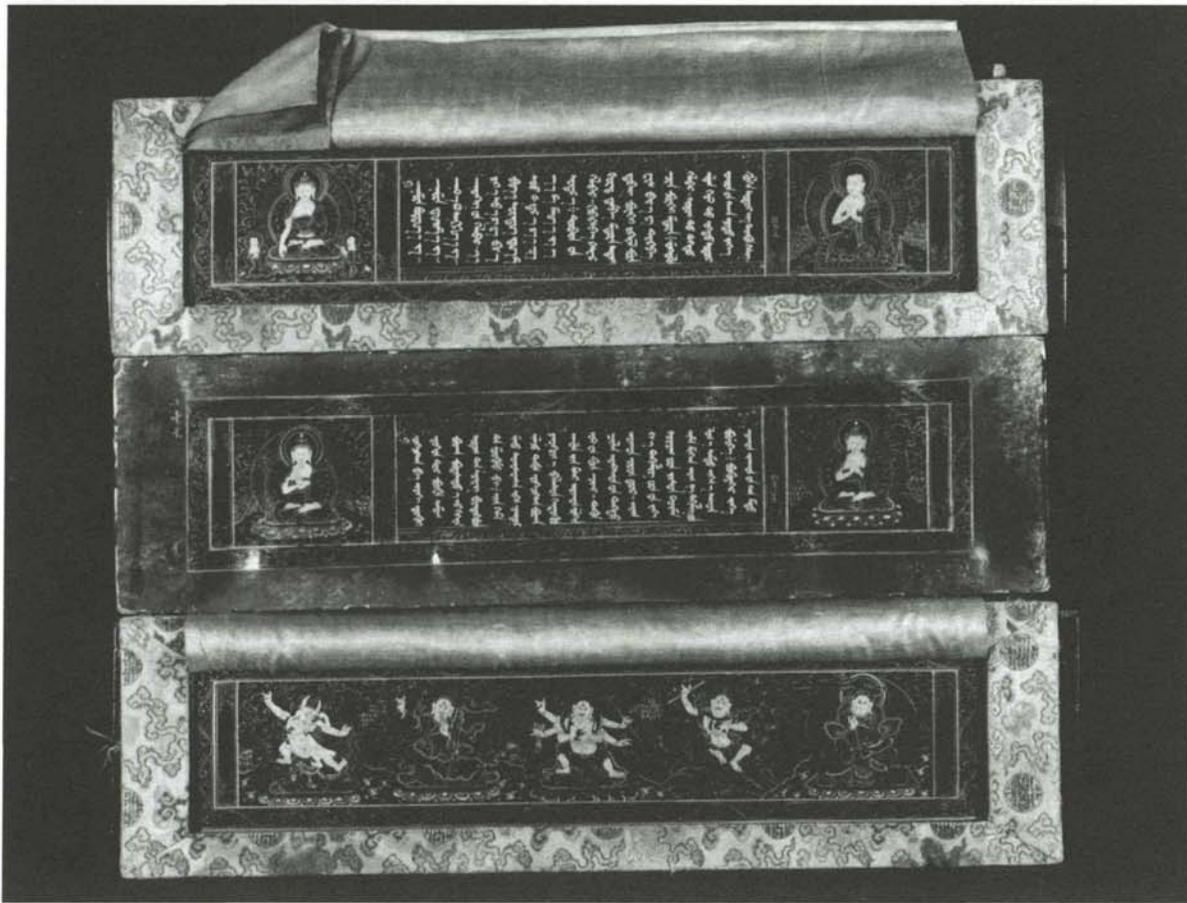
These first three leaves of this most famous iconographic work depict (from top left to bottom right) Maitreya Buddha, Sakyamuni, and Mañjuśrī (Manjusri), followed by the “Six Jewels of India,” men who were responsible for founding major Buddhist schools. According to historical records, this work was commissioned by the Qianlong emperor, and intended to present a comprehensive guide to Tibetan Buddhist iconography. The Songzhu si, where this woodblock edition was printed, also printed many other Tibetan Buddhist works.

(112) of Manchu books in the dynasty. Although the rulers commissioned translations of Confucian classics—over 15 percent of the Manchu-language publications were in philosophy and ethics—a larger number (almost 25 percent) of the works were language guides. Some were imperially commissioned, including bilingual (Manchu-Chinese, Manchu-Mongol), trilingual (Manchu-Mongol-Chinese), and quadrilingual (Manchu-Mongol-Chinese-Uighur) dictionaries, produced from the Kangxi through the Qianlong reigns. Many more were commercially printed, and oriented to users of different linguistic groups who required aids for commercial and business purposes.

Imperial patronage stimulated translation projects that crossed the linguistic boundaries in the empire. The rulers ordered translations of the histories of earlier non-Han dynasties, while Mongols used their new access to Chinese- and Mongol-language texts to write historical works in Tibetan and Mongolian. Religious printing dominated the Mongolian and Tibetan literatures, and here too imperial patronage was significant. The Mongol-language *Mengwen Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* (Sutra of the Golden Radiance of the Most Victorious Kings), a translation of the Tibetan fourteenth-century text, is an example of the religious texts that became more widely disseminated thanks to the Qing court's efforts (see figure 8). Similarly, especially during the Qianlong reign, multilingual sutras such as the *Fan Zang Han santi hebi sheng Miaojixiang zhenshi ming jing* (Sutra of Reciting the True Names of the Noble Manjusri) were produced as testimonies to the emperor's piety, using the emperor's patronage of Tibetan Buddhism to appeal to Mongol, Manchu, and Tibetan subjects (see figure 9).

Qing cultural policies stimulated a cultural efflorescence in Tibet and Mongolia. Through the printing industry's translations Chinese literary and philosophical works acquired new audiences. The major works of Chinese fiction were translated into Manchu, despite imperial prohibitions, and their influence can be discerned in original works by Manchu and Mongol authors written in the second half of the Qing period.⁴⁰

One could argue that the result was a closer acquaintance with Chinese philosophical and literary canons, but also a greater self-consciousness about one's own historical and cultural traditions, now articulated in



8. Sutra covers of *Mengwen Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* (Sutra of the Golden Radiance of the Most Victorious Kings) in Mongolian script. Qing dynasty, undated, ca. eighteenth century. Translated from the Tibetan version by Sesarab Senge (fl. ca. 1323-1367). One hundred fifty loose folios between top and bottom sutra covers, and between top and bottom carved wood covers; overall dimensions approx. 17.0 x 63.7 x 13.7 cm. The National Library of China, 0299. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 60-2, p. 222.

This sutra, first translated in the Yuan dynasty by a Sa skya pa monk, reflects the Mongol patronage of that sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The appointment of a Sa skya pa prelate, hPags pa, as state preceptor (*guoshi*) in 1260 at the court of Khubilai, gave this order overall religious authority over the Yuan empire. A Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (*Xuanzhengyuan*) supervised 360 Buddhist monasteries during the Yuan dynasty. During the seventeenth century, Hongtaiji had also patronized the Sa skya pa, but later rulers favored the dGe lugs pa sect, headed by the Dalai Lama.



9. *Fan Zang Han santi hebi sheng Miaojixiang zhenshi ming jing* (Sutra of Reciting the True Names of the Noble Manjusri) in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese scripts. Qing dynasty, undated, ca. eighteenth century. Forty-three loose folios between top and bottom sutra covers; each folio approx. 10.2 x 41.1 cm. The National Library of China. *Visible Traces* catalogue, item 61-2, p. 227.

This work, which is included in the Kangyur part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, appeared in a Chinese-language translation during the Yuan dynasty. The sutra consists of a listing of the many attributes of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom. The sutra cover in the center bears the title of the work in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. Multilingual sutras were particularly numerous during the Qianlong reign, reflecting the emperor's personal interest in Tibetan Buddhism and his desire to express the multiethnic nature of the Qing empire through the commissioning of works like the one pictured here.

writing and available to a larger readership than ever before. The full cultural consequences of the Qing multicultural policy were not evident until after the end of the dynasty, when the emergence of Han nationalism stimulated the non-Han peoples along the Inner Asian periphery of the empire to formulate their own versions of ethnic nationalism. During the Republican period (1912-1949), the Mongols, Tibetans, and Uighurs tried to divorce themselves from the Chinese state. The twentieth-century history of ethnic nationalism in China was thus rooted in Qing policies.

The appearance of texts in non-Sinic languages reminds us of the many peoples who have inhabited the territory now constituting the People's Republic of China. The early date of some of these non-Han texts in the *Visible Traces* exhibition underlines the long period of interaction between Chinese-speaking and non-Han peoples, and points to the need for further reflection on the impact of this interaction on the formation of what we call Chinese civilization.

NOTES

1. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 86. On the early historical discourse, see Tsung-i Dow, "The Confucian Concept of a Nation and Its Historical Practice," *Asian Profile* 10 (1982), pp. 347-361.
2. Zhongpei Zhang, "New Understandings of Chinese Prehistory," in *The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Celebrated Discoveries from the People's Republic of China*, ed. Xiaoneng Yang (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999), p. 523.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 524.
4. Magnus Fiskesjö, "On the 'Raw' and the 'Cooked' Barbarians of Imperial China," *Inner Asia* 1, no. 2 (1999), pp. 139-168.
5. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1940).
6. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 131.
7. Nicola di Cosmo, "Ancient Inner Asian Nomads: Their Economic Basis and Its Significance in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (1994), pp. 1092-1126.
8. See the essays in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

9. Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
10. The rule was that Mongol nobles should appear in rotation at the Qing court, but nobles who had not been exposed to smallpox were given permission to omit this appearance in Peking and appear at Mulan instead. Smallpox, endemic in China, was extremely hazardous to Mongols, who had not built up immunity to it. On the significance of activities at Rehe and Mulan, see Ning Chia, "The Lifanyuan and the Inner Asian Rituals in the Early Qing (1644-1795)," *Late Imperial China* 14, no. 1 (1993), pp. 60-92.
11. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, pp. 21-23, 35; see also Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), pp. 7-23.
12. Angela Zito, "The Imperial Birthday: Ritual Encounters between the Panchen Lama and the Qianlong Emperor in 1780," presented to the Conference on State and Ritual in East Asia, organized by the Committee for European-North American Scholarly Cooperation in East Asian Studies, Paris, June 28-July 1, 1995.
13. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, chap. 2.
14. Pamela K. Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (1993), pp. 63-102.
15. Silas H. L. Wu, *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693-1735* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).
16. See Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
17. Pamela K. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in the Transformation of Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
18. John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).
19. For an analysis of the government's attitude toward southwest minorities, see Fiskesjö, "On the 'Raw' and the 'Cooked' Barbarians of Imperial China." On Chen Hongmou's educational program, see William T. Rowe, "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 417-457.
20. Peter Perdue, "Boundaries, Maps and Movement: Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian Empires in Early Modern Eurasia," *International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998), pp. 263-286; Laura Hostetler, "Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China," *Modern Asian Studies* 34 (2000), pp. 623-662.
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22. Fred W. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe: The Struggle of the Russians*,

- Manchus, and the Zunghar Mongols for Empire in Central Asia, 1619-1758: A Study in Power Politics* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).
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 24. For details on the Qing movements toward Tibet, see Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, chap. 7.
 25. James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759-1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
 26. Evelyn S. Rawski, "Re-envisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996), pp. 829-850.
 27. Michael Adas, "Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective," *International History Review* 20 (1998), p. 371.
 28. Hostetler, "Qing Connections to the Early Modern World."
 29. Richard E. Strassberg, trans. and annotator, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 319.
 30. Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History."
 31. The dictionary also provided the pronunciation of place names in the Todo script, which was adapted for the Western Mongol (Oirat) dialect: see Enoki Kazuo, "Researches in Chinese Turkestan during the Ch'ien-lung Period, with Special Reference to the *Hsi yü t'ung-wen chih*," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 14 (1955), pp. 1-46.
 32. Laura Hostetler, "Chinese Ethnography in the Eighteenth Century: Miao Albums of Guizhou Province" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1995).
 33. Zhang Yongjiang, "Qingdai baqi Menggu guanxue" (The Qing Mongol Banner Schools), *Minzu yanjiu* 6 (1990), pp. 96-102.
 34. Robert J. Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959); Y. Rinchen, "Books and Traditions (from the History of Mongol Culture)," trans. Stanley Frye, *Analecta Mongolia, Dedicated to the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Owen Lattimore* (Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, 1972), pp. 63-76.
 35. The Tanjur and Kanjur are enormous compendia of sacred texts, each comprising hundreds of titles. The Kanjur is the Tibetan Tripitaka. Rolpaidorje's major writings are listed in his biography, written in Tibetan by Thu'u-bkwan bLo-bzang chos-kyi-nyi-ma (1737-1802) and translated into Chinese by Chen Qingying and Ma Lianlong under the title *Zhangjia guoshi Ruobiduoji zhuan* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1988). His translation projects are described in detail in Wang Xiangyun, "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786)" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1995), chap. 5.
 36. A. von Staël-Holstein, "The Emperor Chien-lung and the Larger Śūrangamasūtra," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1, no. 1 (1936), pp. 144-145.
 37. On the *Three Hundred Icons*, see Walter E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937).

38. Here I take my definition from Sören Edgren. A unique work is one that is a new edition of a title. Therefore I mean that there were two thousand works in Manchu that were not duplications of each other. These works flourished in the Qing period. Manchu-language works do not appear until the seventeenth century, when the written language was invented.
39. Evelyn S. Rawski, "Qing Publishing in Non-Han Languages," forthcoming.
40. Martin Gimm, "Manchu Translations of Chinese Novels and Short Stories: An Attempt at an Inventory," *Asia Major*, 3d series, 1, no. 2 (1988), pp. 77-114.

GLOSSARY

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|--|---|
| Bishu shanzhuang 避暑山莊 | Nurgaci 努爾哈赤 |
| <i>Bishu shanzhuang quantu</i> 避暑山莊全圖 | Qingwen 清文 |
| Chengde 承德 | Rehe 熱河 |
| Chen Hongmou 陳宏謀 | Songzhu si 嵩祝寺 |
| <i>Fan Zang Han santi hebi sheng Miaojixiang</i> | Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 |
| <i>zhenshi ming jing</i> 梵藏漢三體合璧聖 | <i>Taiwan ditu</i> 臺灣地圖 |
| 妙吉祥真實名經 | weiban 圍班 |
| guoshi 國師 | Wu 武 |
| Han 漢 | Xi 郗 |
| Hongtaiji 洪台吉 | Xia 夏 |
| Hua 華 | Xian'an gong 咸安宮 |
| Huizong 徽宗 | Xi Xia 西夏 |
| Liang 梁 | <i>Xi Xia wen Cibe daochang chanfa (Liang huang</i> |
| Liang Qichao 梁啓超 | <i>baochan)</i> 西夏文慈悲道場懺法 (梁 |
| Lifanyuan 理藩院 | 皇寶懺) |
| Man Han hebi gaoming 滿漢合璧誥命 | <i>Xiyu tongwenzhi</i> 西域同文志 |
| Man Han hebi zouzhe 滿漢合璧奏摺 | Xuanzhengyuan 宣政院 |
| <i>Mengwen Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing</i> | Xu Hongzu 徐宏祖 |
| 蒙文金光明最勝王經 | Yulin 玉麟 |
| Miao 苗 | <i>Zang chuan fojiao sanbai foxiang tu</i> |
| Mulan 木蘭 | 藏傳佛教三百佛像圖 |
| nianban 年班 | Zhuang Yougong 莊有恭 |

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