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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.

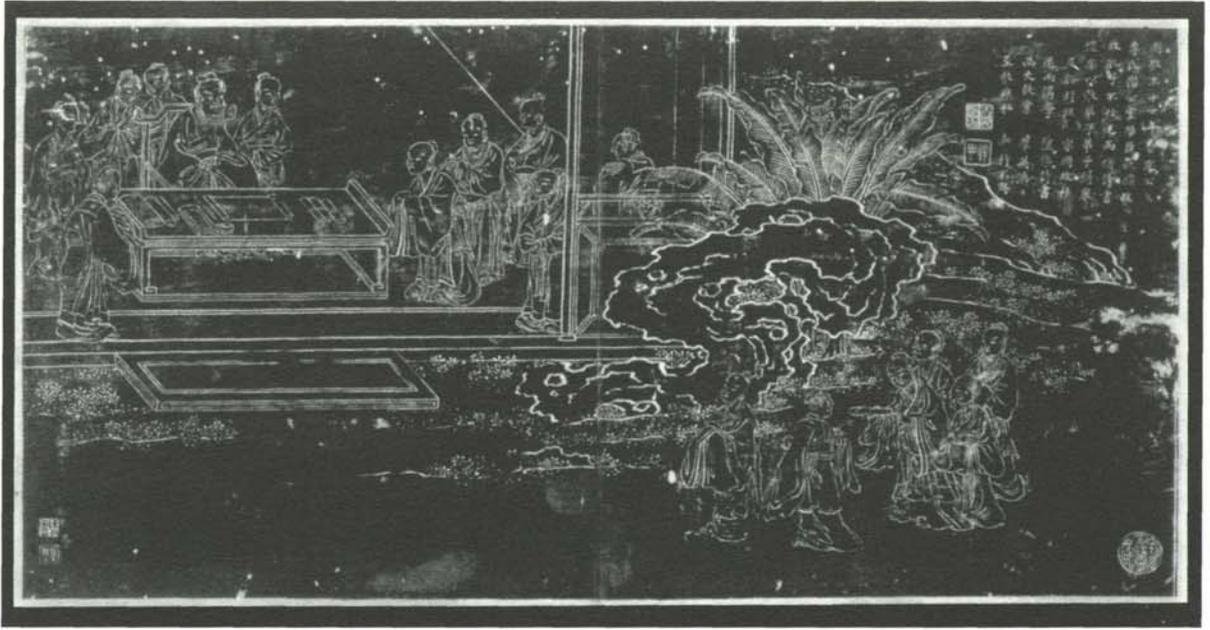
For the "Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China" exhibition, the National Library provided a set of rubbings made from another *Shengji tu*. This set bears the alternate name *Dacheng zhisheng wenxuan xianshi zhou liu zhi tu* (Pictures of the Wanderings of the All-Encompassing 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.)

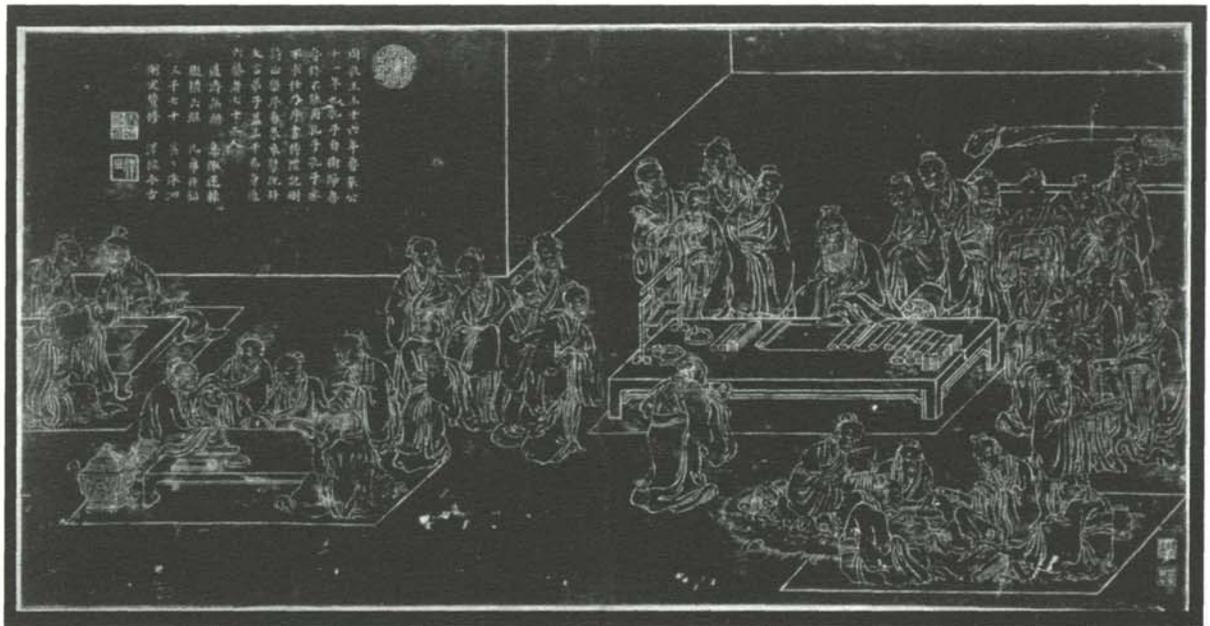
Lin Youfang, courtesy name Zhongshan, was a native of Wanping county in the Metropolitan Province and a student at the National Academy. In the eighteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1679) he was appointed magistrate of Qingpu county, where he served until 1682.³¹ He must have prepared this set of the *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.

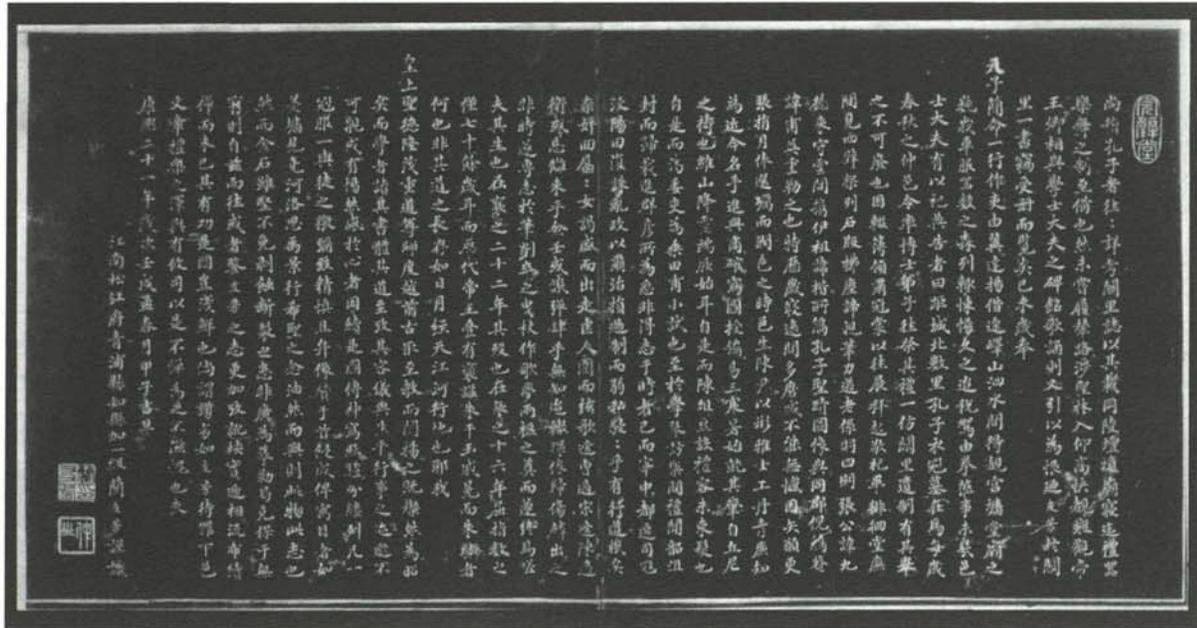
Then in the year *yiwei* (1679) I received an imperial command to travel to serve in office, going from the region of Ji (Hebei) to Yangzhou, including a side trip via Mount Yi (Yishan) and the Si River (Sishui), where I was able to see some of the majestic palace walls and family shrines, and the carriages, 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

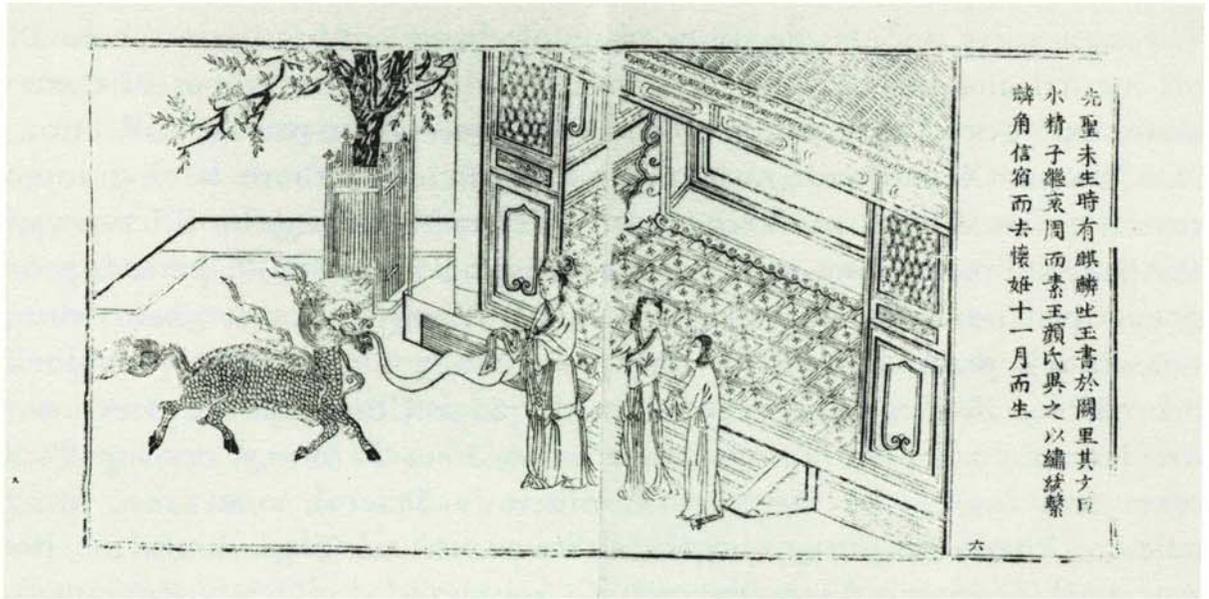
As for extant versions of the *Shengji tu*, there are numerous editions from the Ming period. The *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Catalogue of Rare Editions of Early Chinese Books) includes a total of seven, of which the finest as well as the earliest is the color woodblock print from the first year of 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



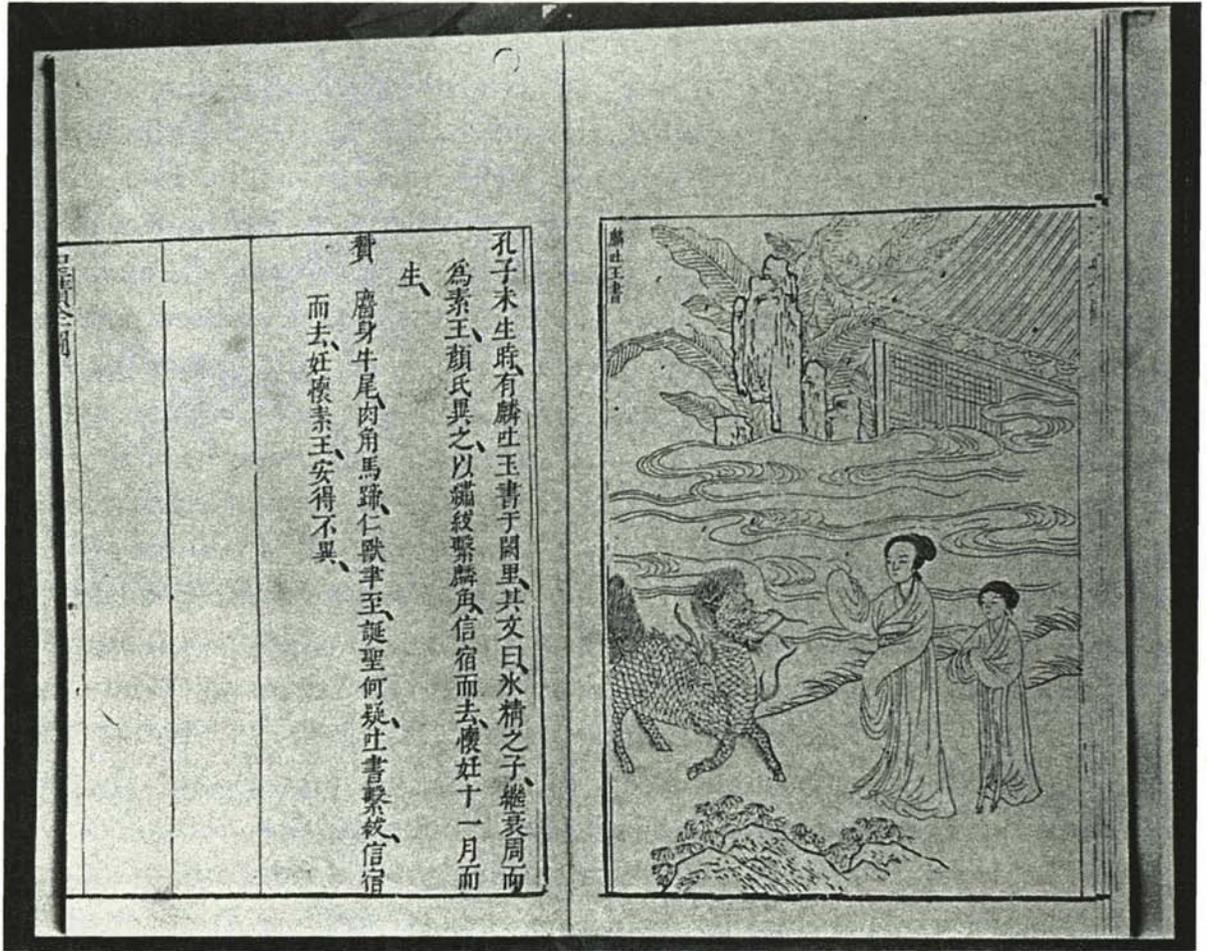
4. [Qilin tu yushu (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words)] from *Shengji tu* (Pictures of the Sage's Traces), 1548, Prince Xian of Shen, Zhu Yinyi. Photograph of original from the collection of Zheng Zhenduo, now in the collection of the National Library of China. Reproduced in the series Cheng Chendu, ed., *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

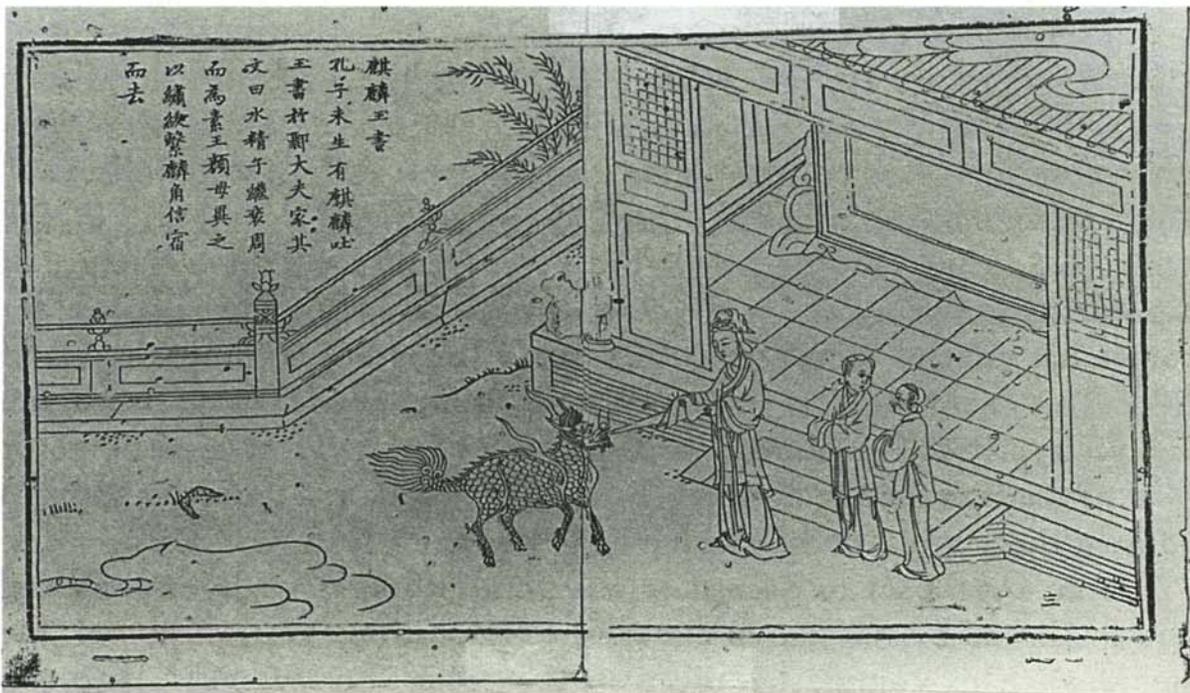


5. *Lin tu yushu* (The Unicorn Spits Out Jade Words), from *Shengji tu*, Ming-dynasty edition. Number 2 of seventy illustrations. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

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

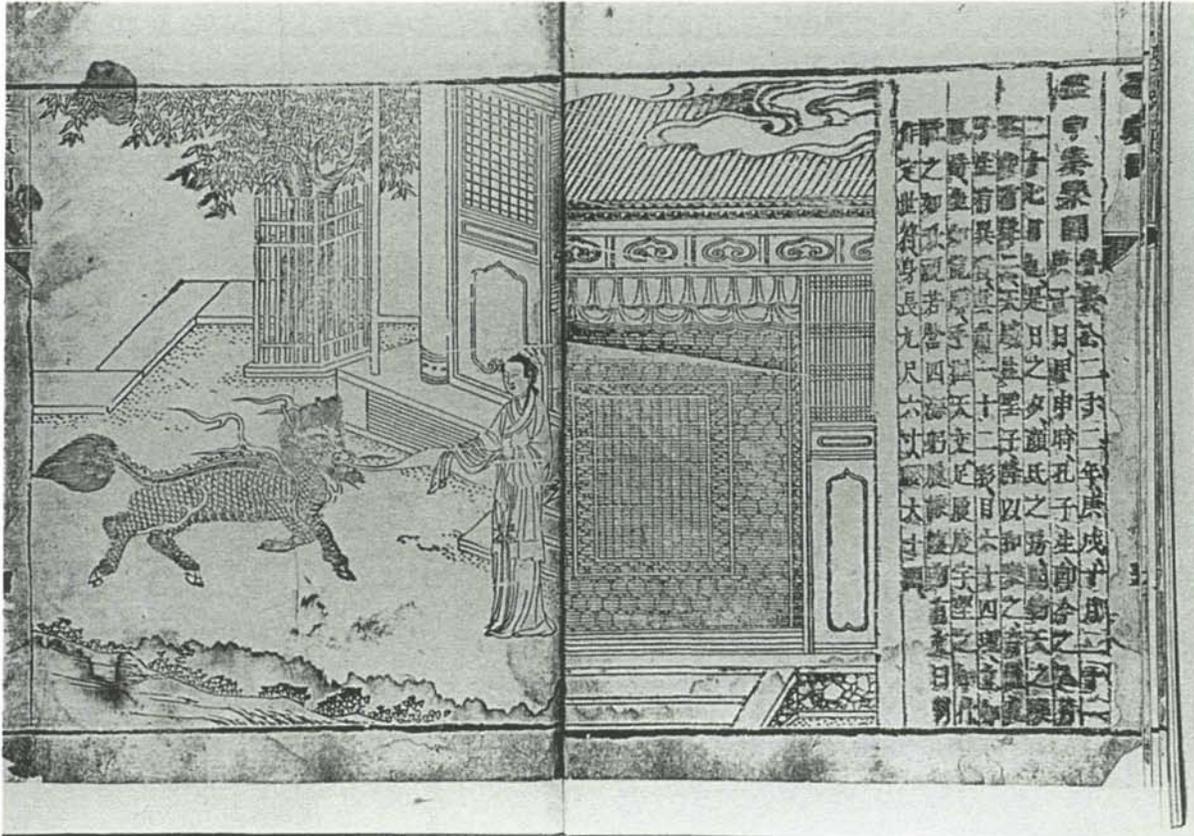


6. *Qilin yushu* (The Unicorn's Jade Words), from *Shengji tu*, Ming-dynasty, Wanli-era edition. Number 2 of 104 illustrations. In the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

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:

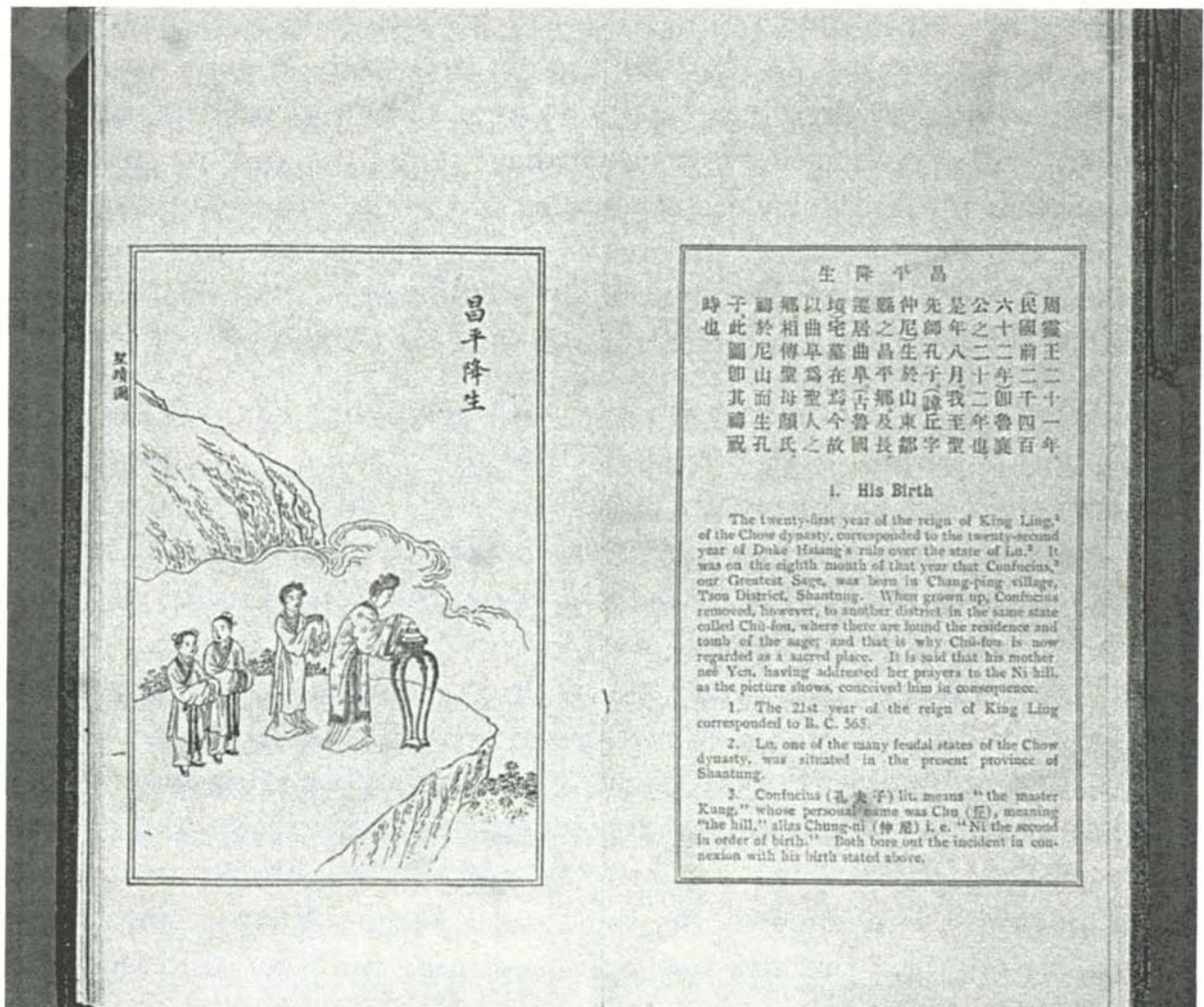
Ever since the Hall of the Sage's Traces was built, through the passage of the ages, in each generation it has been enlarged and restored. From the beginning, when the Sage, the First Teacher, was born, to the end of his career of seeking service, the stories about his words and deeds, his questions 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 以 境 縣 仲 先 是 公 六 周
 也 此 於 邾 以 境 縣 仲 先 是 公 六 周
 邾 尼 山 其 禱 生 孔 氏 之 故 國 長 都 字 聖 也 襄 百 年
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 邾 尼 山 其 禱 生 孔 氏 之 故 國 長 都 字 聖 也 襄 百 年

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.

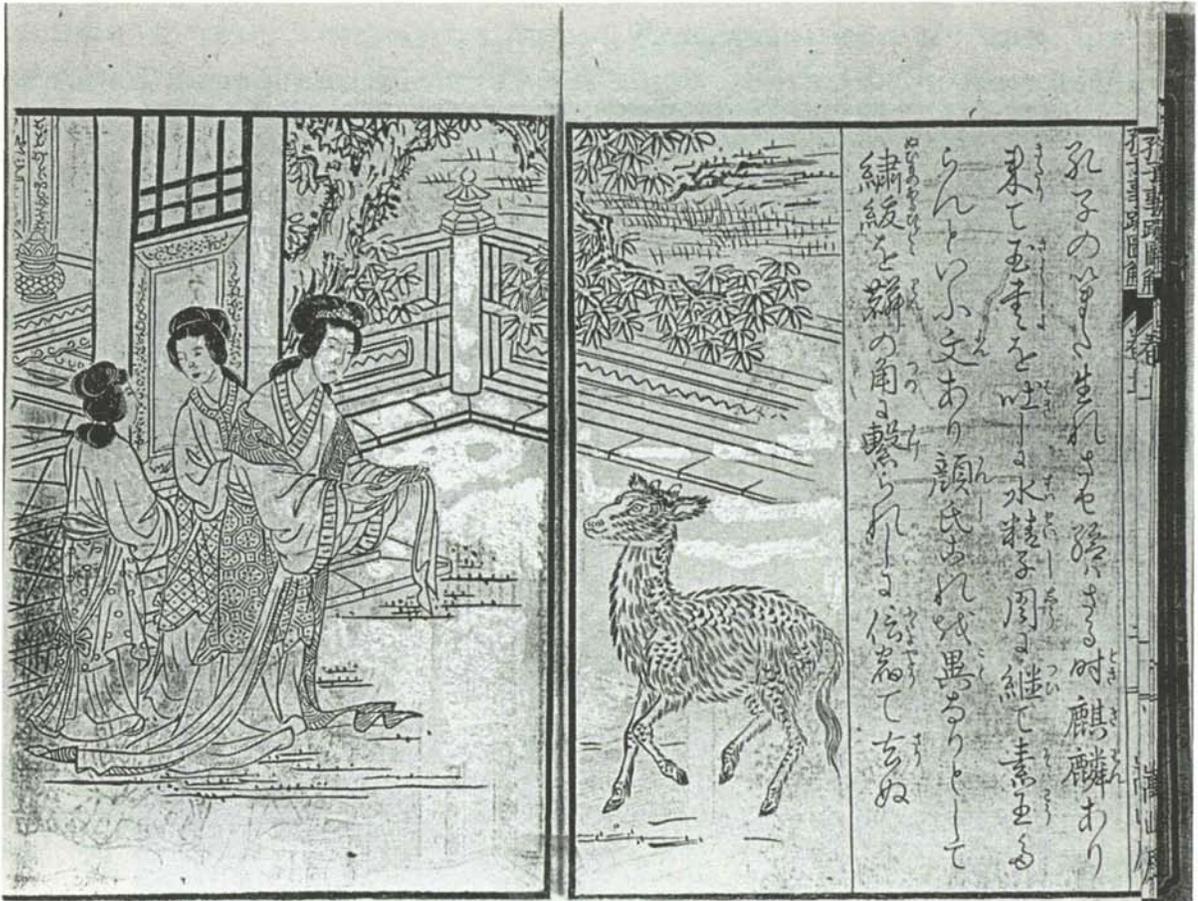
In Japan, we know only that Japan's Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko) has a 1630 exemplar in two *juan* of the Chinese edition published in the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505) of the Ming dynasty by the principedom of Ji, that is, the version written by Zhang Kai of the Ming.⁷⁰ There are also exemplars of an 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
 顏氏異之以繡紱繫麟角
 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
 十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* (Taibei: 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) (Taibei: 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

- | | |
|---|---|
| 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 陳鏞 | 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