

## **Publishers and their *Hua-p'u* in the Wan-li Period: The Development of the Comprehensive Painting Manual in the Late Ming\***

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### **Abstract**

The late Ming period is marked with the flourishing of art and the development of art historical knowledge among not just the old gentry but also among the rising middle class. The spurring economy gave more people, dwelling in the metropolitan areas of China, a chance to buy and savor contemporary arts of the Ming as well as to collect antique works produced in the previous dynasties. Publishers in the Wan-li period (1573-1620) wasted no time to answer the enthusiasm for collecting and decorating which went hand-in-hand with an increased desire for knowledge on the arts and tradition of painting. The publication of comprehensive painting manuals, the most developed form of *hua-p'u* one after another fulfilled such enthusiastic needs. *Hua-p'u* or woodblock printed books with illustrations defined various aspects of the art of painting, including theory, history, styles and methods of multiple genres, such as birds-and-flowers, landscapes, and figures.

In the stream of development of comprehensive painting manuals in the Wan-li period, literati artists, commercial publishers or the imperial clan head which published the *hua-p'u* attempted to record the history of the tradition through their printed texts and illustrations. The publications were edited and produced to satisfy the needs of the target audience of the individual publishers. Comprehensive painting manuals played the most important role in circulating knowledge regarding the art of painting and its history both in text and through visual images to a wide audience that prepared to establish the foundation of antiquarian trends of the late Ming.

**Keywords:** Comprehensive Painting Manual, *Hua-sou*, *T'u-hui tsung-i*,  
*Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, Wan-li period, Publisher

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Introduction

Comprehensive painting manuals, the most developed form of *hua-p'u* 畫譜, are woodblock printed books with illustrations that, in a single compilation, define various aspects of the art of painting, including theory, history, styles and methods in painting of multiple genres, such as birds-and-flowers, landscapes, and figures. Although late Ming period saw diverse developments of *hua-p'u* appending new variations in form and contents such as a selection of reproduced masterpieces of old and contemporary artists, and an anthology of pictures with corresponding poems, comprehensive painting manuals played the most important role to circulate knowledge regarding art that prepared to establish the foundation of antiquarian trends of the late Ming. From an art historical perspective, the editing and publication of such manuals in the Wan-li era (1573-1620) of the Ming dynasty may be viewed as a preparatory stage in the progress towards the pinnacle of comprehensive painting manuals -- the *Chieh-tzu-yüan hua-chuan* 芥子園畫傳 (The Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual), published in the early Ch'ing period. This study identifies the specific publishers of comprehensive painting manuals and a few other illustrated publications from the Wan-li era, and defines their individual styles and programs of publication.

Before we go further, I would like to point here to the concept of “program of publication.” When individual painting manuals are analyzed based on certain questions -- Who edited it? What information is included? What is omitted? Where was it published? Who may have been its intended audience? What was the purpose of its publication? -- the results reveal the market for, and the market in which each specific manual took its shape. Although these publications share the common aim of transmitting the artistic heritage of painting, each reflects slightly different information on the remarkable variety of audiences targeted by the compilers and publishers. The Ming equivalent of the publisher's market-niche may be identified through the layout and format of these books, their selection of illustrations, and the circumstances and backgrounds of their publication. The evolution of the comprehensive painting manual, when perceived from these aspects and placed in the historical context of the Wan-li era, presents a picture, in time and space, of late Ming cultural development.

Chou Lü-ching and *Hua-sou*: Pioneer of the Comprehensive Painting Manuals

*Hua-p'u* in the Ming dynasty initially followed the convention of painting manuals devoted to single subjects, such as the *mei-p'u* 梅譜 (Manual of plum

blossom paintings)<sup>1</sup> and *chu-p'u* 竹譜 (Manual of bamboo paintings), which were first published as individual manuals during the Sung and Yüan dynasties. By the Chia-ching era (1522-1566), these publications were further developed into manuals with multiple subjects, now expanded into the broader genre of birds-and-flowers painting.

Working prior to the evolution of the comprehensive *hua-p'u* in the Wan-li era, Kao Sung 高松, an artist from Wen-an 文安 in Hopeh Province, published a series of four painting manuals, each individually covering the topics of bamboo, plum blossom, chrysanthemum, and birds, in the 1550s. Kao, who was once offered an official position at the Hung-lu-ssu 鴻臚寺 (Court of State Ceremonial), was a birds-and-flowers painter especially known for his ink bamboo painting. Despite the flattering invitation to court, he did not accept the offer and chose instead to work as a professional artist. Each volume in the painting manual series was organized to include sections on painting theory, diagrammatic explanations of how to paint selected motifs, and full compositions as models.

The *Kao Sung chu-p'u* 高松竹譜 (The Kao Sung Bamboo Painting Manual), for example, contains theoretical texts on bamboo painting and 149 pages of illustrations, which systematically explain both basic techniques of how to draw bamboo stalks, branches, or leaves, and present exemplary compositions. Kao Sung borrows essential information on bamboo painting theory and many illustrations from Li Kan's *Chu-p'u hsiang-lu* 竹譜詳錄 (Comprehensive Manual of Bamboo Painting), which was published in the Yüan dynasty.<sup>2</sup> However, Kao Sung's aim in publishing is clearly differentiated from that of Li K'an in that he organized his book much more practically, explicating methods of painting bamboo, adding new diagrams and discarding the purely botanical bamboo studies that characterized Li's book.

Kao Sung opened the trend for the serialization of *hua-p'u* that would occur later in history. Building upon the achievements of previous publications, more

1 The earliest extant manual is *Mei-hua hsi-shen-p'u* 梅花喜神譜 (Plum Blossom Painting Manual) compiled and illustrated by Sung Po-jen 宋伯仁, a plum painting specialist from Chin-hua in Chekiang Province. The publication is post-scripted by Yeh Ching-i 葉靖逸 in 1238. A later, but still the earliest extant edition, dated 1261, is housed in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.

2 Li K'an, a high-ranking government official during the reign of Jen-tsung 仁宗 (1311-1320) of the Yüan dynasty, compiled *Chu-p'u hsiang-lu* in 1299; it was hand copied during the Ch'eng-hua (1465-1487) era of the Ming. In 1808 Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 of Anhwei Province published a new edition based on the Ming hand copy as a part of the compendium entitled *Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書. This manual of bamboo painting also contains detailed botanical information on all varieties of this plant and was employed as an encyclopedia of bamboo. Ming and Ch'ing period bamboo painting manuals were always more or less based on Li K'an's manual.

than ten different types of *hua-p'u*, each with completely new concepts from those of the past, appeared in the Wan-li era. It is at this innovative stage in the development of *hua-p'u* that one witnesses the initial movement to create a comprehensive painting manual, inclusive of all painting genres.

In 1598, Chou Lü-ching 周履靖 (Birth and death dates unknown), from Chia-hsing 嘉興 in Chekiang Province, completed editing a compendium (*ts'ung-shu* 叢書) of 106 *chüan* under the title *I-men kuang-tu* 夷門廣牘.<sup>3</sup> Chou Lü-ching was one of the first editors/publishers to produce a comprehensive painting manual that inherited the format and compilation methods of past *hua-p'u*, such as those of Kao Sung. He collected non-official publications (those not sponsored by the government), literary works, books on art, texts on scholar-gentlemen's hobbies and pleasures, records of literati lives, poetry exchanged and authored by scholars from various periods, as well as his own poems. The *I-men kuang-tu* compendium was issued by the Ching-shan shu-lin 荆山書林, an old publishing house in Nanking. The content of this anthology shows that the great interest among certain segments of the educated population were in books that might bring together the various "arts of the gentleman" and the book buying public's demand was enough for a compiler and a commercial publisher to make a profitable business out of issuing such literature.

Chou Lü-ching was a literatus, a poet, an able calligrapher in all styles, and an artist known for his landscape painting and his *pai-miao* (ink outline) mode of figure painting. As one of his style names, "mei-tien" 梅顛 (literally meaning "plum addict" or "plum enthusiast") professes, he was also a connoisseur of plum paintings. He kept company with such eminent literati-artists and famous connoisseurs as Wen-chia 文嘉 (1501-1583), Wang Chih-teng 王穉登 (1535-1612), Hsiang Yüan-pien 項元汴 (1525-1590) and Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 (1526-1593). Sun K'o-hung 孫克弘 (1533-1611), a well known late Ming artist who was once appointed as the Prefect of Han-yang 漢陽 in Hupeh Province, makes an interesting comment on the traits of Chou Lü-ching. He writes, "Chou was mad about nature, painting and calligraphy, ancient bronzes and stones, as well as plum paintings."<sup>4</sup> It was Chou's interest especially in the pleasures of the scholar gentleman that motivated him to publish such a large compendium as the *I-men kuang-tu*. Sun K'o-hung himself authored a painting manual on flowers

3 The original edition researched for this study is in the collection of Naikaku Bunko (the National Archives), Tokyo. This copy was formerly owned by the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo, an Edo period school of higher education supported by the Tokugawa shogunate.

4 See the seventh *chüan* of *Hua-sou* titled *Hui-lin t'i-shih* 繪林題識

and bamboo entitled *Pai-hua lan-chu-p'u* 百華蘭竹譜 (Painting Manual of One Hundred Flowers, Orchids and Bamboo, undated) which was probably produced in the Wan-li era, after Chou's publication.<sup>5</sup>

One of the old books on art compiled in Chou's compendium was *Ko-ku yao-lun* 格古要論, edited by Ts'ao Chao 曹昭 in 1388, revised by Wang Tso 王左 in 1459, and printed by the same publisher as Chou's Ching-shan shu-lin in Nanking. This was a book containing detailed examinations of objects and discussions on the connoisseurship of antiquities, including ancient bronze vessels, painting, calligraphy, scholar's rocks, ink stones and other subjects, and was itself modeled after *Tung-t'ien ch'ing-lu-chi* 洞天清祿集, edited by Chao Hsi-hu 趙希鵠 in the middle of the thirteenth century. *Ko-ku yao-lun* was the kind of book many literati-artists of the Wan-li era read to acquire knowledge necessary to be considered a scholar of refined tastes.

In Chou's compendium we find a set of seven manuals on art under the title of *Hua-sou* 畫藪, which holds the distinction of being the first comprehensive manual of painting in multiple genres. The *Hua-sou* begins with a two-volume text on painting theory entitled *Hua-p'ing hui-hai* 畫評會海. Full pages are devoted to reproducing passages from famous ancient painting theories, such as the "Six Laws", the "Three Gradings", the "Six Points", and the "Twelve Things to Avoid", covering previous publications on this topic from the Sung through the Ming periods,<sup>6</sup> as well as Chou's more specific discussions on the depiction of rocks and trees. The classical theories are abbreviated or only partially extracted. The concept of the "theory digest" was a unique innovation in this period, but set the standard for publications of theoretical sections in the comprehensive manuals that followed later. Five individually titled volumes with illustrations follow the theory texts. They explain how to paint subjects from the genres of figures, bamboo, plums, orchids (Fig.1), birds (Fig. 2), and small animals, insects and plants. An anthology of commentaries on Chou's artistic activities, including a manual on contemporary literati painting, concludes the *Hua-sou*. Both the texts and illustrations for this manual were done by Chou.

Among painting manual history, the most distinguishing feature of the *Hua-sou* lies in the fact that Chou includes a manual of figure paintings, which he

5 The original edition was published by Ch'ing-hui-chai 清繪齋 in the late Ming. A later reprint of the late Ming to early Ch'ing edition is found in the *Chin-shih hua-p'u* 金氏畫譜, compiled by a certain Chin Wan 金完, which is in the collection of the Hōsa Bunko Library in Nagoya, and bears the name of the publisher P'ao-pien-chai 豹變齋 in Hang-chou.

6 Chou borrowed from *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua-p'ing* 宋朝名畫評, *T'u-hui pao-chien* 圖繪寶鑑, *T'u-hua chien-wen-chih* 圖畫見聞誌, and others.

entitled *T'ien-hsing tao-mao* 天形道貌. This novelty thus adds a significant new genre to the *hua-p'u*. *T'ien-hsing tao-mao* begins with "Treatises on Figure Painting," summarizing the important elements of figure painting theory from the T'ang through the Ming periods. "Eighteen Drawing Methods for Draperies" are also defined in this section. The text is followed by forty-one pages of illustrations that present simple, stereotypical images of figures in a featureless style, and with minimal background renditions. Chou also depicted scenes of the typical accomplishments and pleasures of the lofty scholar-gentlemen, who appear in outdoor settings. Captions engraved for each figural composition are allusive to phrases found in the Confucian classics, in ancient literature or in the context of well-known episodes relating to famous literati. These captions were used to instruct readers about the iconographic meaning of the compositions. For example, "Washing the Feet" (*cho-tsu* 濯足) (Fig. 3), symbolizes the loftiness of character to stand above the trivialities of life, as originally found in the book of Mencius. The well-known episode of "Writing on the Cliff" (*t'i-pi* 題壁) (Fig. 4) reminds readers of the famous Northern Sung literati-artist Mi Fu. In other words, the captions alongside the illustrated figures provide the readers a short-cut to identify the subject matter when viewing a painting and serve to disseminate such knowledge in condensed form. The last four pages of the *T'ien-hsing tao-mao*, captioned "hsieh-i" 寫意, means renderings in abbreviated form, or drawing the essence of the subject. The illustrations display figures of fishermen, wood-gatherers and lofty scholars (Fig. 5), which usually appeared in painting compositions as minor staff or attendant figures, but were often crucial components in conveying the meaning of a landscape composition. These particular illustrations had high utilitarian value for artists and, as a consequence, they soon reappeared in numerous other comprehensive painting manuals published throughout the seventeenth century.

Recognizing their functional value, Cheng Wen 鄭燮 of Chin-an 晉安 in Fukien Province made a complete reproduction of the five books from the *I-men kuang-tu* and published them under a new title, *Hua-fa yao-chüeh* 畫法要訣 sometime after 1598. Cheng's set included three painting manuals of figures, plums, and birds from the *Hua-sou*. Two other books in Cheng's publication, not taken from the *Hua-sou* section but from other sections of Chou Lü-ching's compendium, are an anthology of poetry about plum blossoms by the renowned Yüan dynasty Ch'an monk, Chung-feng Ming-pen 中峯明本, and a Sung book on ornithology. Ming-pen's anthology and the ornithology book were chosen to make a pair with the plum painting manual and the bird painting manual,

respectively. Cheng employed the engraver Yeh Hsiu-ya 葉秀崖 to re-cut the woodblocks following the originals and replaced Chou Lü-ching's name with his own, thus claiming himself as the annotator of the publication. This new manual came out of a minor publishing house called Ko-ku-chai 格古齋<sup>7</sup> in Min-chung 閩中, Fukien Province. The result of the re-cutting was less refined and only worsened the infamous reputation for the inferior quality of Fukien publications. Such publications bore witness to the complaints of such writers as Hsieh Chao-che 謝肇淛, also from Fukien, who made critical comments that Chien-an in Fukien, a center of commercial publishing since the Yüan, produced a large quantity of books but was poorest when it came to quality.<sup>8</sup> Hsieh criticized both texts and illustrations of Fukien editions for their haste production. These editions economized on manpower in the process of editing and reduced the space between lines to compress the same amount of text into fewer numbers of pages. But on the other side of the coin, such reduction in staff and economical use of paper led Fukien publishers to print cheaper editions.<sup>9</sup> That of course explains their publications were so popular in many areas of China.

Regardless of qualitative failings, it is however a worthwhile job to collect and compile a new set of related books. The emergence of *Hua-fa yao-chüeh* indicates not just the popularity of painting manuals in general but especially those concerning the genres of plum blossoms and birds among the other subjects of painting. Cheng's selection of subject and his apparent plagiarism may reflect the fact that in Fukien, and moreover other regions to which the sets were transported as commercial goods, there was demand among the wider populace for knowledge about painting and poetry associated with flowering plum, as well as bird painting. A lower quality but perhaps timely and affordable books, such as *Hua-fa yao-chüeh* answered the needs of the audiences who could not buy the whole set of the *I-men kuang-tu* or *Hua-sou* or even parts of it but could afford to purchase perhaps the less expensive and more focused version. The new program for publication focused only upon birds-and-flowers. *Hua-fa yao-chüeh* presents a case by which the most wanted section of the most recent comprehensive painting manual produced in the southern capital, Nanking could be available to audiences of wider geographical area within their financial limitations.

7 The undated late Ming edition in the Naikaku Bunko bears the publishing house name *K'ao-ku-chai*.

8 See *Wu-tsa-tsu* 五雜俎, shih-pu 事部1, *chüan* 13.

9 For further arguments on Fukien commercial publication, their price and readers, see Inoue Susumu 井上進, *Chūgoku Shuppan Bunkashi* 中國出版文化史 (Nagoya : Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2002), pp. 114-120.

The length of time it took Chou Lü-ching to complete editing and publishing of the *Hua-sou* or the entire compendium in which it appeared is not known. In the process of editing Chou asked his friends to participate in his project, or at least borrowed their names, in order to raise the status of his publication. Among volumes in the *Hua-sou*, for instance, he took advantage of his friendship with the leading literati of the time and included Wen Chia as the annotator of *T'ien-hsing tao-mao*, and Hsiang Yüan-pien as the annotator of a volume on orchid paintings titled, *Chiu-wan i-jung* 九畹遺容. Both men, however, had already been dead for some time at the actual moment of the manual's publication. Through the inclusion of their names, however, we can assume that some of the volumes in the *Hua-sou* were ready for publication before the completion of the two prefaces of the compendium, which were dated 1597 and 1598.

It is probably not too much to say that Chou's compilation and editing strategy, of collecting a wide variety of materials reflecting the cultural life of the scholar gentleman in a single compendium, came about in response to the demands of those surrounding him. Chou's method of organizing the layout, using famous phrases from the classics or poetry as captions to accompany the illustrations, and the sheer fact of his producing an accumulated compilation of the gentleman's refinements, point to his audience. Publications such as Chou's were aimed at the scholar gentlemen and those who aspired to be included in their ranks, as well as all who serviced this group with cultural objects and materials needed for the cultural functions of the group.

### *T'u-hui tsung-i*: Further Revisions on the Comprehensive Painting Manual

In the next stage of the development of the comprehensive painting manual, Yang Erh-ts'eng 楊爾曾 from Wu-lin 武林 (a district in today's Hang-chou), made a noteworthy contribution by editing and publishing *T'u-hui tsung-i* 圖繪宗彝. The manual, eight *chüan* in four volumes, is accompanied by Yang's preface dated 1607 (Fig. 6).<sup>10</sup> He carried forward the heritage of producing a comprehensive painting manual established by Chou Lü-ching and his *Hua-sou*. Although Yang is said to have been a writer of vernacular literature,<sup>11</sup> he was known neither as an artist nor a distinguished literatus. However, he ran two

10 Copies of the I-pai-t'ang edition are found in such Japanese libraries as Naikaku Bunko, Hōsa Bunko in Nagoya, and Eisei Bunko in Tokyo.

11 See Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, "Shoshū seiritsu o megutte" 初集成立をめぐって, in *Kaishien Gaden. Shoshū. Sansui Juseki* 芥子園畫傳 初集 山水樹石, Aoki Masaru 青木正児, ed. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1975), vol. 1, p. 214.

commercial publishing houses, I-pai-t'ang 夷白堂 and Ts'ao-hsüan-chu 草玄居 in Hang-chou during the Wan-li era. *T'u-hui tsung-i* along with another illustrated book on scenic spots of China entitled *Hai-nai ch'i-kuan* 海內奇觀 printed in 1609, edited also by Yang came out of the I-pai-t'ang. Earlier, in 1602, his *Hsien-yüan chi-shih* 仙媛紀事 (Episodes of Immortal Beauties) was published through Ts'ao-hsüan-chü. The publication contained exquisite illustrations by the engraver Huang Te-ch'ung 黃德寵, whose style name was Yü-lin 玉林. Huang was one of the leading woodblock engravers of the dominant Anhwei school of printing and was in high demand by different publishers in Hang-chou and Su-chou for his meticulous carving style, characterized by fine unbroken contour lines. Yang's other publication from the same firm during the Wan-li era, *Hu-mei ts'ung-t'an* 狐媚叢談<sup>12</sup> adorned with subtly carved large figures of both male and female in different settings, gives evidence of the publisher's keen concern for superb print illustrations. Although neither artist nor engraver for this book is named, some male figures show the resemblance in physiognomy to those found in the *T'u-hui tsung-i*.

Realizing the importance of quality illustrations and good public relations as a step to success of a *hua-p'u* publication and perhaps to compensate for his own obscurity, Yang Erh-ts'eng, a commercial publisher, hired a popular draftsman Ts'ai Ju-tso 蔡汝左 and a well known engraver Huang Te-ch'ung to cooperate in his production. The latter had already worked for him at least once before. Ts'ai Ju-tso, whose style name was Ch'ung-huan 冲寰, was a professional artist also from Hsin-an, modern Anhwei Province. Although he was just a minor painter working in any genre of painting, Ts'ai worked for publishers in different cities as an experienced draftsman of book illustrations and also drew illustrations for other publications, including the Liu T'ai-hua 劉太華 edition of *Hsi-hsiang-chi* 西廂記 (The Romance of the Western Chamber) and *T'ang-shih wu-yen hua-p'u* 唐詩五言畫譜 (T'ang Poetry of the Five Character Style and Corresponding Pictures) both of which were widely read during the Wan-li era. Ts'ai and Huang's names appear at the end of the preface of the manual right after that of the editor/publisher Yang Erh-ts'eng, himself. Prior to the *T'u-hui tsung-i*, except in the case of the editor also being the draftsman, names of the illustrators and engravers were never mentioned in such a significant manner. Among later painting manuals such as *Shih-chu-chai shu-hua-p'u* 十竹齋書畫譜 (Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting) or illustrations to

12 The original edition studied for this article is in the collection of Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

vernacular literature in the following eras, collaborations between famous artists and skilled engravers resulting in refined publications, were made known in print.<sup>13</sup> The fact that Yang treated the two artists so exceptionally well indicates that in the printing business these skilled professionals were not always regarded as mere craftsmen, but were in fact, a marketing tool, or a sort of brand name for helping buyers select an outstanding publication on painting.

The first six volumes of the *Tu-hui tsung-i* consisted of illustrated manuals on the following subjects, in order: landscape painting with figures; birds, flowers and insects; plum blossoms; bamboo; orchids; animals and fish; with a single page on decorated stationery. The compilation is concluded with two volumes consisting of generations of painting theory<sup>14</sup> covering a wide range of genres, from landscape to figure paintings. The editor's name is proudly carved at the beginning of the first volume as the author of the theoretical section on figure painting, but the texts were actually copied entirely from the publication of Chou Lü-ching's *T'ien-hsing tao-mao*. Individual theoretical texts that precede the illustrations for each genre were taken from the corresponding volumes of the *Hua-sou*. As for the illustrations, there was heavy borrowing from the *Hua-sou* as well as from other previously published manuals,<sup>15</sup> without any mention of their sources.

Although there was much dependence on previous publications, Yang Erh-ts'eng yet made a significant revision seen in the development of comprehensive painting manuals by appending a new section. The first volume of the *T'u-hui tsung-i*, entitled "Figures and Landscapes," pioneered the creation of manuals containing paintings with figures in landscape compositions. In order to formulate his illustrations, Ts'ai Ju-tso borrowed from *Ku-shih hua-p'u*<sup>16</sup> 顧氏畫

13 For an argument on the illustrators of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting and Calligraphy*, see Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Wen-jen ya-ch'ü yü shang-ye shu-fang - Shih-tsu-chai shu-hua-p'u ho chieh-p'u ti k'an yin yü Hu Chen-yen ti ch'u-pan shih-yeh" 文人雅趣與商業書坊 -- 十竹齋書畫譜和箋譜的刊印與胡正言的出版事業 (Printing for the Literati: Hu Cheng-yen's Publishing Strategies for a Specific Market), in *Hsin shih-hsüeh* 新史學 (New History), vol. X, no. 3 (September, 1999), pp. 1-54.

14 The texts reproduced here include extracts of well-known painting theories from *Li-tai ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 by Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠 of the T'ang, *Shan-shui yao-chüeh* 山水要訣 by Ching Hao 荆浩 of the Five Dynasties, *Lin-ch'üan kao-chih* 林泉高致 by Kuo Hsi 郭熙 of the Sung as well as others from various periods.

15 Yang probably also borrowed the composition from the illustrations of *Wen-fang t'u-tsan* 文房圖贊 in the compendium titled *Pai-chia ming-shu* 百家名書 compiled by Hu Wen-huang 胡文煥 in 1603.

16 For further discussion of this manual, see Hiromitsu Kobayashi, "Chügokushi ni okeru hanga no igi : Koshi Gafu ni miru rekidai meiga fukusei o megutte" 中國繪畫史における版畫の意義: 顧氏畫譜にみる歷代名畫複製をめぐって (Significances of Pictorial Printing in the History of Chinese

譜 (also known as *Li-tai ming-kung hua-p'u* 歷代名公畫譜), published several years earlier. *Ku-shih hua-p'u*, edited by Ku Ping 顧炳 in 1603, was an unique painting manual; reproducing what Ku believed to be 106 compositions of masters from the successive dynasties. It was the first of the painting manuals printed by Shuang-kui-t'ang 雙桂堂, a commercial publisher in Hang-chou. The compiler, Ku Ping, served as a court painter in the Wu-ying-tien Hall 武英殿 of the Imperial Palace at the end of 1590's.<sup>17</sup> Ts'ai Ju-tso also borrowed figures illustrated in the *T'ien-hsing tao-mao* of Chou Lü-ching. The artist utilized the compositions of these two previous manuals to form new illustrations by modifying the original images, particularly by adding other pictorial components in the background. For example, to an illustration (Fig. 7) from the *Ku-shih hua-p'u* ascribed to Chang Seng-yao 張僧繇 of the Six Dynasties in which only a *lo-han*, his attendant and tiger were illustrated, he added a background of pine tree, stream and distant mountains, as well as a caption reading "Lo-han and Tiger," for his own composition (Fig. 8). This was done in order to further clarify the subject of the illustration.

The illustration for "Listening to the Sound of a Spring and Gazing at a Waterfall" (Fig.9) borrows from *T'ien-hsing tao-mao*. A solitary gentleman in the original illustration, who leaned on the rock to listen to the sound of a spring (Fig.10), now gazes at the waterfall gushing from the cliff before him, and will soon be joined by his boy servant, who approaches with a zither. The original illustration of "Seeking a Phrase" (*so-chü* 索句) in the *T'ien-hsing tao-mao* only depicted a poet sitting by the stream, but in Ts'ai's publication, the illustration is accompanied in the background by blooming chrysanthemums, a cup of wine, a brush, an ink-stone, and an unrolled paper for writing (Fig. 11). Ts'ai's illustration is more than allusive to T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明 of the Six Dynasties, who was known for being a connoisseur of chrysanthemums. Ts'ai Ju-tso thus metamorphosed a single figural motif into a full composition depicting a popular subject. In doing so, his illustrations speak vividly of the potential meaning carried by the signs and symbolism in a painting. Although the book was published in Hang-chou, the figures depicted in the illustrations carry the typical smiling faces characteristic of the Anhwei printing school of the Wan-li

Painting -- a Study of the 1603 *Ku-shih hua-p'u* --) in *Bijutsushi* 美術史, no. 128 (1990), pp. 123-135.

17 See the preface to this manual by Chu Chih-fan 朱之蕃 in which Ku Ping's biographical accounts are found. For Ku Ping's biography also see his entry in *Wu-sheng shih-shih* 無聲詩史, chuan 3, 29b.

era. The characteristic style of the illustration results from a collaboration of a popular painter and engraver, both from Anhwei Province and may be recognized as an Anhwei print.

These methods of modifying and recreating illustrations along with their blatant and obvious cultural markers, point to the fact that painting manuals such as the *T'u-hui tsung-i*, issued by commercial publishers, were now targeting different kinds of audiences, and those of more varied social strata, than the audience for previous publications, such as Chou Lü-ching's compendium. Unlike *Hua-sou* printed as a part of a larger compendium, *T'u-hui tsung-i* was published as an individual set of *hua-p'u* in eight *chüan* emphasizing visual effects to enhance its utility value. This comprehensive painting manual thus met the needs of many artists who had no chance to access quality original paintings for study nor to collect or read previously published painting manuals. The publisher's target readers were presumably newly emerging minor artists and collectors in urban areas. Yang Erh-ts'eng captured a wider audience for his manual than might more scholarly tomes.

Partly resulting from the assistance of a well-known draftsman and engraver, the popularity of the manual *T'u-hui tsung-i* grew quickly. Yang reissued at least a second edition of this manual including a revision with minor changes in some illustrations through his same firm, the I-pai-t'ang.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, after a very short lapse of time, Wen-lin-go 文林閣 in Chin-ling (present day Nanking), run by T'ang Chin-ch'ih 唐錦池 reprinted a whole set of the *T'u-hui tsung-i* without any change -- even reproducing the date of the original edition. This publishing house was ranked among the largest in the vicinity. Wen-li-go issued several tens of books with illustrations during the Wan-li era, among which we find many examples of vernacular literature. It is speculated that the reason for this change in publishing house, over such a short span of time, is that Yang Erh-ts'eng had sold his copyright to T'ang Chin-ch'ih, but the truth remains to be discovered. It is not difficult to assume that the reissuing by such a major commercial publisher as Wen-lin-go immediately transmitted knowledge regarding the art of painting to audiences in larger areas of the Chiang-nan region.

Further, Sun P'i-hsien 孫丕顯 used many illustrations from the *T'u-hui tsung-i* to compose the illustrations for his *Hua-ti* 畫適, which formed a volume on painting of his illustrated reference compilation titled *Yen-hsien ssu-ti* 燕閒四

18 Among the I-pai-t'ang editions some details of illustrations were changed. For example the physiognomy of the bodhisattva in the illustration captioned "P'u-men shih-hsien" 普門示現 from the Hōsa Bunko copy clearly differs from that of Naikaku Bunko.

適 (Four Ideal Pastimes, preface dated 1611). The compilation was well received by literati as a handy reference to four pleasures of gentleman, namely, ch'in (zither), *wei-ch'i* (the game of go), calligraphy and painting. Moreover, once the *T'u-hui tsung-i* was brought into Japan, sometime before the end of the seventeenth century, a Japanese version faithfully copied after the original was printed in 1701. It was reprinted by other publishers three times in Kyoto and Edo (Tokyo) by 1735.<sup>19</sup> This fact enables us to see that there was a great demand for the comprehensive painting manual overseas, as well, and the style of the *T'u-hui tsung-i* appealed to the tastes and needs of a wide audience.

### *San-ts'ai t'u-hui: Circulation of Artistic Knowledge of Comprehensive Painting Manuals*

It is also worth noting that in this period, illustrated encyclopedias were published which combined various books with illustrations. They were educational reference books and not comprehensive painting manuals. The *Hua-sou* as discussed above gave birth to *T'u-hui tsung-i* but furthermore offered some of its constituent elements of comprehensive painting manual to illustrated encyclopedic reference books (*lei-shu* 類書) published in the Wan-li era. Editors and publishers of illustrated encyclopedia started to especially utilize painting manuals, initially printed for artists and literati. The illustrations became visual teaching materials for general audiences including non-elite readers. This resulted in unique compilations that were highly functional for teaching and disseminating a wide variety of knowledge and information which could be better communicated with illustrated guidance.

Wang Ch'i 王圻 (ca.1535-ca.1614),<sup>20</sup> a scholar gentleman from Shanghai, in collaboration with his son Wang Ssu-i 王思義, who edited the best known and the most refined illustrated encyclopedia of the Wan-li era *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* 三才圖會, which was completed by 1607 and printed in 1609.<sup>21</sup> Wang Ch'i obtained

19 For further discussions on Japanese versions of Ming period *hua-p'u*, see Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chūgoku gafu no hakusai, honkoku to Wasei gafu no tanjō" 中國畫譜の舶載・翻刻と和製畫譜の誕生, in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu etehon ten* 近世日本繪畫と畫譜・繪手本展 Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 町田市立國際版畫美術館, ed. (Machida-shi : Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), pt. 2, pp. 106-123.

20 See the entry for Wang Ch'i in *the Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*, L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, ed. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1355, 1356.

21 This encyclopedia was republished at least twice in the late Ming period. It was brought into Japan first in the early Edo period and later in 1712. Terashima Ryōan 寺島良安 compiled *Wakan Sansai Zue* 和漢三才圖會, a Japanese version of the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* enlarged with many corresponding Japanese entries.

his chin-shih degree in 1565, and was given the position of Censor (*yü-shih* 御史). Later he served in various positions in different places and ended his official career as an Assistant Administrative Commissioner in Shansi Province. Retiring to Sung-chiang 松江 in Kiangsu Province from official service, Wang Ch'i devoted the rest of his life to writing and editing books. This renowned illustrated encyclopedia, composed of 106 *chüan* in 64 volumes, was compiled from a number of older books containing illustrations covering virtually all fields of study from astronomy, geography, agriculture, military implements, architecture, medicine, religious and historical figures, and Confucian rites to a variety of human affairs. Wang Ch'i composed texts and drafted some of the illustrations, and his son annotated the publication and also added illustrations.

The *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* contains illustrations such as bust portraits of historical figures (Fig.12) through the middle Ming period in the volumes of "Personage" (*jen-wu* 人物) and topographic pictures of actual places and scenic spots from all over China in the volumes of "Physical Geography" (*ti-li* 地理), both of which can be useful as models in painting. For illustrations and accompanying texts of the tenth and eleventh *chüan* of the "Personage", sixty-three Taoist and Buddhist images were borrowed from the most recent biographical compilation of religious figures entitled *Hsien-fo ch'i-tsung* 仙佛奇踪 (Fantastic Episodes of Taoist Immortals and Buddhist Masters), published in Hsin-an, Anhwei Province, in 1602. Their images clearly reflect the stylistic tendencies of archaism then growing in religious figure painting of the Wan-li era, represented by two masters, Ting Yün-p'eng 丁雲鵬 (ca.1547-1628) and Wu Pin 吳彬 (active in the Wan-li and Tien-ch'i eras).

However it is in the section called "Human Affairs" (*jen-shih* 人事) that we find rich materials for use as a painting manual. For more than 200 pages from the fourth, fifth and sixth *chüan* of the "Human Affairs" the editors reproduce the figures of lofty gentlemen and ladies, as well as birds-and-flowers, bamboo, plum blossoms, orchid compositions -- all of which were lifted from those of the *Hua-sou*. Several pages explaining how to draw a human face from eleven different angles and the four postures of walking, standing, sitting and lying were newly appended by the editors at the beginning of the figure painting section in the fourth *chüan* of the "Human Affairs." Reproducing illustrations from each volume of the *Hua-sou*, the encyclopedia omitted or reduced each of the theoretical texts to its minimum for the purpose of the publication.

The most noteworthy feature under the title "Human Affairs" in relationship to the evolution of comprehensive painting manuals is the inclusion of the

section explaining texture strokes and trees with foliages used in painting. Though only a sparing fourteen pages, the section uses captions to name the different texture strokes traditionally used by artists when painting rocks and mountains (Fig.13) as well as the different types of trees (Fig.14). Each different type of texture stroke with a caption naming the strokes and trees was laid out separately in a grid on a page. Names of master painters from the Five Dynasties through the Southern Sung dynasty such as Tung Yüan 董源, Kuan T'ung 關仝, Li Ch'eng 李成, Kuo Hsi 郭熙, Ma Yüan 馬遠, Hsia Kui 夏珪 and others, known for their use of certain texture strokes were listed accordingly with their signifying strokes on a separate page. In this fashion, the section reproduces the most basic but essential technique and knowledge used for painting and studying landscapes compositions. Although it is not possible to understand brush manners or use of ink from linear renditions in prints, it was still helpful to come to know the names of the strokes and to attach them to their approximate images.

The didactic features of the illustrations might have been taken from painted hand-scrolls produced in earlier periods such as the "Scroll of Painting Methods" (*Hua-fa-chüan* 畫法卷) (Fig.15, 15a) painted by a certain Sun T'ing-yung 孫廷用 in the fifteenth century. The scroll was not printed but painted and the artist elucidated painting theories in combination with diagrams similar to those found in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*. Sun T'ing-yung's work is extant only as a fragment but its layout depicting texture strokes and trees with foliages in diagrams lead us to think that it could be a draft of non-extant painting manual of landscape. The scroll, now in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum, is known to have been brought back to Japan from China by *Sesshū* 雪舟, the most celebrated artist of fifteenth century Japan.<sup>22</sup> In the few pages of the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, Wang Ch'i presented fundamental details that had been overlooked by previous compilers of painting manuals, but which were significant for the art of painting.

Since there is no extant printed manual explaining basic elements of landscape painting prior to Wang Ch'i's publication, the volumes of "Human Affairs" thus not just presented an intriguing case of interrelation between reference book and a specialized painting manual but marked another important step in the ongoing evolution of the comprehensive painting manual. The *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, being an encyclopedia, also recorded and disseminated the vocabulary needed to describe, evaluate and produce or sell a work of art. The

22 The hand-scroll bears the seal reading "Sun T'ing-yung" and is recorded in the entry on Sesshū in *Koga bikō* 古畫備考 with the statement by one of his followers that Sesshū brought it back to Japan. See *Koga bikō*, edited by Asaoka Kōtei 朝岡興禎 (Kyoto ; Shibunkaku, 1904), pp. 689-695.

ambitious project combined various books with illustrations and resulted in a unique compilation that carried high utility value for teaching and disseminating a wide variety of knowledge and pictorial information. The two compilers of *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* did not have the intention of publishing a painting manual, however some volumes of the set were clearly valuable to painters.

Regarding the relationship between illustrated encyclopedia and comprehensive painting manuals in the Wan-li era, artistic information found in comprehensive painting manuals were further popularized among the illustrated household encyclopedia (*jih-yung lei-shu* 日用類書) which was affordably priced.<sup>23</sup> Late Ming commercial publishers in Chien-an 建安 and other places of Fukien Province, a popular publishing center for such compilations since the Southern Sung dynasty, issued them for daily use. A recent study on the *Wan-shu yüan-hai* 萬書淵海, first printed in 1610, and other household encyclopedias, points out that it was a new phenomenon in printing history to publish household encyclopedias borrowing so many illustrations from both ancient and contemporary *hua-p'u*.<sup>24</sup> The publications met the needs of the functionally literate people who were not highly cultivated, but who had enough disposable income to learn about urban culture.<sup>25</sup> Inclusion of abbreviated forms of the comprehensive and other painting manuals to the illustrated encyclopedias and household encyclopedias brought elite literati culture close to even those populations outside of the urban areas during the Wan-li era.

**Chu Shou-yung and *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*: A Painting Manual Edited by the Imperial Clan**

The last comprehensive painting manual that will be discussed here was published by a local imperial clan in the late Wan-li era. A *hua-p'u* entitled *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng* 畫法大成 (Synthesis of Painting Methods) preface dated 1615, was co-edited and published by Chu Shou-yung 朱壽鏞 and other family members in

23 For an argument on the prices of books in the late Ming, see Oki Yasushi 大木康, *Minmatsu Kōnan no Shuppan Bunka* 明末江南の出版文化 (Tokyo : Kenbun Shuppan, 2004), pp. 121-128.

24 See Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, “Sheng-huo, chih-shih yü wen-hua shang-p'in : Wan-Ming Fu-chien-pan ”jih-yung lei-shu“ yü ch'I shu-hua-men” 生活、知識與文化商品：晚明福建版「日用類書」與其書畫門 (Daily life, Commercialized Knowledge, and Cultural Consumption: Late-Ming Fujian Household Encyclopedia on Calligraphy and Painting), in *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan chin-tai-shih yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (*Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*), Chuan-hao : Sheng-huo, chih-shih yü Chung-kuo hsien-tai-shing 專號：生活、知識與中國現代性 (Special Issue: Daily Life, Knowledge, and Chinese Modernities), vol. 41 (2003), pp. 1-85.

25 Ibid.

Ch'ung-chou 兗州 prefecture of Shantung Province.<sup>26</sup> The manual is comprised of eight *chüan* in four volumes. Chu Shou-yung, an eleventh descendant from the tenth prince of Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋, the first emperor of Ming, later became the king of the Lu 魯 imperial clan (1636-1639). This type of publication, known as the “clan edition” (*fan-pen* 藩本), belonged to the category of imperial or government edition, generally called *kuan-k'o-pen* 官刻本. The Lu clan's manual is very unusual when compared to other publications of *fan-pen* produced by Ming imperial clans all over China. A record survives showing that the different Ming imperial clans issued more than 430 editions of various kinds of books, including classics, histories, literature and textbooks for children, but art books are hardly found on the list.<sup>27</sup> Clan editions were generally better in quality than the private and commercial editions due to their financial advantages. Some were known to be available in the market, although their route of sale is not yet clearly defined. In order to support their finances, government bureaus and offices had already been allowed to publish and to sell certain quantities of their publications to the market, starting as early as the Sung dynasty. During the Ming dynasty hundreds of imperial or governmental editions were published. The Censorate (*Tu-ch'a-yüan* 都察院), the chief surveillance bureau in Peking and one of the bureaus of the central government, even published popular vernacular literature such as the *History of Three Kingdoms* and *Water Margin* (or *All Men Are Brothers*).<sup>28</sup> Publishing was a profitable business.

The *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng* is significantly the only extant example of *hua-p'u* produced by a Ming imperial clan and consequently shows one of the most developed and refined forms of a woodblock printed comprehensive painting manual published in the late Ming period. Chu Shou-yung, his son Chu I-p'ai 朱以派, and another prince of the clan, Chu I-ya 朱頤崖, worked on the drafts for the illustrations. The publication was drafted, engraved, annotated and printed by clan members. The book also employed past artistic works by important members of the clan as part of its illustrations. For example, landscape compositions of Chu Kuan-ou 朱觀煊, the king of the Lu imperial clan during

26 The preface is written by Chang Ch'üan 張銓 who was Prefect of Chung-chou in Shantung Province. A single copy of the original edition is extant in the Peking Library. This copy was reprinted in 1996, with the postscript by Wang Shih-jung. The postscript contains useful bibliographical information. See *Ming-k'an hu-pen hua-fa ta-ch'eng* 明刊弧本畫法大成 (Peking : Hsian-chuang shu-chü, 1996).

27 See Chang Hsiu-min 張秀民, *Chung-kuo Yin-shua-shih* 中國印刷史 (Shanghai : Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1989), pp. 402-424. Chang also lists 14 books published by the Lu clan, but *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng* is not included.

28 Ibid. p. 357.

the Chia-chin era, were reproduced in the edition. The whole manual appears to be a rich history of the artistic achievements of four generations of imperial family members and artists in Shantung Province.

The general compilation of this manual inherits from previous comprehensive manuals such as the *Hua-sou* and the *T'u-hui tsung-i* in its format. Each *chüan*, consisting of individual genres of painting, is begun by a section of painting theory, which is followed by quantities of meticulously engraved illustrations. The surveys of painting theory from important ancient publications and of other texts on painting methods, connoisseurship and mounting, are better in this compilation than in previously published manuals by private or commercial publishers. Valuable reference books were probably more readily available to the Chu family through clan libraries and through their imperial relatives resulting in the most sophisticated comprehensive painting manual in the Wan-li period.

The meticulously engraved illustrations for each genre of painting in this publication demonstrate the academy or the professional style except for some landscape compositions after literati masters. In the section on birds-and-flowers, which was Chu Shou-yung's specialty, he employed the style of Lü Chi 呂紀 the most celebrated birds-and-flowers specialist at the court academy in the Hung-chih era (1488-1505). The illustration depicting two sparrows sleepily perched on the snow-covered branch of an old plum tree, and another illustration (Fig.16, 16a) depicting two cranes standing on each side of a large slanting pine tree with a stream running at their feet are rendered in a style that closely resembles that of Lü Chi's extant painting (Fig.17, 17a). Chu Shou-yung took advantage of being a prince of an imperial clan and employed knowledge of the academy painting style accumulated in his family, perhaps even as part of a collection, for drafting the illustrations to this publication. The illustrations of the section titled "Figure Painting" display a close stylistic relation with the Che school. Images of the lofty gentlemen in various postures and activities (Fig.18) have already appeared in previous manuals in a featureless style. However, in this publication, similar figures are now drawn in specific and identifiable styles of the later Che school masters such as Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459-1508) and Chang Lu 張路 (1464-ca.1538) (Fig.19).

All of the rest of the drafted compositions in the figure painting section were borrowed from the *Hsien-fo ch'i-tsung* which was previously also utilized in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*. With much interest in the archaistic trend of religious figure painting of his time, Chu Shou-yung adds an inscription to the illustration

of Shakyamuni (Fig.20). He writes, "in order for a work to be a good figure painting in the style by masters of fine line drawing such as Li Kung-lin 李公麟, Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 and Ch'ien Hsüan 錢選, one should first learn from Buddhist figures, the most difficult subject in the (figure) genre, manifesting the 'strange and unusual' (*ch'i-kuai* 奇怪)." <sup>29</sup>

The "strange and unusual" was a term with positive connotations used to express the aura or unusual quality of art and often to be associated with late Ming painting in the archaistic mode, including various genres, even landscape painting. The illustrations of landscape compositions appear in the fourth and eighth *chüan* of *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*.<sup>30</sup> A section of landscape paintings with full-scale compositions was a new idea in the development of the comprehensive painting manual. Chu I-ya edited the fourth *chüan* and reproduced his works in the manner of thirty old masters from the T'ang, Sung and Yüan periods, placing an emphasis on the court academy artists of the Southern Sung. However, some of his illustrations show Chu I-ya's serious interest in the archaistic mode derived from pre-Southern Sung paintings. The landscape composition labeled as a copy after Kuo Hsi's *Rolling Clouds* (Fig.21, 21a), proves the editor's awareness of the prospective reader's interest in *ch'i-kuai*. Chu chooses one of the most sought-after styles of landscape painting of the time for his illustration. The clouds seem as if to ooze out of the side of the mountain, melting down its face, resulting in an eccentric landscape. It is obvious that the so-called original Kuo Hsi employed to make this draft was a late Ming work of Northern Sung Revivalism, most probably a section of the handscroll titled, *The Road to Shan-yin* (*Shan-yin tao-shang-t'u* 山陰道上圖) (Fig.22) by Wu Pin, dated 1608, in the Shanghai Museum. Wu Pin was a popular artist of the time who was famed for

29 See *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, *chüan* 3, in the second volume, 12b.

30 Among other landscape compositions reproduced in the eighth *chüan*, we find a group of Chu Kuan-ou's original landscapes, starting with a set of four compositions in which he depicted familiar scenes such as those of rice farming, the pleasant life of fishermen, and other peaceful rural activities of people in his fief. The set appears to be a reduced-size reproduction of the paintings titled "*T'ai-p'ing-t'u*" 太平圖 which he once presented to Emperor Chia-ching. In acknowledgment of the paintings, the *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng* records that the emperor granted a library that held various books of classics for Chu Kuan-ou. See *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, 8th *chüan*, 2a. Kuan-ou also had compiled and published a manual of painting for beginners of painting entitled *Hua-fa ch'üan-yü* 畫法權輿 (Starter of Painting Methods) sometime in the Chia-ching era. *Hua-fa ch'üan-yü* is listed among the reference books for the compilation of the *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*. See *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, *chüan* 1, in the first volume, 4b, 5a. Although the manual published by Kuan-ou seems to have been long lost and its contents cannot be verified, the record of the existence of this publication tells us that Chu Kuan-ou's enthusiasm for art had already prepared the ground for his descendants to create the *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*.

his marvelously unusual depiction of nature and archaistic renditions of religious images.

Such emphasis on the manifestation of the “strange and unusual” was exactly what contemporary, front-of-the-line artists sought in painting of figure and landscape genres. The editors were keen on the needs and trends among the most progressive artists and scholars of the time. A unique dictionary of famous artists in the successive historical dynasties that is appended to the manual also coincides with the presumable target audience’s interests. The editors add contemporary painters active in the Wanli era, listing such representative artists as Tung Ch’i-ch’ang 董其昌, Chao Tso 趙左, Lan Ying 藍瑛, Li Liu-fang 李流芳, Wei Chih-huang 魏之璜, Wang T’ing-ts’e 王廷策, Mi Wan-chung 米萬鍾, Ting Yün-p’eng, Wu Pin, and others from different painting schools in the Chiang-nan region, most of whom were known for their own talents and grasp of the “strange and unusual”.

Through the compilation of this manual, Chu Shou-yung provides evidence that the Lu clan artists understood the history of art and were skillful at traditional as well as most up-to-date painting styles. We may say that one of Chu Shou-yung’s goals for publication was for his clan to be acknowledged as a reputable and active group of artists, in other words the publication of the comprehensive painting manual was intelligently employed to attract publicity for the clan as well as to possibly gain some profit to help support their finances. However, the target audiences of *Hua-fa ta-ch’eng* would be limited compared to the publications by the commercial presses of publishing centers as Nanking and Hang-chou. As discussed above, the book was a high grade manual in its textual contents, quality of illustrations, and a local artistic tradition with stylistic inclination towards the court academy style as well as reflections of archaistic mode and the progressive painting style of the time. The publication was more suitable for the clan member artists and advanced learners or even established artists in Shantung Province.

*Hua-fa ta-ch’eng* enhanced the development of comprehensive painting manuals in the Wan-li era but after this publication, no painting manual emphasizing the genre of landscape to this extent was published until the appearance of the first series of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* in 1679. There are no traces of the *Hua-fa ta-ch’eng* being reissued by a commercial publisher as seen in the case of the *T’u-hui tsung-i*. The clan editions were no match in publication quantity against the commercial presses and the *T’u-hui tsung-i* remained the most popular comprehensive painting manual in the

Wan-li era. The quality of *Hua-fa ta-ch’eng* could have drawn attention if it were available to the public of the late Ming but the name of the manual was never mentioned in later painting manuals or art history books. The sudden disappearance of this manual from the history of Chinese art might be explained by the chaotic events of dynastic change from the Ming to the Ch’ing. Chu I-p’ai, the fourth son of Chu Shou-yung, coeditor of the manual, committed suicide when the Manchurian army invaded his hometown Chung-chou, the fief of Lu clan in 1642. His younger brother Chu I-hai 朱以海 managed to escape from the attack and became the king of the clan in 1644. As one of the leftover kings he recovered and stabilized the regions of Chekiang and Fukien Provinces for a while but was soon forced to take flight under the pressure of the Ch’ing army and died in Taiwan in 1662.<sup>31</sup> There seems to have been not much chance of republication of the manual under the name of the Lu imperial clan.

### Conclusion

In order to transmit both stylistic and theoretical traditions of Chinese painting to contemporary readers, comprehensive woodblock printed painting manuals with illustrations were continuously published throughout the Wan-li period, inheriting the forms and concepts of preceding publications, and adjusting to the changing environment. By studying the comprehensive painting manuals and the illustrated encyclopedia that derived and modified certain sections from the manuals, it is possible to find keen attention of the publishers and compilers to the demands of their audiences. Whether the publisher was the literati compiler Chou Lü-ching, the commercial publisher Yang Erh-ts’eng, the retired scholar-official writer, Wang Ch’i, or the imperial clan head, Chu Shou-yung, a “program” can be seen in every publication through the illustrations and the texts being printed in these books. These in turn help us to gain a glimpse of the process of the popularization of art, the market surrounding art, and the antiquarian trends in the world of painting in the Wan-li era of late Ming.

31 See the entry on “Lu-wang Chu I-hai” 魯王朱以海 written by Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博, *Ajia Rekishi Jiten* アジア歴史事典 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970. 6th ed.), vol. 9, p. 379.

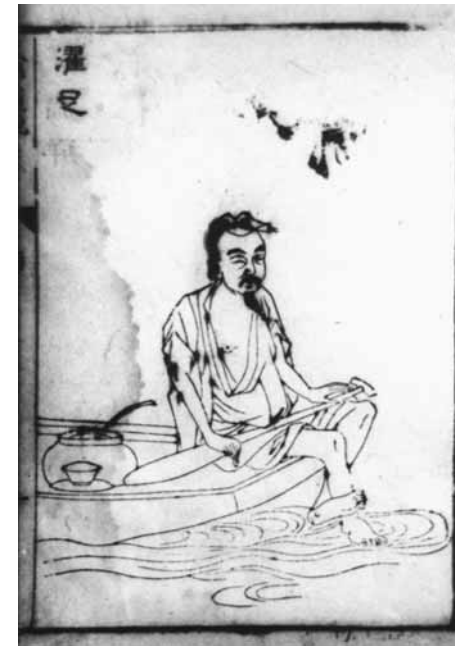
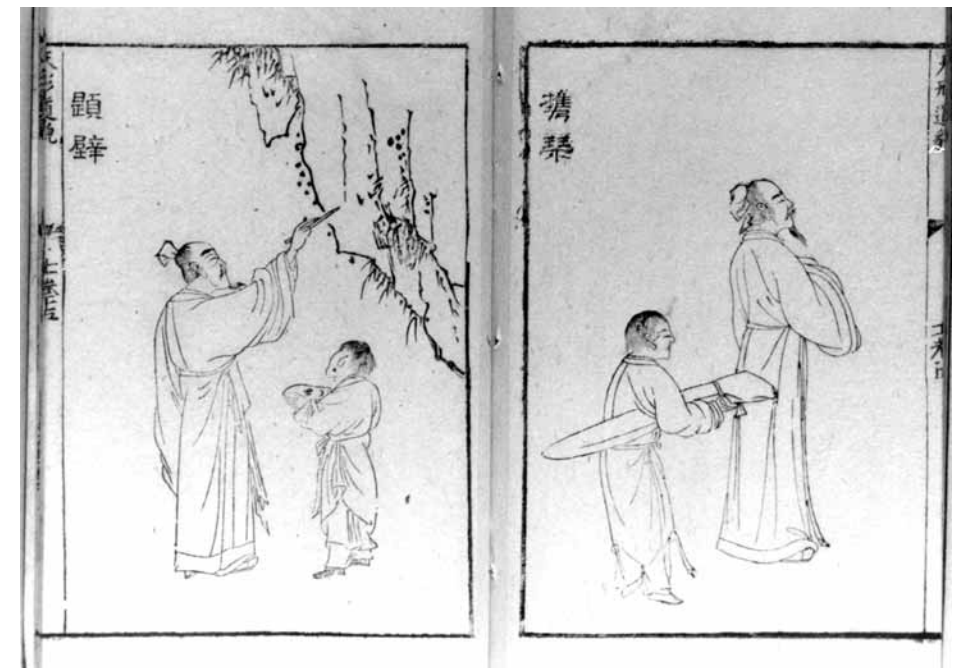
Fig. 1. "Orchids," *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 3. "Washing the Feet," *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 2. "Birds," *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 4. "Writing on the Cliff," (left) *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.

Fig. 5. "Hsieh-i," (right) *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 6. Page bearing the names of compiler, draftsman and engraver, *T'u-hui tsung-i*, Woodblock print, 23.4 × 15 cmFig. 7. "Lo-han and Tiger," Ascribed to Chang Seng-yao, *Ku-shi hua-p'u*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 8. "Lo-han and Tiger," *T'u-hui tsung-i*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 9. "Listening to the Sound of a Spring and Gazing at a Waterfall," *T'u-hui tsung-i*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 10. "Listening to the Sound of a Spring," *Hua-sou*, Woodblock printed book illustration.

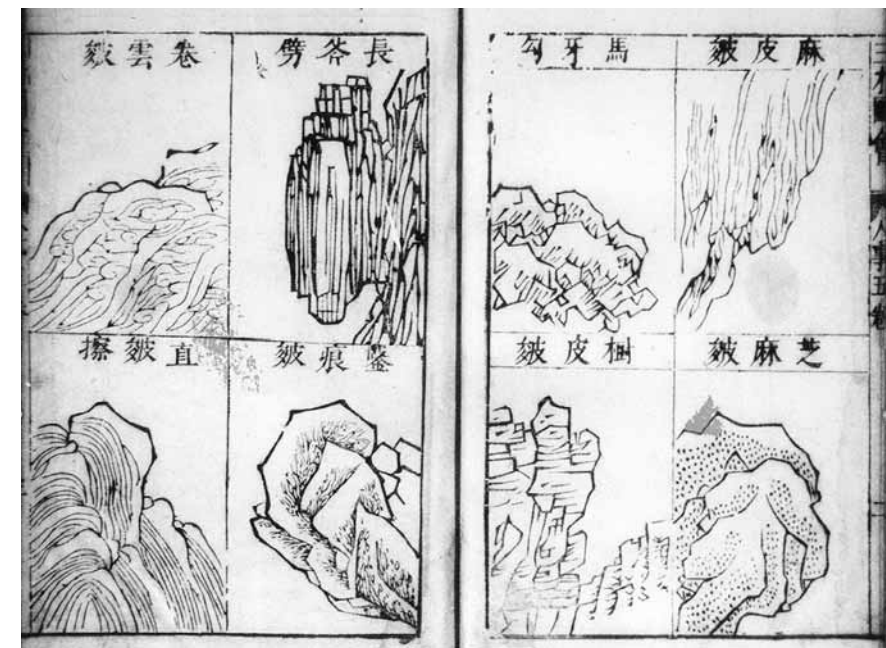
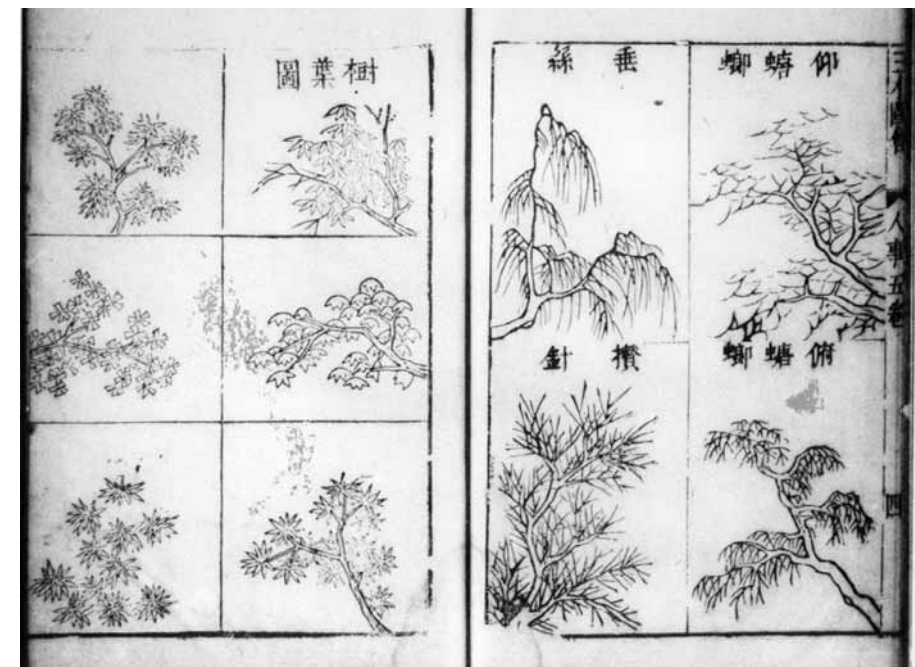
Fig. 11. "Seeking a Phrase," (above left) *T'u-hui tsung-i*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 13. "Texture strokes," *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 12. "Yao and Shun," *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, Woodblock printed book illustration.Fig. 14. "Trees with foliage," *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, Woodblock printed book illustration.



Fig. 15. "Scroll of Painting Methods," (section) Handscroll, Ink on paper, Kyoto National Museum.



Fig. 15a. Deatil of 15.



Fig. 16. "Cranes," *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, Woodblock printed book illustration.



Fig. 16a. Deatil of 16.



Fig. 17. "Pair of Cranes in the Spring Valley," Lü Chi, Hanging scroll, Ink and colors on silk, 148.5 × 83.9 cm, Ch'ing-yüan-chai Collection.



Fig. 17a Detail of 17.

Fig. 18. "Figures," *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, Woodblock printed book illustration.

Fig. 19. "Playing the Zither," Chang Lü, Hanging scroll, Ink and light colors on silk, 31.4 × 61 cm, Former Ch'ing-yüan-chai Collection.

Fig. 20. "Shakyamuni," *Hua'fa ta-ch'eng*, Woodblock printed book illustration.

Fig. 21a. Detail of 21.

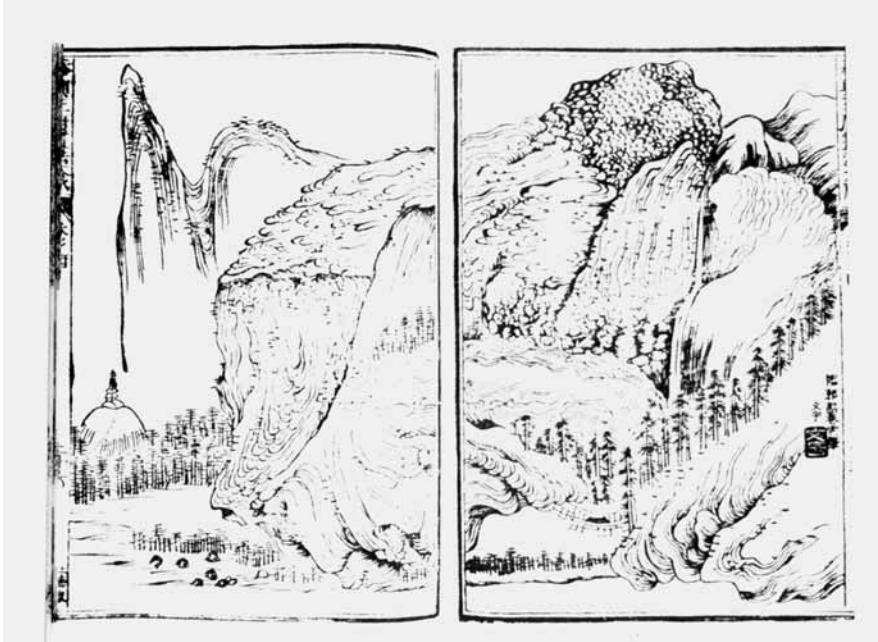


Fig. 21. "Landscape after Kuo Hsi," *Hua-fa ta-ch'eng*, Woodblock printed book illustration.



Fig. 22. "The Road to Shang-yin," (section) Wu Pin, Handscroll, Ink and colors on silk, Shanghai Museum.