PART III
The Painter's Memory

Chapter 5

The "Painting Section" of Ming Daily-Use Encyclopedias

Having a good memory was just as important for painting as for other practical activities, such as playing music or chess. Renowned painters were often praised in anecdotes for their ability to grasp the vitality of their painting subject and gather every detail in their breast, which was the seat of memory. The Tang (618-906) painter Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 689-after 755), for example, received imperial orders to paint the scenery of the Jiangling 嘉陵 River.[378] After visiting the area, he returned to the capital and was asked by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713-756) to show him his drafts. However, Wu explained he did not make any, having recorded all that was necessary in his memory, upon which he promptly painted three hundred *li* of the scenery within a single day.[379] From the Song dynasty onwards, grasping the essence of things "in one's breast" also became part of scholarly discourses on painting as the premise for producing a truly good work.[380]

The textual codification of painting practices flourished from the Song dynasty (960-1279) onwards, when specialized compilations on painting proliferated. However, their transmission began much later compared to the formulas and mnemonic aids developed for the practice of calligraphy. One early example, the *Formula for Painting Landscapes* (*Hua shanshui jue* 畫山水訣) by Jing Hao 荊浩 (fl. ca. 900-950) is first mentioned in Song sources.[381] The earliest extant version of the text, datable to the Ming, provides instructions in the form of a dialogue between a man and an immortal he encounters in the woods. The immortal teaches him the essentials for painting landscapes and then vanishes. The orally received precepts, the main character explains, were later captured in writing. This is most likely the earliest surviving formula

[378] Runs through present-day Sichuan province.

[379] Acker. 1954. *Some T'ang and pre-T'ang texts on Chinese Painting,* vol. 2, pt. 1, 234-235.

[380] Fuller discusses the meaning of Su Shi's 蘇軾 claim of having "bamboo in the breast." Fuller. 1993. "Pursuing the Complete Bamboo in the Breast." Other sources of the Song published after Su Shi's comments, such as the imperial painting catalogue *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜, or Dong You's 董卣 *Guangchuan huaba* 廣川畫跋, also include similar statements. Translations in Bush and Shih. 1985. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 119; 210; 215.

[381] Lui Daochun's 劉道醇 *Wudai minghua buyi* 五代名畫補遺, from 1059, is the first source to use this title in Jing Hao's biography. Guo Ruoxu's 郭若虛 (ca. 1020-after 1075) *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌, published about 15 years later, also lists the volume by Jing Hao as one of the sources consulted by the authors.

for painting.[382] A second early example is the "Painting Formula" (*huajue* 畫訣) contained in the *Lofty Record of Forest and Streams* (*Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致) by the 11th-century court-painter Guo Si 郭思, in which he provides a list of notes on painting elements and techniques according to motif categories. Its practical content is substantially different from the rest of the treatise, in which theoretical matters are discussed. Other formulas, often attributed to Wang Wei 王維 (ca. 701-ca. 761) of the Tang, or Li Cheng 李成 (919-967) of the Five Dynasties period, are very likely later texts whose publishers borrowed the names of famous painters to enhance their status.[383]

During the Song dynasty, practical formulas became acceptable sources of knowledge among members of the literate elite. Scholars began to record formulas and discuss hands-on knowledge in their collections of notes (*biji* 筆記), a practice that continued during the next centuries.[384] Combined with the high status that was attributed to the activity of painting during the Song dynasty, since painting was perceived as an expression of a man's character, it also became increasingly common for scholars to address the practical aspects of painting.[385] The late Yuan (1271-1368) scholar Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (fl. 1360-1368) produced one collection that included formulas for painting. In his collection of texts, *Records Compiled after Retiring from Farming* (*Chuogeng lu*

[382] For a careful discussion on the dating of the text, refer to Munakata. 1974. "Ching Hao's 'Pi-fa-chi'."

[383] Ming scholars raised doubts about the authorship of texts titled *Huaxue mijue* 畫學秘訣 and *Shanshui jue* 山水訣, which appeared under the names of several renowned painters. Since the 1930's, western scholars have also questioned the attributions. In the paper I presented at the 2017 *Second Middle Period Conference* in Leiden, I showed that there is no evidence that predates the Yuan dynasty to support any of the attributions. The texts themselves compile parts from other sources that only appeared after the Song dynasty. The content of such formulas might have circulated orally during the Yuan dynasty before being disseminated during the late Yuan or early Ming.

[384] Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095), for example, is known to have addressed several practical activities in his *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, such as medicine and printing, often describing matters as having been "seen and heard" by him in person. The historical context and intellectual impact of Shen's work has been studied by Zuo. For a description of the topics in Shen's work, see Zuo. 2018. *Shen Gua's Empiricism*, 165-168. Connecting knowledge to personal experience and observation was a common feature of accounts in *biji* 筆記. On Song *biji* and scholars' interest in everyday and particular matters, see Zhang. 2012. "To Be 'Erudite in Miscellaneous Knowledge.'"

[385] The *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 圖畫見聞誌, produced during the Song, is the earliest catalogue that lists painters according to status, instead of, for example, field of specialization. This form of categorization, which had great impact on later works, took place as scholars engaged in connoisseurship and debates about "scholars' painting" and spontaneity. Bush and Shih. 2012. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 91-92; 193.

輟耕錄), he records two formulas: one on portraiture, the *Secret Formula for Painting Portraits* (*Xiexiang mijue* 寫像秘訣) by Wang Yi 王譯 (fl. 14th c.),[386] and the second on landscape, the *Formula for Painting Landscapes* (*Xie shanshui jue* 寫山水訣) by Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354).[387]

The first is Tao's record of an oral account Wang Yi gave him, while the second is described as notes Huang collected to disseminate among his painting students. While Huang comments on a variety of issues that are related to motifs and also discusses former painting styles, Wang Yi is the first to describe a sequence of steps on how to paint a portrait, followed by a list of instructions on how to mix colors. Yet, while both records describe practical activities, they are still products of the social interactions among scholars and represent elite views on practices.

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the publication of formulas that described practical steps and sequences for painting, often in a rhymed format and accompanied by illustrations, saw an unprecedented upsurge. They differed from earlier accounts because many were not recorded by members of the elite and also did not circulate only among scholars. As described in chapters 2 and 3, new standards and pedagogical methods that suited the needs of changing audiences were constantly being developed, while their authors were allowed to fade into obscurity in order to increase the accessibility to knowledge. The expansion of the printing market and the decline in book production costs during the late Ming led to the publication and compilation of works by professionals and commercial printers that catered to audiences beyond the scholarly elite and presented knowledge in accordance with the ideals of different social groups.

Popular novels and plays often included useful and practical knowledge that was considered base by the elites,[388] while books published for rural audiences also propagated values that contradicted elite ideals, including the

[386] The treatise and the prolegomena by Tao have been translated by Franke. 1950. "Two Yuan Treatises on the Technique of Portrait Painting."

[387] The instructions were most likely written after Huang retired from office and began to focus on painting and Daoism, being surrounded by students. For a description of Huang's life, see Gyss-Vermande. 1984. *La Vie Et L'œuvre De Huang* Gongwang (1269-1354), 15-27.

[388] Shang's study on the Ming novel *Jin ping mei* 金瓶梅, which most likely circulated before the publication of the daily-use encyclopedias discussed here, also provides insight into practices of appropriation and inclusion of content from earlier sources by Ming editors. 2006. "The Making of the Everyday World." Ogawa has studied the novel and its references, comparing passages, especially those related to games and divination, to content in daily use encyclopedias. He also addresses a similar use of popular knowledge in other Ming and Qing novels. 1995. *Nichiyō ruisho ni yoru Min Shin shōsetsu no kenkyū*.

association of painting with a man's character. One type of publication that made such discrepancies visible were character miscellanea (*zazi* 雜字), a category of primers composed in rhyme that provided lists of characters according to categories. While they enjoyed less regard among scholars, character miscellanea were popular in the countryside.[389] In such popular pedagogical works of the late Ming, painting (*miaohua* 描畫) was listed among the "hundred crafts" (*bai gong* 百工) and equated to portraiture (*xiezhen ye* 寫真也). The entry on painting ascribes the creation of the craft to a minister of the mythical Yellow Emperor, who excelled at painting figures and whose paintings embodied the patterns of heaven and earth.[390] Painting was thus described as a commercial craft that had its roots in the depiction of heavenly principles and living beings.

The understanding of painting as a profitable occupation became even more explicit in later works of the *zazi* genre, in which painting and other crafts were praised for their contribution to society.[391] It was most likely the growing importance of merchants and craftsmen in the burgeoning economy of the late Ming that led to the gradual change in social values. Scholars, who at that time were seeking to reform neo-Confucian learning and the social values connected to it, show a growing awareness of the social contribution of these two classes in their writings. Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529), a central figure of this movement, challenged the scholarly elite's place within the four classes (*simin* 四民). In this hierarchical schema, scholars were the

[389] Wu Huifang discusses character miscellanea in detail. The distinction of such works from elitist primers is addressed in Wu. 2007. *Ming Qing yilai minjian shenghuo zhishi de jian'gou yu chuandi*, 128-131.

[390] The work is attributed to Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602). According to Chia, the publisher of this volume was active during the Wanli reign (1573-1619). Chia. 2002. *Printing for Profit*, 293.

[391] One late Qing work that describes the social role of the "painting craftsman" (*huajiang* 畫匠) is the *Farmer's Character Miscellanea* (*Zhuangnong zazi* 庄農雜字). The painter, or painting craftsman, is described in this popular source as one who produces statues and paints portraits and figures from popular culture and religion. Characters featured in popular plays, such as Tang Sanzang 唐三藏 from the *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji* 西遊記) or the general Lü Bu 呂布 from *the Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義), are listed as the painter's main motifs next to Buddhist figures and popular deities, such as the eighteen Arhats, the Thunder God (*Leigong* 雷公) and the dragon. The last verse of the entry is a comment on the social role of the painter, who can, via painting, transform the tavern into a temple. Cheng. 1894. *Zhuangnong zazi*, 19b. The volume also describes the activities of several other craftsmen and their social functions, such as the furrier, the smith, the carpenter, the veterinarian, and the stonecutter. Gu also discusses the valorization of crafts in *zazi* during the late Qing, providing other examples. 2013. *Richang shenguo bianqian zhong de jiaoyu*, 128-132.

foremost contributors to society, followed by farmers, artisans and merchants. In the epitaph composed in 1525 for the merchant Fang Lin 方麟 (dates unknown), for example, Wang explains that "in ancient times the four classes had distinct occupations, but shared the same Way (*Dao* 道); their efforts were equal," arguing that all four classes were equally important for a harmonious society.[392]

The increasing publication of daily-use encyclopedias during the late Ming was made possible by the combination of three factors: economic changes and shifts in social values, the booming printing market, and the increasing output of works that represented non-scholarly ideals and views. Commercial daily-use encyclopedias are the focal point at which all of these developments converge. Their "Painting Section" serves as a lens to address how knowledge was shaped and how the dissemination of the content was justified within this context. Ming encyclopedias were the culmination of earlier efforts to render knowledge in a mnemonic format. Encyclopedia editors combined sources and appropriated the pedagogical approaches of earlier authors. They relied on cosmological beliefs to lend coherence to their collections, mirroring earlier formulas that connected practical knowledge to these beliefs. The result was a set of diverse contents woven together into a comprehensive mnemonic system.

Through the analysis of the painting sources included in the encyclopedias, it becomes clear that editors of Ming encyclopedias hoped, like the publishers of the content they incorporated, to contribute to society by disseminating anonymized practical knowledge that could be put to use by the less educated. Beyond this shared concern, however, Ming encyclopedia editors also embraced an attitude to homogenize knowledge useful for all "four classes." With the "four classes" in mind, they created a cohesive system to order knowledge that helped the reader to both memorize the content and discover connections among the different fields. They adapted both scholarly discourses to a general audience and popular knowledge to elite ideals, essentially harmonizing what had been discrete kinds of knowledge into a more general–and thus generally accessible–form. The ideas and values that led to these changes can be understood through a close study of earlier publications that may have served as sources for the content of the "Painting Section" and by situating this content within the encyclopedias.

[392] Gu. 2013. *Richang shenguo bianqian zhong de jiaoyu*, 76.

Ming Daily-Use Encyclopedias and the "Painting Section"

Encyclopedias, or "category books" (*leishu* 類書),[393] began to be published on a variety of topics during the Song dynasty, under imperial supervision as well as by private publishers.[394] Imperial encyclopedias often focused on the arrangement of anecdotes and literary works according to a thematic category, or were devoted to the organization of religious canons.[395] Private encyclopedias, which proliferated due to the development of commercial printing during the Song, often excerpted administrative and historical texts to serve as aids to students preparing for the civil service examinations.[396] Such reference books were popular because they suited reading practices that became common with the spread of printing during the Song, such as speed-reading and browsing through books instead of reading them from beginning to end.[397] The organization of content under established categories favored intermittent reading and facilitated the retrieval of information.

Another type of private encyclopedia that developed from Song compilations targeted the needs of elite households. During the Yuan dynasty, the Mongol ruling house curtailed the role of the civil service examinations. In order to remain profitable, one Song encyclopedia, the *Extensive Records from the Forest of Matters* (*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記),[398] which had originally focused on content for the examinations, came to include additional sections that were intended for a less specialized reader. By 1332, it featured sections on several new topics, such as Daoism, mathematics, topography, plants and alcoholic beverages, providing useful and entertaining information for members of elite households.[399]

---

[393] Despite the publication of works that shared formal qualities with encyclopedias prior to the Song dynasty, the concept of "category book" became current only during the eleventh century. De Weerdt. 2007. "The Encyclopedia as Textbook," 77-78.

[394] Sakai lists encyclopedias according to function or focus and publication period. 2011. *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū*, chapter 4.

[395] Drège. 2007. "Des ouvrages classés par catégories," 30-31.

[396] The connection of encyclopedias to the civil service examinations is discussed in De Weerdt. 2007. "The Encyclopedia as Textbook."

[397] Fu. 2007. "The Flourishing of Biji or Pen-Notes Texts," 110-111.

[398] The original publication can be roughly dated to the Xianchun 咸淳 era (1265-1274). Sakai. 2011. *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū*, 74.

[399] Sakai. 2011. *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū*, 57; 91. For a comparative list of the topics that were in the *Shilin guangji* and other encyclopedias from the Song, see Sakai, 2011. *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū*, 85-86. Sakai also lists titles of sections to provide an overview of the changes between a Yuan and Ming edition of the *Shilin guangji.* 2011.

Other works that were meant as guides for "local clerks' learning"[400] were published during the Yuan and early Ming, such as the *Indispensible Household Matters* (*Jujia biyong* 居家必用), with a preface dated 1301, and *Various Abilities in Mean Matters* (*Duoneng bishi* 多能鄙事), published by the early Ming commander and poet Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375). These early works, which were reprinted several times over the course of the Ming dynasty, broadened the scope of the content to include subjects ranging from dream divination to building, even providing detailed instructions on how to construct an outhouse. Yuan and Ming encyclopedias already contained a small number of rhymed formulas, such as the *Hundred-Rhyme-Song* discussed in chapter 3.[401] Their format and varied content show that they were reader-oriented, including new content as it became available and removing outdated information as new editions came out.[402]

Early household encyclopedias divided fields of knowledge into the three categories of Heaven, Earth and men, a system that was adopted by the Ming editions. Despite the adoption of this old framework, household encyclopedias published during the Wanli reign (1572-1620), the first boom phase of printing and literacy, introduced several formal changes to make their content more accessible. They included a greater variety of topics, were richly illustrated and presented a large part of their content in rhymes. These compilations, which contemporary scholars refer to as daily-use encyclopedias (*riyong leishu* 日用類書), claimed to provide knowledge that was useful for the "everyday needs" (*riyong suoxu* 日用所需) of the four classes.[403] The titles and prefaces often promised the reader that he or she would no longer need help from others, since the encyclopedia provided all the necessary useful

---

Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū, 88-91. Elman briefly addresses these changes. 2007. "Collecting and Classifying," 134.

[400] This statement is taken from the preface to the *Jujia biyong*. Elman. 2007. "Collecting and Classifying," 135.

[401] One of the prefaces discussed here, from the *Mo'e xiaolu* 墨娥小錄 mentions the *Jujia biyong* 居家必用 and the *Duoneng bishi* 多能鄙事 as books that contain useful information, indicating the editors were well aware of them during the period. Wu. 1569. *Mo'e xiaolu*, preface, 1a-b. The *Caojue baiyun ge* 草訣百韻歌, discussed in Chapter 3, first appeared in the *Shilin Guangji.*

[402] Liu. 2006. *Mingdai tongsu leishu yanjiu*, 27; 14.

[403] This claim is included in the note on the cover of the *Xinke tianxia simin bianlan santai wanyong zhengzong* 新刻天下四民便覽三台萬用正宗, transcribed in Sakai. 2011. *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū*, 110. The four classes are mentioned in the title of this edition.

information.[404] While the editors' rhetoric of catering to the needs of all four classes was a common trope utilized to market their publications, this desire also had a concrete impact on the content of the encyclopedias

Ming daily-use encyclopedias addressed a broader spectrum of topics than earlier encyclopedias, including calendrical calculations, geomancy, how to wield weapons, how to raise and care for livestock, basic mathematics, how to write letters, rules and strategies for playing chess, how to read and interpret a face, how to educate children, ways to entertain friends and tell jokes, how to write calligraphy and—last but not least—how to paint. Thus, knowledge from both elite and popular sources was included, such as letter composition on the one hand, and popular songs on the other.[405]

Along with covering a wider range of topics, late Ming encyclopedias were also cheaper than their earlier counterparts. The flourishing of the publishing industry during the late Ming, especially in present-day Fujian 福建 province, allowed the broad dissemination of cheaply printed editions.[406] Non-scholarly publications, such as fiction and household reference works, were among the most commonly printed works during the period of 1506-1644, paralleling the increase of literacy during the period.[407] During the late Ming, encyclopedias were some of the cheapest publications on the market. The average late-Ming worker would be able to afford a daily-use encyclopedia with two days' wages, and it is estimated that most urban families who could afford books most likely owned one.[408]

The earliest extant encyclopedia of this type was published in 1596,

[404] A set of titles has been translated by He, who addresses the promise of independence made by editors. 2013. *Home and the World*, 95-98.

[405] Lowry. 2005. *The Tapestry of Popular Songs*, 59.

[406] Chia has discussed the development of the region's publishing industry from the Song to the Qing period. For an account on the extraordinary growth and output during the late Ming, as well as on how books were sold and circulated, see Chia. 2002. *Printing for Profit*, chapter 5.

[407] Chia. 2002. *Printing for Profit*, 186-187. Brook describes the development of literacy during the Ming. While lower levels of literacy are reported in the early period, later accounts attest to the expansion of education. 1998. *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 56-62; 131; 172; 257.

[408] According to Ōki, whose calculation is based on the average cost of one *qian* 錢, as recorded in encyclopedias. Ōki. 2004. *Minmatsu Kōnan no shuppan bunka*, 122-125. There is one case of an encyclopedia that was unearthed from a 'modest tomb' from 1631. The owner of the encyclopedia was most likely not a member of the elite. Clunas. 2004. *Superfluous Things*, 37. Wang believes encyclopedias were a go-to commodity because they compiled content from several fields, rendering the purchase of other specialized books unnecessary. 2003. "Shenghuo, zhishi yu wenhua shangpin: wan Ming Fujian ban 'riyong leishu' yu qi shuhua men," 22.

after which numerous nearly identical editions were printed. From 1596 up to 1614, a new daily-use encyclopedia, with 30-40 *juan* on average, appeared on the market almost every year.[409] The majority of them were printed in Jianyang 建陽, Fujian province.[410] Their contents were very similar and it seems likely that editors directly copied the content of previous volumes. In some cases, printing houses even used old printing blocks from different encyclopedias and re-bundled them into a 'new' collection after reprinting them. This practice did not disrupt the flow of the content, since many encyclopedias followed the same order for their thematic volumes, yet the titles on the first page of each volume indicate that the blocks were originally intended for different editions. Editors also frequently altered the order of texts within a section when carving new woodblocks. Despite these differences in layout and content, the encyclopedias and those who produced them shared crucial similarities that deserve a closer analysis.

It is possible to identify a set of core texts that were included in the majority of daily-use encyclopedias of the Wanli period and defined what constituted their "Painting Section" (*huapu men* 畫譜門). The texts were selected for their brevity, as they were often rhymed or prose summaries of steps and instructions for painting specific motifs. Although the earliest extant edition, dated 1596, is the most extensive one, later editions settled on a limited and relatively stable set of texts.[411]

The texts contained in the majority of encyclopedias included the following: a general introduction to painting appreciation and its categories; an instructive text on painting landscapes (attributed to Wang Wei of the Tang dynasty or Jing Hao of the Five dynasties); a second landscape text by Huang Gongwang; a section on plum blossoms; a section on painting bamboo; one text on portraiture by the Yuan painter Wang Yi, followed by instructions on

[409] In her survey of Ming encyclopedias Wu Huifang lists the number of publications by date. A number of encyclopedias are not dated to a specific year, or the information has been lost because some of the encyclopedias are incomplete. However, even if the 6 undated editions from the Wanli period are disregarded, new editions were still being introduced to the market on regular intervals of one or two years. Wu. 2005. *Wanbao quanshu*, vol.1: 49-50. For the appendix with publication details, see Wu. 2005. *Wanbao quanshu*, vol. 2, appendix 1: 355-364.

[410] According to Wu's survey, only one of the encyclopedias of this period was printed outside of Fujian, in Jinling 金陵, Jiangsu. Wu. 2005. *Wanbao quanshu*, vol. 1: 51-52.

[411] The 1596 edition, *Assembled Treasures form the Ten Thousand Books* (short for *Xinqie tianxia beilan wenlin leiji wanshu cuibao* 新鍥天下備覽文林類記萬書萃寶), is the earliest dated edition. Most extant encyclopedias do not contain information on the place or date of publication, while for some sets the first or last volume, which could contain this information, is also lost.

how to use colors in portraiture by the same author; and at the end, some passages on how to store and care for paintings in a collection, including practical recipes. Two additional texts, one on painting chrysanthemums and one on birds, are exceptional cases because despite being frequently included in the encyclopedias, they were not always part of the painting section [Fig. 5.1]. The implications of the unusual placement of these two sections, which provide a glimpse into the meaning of the overall structure of encyclopedias, are addressed in the last section of this chapter.

The *Pearls from the Sea of Learning* (short for *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu* 新刊翰苑廣記補訂四民捷用學海群玉), published in 1607, reproduces all of these core texts [Fig. 5.2].[412] It is taken as reference, so that the content of encyclopedias and the related sources that connect the various editions can be analyzed in a linear fashion. In [Table 1] the core texts of the painting section are listed according to the order in which they appear in the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, while the sections on chrysanthemums and birds are appended to the end and identified by the color ◆. Ming encyclopedias were commonly divided into an upper and a lower segment, with texts running through on a single layer. [Table 1] reflects this structure. A number of the sources indicated in Table 1 might not be the first publication instance of a specific text, yet the table provides an overview of the material that could have been available to Ming editors and served as sources for their own compilations.

The analysis of these earlier sources and their creators sheds light on the efforts of Ming encyclopedia editors to level the social value of knowledge produced by practitioners belonging to different classes. While some original texts used by editors were the products of individual authors, other sources were the result of a commercial interaction between publishers and craftsmen. Discussing the distinct circumstances in which the texts originated is essential to understanding how encyclopedias' editors altered the format and the role of transmitted text and introduced them into a coherent system designed for memorization.

Practical Knowledge and Scholarly Ideals in Early Texts on Painting

One set of texts included in encyclopedias were works of individual authors that focused on specific motifs. The texts selected by encyclopedia

[412] An incomplete copy of the encyclopedia is held in the special collection of the Leiden University library. The section on painting and calligraphy of this edition is intact.

editors were summaries that addressed only the essentials for painting portraits, landscapes, bamboo, plum blossom, birds and chrysanthemums. Editors chose to present texts on certain motifs according to the traditional attribution to a specific master, while motifs that were not traditionally associated with a unique painter lacked an attribution.

The connection of certain motifs to early masters is also emphasized in one of the short entries in the encyclopedia, titled "Famous Painters of the Past and Today" (*Gujin minghua* 古今名畫), which lists motifs along with a renowned painter that should be associated with each one. For example, the Tang poet Wang Wei should be coupled with landscape painting, while Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 346-405) was the name to be remembered in connection to figure painting [Fig. 5.2 b]. The links contained in this list served as a mnemonic support and complemented the attributions of the textual content in the painting section.

The earliest sources included in the painting section can be dated to the Yuan dynasty: the *Records Compiled after Retiring from Farming*, by Tao Zongyi, the *Detailed Record on Bamboo* (*Zhupu xianglu* 竹譜詳錄), by Li Kan 李衍 (1245-1320), and *Songzhai's Plum Manual* (*Songzhai meipu* 松齋梅譜) by Wu Taisu 吳太素 (active mid-14th century). All of these sources were produced by individual scholars who perceived painting as an activity of self-cultivation and as a polite pastime.

In Tao's collection of miscellaneous notes, the author recorded, among other things, his encounters with other scholars. Tao's friend, Sun Zuo 孫作 recounts in the preface how Tao's notes were collected over a period of about ten years and later compiled under the title *Records Compiled after Retiring from Farming*.[413] As mentioned above, one such note describes a set of portraiture and coloring techniques Tao recorded after an encounter with painter and long-time friend Wang Yi. He provides a title for this brief description of practical instructions, calling it the *Secret Formula for Painting Portraits* (*Xiexiang mijue* 寫像秘訣).[414] The entry, besides being a record of practical information, is also a celebration of the bond of friendship between

[413] Unfortunately the compilation does not include a preface by the author himself. The preface by Sun in which the compilation process of the book is described has been called a "fantastical story." Yet scholars seem to agree that Tao recorded the notes during his time of leisure, and that he might not have originally intended to publish them. For a discussion on the writing process of the *Chuogeng lu*, see Mote. 1954. "T'ao-tsung-I and his Chuo Keng Lu," chapter 4.

[414] The treatise and the prolegomena by Tao have been translated in Franke. 1950. "Two Yuan Treatises on the Technique of Portrait Painting."

Tao and the painter Wang Yi. The *Formula for Painting Landscapes* (*Xie shanshui jue* 寫山水訣), which contains instructions on landscape painting by Huang Gongwang, who was also one of Tao's close friends, was most likely recorded during a similar encounter. These two prose texts from *Retiring from Farming* were both included in the Ming encyclopedias in their entirety. However, the names of Wang Yi and Huang Gongwang are omitted together with the introductory notes in which Tao described his social encounters and connection to the painters.

From the manuals on bamboo and plum blossoms written by Li Kan and Wu Taisu, both highly educated men and painters themselves, the encyclopedias reproduced only passages in rhyme and some illustrations.[415] The entries provided summaries of the content from the earlier sources while omitting lengthy and heavily theoretical sections.

The bamboo and plum blossom motifs had both undergone a process of simplification and codification from the Song dynasty onwards. Together with others that could be depicted in monochrome ink, such as the orchid, they were transformed by scholars into a systematized language "through which to lodge feelings in forms" that "could be studied, practiced, and mastered."[416] Scholars simplified the painting technique of such motifs so only the skill and materials needed for calligraphy were required to depict them. Both bamboo and plum blossom thus became codified symbols for the representation of the painter's character and feelings, used by scholars as a means of communication together with poetry and calligraphy. The bamboo, for example, was often perceived to represent a scholar's resilience, while the plum blossom pointed to transience and its branches to endurance.[417]

---

[415] The authenticity and attribution of the bamboo manual can be disputed. Although most editions contain the preface by Li Kan, dated 1299, the *Siku quanshu* edition that is often used as reference contains far more material than the earliest extant version of the manual published in the *Wangshi huayuan* 王氏畫苑 during the Ming, without the preface from which the date is taken. From a single *juan* with no illustrations, the volume came to comprise 10 *juan* during the Qing. The discrepancy in length has long been pointed out by Yu. 1968. *Shuhua shulu jieti*, juan 2, 20b. Most likely later scholars bundled unattributed materials circulating as manuscripts that discussed bamboo painting techniques under Li Kan's name, which came to be used as a label for bamboo painting. Furthermore, parts of the text are elsewhere explicitly attributed to other authors. It is quite possible that the compilers also used Gao Song's expanded version of Li Kan's manual as their source. [416] Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 144.

[416] Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 144.

[417] On the symbolic meanings of the plum and bamboo, see Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 49-68; 102-105.

Li Kan's manual on bamboo is one of the few texts in the encyclopedia ascribed to an author [Fig. 5.2 h]. His original work is a record (*pu* 譜) specializing on bamboo. *Pu* became a commonly accepted class of texts during the Song dynasty, often amassed by scholars as a pastime. They were compilations of information on a specific topic, such as particular plants the authors cultivated as a hobby and appreciated esthetically, or objects they collected for personal enjoyment and study.[418] In keeping with this convention, the bulk of Li Kan's text is a descriptive list of types of bamboo with illustrations. However, it also contains a section that discusses methods for painting bamboo in ink, which reflects Li's inclination to paint bamboo in the scholarly style. These passages, all written in prose, describe painting techniques in different styles and provide detailed instructions on how to render each individual part of the bamboo, including leaves, joints and small twigs.[419]

Unlike the text on bamboo, attributed to the scholar-official Li Kan in the encyclopedias, the content from *Songzhai's Plum Manual* by the Yuan painter Wu Taisu was presented as being authored by a Song scholar, Yang Buzhi 楊補之 (1097-1169). Yang had been elevated to the status of progenitor of the orthodox tradition of ink plum painting by the thirteenth century, which most likely prompted editors to associate all content relating to plum blossoms with him [Fig. 5.2 f].[420] Yang's plum blossoms, painted with calligraphic strokes and describing the different stages of the blossom's life, were often accompanied by his poetic compositions. Yang sought "to unite himself with the flowering plum, simultaneously conveying its essence and his own kindred spirit through his painting," an attitude that was taken up by the actual author of the texts, Wu Taisu.[421]

It is unclear what Wu's main occupation was, but from his poem exchanges, it can be inferred that he maintained close friendships with both scholars and officials. He mastered poetry, enjoyed meditation, and was best known for his plum blossom paintings, which were appreciated by men of

[418] Weitz. 2015. "Privately Published Illustrated Books on Arts," 50. According to Siebert, writings that could be classified according to this genre began to be written in the 5th century. However, the class "*pu lu*" as a bibliographical category only came to be used in the 11th century. Siebert. 2006a. *Pulu,* 9. See also Siebert. 2006b. "Neue Formen für neue Themen."

[419] The first *juan* of the book deals with bamboo painting in different styles. The following 6 *juan* discuss qualities and types of bamboo.

[420] Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 131.

[421] Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 107.

elite families.[422] Wu Taisu most likely based his painting manual on an earlier work, Song Boren's 宋伯仁 (active mid 13th century) *Record of Plum Blossom Portraits* (*Meihua xishen pu* 梅花喜神譜) published in 1261. Song's compilation, which is also a *pu* dedicated to the study of one flower, is the earliest known work to provide illustrations meant for esthetic appreciation.[423] Song's book was most likely repurposed as a painting manual by the fourteenth century and its illustrations appropriated by authors such as Wu, who reproduced them in a new context. This could be called a "migration" process, in which images and modes of representation are used in a variety of ways by different audiences and appropriated for different functions—similar to the case of the *Hundred-Rhyme Song* and the other texts discussed in chapter 3, which were ascribed new pedagogical functions over time.[424] Yet, despite the migration of the images to a painting manual, Wu Taisu maintains the scholarly ideal imbued in the plum blossom motif. He continues to represent it as a suitable medium to codify one's thoughts and feelings.

Wu's treatise also expounds on the correspondence of the plum blossom with the cosmos, specifically with the metaphysical values of yin and yang, which can be attributed to the influence of Neo-Confucian thought on Wu's painting theories.[425] Editors of Ming encyclopedias, however, intentionally discarded Wu's valorization of the plum blossom as a carrier of abstract ideals in favor of content that was more functional. Wu's painting technique, however, was very much bound by the transmitted tradition of scholarly painting and metaphysical values he attributed to the motif.

---

[422] A tentative biography in presented in Zhang. 1987. "Yuan Wu Taisu Songzhai meipu ji xiangguan wenti de tansuo," 446.

[423] Clunas. 1997. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, 136-138.

[424] A parallel claim is made in a study of European model books and painting manuals. Heilmann describes a similar process, in which workshop model drawings were re-appropriated into didactic painting manuals. Heilmann et al. 2014. *Punkt, Punkt, Komma, Strich*, 193. Wiedehage compares the illustrations in Song's *Record* with the illustrations of the *Songzhai meipu* 松齋梅譜, arguing that the similarity indicates that Song's work was taken as a reference by Wu. See Wiedehage. 1995. *Das Meihua xishen pu des Song Boren aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, 320-336. Bickford engages in a similar exercise of comparison in Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 188-196. Zhang suggest that Wu Taisu's book might have been based on a plum manual by the Yuan painter Wang Mian 王冕. Although this could be plausible, he does not provide concrete evidence for this assumption. Zhang. 1987. "Yuan Wu Taisu Songzhai meipu ji xiangguan wenti de tansuo," 455-459.

[425] On the neo-Confucian influences see Shimada. 1956. "Shōsai baifu teiyō," 104-106. A translation of this section, also contained in another later manual, the *Huaguang meipu*, can be found in Bush and Shih. 1985. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 280-282.

In his preface, Wu describes how he gathered information from multiple sources and compiled his own work according to his ideas and years of experience in painting:

> [...] I took up the technical secrets of the masters and the painting scrolls in old collections. Then, according to my own ideas, I deleted superfluities and supplemented deficiencies, compiling these into one collection. It is titled *Songzhai's Plum Manual* and it is [intended] to aid amateurs. [...] As for later painters, how could they understand, were there not such as I who [have undergone] the hardship of preserving the steadfast heart and [have acted with] the earnest concern of devoted attention? Not daring to keep this secret to myself, I have had woodblocks carved to widen its transmission. Therefore I relate this outline at the head of this book."[426]

Wu, who claims in his preface to have mastered the methods for painting the plum, takes his practical experience as grounds for his expertise. In the treatise he presents a rhymed text for memorization, giving pointers for the painter to keep in mind when painting a plum composition. This rhyme addresses the importance of variation and provides general notions on how to capture the principles of a flower's life cycle, respecting the natural changes that occur over time. Yet, the rhyme contained in this volume discusses painting methods in a general manner. It is not written in an instructive manner and does not provide regulated steps on how to proceed when painting a motif. Instead, it provides the reader with material for further reflection and imagination. If considered in the context of the entire manual, which even contains a section titled "Preserving in the Mind and Visualizing the Images" (*cunxin xiangxiang* 存心想象) that describes a meditation technique most likely derived from Daoist practice to visualize the plum in the mind before painting, the rhyme can be understood as a medium intended for self-cultivation and meditation.

Wu's attachment to scholarly ideals of painting is also illustrated by an anecdote he includes in his treatise:

> Once, there was an artisan-painter. He showed a magpie he had painted to Su Dongpo, claiming that it had taken him an entire month to complete the work. Everyone around them commented how lifelike the

[426] Translation adapted from Bickford. 1996. *Ink Plum*, 187.

depiction was. Yet, Su said: 'It's not bad, but it is merely a caged bird.' Upon hearing this the artisan muttered: 'Scholars are truly odd people.'

有一匠獻畫鵲於東坡，自云一月乃就。左右莫不言其逼真。破曰：「好則，乃籠中之禽耳」。匠曰：「學士真奇人也。」[427]

The anecdote reflects how Wu Taisu conceived of painting as an activity that involved more than skill. In his manual it becomes clear that personal involvement with the motif was more important than the craft. Wu Taisu's work focuses on the importance of embodying the motif and depicting all the variations of the blossom. The notions of balance and variation present in Wu's rhyme stand in stark contrast to the aim set by Ming authors, whose major concern was not to present a holistic view of a painting motif, but to define clear steps for painting that made practice easier. As will be discussed below, it was this lack of pragmatism in Wu's rhyme that most likely led Ming editors to abridge it before including it in the encyclopedias. The attribution of the texts to Yang Buzhi, who was admired for establishing the strong connection between motif and expression, thus seems even more jarring. However, when the name is regarded merely as a mnemonic reference for the motif of the plum blossom, Yang Buzhi's fame and association to the motif justify the connection.

Motifs that did not have a long tradition or a strong connection to a certain name were often presented as anonymous by the editors. During the 1550s, Gao Song 高松, whose life and calligraphy manual are discussed in chapter 2, composed formulas with a more direct and practical approach. In his painting manuals on birds and chrysanthemums, he highlights the pedagogical use of the rhymes and of painting steps. Gao's compositions are simple and provide clear instructions, allowing editors to include them verbatim in the encyclopedias. Gao's rhymed formulas were reprinted in encyclopedias well into the 19th century, attesting to their perceived practicality.

Although the modesty permeating the prefaces of Gao's works betrays his scholarly background, his manuals were based on his personal experience as a professional painter and teacher. As discussed in chapter 2, he expressed a clear conceptual shift toward the valorization of practical knowledge in the preface he wrote for his calligraphy manual. Albeit less elaborate in content,

[427] Anecdote included under section "On Plum" (*meishuo* 梅說). Shimada. 1988. *Shōsai baifu*, 67-68.

the prefaces for his manuals on birds and chrysanthemums adopt a similar tone, highlighting the importance of disseminating basic practical instructions for the further development of an art and downplaying the author's own identity in relation to the content. Gao believed that is was crucial to develop basic skills before developing a personal style. This skill-oriented approach made it easier for Ming editors to appropriate parts of his work without making changes, as they shared his attitude.

Gao Song's painting manuals, of which one on bamboo, one on chrysanthemums and one on birds are still extant, differ from previous works due to the relatively small portion of text in prose and the focus on rhymes. His bamboo manual is a revised version of the painting sections from Li Kan's manual mentioned above. While most of the texts were originally composed by Li Kan, Gao restricted his contributions to summaries and rhymes appended to each section.[428] The reader of his manual would, for example, be able to grasp the twenty-eight pitfalls of bamboo painting at a glance, and recite the relevant rhyme so he knew what to avoid while painting, all without having to check a lengthy text. Gao's manuals on chrysanthemums and birds, which he authored himself, contained even less text.

The manual on chrysanthemums is constructed like a record (*pu*) of different kinds of chrysanthemum and presents numerous models for an aspiring painter to copy, accompanied by poems. However, unlike earlier *pu* that focused on the compilation of textual information on a subject, Gao focuses on the visual aspect of the flower and provides model poems that could be copied by the student to create complete compositions. Aside from the short preface and the poems, the manual includes only a short, rhymed formula on the steps for painting the flower. His manual on birds relies even less on text. It gives brief instructions in the two-page preface and then summarizes these same instructions in a short, rhymed formula, followed only by a set of illustrations.

In his formulas, Gao deconstructs the painting motifs into steps that are easy to follow, streamlining the construction process of the motif. His instructions on how to paint birds, for example, rely on the sequencing of actions:

[428] It is unlikely that the work currently attributed to Li Kan in the *Siku quanshu* was actually composed by him. One source indicates that besides the illustrations and rhymes, the text under the heading "Record on Painting Bamboo" (*Hua zhu pu* 畫竹譜) in Wang's edition was a preface by Gao Song, dated to 1549. It is recorded in Cui and Wang. 1673. *Chongxiu Wen'an xianzhi*, *juan* 3, 22a-23b. Compare to Wang. 1590. *Wangshi huayuan - buyi*, *juan* 2, 59b-60b.

When painting birds, start with the mouth; then place the eye by the beak.
The forehead is drawn around the eye; next come the shoulders and back by the cheek.
Add the wing feathers: a semi-circle, then large and small; a second row of longer strokes is the next thing to seek.
Add a last sharp stroke for the wing; for painting a tail feather, nothing beats a long streak.
In the back, add wings and plumes; in the front, add breast, belly and thigh, with a result oh so sleek!
Finally paint the feet either open or closed, and no more of it shall we speak!

翎毛先畫嘴，眼照上唇安，
留眼猫頭額，接腮寫背肩，
半環大小點，破鏡短長尖，
細細稍翎出，徐徐少尾填，
羽毛翅脊後，胸肚腿肫前，
臨了綽添脚，踏枝或展拳。[429]

Gao sought to present the practical steps for painting birds in the most straightforward and efficient manner. The formulas for chrysanthemums and birds were both accompanied by illustrations of the steps, which also enabled an illiterate public to engage the content of the work. In his prefaces, Gao shows awareness that his manuals might fall in to the hands of scholars, who could become exasperated with the 'base' content of his books: both close with protestations of modesty. In his manual on chrysanthemums he remarks:

I am aware that this [manual] only addresses a small matter, and that it will probably receive no attention from officials. I even fear that by

[429] This is a free translation that maintains the rhyme pattern of the original text. A translation closer to the original text can be rendered as follows: When painting birds, start by painting the beak. The eye is accordingly placed at the base of the upper beak. Around the eye, draw the forehead, continuing with the back and shoulders, which start at the cheek. Paint a feather shaped like a semi-circle, then large and then small dots, [followed by] a stroke in the shape of a crescent moon, then sharp strokes, short and long. Carefully paint a part of the wing showing; slowly add fine tail feathers. [Add] the feathers and wing behind the spine. [Add] breast, belly and thigh and buttocks in the front. Continue by adding the feet, [which can be] stepping on a branch, either open or grasping it. Gao. 1959b. *Gao Song lingmao pu*, 2a.

transmitting this, I will be laughed at. However, I still had it carved to ask for instructions from all in the realm. If by chance a learned gentleman were willing to correct me, he would have my gratitude.

自揣襪線之材，固不足以入縉紳之目邃，恐有貽笑於世傳々。姑以刻出，請教四海。倘遇博雅君子尚可規正者，則有所感焉。[430]

Nevertheless, a similar remark in his book on birds is followed by a more positive note encouraging the reader, regardless of his status, not to renounce the desire to learn:

I would be grateful to all in the realm who are wiser than me for their instructions. I am fond of the saying [by Confucius]: "If one is of an active nature and yet fond of learning, there is no need to be ashamed to ask and learn from one's inferiors."

感托四海大方家斤正。是愛嘗謂「敏而好學，不恥下問」而矣。[431]

These two concluding comments indicate that Gao was aware that his manual addressed a large audience. Interestingly, he states that one should not be ashamed to learn from those of lower rank or status, once again emphasizing that the identity of the reader should not be an obstacle in one's search for knowledge. Gao's two short prefaces are apologetic in nature, yet the aspirations to make greater claims about painting as a craft worth pursuing are clearly present. His modest tone indicates his familiarity with the scholarly discourse, yet he dismisses the connections to morality and emphasizes the value of practical skills.[432] Most of Gao's texts that were appropriated by the editors of encyclopedias make no reference to their creator and no other attribution is provided. Because Gao had already removed himself from the texts in order to bring the techniques to the

[430] Gao. 1959a. *Gao Song ju pu*, second page of preface, unnumbered.
[431] Gao. 1959b. *Gao Song lingmao pu*, 1b.
[432] Although Gao Song never earned a degree, he had been educated to take the examinations. It was common for scholars who made a living from painting to be apologetic, even if this was only to pay lip service to fellow scholars. The famous Ming painter Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1524), for example, claimed in a poem that painting was a means to survive without engaging in morally questionable activities. "I get up and paint a landscape of blue mountains to sell. It does not force me to earn sinful money among the people." Quote in Gu. 1831. *Yibaizhai shihua*, 8a-8b.

forefront, and even discouraged the reader to think in terms of status, his texts suited the intentions of encyclopedia editors. Encyclopedia editors embraced the process of forgetting authors and only made attributions to individuals when these had mnemonic functions, such as in the case or Li Kan and Yang Buzhi.

In the decades that followed Gao Song's publications and preceded the publication of the encyclopedias, commercial editors who published books and specialized manuals that dealt with practical knowledge seemed to take Gao Song's message to heart. Like Gao, they were very aware that publishing could potentially reach a very broad audience. Most importantly, however, they did not shy away from reaching out to people of different classes to obtain materials for their publications. While the texts authored by individuals provide a view of how elite painting motifs came to be appropriated in encyclopedias, compilations that collected materials from several sources offer a unique understanding of how craftsmen's knowledge could be disseminated for public consumption.

Editors and Craftsmen: Sharing Practical Knowledge and Benefitting Society

The varying relationships among authors, editors and publishers shaped the second group of sources from which content was incorporated into Ming daily-use encyclopedias. Publishers claimed their task was to spread knowledge that could, potentially, be used by someone else. Educated men involved in the printing industry believed that they could "recover what had been forgotten" and "bring what had been lost to light" again. The concern with practical knowledge being forgotten was a reaction to the ideas that had dominated scholarly discourses for more than two centuries.

Scholars believed that practical study was connected to the "investigation of things" (*gewu* 格物) that led to higher forms of understanding. As a form of self-cultivation, it was the foundation for moral conduct. This "investigation" did not mean, however, that scholars engaged in crafts, which they continued to disparage. Although practical knowledge was often perceived as useful and pursued to achieve higher goals, crafts were not among the topics that were to be studied in depth.[433] Mid-Ming editors

[433] Long before the Ming dynasty, numerous individual scholars justified the publication of expert knowledge by highlighting its usefulness. For example, the Song dynasty author of the *Kaogu tu* 考古圖, Li Gonglin 李公麟, argued that the investigation of antique bronzes was

realized that valuable knowledge was being forgotten, in large part because of the diminished value placed on crafts and the focus on canonical works. This prompted them to search for and disclose information on practices and crafts.

Although commercial editors did not author the contents of their compilations and might not have fully comprehended the content, their role went beyond preparing the books for print. The practical knowledge described in them did not necessarily speak to the editor or publisher as an individual, to his life or his experience, yet the prefaces of the three works I discuss below, written to introduce highly specialized knowledge to the reader, praise the potential uses of this knowledge in fostering morality and ordering society. Numerous editors claimed that tracking down useful knowledge and making it available to others was a worthy contribution to society in itself, going beyond the financial benefits tied to publication. Editors thus assumed responsibility for mediating the content and framing it within contemporary scholarly ideals, claiming that practical knowledge, too, was beneficial to society.

Although editors of late Ming encyclopedias took up such claims to a certain extent, a study of how practical knowledge was presented in these earlier sources reveals that during the mid Ming, printing came to be seen as a moral activity that served the greater good. In order to achieve this, however, editors and compilers of books had to interact with craftsmen to obtain their first-hand knowledge. It was only due to the efforts of these editors that the content eventually reproduced in encyclopedias became accessible at all.

The interaction of publishers with those who had authored the practical content created an environment, or an abstract 'zone,' that was conducive for the exchange of knowledge and interaction between less educated men, merchants and educated scholars who had been exposed to elite values. These exchanges, however, did not always take place without conflicts. The three mid-Ming books discussed here illustrate three different cases: how an unattributed manuscript was found and an editor took the

---

necessary to understand the secrets of antiquity, which would, by extension, benefit the government. Weitz. 2015. "Privately Published Illustrated Books on Arts," 60. During the 12th century, the self-taught geographer Ni Pu 倪樸 claimed that expert knowledge and "the dedication to one art" had been essential to government since antiquity. He argued that knowledge on geography played a comparable role in the preservation of civilized society during his time. De Weerdt. 2015. *Information, Territory, and Networks*, 201-204. Parallel to such claims of 'public usefulness', authors also recorded specialized knowledge in collections of notes (*biji*), often justifying the compilation of specialized and practical knowledge along with anecdotes and personal accounts as a source for private distraction and enjoyment, as shown in Cong Ellen Zhang's study on literati's *biji.* Zhang. 2016. "Of Revelers and Witty Conversationalists."

initiative to disseminate the work; how a craftsman and an editor worked together to publish a work; and how one publisher connived to posthumously publish a work the author had refused to make public during his lifetime. In all three cases, the practical knowledge had already been recorded before editors and publishers became involved in its dissemination.

The discovery of an old manuscript that contained practical knowledge prompted Wu Ji 吳繼, the editor of the *Brief Record by Mo'e* (*Mo'e xiaolu* 墨娥小錄), to publish it in 1569:

> Things can be obscured, and come back to light again. They can vanish, and then reappear. One often hears of this happening. On a day of leisure, I came across this collection titled "*Brief Record by Mo'e*" when I was inspecting my bookshelves. [...] My friend and I both thought that this volume contained knowledge that was useful for the people's daily activities. [...] By following its instructions, which are written in simple language, the fool can comprehend and the clumsy can become skilled. Variety and breadth also offer a path to educating the world.
>
> 事有晦而復明，湮而復顯者，嘗聞之矣。余暇日撿篋藏書，偶及是集，名《墨娥小錄》。(...) 值容有訪余，出共閱之，以為民生日用所需甚悉。(...) 按簡應事，則愚可明，拙可巧；雜而廣之，亦覺世之一道也。[434]

He then begins to discuss the matter with his friend Rong, asking:

> "Can a short passage of text be put on the same level with the Classics? Can a single vase be put on the same level with a record of objects? Would this trivial material not be laughed at by great men?"
>
> 「懷片言而市墳典之門，甄小技而于才器之錄，寧無嗤於大方耶？」[435]

Upon which his friend tells him:

> "The manners of the common people have been regarded [by emperors] to order and govern them, thus, every single blade of cut

[434] Wu. 1569. *Mo'e xiaolu*, preface, 1a-1b.
[435] Wu. 1569. *Mo'e xiaolu*, preface, 1b-2a.

grass can be put to use. Su Xun (Su Shi's father) once said: '[Suppose] there are ten things under heaven. We can enumerate up to nine of them, but we do not truly understand a single one of them.' It cannot be said that we are very knowledgeable! In former times, the Duke of Zhou, who would not neglect small matters, reigned over the people. Confucius did not discard [this way] and would not neglect trivial activities. Why do you struggle with this?"

「民風者可以飭治，納蒭蕘者可以致用。蘇子云：「天下有物十焉。歷數之至於九，而不知其一。」非所以言大智。昔周公克勒小物，尼父不棄多能，至今為天下後世之大明。子何艱於此哉？」[436]

Wu thus comes to agree with his friend and concludes that it is indeed very beneficial to society to disseminate knowledge about skills. His closing statement provides a striking image of how he perceived his contribution to society and learning:

What has been obscured for a long time is now clear; what has been forgotten for long is now revealed. I only publish this book to contribute to the reconstruction of [an understanding of] nature's principles.

晦久而明，湮久而顯。夫亦理數之相成者歟！[437]

Rong convinced Wu Ji that every bit of knowledge can potentially be put to use, no matter how trivial it may seem. Citing the two sages who had gained clarity over the order of things and comprehended the Way—the Duke of Zhou and Confucius—as forerunners who valued the small and the trivial, no scholar could be ridiculed for also deeming them valuable. Wu Ji can thus confidently mention earlier encyclopedias as reliable sources of useful information and, more importantly, address the trivial and practical matters that were not contained in the previous compilations.

The preface alludes to the ongoing debate about the transmission of the *Dao* (*dao tong* 道統), in which scholars argued that they were the successors of the sages because they could interpret the classics. Yet, it also makes clear that these learned men felt that their social responsibility had

[436] Wu. 1569. *Mo'e xiaolu*, preface, 2a.
[437] Wu. 1569. *Mo'e xiaolu*, preface, 1b-2b.

been broadened. Educating the people was no longer merely a matter of interpreting the classics and regulating society, but about making knowledge available to everyone and thus motivating others to grasp the broader connections of the Dao through their actions. This differed from the earlier scholar-officials' understanding that one engaged in practical learning to achieve moral self-cultivation and inner virtue in order to regulate society.[438]

A similar approach was taken by the composer of the preface to *Apprenticeship in the Painting Business* (*Huishi zhimeng* 繪事指蒙), a record that covers every aspect of painting in minute detail. It explains the nomenclature for painting and types of strokes, provides detailed instructions, such as how to properly layer colors or gold application, and also provides recipes for mixing colors and model patterns intended to be used as decoration in depictions of deities. *Apprenticeship in the Painting Business* was published before 1509 by Zhang Chun 張春 (dates unknown),[439] who describes the regulating potential of painting in his preface and his interactions with a professional painter whom he could persuade of this idea:

> I believe that the art of painting is not a trivial matter, and that its function is to assist [in the upholding of the] Way. [...] The endeavors of the chess player and the pitch-pot player are difficult. However, the steps and rules of these activities have been defined, and [the conditions for] victory and defeat have been established. A dilettante has applied his brush to record them and transformed it into a book, thus preserving well these matters so that they would be transmitted without being lost. How come there is no such text to consult for the matters of painting? [...] If [the ancient painters] had not made [the principles of painting] known to others, the common people would not have been able to comprehend them on their own.
>
> 余觀畫之術非細務也，功能助道，非淺淺也。(...) 夫奕者、壺者，其事難已焉。可也其辨先後、决勝負，好尚者猶筆之成編，其事賴以存而傳無泯。孰謂繪畫而反無文之可稽哉！(...) 匪其不使知於人，而人自弗克知爾。[440]

[438] This stance became common during the Song dynasty and was even defended in examination essays. De Weerdt. 2007. *Competition over Content*, 356-357.

[439] Not much information could be found on the preface writer. There is no indication that he ever earned a high degree, yet he uses references from the classics, such as the Yijing, in his preface and mentions that he "recited lessons" as a child, indicating that he most likely had been educated to take the examinations.

[440] Hu and Zhang. 1596. *Huishi zhimeng*, preface, 1a

He continues to list all the virtues that different painted motifs can bring out in the viewer, and praises the importance of recording practical knowledge for the craft of painting:

> [This contribution in achieving the way,] how can it be taken lightly!? It is sublime! And if this art can be thusly praised, how can one dare to record it as a trivial matter? How could those who practice it [record it] in a sketchy and generalizing manner? To regard chess and pitch-pot to be in fact [mere] playful activities, how can this be truly so?!
>
> 豈淺淺乎，美哉！斯術之可尚者如此，庸敢以細務錄？攻斯者又詎可以率略為耶？視奕與壺誠為戲也，誠可已也？[441]

By making repeated allusions to the games of chess and pitch-pot, which were related to strategic thinking, mindfulness and ritual conduct,[442] the preface firmly establishes painting as an activity that is useful for regulating social customs and upholding moral values. Having established the value of painting, Zhang recounts how he himself had unsuccessfully attempted to understand its principles, but was later able to seize the opportunity to disseminate practical knowledge for the craft after a fortunate encounter:

> Since my childhood, during the breaks from reciting lessons, I was very fond [of studying painting], often lamenting that I could not understand its basics. And whether copying side by side or imitating, a hundred [copies] did not resemble anything. It even came to a tiger looking like a dog, and a hawk looking like a chicken. Not only was it an unpleasant sight, but also incredibly ludicrous.
>
> By chance I once met Master Zou from Zichuan in Wulin. Master Zou is a worthy recluse. His fondness [for painting] corresponds to mine, and he is an outstanding expert in this enterprise, making his living from it.

[441] Hu and Zhang. 1596. *Huishi zhimeng*, preface, 2a-2b.
[442] On the ritual significance of pitch-pot see, for example, Clart 2008. "The Concept of Ritual in the Thought of Sima Guang (1019–1086)," 244-248.

> 予自垂髫課誦之隙，亦頗鐘情於是，屢歎不得其門，而如臨摹、倣效，百不肖一。其至虎類狗、鸛儕雞，非惟不可觀，而深為可笑也。偶與淄川鄒公邂逅武林。鄒公隱君子也。嗜同於予，而業尤專，且衣飲藉以給。[443]

Zhang then describes the open exchange on technical matters between the professional painter Zou and himself, ending the preface by praising the craftsman for having the courage to share his knowledge and also making his own role as mediator explicit:

> Because, unfortunately, the professionals of our time, even if they have had such insights, resolutely hide these without revealing them–afraid that the people might know and anxious that people might transmit them–and even if they do transmit them, they are also ridiculed and ruined by their colleagues. When we see the book that Mister Zou is presenting to the crowds, will he not also be disgraced? Thus, this deed of Mister Zou, how can it not be an act of benevolence?[444] I dare to express my opinion in the preface, and ahead of the rest, I collected and organized [the content] and requested it to be carved on woodblocks. This should allow the one who studies it to easily investigate it, and also circumvent [the situation in which] chess and pitch-pot are the only activities for which there are writings, while practitioners of painting can only accept the fact that no books [for them] exist.

> 因歎今之業斯者，或有所見，無不堅匿深韜，恐人之或知，慮人之或傳；甚至傳之，亦為同列訕毀。見鄒公君之書公於眾人，得無恥歟？顧鄒君之行，得非仁者之一事歟？余敢序意，冠諸集端而請梓之。使攻斯者便其攷，且毋使奕、壺得專有其文，而繪事者甘無其書也。[445]

In this anecdotal account, Zhang portrays the act of sharing knowledge as a social contribution–a virtuous act of Confucian benevolence. He illustrates how craftsmen considered their practical knowledge to be valuable secrets of their trade. However, in his portrayal of the situation, such unwillingness to share practical information that was indisputably beneficial

[443] Hu and Zhang. 1596. *Huishi zhimeng*, preface, 2b.
[444] Zhang. [1509?]. *Huishi zhimeng*, preface, 1a-3a.
[445] Hu and Zhang. 1596. *Huishi zhimeng*, preface, 2b-3a.

to society and helped maintain social order was a sign of pettiness. Those who took the brave step to reveal such knowledge and were willing to benefit others, despite the danger of being mocked by other craftsmen, should be praised for this worthy deed. Thus, Zhang's own initiative to mediate this knowledge should, following his logic, also be understood as rooted in benevolence.

Zhang perceived painting itself as an activity of moral value, compared to other practices related to ritual conduct. Thus, to fulfill this potential, it should be conducted with utmost care in accordance with rules and regulations. Zhang claims that in order to succeed in painting, it is "necessary to investigate all the principles under heaven" (*tian xia zhi li, bu ke bu ge* 天下之理，不可不格), implying that Zou succeeded in capturing the principles in his practical instructions that are now being shared with the reader. The use of the term "investigate" (*ge* 格) in the statement also indicates that this was no longer understood as an activity to cultivate one's morality through study as had been originally associated to the "investigation of things" (*gewu*) in the Song, but that knowledge gained from different activities and fields could be beneficial to society in a broader sense.[446] Thus, the craft of painting could also be perceived as a regulating activity that was beneficial to both individual and society.

This joint effort and the 'social sacrifice' undertaken by both Zhang and Zou reveal that the goal of disseminating these rules and practical instructions could be shared by both educated and less educated groups. However, there was not always a consensus on the benefits of sharing knowledge, as Zhang hints at in his description of craftspeople who refused to share their secrets.

In 1592, Weng Ang 翁昂 published the *Secret Essentials of Portraiture* (*Chuanzhen miyao* 傳真祕要), a manual on portraiture that he had not authored himself, but rather 'seized.' Weng heard that a friend of his who excelled at painting, Wu Yuebo 吳月波, kept a manuscript manual on the techniques for portraiture hidden at home. However, the old painter would

[446] Wang Yangming also addressed the "investigation of things" in connection to *li* 理 , but denies it to be the engagement of things outside of the mind. Instead, he refers to *ge wu* as "rectification of thoughts," understanding *wu* as objects within the mind. He believes that the principle of heaven permeates all things and the mind, and can thus be grasped through reflection. Yet, knowledge gained from reflection can only be extended through action, which he considers to be superior. Tien. "Metaphysics and the Basis of Morality," 303-305; 312. Elman associates the implications of this shift in Ming thinking towards an extension of knowledge "whether moral, textual or worldly" to the encyclopedias. 2007. "Collecting and Classifying," 133.

not allow anyone to see the book, protecting the secrets of his craft. It was only when Yuebo passed away that Weng Ang finally saw the opportunity to negotiate with the painter's son for the chance to look at the manuscript. The son handed the manual to Weng, who had it carved and wanted to publish it under his own name, without mentioning the painter. If Weng's hired editor, Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl. 1592-1613), had not recorded these events in a postface appended to the treatise, the fact that Weng was not the author of the book would probably never have come to light. Hu had been having doubts about Weng's authorship, so one day he decided to confront him about it. Weng then explained to him how he came across the book, telling the story of his exchanges with Wu Yuebo and Wu's son.[447]

Despite the painter's reluctance to share his notes and provide Weng with specialized knowledge, Weng eventually managed to publish them, and just as Wu Ji and Zhang Chun had done, the editor Hu Wenhuan praised the social functions of portraiture in his preface to the printed edition. He described the transmission of specialized knowledge as crucial for the fulfillment of the social function of portraiture: Because verisimilitude played a central role in capturing the spirit of the sitter, only the painter who mastered the technical challenges was able to properly practice filial piety. The postface by Hu is a rare record of how knowledge that was in fact kept secret was suddenly made available to the public—a decision that was not taken by the author, but by someone who saw the dissemination of the content as profitable and beneficial to society. Benefiting the reader and society was a common trope used in prefaces to praise the contents of the book.[448] The frequent use of this trope by Ming editors to justify the publication of a work was nonetheless tied to the specific context and goal of the publications.

The Ming witnessed the appearance of educated men who may not have fully comprehended the matters at hand, but actively included the expert or the craftsman into their publishing enterprise. Craftsmen were prompted to share their knowledge on the grounds that it would benefit society, transforming the printing industry into something that could be called

[447] Weng and Hu. 1603. *Chuanzhen miyao*, postface, 3a.

[448] Literary encyclopedias of the Song, for example, claimed that their beneficial role was to enhance the reader's writing skills. De Weerdt. 1994. "Aspects of Song Intellectual Life," 16.

a 'trading zone.'[449] It created an environment conducive to the exchange of knowledge and interaction between less-educated men and highly educated scholars who had been exposed to elite values, such as in the case of Zhang Chun and the painter Zou.

The editors, men who had a high level of education but who often held a low scholarly degree or none at all, played a mediating role in disseminating this knowledge by relating the content to elite values. Editors praised the craft for its potential to foster virtues in the painter and in the viewer, thus bringing it into consonance with Confucian moral standards. They also pointed out that the knowledge of practical matters was a boon to all scholars desiring to become more like the sages, since both Confucius and the Duke of Zhou advised against dismissing such knowledge. Practical matters, which had long been ignored by learned scholars, should once more be valued for their potential to regulate and order the world. The mediators, who claimed the responsibility for disseminating this beneficial knowledge, portrayed themselves as selfless figures, as teachers of society—whether they had obtained this knowledge from craftsmen by will or by force.

Through their prefaces, editors harmonized the practical content of the manuals with Confucian ideals, presenting knowledge that would have been considered base within a scholarly discourse and regarded as secret by craftsmen to a broad audience of readers. Their publications, editors believed, would reinstate the value of crafts that had long been neglected by scholars and thus forgotten. Their positive presentation of crafts surely influenced later scholars, such as Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587-ca. 1666), who also came to perceive knowledge of crafts as equally beneficial to society as other forms of knowledge.[450] This endeavor to bring knowledge created by authors of low and high status into equilibrium was taken even further by the editors of encyclopedias, who mined works concerned with practical knowledge for content to be included in their own compilations.

[449] The term is borrowed from Pamela Long's theory on the dynamics of interactions of craftspeople and artisans with more educated scholars and scientists in early modern Europe. Long. 2011. *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences.*

[450] Schäfer has conducted a thorough study on Song's work, *Exploitation of the Works of Nature* (*Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物), and the cultural context in which it was composed. On the benefits of knowledge of crafts, see Schäfer. 2011. *The Crafting of the 10,000 Things,* 87-88.

Summarizing and Rhyming Practical Knowledge for Encyclopedias

The juxtaposition of unrelated texts and views on facing pages in encyclopedias was quite common. Editors created no hierarchy of texts or values within their sections, often flattening the framework of elite knowledge. They adopted a seemingly uncritical attitude when it came to layout, giving the reader the option to follow the content according to his or her own needs.[451] That did not mean, however, that editors did not pay attention to *how* these diverse ideas were presented.

Unlike authors of specialized manuals, editors of Ming encyclopedias refrained from including long theoretical texts about painting in their compilations. Instead, they offered overviews to enable the reader to get the gist of the methods for painting a specific motif at a glance. Even the longest prose texts in the painting section were, in fact, summaries, often titled *jue* 訣. Rhymed formulas or prose summaries, both called *jue*, were often composed to facilitate the recitation of the content, presenting the key issues discussed elsewhere. The term *jue* had been in use to describe practical matters long before the Ming. Just as in the fields of calligraphy, law or mathematics, practical knowledge of painting was frequently transmitted via summaries and rhymed instructions. One early example of a craft-related matter being summarized in a rhyme is presented in the section on brushes in Su Yijian's (958-997) *Record on the Four Treasures of the Study* (*Wenfang sipu* 文房四譜). After providing numerous quotes on how to craft a brush, he records how school children (*xiaoxuezhe* 小學者) of his time are taught a four-phrase formula (*siju koujue* 四句口訣) to identify a well-crafted brush: "[A brush should have] a stiff core and fine covering bristles, [with a tip] pointy as an awl and [bristles] even like a chisel."[452] The formula summarizes key issues that are mentioned in earlier quotes, providing these criteria in a rhymed format for school children to recite and memorize. Editors of encyclopedias sought to reproduce this format in their overarching compilations and preferred to present content in a condensed format.

They often included the accessible summaries penned by earlier authors verbatim in their encyclopedias. Gao Song's rhymes from his manuals on chrysanthemums and birds, for example, were appropriated without alterations. Gao's rhymes were also reproduced in a number of later painting

[451] Shang. 2006. "The Making of the Everyday World: *Jin Ping Mei cihua* and Encyclopedias for Daily Use," 73.
[452] Su. 1782. *Wenfang sipu*, juan 1, 14b.

manuals published during the Ming, such as the *Extensive Documents from the Secluded Residence* (*Yimen guangdu* 夷門廣度) published by Zhou Lüjing 周履靖 in 1597.[453] Unlike the encyclopedia editors, Zhou adapted the content created by Gao before including it in his own publications. Just like them, however, Zhou mentioned neither the source nor its author.[454]

Reformulating and compressing the content of earlier texts was common practice among editors and compilers of specialized manuals. However, earlier manuals did not attempt to present a coherent view of painting, focusing only on specific motifs. Hu Wenhuan, editor of Weng Ang's 1592 *Secret Essentials of Portraiture* mentioned above, appended his own summary (*zongkuo* 總括) to the end of the volume, indicating that he had authored this part. He compressed the content of the entire volume, including the prose *jue* on portraiture by the Yuan painter Wang Yi, into one page, writing in plain and accessible language and structuring the text into phrases of ten characters that all end on an *-ong* rhyme (*tong* 通, *qiong* 窮, *zong* 崇, etc.). Hu claims in the last two phrases of the rhyme that whoever manages to keep his secret formula (*mijue* 秘訣) in his breast (i.e. mind), will surely succeed in portraiture.[455] This closing statement makes explicit the author's intention to render the content of the entire manual in a format that is short and easy to memorize.

Editors of encyclopedias took similar liberties in their editing of the content and abridged transmitted sources in order to harmonize the format of the content. One example that illustrates how they adapted the wording to produce a rhyme is the mnemonic formula for portraiture edited for inclusion in encyclopedias. In the *Secret Essentials of Portraiture*, one graph depicts a

---

[453] Although Zhou published his *Forest of Paintings* (*Hui lin* 繪林) around 1580 as a stone-carved edition, with material that was later included in the 1597 "Groove of Paintings" (*Hua sou* 畫藪—the section on painting in his *Yimen guangdu* 夷門廣牘), there is no indication that the texts by Gao Song or his illustrations were featured in the earlier *Forest of Paintings.* In the *Yimen guangdu* Zhou collects 42 inscriptions by friends and acquaintances that praised his stone-carved edition. It was conceived as an equivalent to the imperially commissioned *Calligraphy Models of the Chunhua Reign* (*Chunhua getie* 淳化閣帖 *Chunhua getie*)—as a book that perpetuated models of ancient paintings (according to Zhou's imitation of them). This issue has been addressed in Park. 2012. *Art by the Book,* 62-64.

[454] Wang Chang'an, who compared the two manuals on bamboo published by Gao and Zhou, believes that Zhou's rendition of the material affected the content negatively, claiming that Zhou seemed not to have "completely understood" the principles of bamboo. Wang's analysis is mainly based on the rendition of the illustrations. Wang. 1958. *Gao Song zhupu*, 175-176. Zhou's version of the instructions on how to paint birds takes its core from Gao Song's text, including his rhymed formula in a new context.

[455] Weng and Hu. 1603. *Chuanzhen miyao*, 16a-b.

man in a three-quarter profile with a beard and mustache wearing a scholar's cap and robe.[456] Two lines of text run down the right side of the image. The first eight characters of the caption read "*heng fen wu yan, zhi xia san ting*" 橫分五眼，直下三停: Horizontally, divide into five eyes; vertically, measure three planes. In the *Secret Essentials of Portraiture* this opening statement is followed by an explanation that spells out how to measure these proportions: Horizontally, one should measure five equal parts that correspond to the size of one eye; vertically the face is divided into three even sections [Fig. 5.3].

This graph and its caption reappear in various later encyclopedias. However, both seem to have been adapted. Although the illustrations in the encyclopedias vary according to the edition, they all depict a frontal view of a man with a scholar's cap and robe, with a portraiture rhyme in two lines flanking the image. The first line in the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning* [Fig. 5.2 k] is almost identical to the first eight characters of the manual, reading "*heng fen wu yan, zhi tui san ting*" 橫分五眼，直推三停. Only one character has been changed, but a new line was added to match the first: "*ba fa si zheng, xuan wu tong ming*" 八髮四正，玄武通明. The content of the additional line only reaffirms the common belief that the face was a mirror of, or equivalent to, the cosmos, the basic idea behind physiognomy, which does not enlighten the reader about any additional practical moves. The rhyme can be translated as follows:

> Horizontally, divide into five eyes;
> Vertically, measure three planes.
> Consider the eight directions [i.e. heaven] and the four quadrants [i.e. earth],
> thus, the entire cosmos [i.e. the face] [the rhyme] explains!
>
> 橫分五眼，直推三停。
> 八髮四正，玄武通明。[457]

[456] Weng and Hu. 1603. *Chuanzhen miyao*, 18a.

[457] It is unlikely that the character *fa* 髮 is to be understood according to its basic meaning as "hair." Portraiture manuals published up to the end of the Ming dynasty do not focus on the depiction of hair, beard or mustache. In fact, when establishing the proportions of the face, the hair is regarded as being 'outside' of the face, and the proportions were meant to apply to both men and women. Although it is not entirely clear why the character *fa* is used here, the term most likely carries the meaning of "root" (*gen* 根) in this context, as reference to the eight basic trigrams of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*). These were ordered in a circle on the eight directions to determine the annual cycle according to the changing winds. This interpretation is in accordance with the other terms used in the rhyme. In popular belief,

It seems that the editors of the encyclopedia appropriated existing material, abbreviated its content, and created a rhyming text. The same rhyme appears in other editions in a slightly different version. The first two lines remain unchanged, but the reference to heaven is now given by a different term. Instead of the Eight Directions, this rhyme uses the term Six Diagonals (*liuxie* 六斜) to describe heaven, making reference to the six diagonal pairs within the celestial circle.[458] This line was added to form a rhyme, an effort to reformulate knowledge to make it easier to recite and retain. This in turn made the content more accessible, even to an illiterate audience.[459]

Another text that was cut and adapted in the encyclopedias is the formula for painting plums, contained in Wu Taisu's plum blossom manual described above. The original rhyme begins with the statement that "the method for painting the plum is rooted in nature" (本天然). After a few passages on how the strokes should be modulated and how the twigs and branches vary according to different growth stages, the rhyme reads:

> The stamens are like the whiskers of tigers; the blossoms weep dew or hold mist in their cups as if they were wailing and lamenting. They can stand the snow and the freezing cold. Some open big, some small; some stand upright, others lean more or less towards the side. They announce the very beginning of spring. Blushingly they turn away their shapes and smiling faces from the sun. They spread wide open, and then begin to fade—they are the very first harbingers of early spring.[460]

---

xuanwu, the black turtle, represented the cosmos. The turtle's shell, with its round top and a flat bottom, resembled the Chinese understanding of a domed heaven and flat earth. See Allan. 1991. *The Shape of the Turtle,* 104. Similarly, the eight heavenly winds that blow from the cardinal directions stand for the round heaven and the four quadrants of the earth. In similar encyclopedias published during the Ming, the third line of the rhyme reads *liuxie sizheng* 六斜四正, in which the Six Diagonals also stand for heaven, as a reference to the six pairs of earthly branches, which would be ordered in a circle and be connected through diagonals going across the circle.

[458] The variations in the rhyme, which do not affect the content, could also indicate that at some point the rhyme was circulating orally in two different versions.

[459] Rhymed text makes the content more accessible to the reader of low literacy due to its repetitive structure, and also allows an illiterate person to memorize it with ease. Didactic texts for children, such as the *Thousand Character Essay* (*Qian zi wen* 千字文) were rhymed to facilitate recitation.

[460] Translation by Sirén, 1956. *Chinese Painting*, pt. 1, vol. 2, 157.

The encyclopedias truncated the original rhyme, which was composed of 70 phrases of four characters, to comprise only 14 phrases [Fig. 5.4]. Only the initial statements about the painting manner were retained, while the core part that focused on the qualities of branches and blossoms, partially cited above, was discarded. The version contained in several Ming encyclopedias reads as follows:

> The method for painting plums has its roots in nature.
> Use concentrated ink, being thick and plenty; when lowering the brush, be unrestrained.
> One cannot eliminate mistakes; do not attempt to mend them.
> The brushwork must have strength; one should not hesitate nor falter.
> If [your posture is] misaligned or leaning towards one side: urgently seek to correct that.
> If the hand and the mind are in consonance, you will be able to create mystery within mystery!
> This is the secret formula, be careful not to transmit it recklessly.
>
> 寫梅之法，性本天然。
> 醮墨濃飽，下筆放顛 。
> 不可去朽，不可在填。
> 筆勢有力，莫怯遲延。
> 倘歪斜側，急救無偏。
> 心手相應，玄之又玄。
> 此為秘訣，慎勿輕傳。[461]

The Ming formula retains the original introduction of the rhyme, and despite minor alterations, presents the same general instructions on the use of ink and brushwork for painting the plum blossom. It adds generic comments on posture and on consonance of mind and hand, which were not specific to plum painting and often repeated for other motifs. The formula ends with a warning, also present in the original, to memorize it accurately and transmit the knowledge responsibly.

The formula in Wu Taisu's plum manual does not emphasize the division of steps or practical instructions; rather it functions as a text that should be committed to memory so the principles of nature, present in the painting of the plum, can be reflected upon or visualized during meditation. As

[461] *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*. 1607. Juan 17, 5b-6a.

illustrated above, Wu describes the plum as representing the cosmic forces of Yin and Yang; repeating the rhyme in the mind could incite reflection and contemplation on this relation between cosmos and craft, which could lead the painter to gain new insights through meditation on the motif.[462] However, the truncated Ming formula retained only the instructions on the use of ink and brushwork. Thus, the editors of the encyclopedias discarded the complex analogies and the discussion on variation and balance, substituting these with generic comments on posture to make the rhyme shorter and simpler. This was their true contribution to the promotion and dissemination of practical knowledge.

During the Ming, the content of earlier works was adapted to become more pragmatic and focus on practical steps, such as in Gao Song's rhyme for painting birds. These new works did not aim to incite further contemplation. Instead, they catered to the needs of a broader public that did not necessarily share the desire to meditate, but rather hoped to engage in a profitable or enjoyable activity. No truly new texts were produced, however; editors adapted older works to make them accessible to the new audiences the editors hoped to engage. Simpler, rhythmic language and less complex texts indicate their desire to also reach semi-literate readers. Taking advantage of trends in popular oral culture, the editors recast elite and specialized knowledge in short and catchy rhymes.

Publishers hoped to disseminate the content, without necessarily indicating its source and probably without ever mastering the content or understanding all of its subtleties. Once practical knowledge was effectively divorced from the practitioner who had recorded it, its form was no longer sacred. Editors embraced the opportunities to depersonalize knowledge through print, believing this would benefit a more varied audience.[463] Publishers, whose expertise lay in marketing and not in painting, reframed the knowledge offered in the original text, as the intended audience was no longer elites who valued the subtle connections of the motifs to moral values and self-cultivation. Editors provided instructions to develop skills, bringing together elite motifs that were imbued with the notion of self-cultivation,

[462] The role of memorization in the attainment of a deeper understanding of complex topics, as a form of meditation, was also advocated by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). McLaren. 1998. *Chinese Popular Culture and Ming Chantefables*, 75.

[463] McDermott makes a similar claim for Qing scholars who attempted to create a "community of learning" of literate men who shared interests. McDermott. 2006. *A Social History of the Chinese Book*, 119.

such as bamboo and plum blossom, with practices that were regarded as craft, such as portraiture.

After a number of editing stages, texts composed by the elite found their way into the encyclopedia, which further simplified what was already presented in summaries within painting manuals. By abbreviating and adapting existing texts, editors were able include more information in less space. The rhymed format of the formula was a result of a continuous process of summarizing (or editing) and of the publishers' aim to make knowledge more accessible. With the growing market for practical guides, the use of rhymed formulas increased.

This indicates that even though these texts were rhymed, they did not necessarily originate in oral culture. Converting prose text into songs and rhymes was also not driven by an esthetic concern. Rather, the intentional adoption of this format was related to its didactic capabilities. Rhymes, the use of colloquial language and the presentation of schematic flow-charts were adopted as methods to better transmit the content.

Rhymes and songs were a proven method to both disseminate knowledge and to teach language among illiterate audiences. During the Ming, they were also used in novels and plays to present useful knowledge to the audience.[464] They made it easy to absorb practical steps and remember the content even in the absence of a book. This was especially useful for practical activities that required undivided attention and demanded physical involvement. The use of versified content in encyclopedias was pervasive, addressing all sorts of common activities. Along with songs in the sections on painting and calligraphy, which included not only Gao Song's rhymes but also the *Hundred-Rhyme Song*, discussed in Chapter three, as well as the *Thousand Character Essay* or the *Hundred Surnames* in different types of scripts, the reader could recite knowledge on pressing oil, avoiding common crimes, physical labor, mathematics and even current political issues.[465]

Flow-charts that presented blocks and components for the reader to compose his own texts were another common feature throughout the different sections of encyclopedias. Taking these as a basis, the reader could

[464] Schonebaum discusses the use of rhymes and songs in novels for transmitting medical knowledge. 2016. *Novel Medicine*, 81-96.

[465] Liu. 2006. *Mingdai tongsu leishu yanjiu*, 136; 144; 168-69. Bréard has addressed the use of rhymes in mathematical treatises and in daily-use encyclopedias. 2014. "On the Transmission of Mathematical Knowledge in Versified Form in China;" 2010. "Knowledge and Practice of Mathematics in Late-Ming Daily-life Encyclopedias."

compose poems, letters and even legal claims.[466] Although no flow-chart is provided in the painting section, these were most likely also produced by the compilers of the encyclopedias, once again showing the editors' practice-oriented attitude.[467]

While editors made sure that the reader would remember the content of distinct sections by reformulating it and presenting it in accessible formats, the individual sections and topics were not divorced from the broader framework of the encyclopedias. When the painting content is scrutinized in terms of layout and distribution, it becomes clear that individual sections were not perceived as distinct fields of knowledge.

Remembering the Universe

In late Ming daily-use encyclopedias, painting practices that had been marginalized by the elites came to be included together with content from elite discourses. The editors of the encyclopedias modified and adapted the content to make it uniform and accessible to all potential readers. Their hopes of catering to members of all "four classes" were often expressed both in their sentence-long titles, such as the *Newly Carved Complete Book of Broad Reference, Convenient for the Four Classes to Engage in Independent Learning* (*Xinke simin bianyong buqiuren bolan quanshu* 新刻四民便用不求人博覽全書) or the *Newly Edited and Thoroughly Extended Complete Book of the Ten Thousand Treasures from the Exquisite and Intricate of the Forest of Scholars for Practical Use by All under Heaven* (*Xinban quanbu tianxia bianyong wenlin miaojin wanbao quanshu* 新版全補天下便用文林妙錦萬寶全書). Similarly, the jargon commonly used in their prefaces referred to the books as being "for the convenience of the four classes" and "for ready reference in the daily needs of the four classes."[468] Thus, the editors made their desire to cater to a broad audience patently obvious.

---

[466] Liu. 2006. *Mingdai tongsu leishu yanjiu*, 22; 26; 155.

[467] In his analysis of the legal section of Ming encyclopedias, You Chenjun 尤陳俊 pointed out that the flow-chart has no counterparts in earlier manuals that specialize on legal matters. His findings were presented at the international symposium on Ming daily-use encyclopedias and historical research ("Mindai nichiyō ruisho to rekishigaku kenkyū" 明代日用類書と歴史学研究) at the Toyō Bunko on June 10, 2018.

[468] Lowry takes the "four classes" described in prefaces as the idealized audience of encyclopedias and discards previous assumptions that they were meant to merely peddle elite knowledge to the populace. 2005. *The Tapestry of Popular Songs*, 104. See Sakai for more examples of how the encyclopedias were presented to the reader. 1970.

This concern with the four classes and how each class could put the knowledge contained in an encyclopedia to use is described in one preface:

> The scholar can use it to serve the government. He can be entrusted with great concerns and also be knowledgeable in little matters; the farmer can use it in farming, becoming acquainted with the changes of the seasons and the products of the earth; the craftsman can use it for performing his skills; the merchant can use it for commerce.
>
> 士以之仕，可大受亦可小知。農以之耕，知天時亦知地利。工之所以奏技，賈之所以市倚。[469]

Prefaces often promised the reader that no daily activity would henceforth be challenging and that the reader no longer needed to seek help from anyone else.[470] In this specific example, the author indicates that the members of each class and of "all professions" (*bai jia* 百家) can select what is useful to fulfill their social functions and reap the benefits of its "infinte great uses" (*da yong zhi bu qiong* 大用之不窮). However, he provided a new view on the role of the scholar by adapting a passage taken from the *Analects*.[471] While the original text claimed that the scholar can be entrusted with great responsibilities, but may not be knowledgeable in small affairs, the preface suggests that the highly educated should also master small affairs. This inversion of the meaning of a canonical text shows the skepticism towards the idea that truth was only to be found in ancient books. Instead, the reader should seek the cosmic principle by becoming knowledgeable about all activities.

The preface to the *Newly Carved, Collated and Corrected Myriad Volumes of Celestial Patterns Containing the Treasures from the Forest of Letters for All Under Heaven by Master Yantai* (*Xinqie Yantai jiaozheng tianxia tongxing wenlin jubao wanjuan xingluo* 新鍥燕臺校正天下通行文林聚寶萬卷星羅) provides a similar statement about the importance of expanding one's knowledge beyond canonical texts. After listing the categories of the encyclopedia, the preface claims

---

"Confucianism and Popular Educational Works," 334. Shang provides a translation of a preface excerpt. 2006. "The Making of the Everyday World," 68.

[469] *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu.* 1607. Preface, 3a.

[470] Liu. 2006. *Mingdai tongsu leishu yanjiu*, 108.

[471] Chapter 15:34.

> There is nothing that is not included; nothing that is not clear. It certainly is no different from the distribution of the stars [in the sky]. This publication is the universe in print. Gentlemen who are interested in this will find benefits within and without; advantages hidden and obvious; support in fortune and misfortune; resources when far or near; help in matters great and small. All matters between heaven and earth will be grasped within the breast. What difficulty will be left? Alas! This compilation is essential for everyone. Browsing it will benefit the world. The *Dao* is not contained within the Six Classics and Four Books. Those in this world who are insightful will recognize it as a treasure. Mother has told me: "Words that come from various sources can be compared to scattered stars: it is not only the sun and moon that fill the sky."
>
> 靡所不載，靡所不昭。信無異於星辰之羅。刋太虛也。君子而有心於斯，則內外有裨，隱顯有益，夷險有藉，遠近有資，巨細有補。兩間內事羅之胸臆。又何艱哉？嗟夫！是編最為生人之要。覽其有功於世。道不在六經、四子書下。有神識者盍知寶焉。母曰：「雜出之言僅比明星，而非日月之當天者。」[472]

The preface explains that the encyclopedia provides the reader the overview required to identify the greater principle that connects the universe, or *Dao*. The *Dao* is not only contained within the canonical texts of Confucianism, just as the sun and the moon are not the only lights in the sky. Instead, the unidentified author claims that the *Dao* permeates every matter and activity, which opposed the scholars' claim that the proper principle had to be recovered through the study of the canonical works. This alternative view expressed in the preface shows that, like with character miscellanea (*zazi)*, different classes consumed and perceived knowledge, as well as sources and fields of knowledge, differently.

Editors sought to promote their encyclopedias as works of great coherence and unity, in which each section was a vital part of the whole. At the same time, the preface states that the connecting principle underlying the organization of the encyclopedia was also linked to memorization. The comparison of knowledge to stars scattered in the night sky and the claim that the encyclopedia represented the entire universe are both connected to a person's breast, or memory.

Editors had adapted the format of the individual texts to make sure the

[472] Yu. 1600. *Xinqie Yantai jiaozheng tianxia tongxing wenlin jubao wanjuan xingluo*, preface, 1b.

knowledge was accessible and easy to retain. In order to achieve uniformity within the sections, editors made use of rhymes, summaries and visual models.[473] The format of the texts in the individual sections would thus support their bold claims that the reader would be able to learn on his own by using the encyclopedia. The editor's concern with unity, however, was not limited to individual sections. In fact, unity was the guiding ethos behind the organization of the entire encyclopedia.

The preface suggests that the reader should retain the entire order and categories presented in the encyclopedias in his memory, which together represent the celestial pattern. If the metaphor of celestial bodies is extended, the content is equivalent to scattered stars, while the sections are possible ways to delineate groups of stars in the firmament of knowledge. The sections in the encyclopedias could thus be understood as rough outlines for how to connect scattered information and practices. The cosmic coherence that connected all sections also mirrored the strong connection of practical knowledge to cosmological beliefs present in many of the formulas. In portraiture, for example, a man's face was compared to the three planes of Heaven, Man and Earth; in calligraphy, strokes were described through analogies to natural patterns.

The commercial quality of the encyclopedias often led to editions that may now appear chaotic. Not only did publishers put together volumes of different editions; one encyclopedia included information on painting in the calligraphy section; some had a separate "Bird Section," devoted only to painting birds but not included in the painting section; and one even included a list of a hundred types of chrysanthemums in its painting section, which probably would not have helped a painter to improve his skills in painting flowers.[474] Nonetheless, when the editors' intention to create coherent works is taken into account, it becomes clear that the unusual and apparently random placement of these contents within the encyclopedia is not merely a matter of chaotic production.

---

[473] Liu has suggested that the visual mismatch between text and images in the encyclopedias did not affect the reader's comprehension because they were expected to combine the relevant information in the mind. 2006. *Mingdai tongsu leishu yanjiu*, 175.

[474] One example of a calligraphy section that contains painting texts and images is the *Xinke simin bianyong buqiuren bolan quanshu* 新刻四民便用不求人博覽全書 in the collection of the Hōsa Bunko. The additional bird section can be found in two editions. See Sakai et al. 2001. *Gosha Banpō Zensho*, vol 2, 43-60; and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan. 2011. *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol 11, 88-92. The list of chrysanthemums is included in the earliest edition from 1596.

The edition that embedded painting knowledge in the calligraphy section primarily provides information on how to judge old works and how to care for painting scrolls, which also applied to works of calligraphy. While the section focuses on models for grass and seal script, all the painting motifs that are briefly introduced are types of trees and vegetation. These are described in terms of analogies, similar to those used for calligraphy, such as "silk threads" (*si* 絲), that alluded to connections between strokes, but are used to describe the shape of a willow tree's leaves. Similarly, the visual composition of characters, such as *ge* 个, was taken as reference for painting a cluster of bamboo leaves.[475] Because painting is discussed in terms of calligraphy, including it in this section does not disrupt the coherence of the work.

Editions that included a separate "Bird Section" reproducing Gao Song's step-by-step instructions on how to paint birds placed it after a section on husbandry and horses. The placement is justified through the association with other animals instead of the practice of painting. A similar reasoning could underlie the inclusion of a list of hundred types of chrysanthemums within the painting section. Although similar lists were sometimes included in a "Flowers and Grasses Section" (*huahui men* 花卉門),[476] knowledge of the types of flowers could be expected from painters, especially if the types carried different poetic allusions. All three examples show that practice and content related to painting could easily fit into other sections in an organized manner. While the "scattered stars" were present in the sky, the groupings of these celestial bodies within sections did not limit their relevance to a single field.

The concept of unity or universal coherence that, according to editors, bound the categories together helps explain how even marginal knowledge about painting gained through browsing an encyclopedia could have practical and beneficial uses. While a deep engagement with portraiture could have helped a merchant to express his filial piety and the practice of painting birds or chrysanthemums based on the encyclopedia's models might have allowed women or men who had no access to teachers to create paintings to be pasted on the walls in their homes, the general understanding of how painting

[475] Xiong. [n.d.] *Xinke simin bianyong buqiuren bolan quanshu* 新刻四民便用不求人博覽全書, juan 10, 19a-20b. The volumes of this edition are mixed. The first volume identifies "Mister Xiong" as the printer, but the volume referred to here seems to be from another edition. This copy can be found in the Hōsa Bunko.

[476] *Dingqie longtou yilan xuehai buqiuren* 鼎鍥龍頭一覽學海不求人, unnumbered volume titled *Xinke huixuan simin bianyong zhushu zhaijin wanjia cuanji* 新刻彙選四民便用諸書摘錦萬家璇璣, 5b-6b.

was produced and of the significance of the motifs could illuminate the reader about elite and commercial practices he was unfamiliar with, and help him comprehend the principle that connected all sections within the encyclopedia.

Conclusion

Painting motifs such as the bamboo and the plum underwent a process of codification from the Song dynasty onwards. Scholar-painters broke the painting experience down into its constituent elements – a procedure that played a key role in disseminating the conventions and values with which they had imbued these motifs. Authors of painting manuals of the Yuan and Ming continued to streamline the painting process of these and other motifs, further systematizing them into painting steps. The focus of Ming authors, as in the case of Gao Song, lay on the pedagogical function of the texts. They discarded metaphysical values as well as the focus on the scholarly persona, homogenizing knowledge from different levels of society, leaving it up to the reader to make use of the content as they pleased.

Alongside the codification process undertaken by authors as well as editors, the format for the transmission of the information also underwent changes, and this worked in two directions. Editors continuously summarized the textual descriptions of the motifs that literati painters had transmitted and presented them in a simpler language that aided rote memorization—a process that can be described as *simplification.* At the same time, they introduced texts composed by professional painters of lesser education to an educated public, and the writers of prefaces harmonized these texts with neo-Confucian ideals—a process which can be called *valorization.* Their prefaces show that they were actively searching for sources of practical knowledge in order to disseminate it through print.

Fujian-published daily-use encyclopedias from the Ming dynasty can be regarded as the next step in the process of transmission. Early sources from specialized textual genres, composed by both scholars and craftsmen, were brought together in encyclopedias without distinction. Content from all sources was subjected to alteration and often truncated into lists and rhymes, while the authorship of the texts was usually glossed over. Of course, the section on painting was only one among many in the encyclopedias. Aiming to provide a comprehensive view of their subjects, encyclopedias neglected the diverse contexts in which knowledge had been produced and ignored the possibly contradictory nature of the sources. The practice of summarizing not

only allowed encyclopedia editors to cover more content in fewer pages, but also to categorize this encapsulated knowledge and present a complete and overarching picture of knowledge from all fields combined, which helped the reader memorize the content and grasp connections between fields.

With the detachment of the editors from the content and their desire to present a unified view of painting knowledge that could potentially be used "by members of the four classes," mnemonic rhymes became a valued format that reflected broader social and cultural trends.[477] The heavy use of rhymed formulas, lists and summaries should be understood as an editorial choice, driven by the hope to give the reader the gist of a lengthy text or complex tradition. Even if the texts were rhymed and composed in a simple language, these qualities do not necessarily indicate that their sources originated in popular oral culture. Nor can the opposite be claimed, that the content is merely informative and presents elite ideals digested for the less educated.[478] Early publications that served as sources for the encyclopedias included books written by experts and professionals who received support from publishers or were coerced to publish their work by well-educated men engaged in the commercial publishing business. Thus, specialized knowledge from craftsmen and professionals could reach a larger audience.

The way in which publishers dealt with knowledge changed, and this also altered the social role of memory. Painting rhymes were composed to compress knowledge so it could be juxtaposed with specialized knowledge from other fields in one overarching compilation. By categorizing knowledge and creating functional blocks, the encyclopedia supported the reader in committing its contents and order to memory.

The instructions in the encyclopedias, which were extracted from other manuals, surely did not endeavor to provide the reader a complete picture of each topic. Editors sought to offer a broad selection of topics from which individual readers could choose the sections most relevant or interesting to

[477] Wu Huifang discusses the spread of literacy and the blurring of social classes. Wu. 2005. *Wanbao quanshu*, vol. 1, 30-36.

[478] Wang argues that the painting sections only offered 'chit-chat' material to the reader, who could make use of it during social gatherings. In her paper she contests the usefulness of the sources, claiming encyclopedias are merely commercial products. 2003. "Shenghuo, zhishi yu wenhua shangpin," 36-44. However, this theory is at odds with some of the contents. Although Ming encyclopedias were indisputably commercial publications, it is hard to imagine that a man who can list the correct sequence of strokes for painting a bird would impress a scholar. Scribbles and signs of use in encyclopedias also show that people had their brushes out while going through the sections and were not only browsing them casually.

them. One indication of the possible use of the painting manual section of such encyclopedias is that in the extant volumes from the Wanli period, the section on painting did not survive, while it is even more common for the calligraphy section to be lost.[479] It is likely that readers separated the volumes they used most from the rest, and these were eventually lost or damaged. Some of the painting sections also contain doodles made by readers, such as painting over the mustache of the printed portrait model, while other sections are profusely annotated and punctuated, revealing the reader's selective interests.

It is unlikely that the painting section provided enough guidance to make a master painter out of anyone, but it did give the reader a few crucial models and the key to deconstructing the traditional motifs into distinct elements. In this way, the careful reader gained a foundation from which to approach such motifs and an indication of how to decode them.[480] The information was brief and reduced to its essence but still eminently usable. In many ways, a Ming encyclopedia as a whole functioned in a similar manner as a painting manual that dissected the parts of the motifs it analyzed: the difference was one of scale.

The encyclopedia selected parts of the whole knowledge corpus and provided some information on each part. Knowledge was divided into different sections and summaries were provided as content. Editors decontextualized the texts by 'harvesting' them from the specialized sources, but at the same time embedded them in a larger context, a new "whole" or a "bigger picture." By ordering practical knowledge into the traditional categories and allowing the reader to engage the distinct parts through summaries, the encyclopedias helped the reader to acknowledge the broad corpus of existing knowledge, which not only reached beyond the classics and histories, but also beyond authorship.

[479] Of the thirty volumes that were viewed by the author and those recorded by Wu, 6 of the encyclopedias no longer have the volume on painting. 2005. Wanbao quanshu, appendix.

[480] Gombrich describes how painters in Europe were accustomed to begin a drawing with basic shapes, and adapt these as the situation required. They resorted to structural schemata and then developed their drawings into more complex images. Gombrich. 1972. *Art and Illusion*, chapter five. Painting manuals published in sixteenth-century Europe also used this strategy of "geometrical reduction" to instruct the reader. Heilmann et al. 2014. *Punkt, Punkt, Komma, Strich*, 150. Thus, providing the reader a deconstructed model of a motif could be enough to allow him to explore the potentials of such a model on his own.

Table 1: Headings of the painting section texts and **possible** earlier sources

Page	Upper Layer	Possible Earlier Source	Year	Pub. Area	Lower Layer	Possible Earlier Source	Year	Pub. Area
1a	觀畫訣法	新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記[1] also in 繪妙	±1330 1580	Fujian (re-ed.) Donghai/Jiangsu	畫山水賦	類箋唐王右丞詩	1524[2]	Xishan/ Jiangsu
1b	畫有六格 畫有八格 辨畫古今 古今名畫	新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記 墨娥小錄 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記	±1330 ±1330 1571 ±1330	Fujian (re-ed.) Fujian (re-ed.) ? Fujian (re-ed.)	識畫訣法 畫分數科	宋朝名畫評 新編群書事林廣記	±1059[3] ±1330 (Song)	? Fujian (re-ed.)
2a-2b	山水論訣	王氏畫苑	1590	Jinling /Jiangsu	(landscape models)			
3a-5b	論寫山水訣	輟耕錄	1366	Songjiang (2nd ed. c. 1475)	(landscape models)			
5c	符熹應評畫 評說時畫 楊補之梅譜 寫梅談法	(rep.唐荊川先生稗編) also 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記 松齋梅譜 松齋梅譜	1581 ±1330 ±1330 ±1351 ±1351	Donghai/ Jiangsu Fujian (re-ed.) Fujian (re-ed.) ? ?	(landscape model)			
6a	補之寫梅賦 寫梅病 梅有四貴 梅之貴格	松齋梅譜 松齋梅譜 松齋梅譜 松齋梅譜 (above also in 香雪林集 and 永樂大典)	±1351 ±1351 ±1351 ±1351 (±1555 1408)	? ? ? ?	(bird painting model)			
6b-7b	(plum models)	松齋梅譜	±1351	?	(bird painting model)			
8a	李息齋竹譜	based on 竹譜詳錄 (or 高松竹譜)	1299 (1549)	?	(scholar in landscape			

[1] Texts in the 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記 are recorded in the 文藝類, which was a section added later to the Song edition of the 事林廣記.
[2] The text is often attributed to the Tang dynasty poet Wang Wei, and sometimes to the Five Dynasties painter Jing Hao.
[3] For a discussion on the dating of this work see Lachman. 1989. *Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown*, 3.

					model)			
8b	寫竹歌訣	based on 竹譜詳錄 (or 高松竹譜)	1299 (1549)	?	(scholar in landscape model)			
9a-10a	(bamboo models)	based on 竹譜詳錄 (or 高松竹譜)	1299 (1549)	?	(9a: scholar in landscape; 10a: horses)			
10b	Portraiture rhyme	based on 傳真祕要	1592	Hangzhou/Zhejiang	(deer model)			
11a	寫真秘訣	輟耕錄	1366	Songjiang (2nd ed. c. 1475)	(cranes model)			
11b-12b	彩繪法	輟耕錄	1366	Songjiang (2nd ed. c. 1475)	(11b:carp model; 12a-b: bamboo stances)	竹譜詳錄	1299	?
13a	合顏色紵絲 合顏色衣服	六如居士画谱[4] prob. based on 繪事指蒙	(Wanli reign) (before 1509)	? Hangzhou/Zhejiang	(plum views)	松齋梅譜	±1351	
4 pages	寫菊譜說 寫菊下手歌訣 菊花種名	based on 高松菊譜 高松菊譜 高松菊譜	1550 1550 1550	?	(Chrysan-themum models)	高松菊譜	1550	?
5 pages	寫翎毛下手口訣 (Bird models)	高松翎毛譜 高松翎毛譜	1554 1554	?	(Bird models)	高松翎毛譜	1554	?
13b	洗古書畫法	居家必用事類	±1333	?	(plum views)	松齋梅譜	±1351	?
14a-b	背書畫不瓦法 粘書畫軸法 收烘書畫法	便民圖纂 居家必用事類 居家必用事類	1544 ±1333 ±1333	Suzhou /JS ? ?	(plum 'poses')	松齋梅譜	±1351	?(Kuaji/ZJ)

◆ additional sections from the 1596 edition.

[4] According to Yu this work is not by Tang Yin, thus date is uncertain. Yu. 1968. *Shuhua shulu jieti*, juan9, 14b. Clapp comments briefly on its disputed authenticity. Clapp. 1991. *The Painting of T'ang Yin*, 16-17.

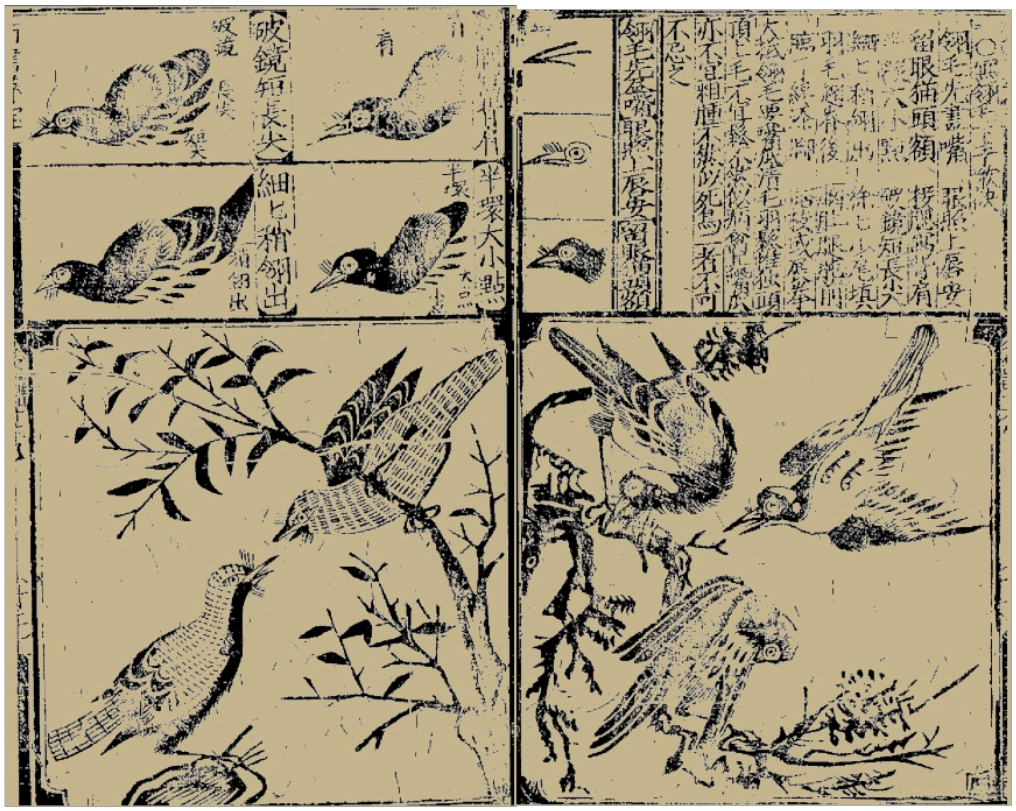

Fig. 5.1a Instructions on how to paint birds from the painting section of the 1596 edition of the *Assembled Treasures from the Ten Thousand Books.* Source: *Xinqie tianxia beilan wenlin leiji wanshu cuibao*, juan 16, 11b-12a. Erudition-Chinese Ancient Encyclopedia Database.

Fig. 5.1b Instructions on how to paint birds from the painting section of the 1596 edition of the *Assembled Treasures from the Ten Thousand Books.* Source: *Xinqie tianxia beilan wenlin leiji wanshu cuibao*, juan 16, 12b-13a. Erudition-Chinese Ancient Encyclopedia Database.

Fig. 5.1c Instructions on how to paint birds from the painting section of the 1596 edition of the *Assembled Treasures from the Ten Thousand Books.* Source: *Xinqie tianxia beilan wenlin leiji wanshu cuibao*, juan 16, 13b. Erudition-Chinese Ancient Encyclopedia Database.

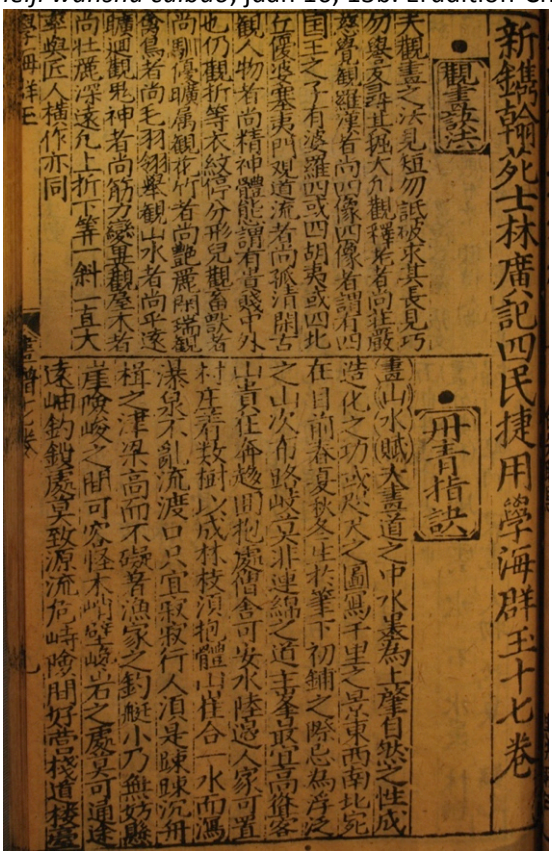

Fig. 5.2a The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607. Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 1a.

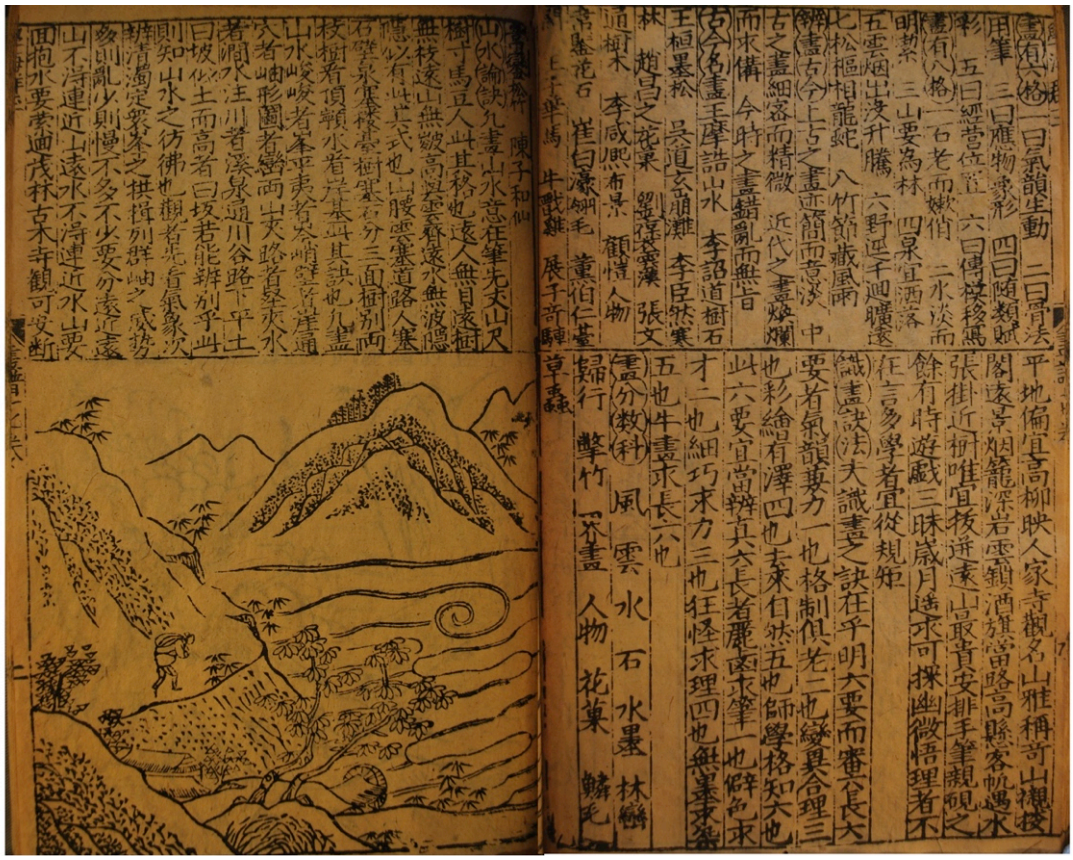

Fig. 5.2b The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 1b-2a.

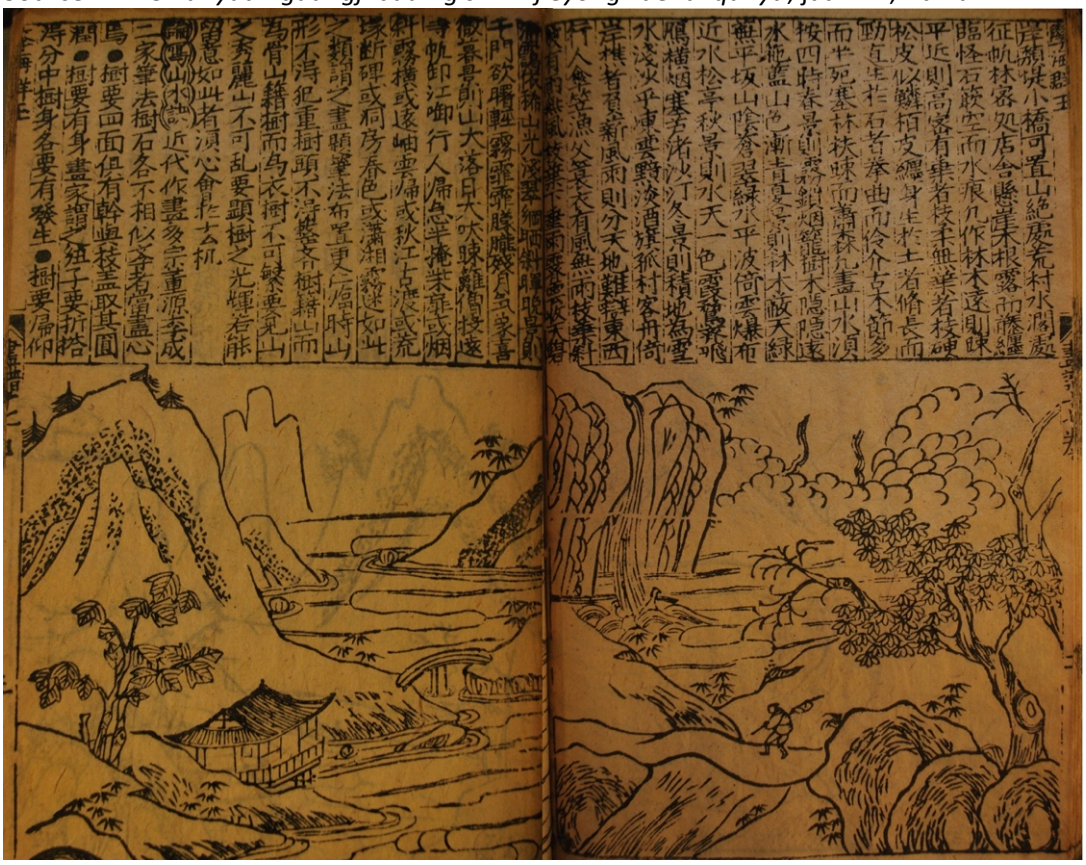

Fig. 5.2c The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 2b-3a.

Fig. 5.2d The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 3b-4a.

Fig. 5.2e The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 4b-5a.

Fig. 5.2f The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 5b-6a.

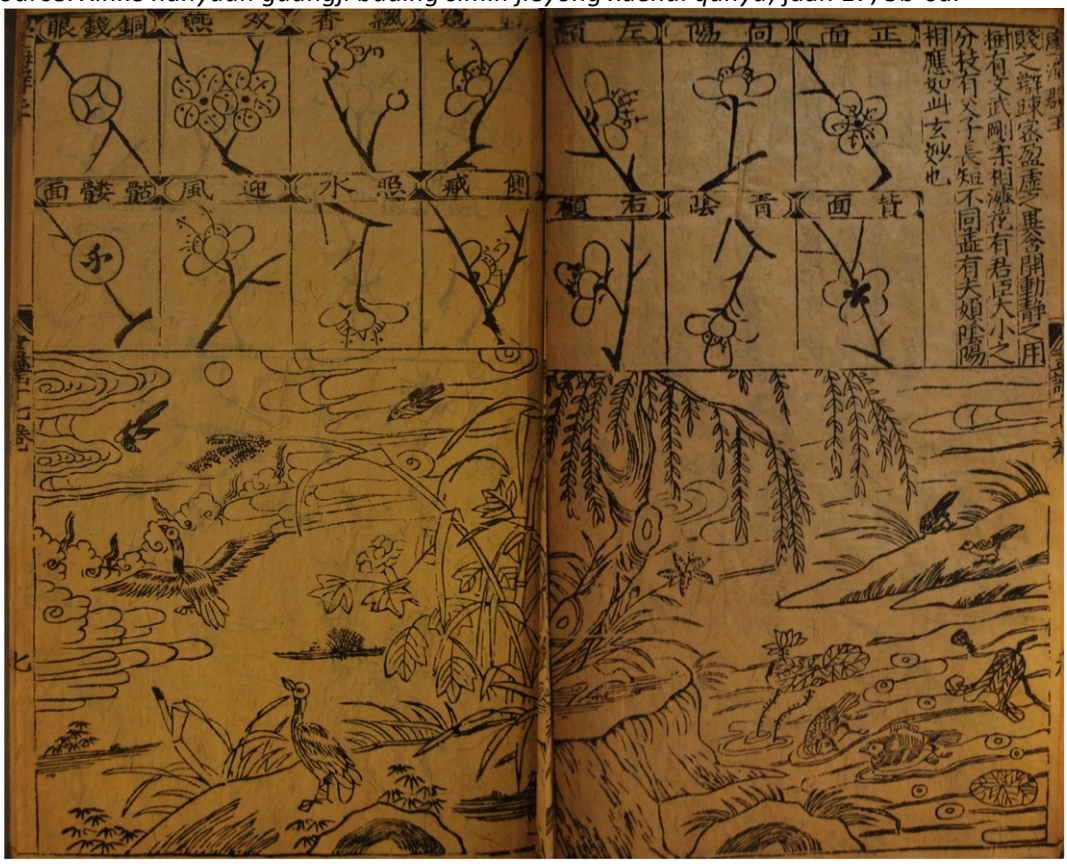

Fig. 5.2g The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 6b-7a.

Fig. 5.2h The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 7b-8a.

Fig. 5.2i The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 8b-9a.

Fig. 5.2j The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning,* published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 9b-10a.

Fig. 5.2k The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 10b-11a.

Fig. 5.2l The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 11b-12a.

Fig. 5.2m The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607.
Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 12b-13a.

Fig. 5.2n The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607. Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 13b-14a.

Fig. 5.2o The painting section of the *Pearls from the Sea of Learning*, published in 1607. Source: *Xinke hanyuan guangji buding simin jieyong xuehai qunyu*, juan 17, 14b.

Fig. 5.3 Weng Ang's instructions on how to measure the width and height of the face with the five eyes and three planes. Weng and Hu. 1603. *Chuanzhen miyao,* 8a. Image source: National Archives of Japan.

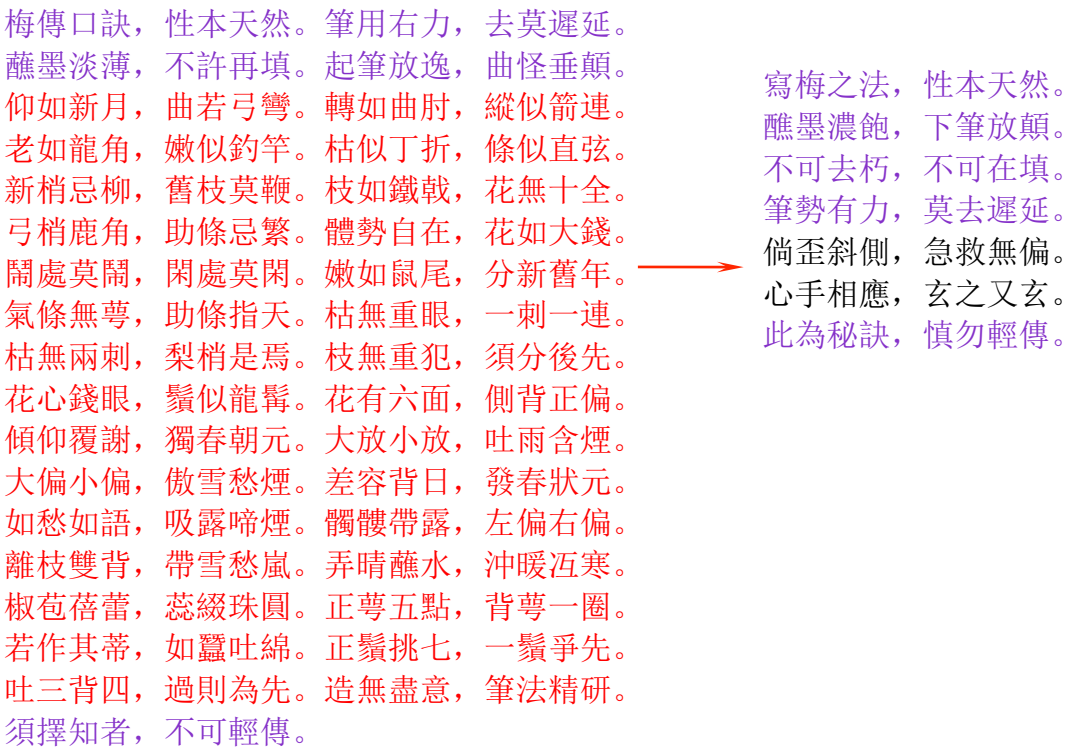

Fig. 5.4 Cuts made by encyclopedia editors to the rhyme on painting plum blossoms. The red portion from the original rhyme was cut and replaced with broader instructions on how to paint.