

**UCLA**

**UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations**

**Title**

The Calligraphic Art of Chen Hongshou (1768-1822) and the Practice of Inscribing in the Middle Qing

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3jz079zc>

**Author**

Yi, Hye-shim

**Publication Date**

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Calligraphic Art of Chen Hongshou (1768-1822)  
and the Practice of Inscribing in the Middle Qing

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Art History

by

Hye-shim Yi

2019

© Copyright by

Hye-shim Yi

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Calligraphic Art of Chen Hongshou (1768-1822)  
and the Practice of Inscribing in the Middle Qing

by

Hye-shim Yi

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Hui-shu Lee, Chair

This dissertation investigates how calligraphic carving emerged as a new literati cultural practice during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in China, by focusing on the versatile scholar-artist Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽 (1768-1822). Toward this end, the dissertation examines five related issues: first, the extent to which literati engaged in creating inscriptions on solid objects during the period; second, the growing sense of the literati that ancient writing was executed in materials that were distinct from those employed in their brush-based calligraphy; third, how calligraphic carving developed into a literati-style art via seal carving; fourth, the ways in which the active pursuits of the literati in seal carving and the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions were extended into their inscribing practice; and lastly, the cultural and intellectual boundaries between the literati and professional artisans that were increasingly blurred. By conducting all these avenues of research, this dissertation demonstrates that a

substantial number of mainstream literati engaged in the practice of inscription making during the period as their enjoyable pastime or even as a fashion.

In analyzing calligraphic examples carried in a variety of material objects, the dissertation reconstructs the interaction between diverse forms of art not only in visual feature but also in method of execution. In so doing, the present study underscores the importance of cross-media examination in Chinese art. By investigating how the literati practice of inscription making was derived from their artistic sensibility and growing recognition of diverse works of craft as valuable cultural objects, the dissertation demonstrates that the cultural practices of literati and artisans increasingly merged in this period of China's history.

This dissertation of Hye-shim Yi is approved.

Peter C Sturman

Lothar von Falkenhausen

Burglind Jungmann

Andrea Sue Goldman

Hui-shu Lee, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

*To my family*

# Table of Contents

**Abstract** ..... *ii*

**List of Figures** ..... *viii*

**Introduction** ..... *1*

**Chapter 1.** Recreating the Material Contexts of Ancient Inscriptions: Clerical-script Calligraphy ..... *27*

1. The Centrality of Ancient Stone-inscriptions in Clerical-script Calligraphy ..... *28*
2. The Calligraphic Appropriation of Rubbings in Visual and Material Terms ..... *37*
3. The Revival of the Material Features of Ancient Stone Inscriptions ..... *53*

**Chapter 2.** Turning Calligraphic Carving into a Literati-Style Art: Seal Carving ..... *61*

1. Seal Carving and the Revival of the Material Features of Ancient Seals ..... *62*
2. Seal Carving as an Art of Stone and Knife ..... *74*
3. Seal Carving: Towards a Literati Art ..... *81*
4. From Seal Carving to Inscribing Objects: Carving “Miniature Steles” ..... *90*

**Chapter 3.** Literati Craft 1: Inscribing Wooden Objects and Inkstones ..... *94*

1. Writing and Engraving Inscriptions on Inkstones ..... *95*
2. The Applicability of Seal-carving Techniques to Inscriptions ..... *107*
3. From Epigraphy to Inscribing: Recarving Ancient Relics into Inkstones ..... *115*



<b>Chapter 4. Literati Craft 2: Inscribing Yixing Stoneware Teapots</b> .....	<i>126</i>
1. Literati-Collectors, Writers, and Makers of Teapots .....	<i>127</i>
2. Three Cultured Artisans .....	<i>140</i>
3. The Collaborative Production of Teapots .....	<i>150</i>
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<i>160</i>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<i>167</i>
<b>Figures</b> .....	<i>207</i>

## List of Figures

- 1 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2 Chen Hongshou, *Xiejing lou* 寫經樓 (Tower of Transcribing Buddhist Scriptures), late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 3 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of a Bamboo Hat, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 7.8 cm, Tang Yun Museum.
- 4 Portrait of Chen Hongshou
- 5 Detail of a Drawing of the County Office, in *Gazetteer of Liyang*, 1813.
- 6 Yun Shouping, Flowers, hanging scroll, color on paper, late 17<sup>th</sup> c, 24.0 X 15.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 7 Xi Gang, Flowers, hanging scroll, color on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 129.5 X 31.5 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 8 Chen Hongshou, Peach Blossoms, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 85.5 X 41.8 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 9 Chen Hongshou, Osmanthus, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 1812, Tang Yun Museum.
- 10 Dong Qichang, Detail of *Ode on the Red Cliff*, album leaf, ink on paper, late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c, 27.4 X 18.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 11 Chen Hongshou, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, ink on painted paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 127.0 X 31.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 12 Huang Tingjian, Colophon for Su Shi's *Poems Written in Huangzhou on Cold Food Festival*, handscroll, ink on paper, 1100, 34.2 X 64.0 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 13 Guo Lin, Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 121.0 X 21.5 cm, Xiling Seal Carvers' Society.
- 14 Chen Hongshou, Four-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 129.5 X 31.5 cm, Private Collection.
- 15 Xi Gang, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, ink on painted paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 130.0 X 31.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan.

- 16 Yan Zhenqing, *Letter on the Controversy over Seating Protocol*, album leaf, 764, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 17 Chen Hongshou, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running-Cursive Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 133.5 X 30.7 cm.
- 18 Wang Xizhi, Detail of the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion*, Shenlong version, Tang dynasty (Original work dated 353), 24.5 X 69.9 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 19 Chen Hongshou, Colophon to the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion*, album leaf, ink on paper, 1815, 26.0 X 10.3 cm, Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 20 (Upper) Details of Fig. 18; (Lower) Details of Fig. 19.
- 21 Rubbing of the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road* (63 CE), album, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 22 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1811, 120.0 X 29.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 23 Rubbing of the Head of the *Stele of Heng Fang* (168 CE), ink on paper.
- 24 Chen Hongshou, *Lian zong dizi* 蓮宗弟子 (disciple of the Pure Land sect), 1795.
- 25 Chen Yuzhong, *nenhan chun xiao* 嫩寒春曉 (light chill at dawn of a spring), late 18<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.1 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.2 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.3 Chen Hongshou, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, album leaves, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, Tang Yun Museum.
- 1.4 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1816.
- 1.5 Gui Fu, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, hanging scroll, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.6 Yi Bingshou, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, tablet, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.7 Chen Hongshou, Four-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1817, 132.0 X 29.0 cm, Xiling Seal Carvers' Society.

- 1.8 Rubbing of an Inkstone Made from a Han Dynasty Brick.
- 1.9 Chen Hongshou, Copy of a Brick Inscription, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 162.0 X 33.0 cm, private collection.
- 1.10 Huang Yi, Part of the Rubbings of the *Stele of Fan Shi*, album of 15 leaves (11.5 rubbings, 13.5 colophons), ink on paper, Song dynasty, 34.0 X 17.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 1.11 “Zengzi” in an Album of Rubbings from the Wu Liang Shrine, album leaves, ink on paper, Song dynasty, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 1.12 Huang Yi, Tracing Copy of the Song Dynasty Rubbing of the Zengzi Carving.
- 1.13 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the Inscription on the Pictorial Carving of Zengzi in the Wu Liang Shrine, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.14 (Upper) Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min*; (Lower) Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min*.
- 1.15 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min*, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 123.3 X 32.2 cm.
- 1.16 Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*.
- 1.17 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.8 X 29.8 cm.
- 1.18 Parts of Chen Hongshou’s Calligraphy for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*, album of thirty leaves, 1816.
- 1.19 Zhai Yunsheng, “nü,” in *Book of Clerical Script*, 1835.
- 1.20 Part of *Engraved Writings and Patterns on Bronze Objects in the Studio of Erudition*.
- 1.21 Part of *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing*.
- 1.22 Rubbing of a Carving of Ruan Yuan’s Calligraphy for the Title of a Zhang Tingji’s *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing*.
- 1.23 Rubbing of a Bronze *jue* from the Shang Dynasty in *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing*.
- 1.24 Bronze Inscription Reproduced from a Rubbing Handmade by Chen Hongshou.

- 1.25 Rubbing of the *Inscription of the Shimen Tunnel* (509 CE), hanging scroll, ink on paper, early Qing, 118.0 X 55.0 cm, Art Museum, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 1.26 Rubbing of *Epitaph of Sima Shao* (511 CE), ink on paper, Qianlong period, 58.0 X 48.0 cm, Art Museum, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 1.27 Huang Yi, Rubbing of the *Taishi Watch Towers on Mount Song* (118 CE), handscroll, ink on paper, Qianlong period, 33.0 X 141.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 1.28 (Upper) Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 114.0 X 32.0 cm, private collection; (Lower) Details of the Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script.
- 1.29 Yi Bingshou, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1815.
- 1.30 (Left) Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1806, 158.5 X 34.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan; (Right) Details of the characters *su*, *wei*, and *xiang* in the Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script.
- 1.31 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1806, 198.0 X 48.5 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.32 Ink Dabbers.
- 1.33 Qian Daxin, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked wood-block printed paper, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 120.0 X 17.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.34 Qian Daxin, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked waxed paper, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 131.6 X 31.2 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.35 Huang Yi, Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.5 X 21.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.36 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1815, 132.5 X 25 cm, Xiaomangcangcangzhai.
- 1.37 Huang Yi, Rubbing of the *Stele of Wu Rong* (167 CE), album leaf, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 29.0 X 14.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 1.38 Chen Hongshou, Calligraphy, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 122.9 X 11.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Accession No.: 1973.556).

- 1.39 Huang Yi, Twenty-Two-Character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1801, 136.0 X 12.7 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.40 (Left) Parts of Chen Hongshou's Calligraphy (Fig. 1.38); (Right) Details of Chen Hongshou's Clerical Script.
- 1.41 (Left) Huang Yi, Rubbings Taken from the Wu Family Shrines, album, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 29.3 X 15.7 cm, Shanghai Library.
- 1.42 Qu Zhongrong, Twelve-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1837, 146.7 X 12.5 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 1.43 Chen Hongshou, Eight-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scroll, 1816, 173.0 X 30.0 cm, private collection.
- 1.44 Rubbing of the *Xiping Stone Classics* (175-183 CE), ink on paper, Palace Museum Beijing.
- 1.45 Rubbing of the *Inscription of the Hot Spring* (Calligraphy by Li Shimin, 628), ink on paper, Tang dynasty, La Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
- 1.46 Rubbing of the Cover of the *Tombstone of Yang Wuchou* (518 CE), ink on paper, 24.0 X 25.0 cm, Bei Shan Tang.
- 1.47 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 130.8 X 30.8 cm, Hunan Museum.
- 1.48 (Left) Details of Chen Hongshou's Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (Fig. 1.47); (Right) Details of Huang Yi's Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*.
- 1.49 Illustration of a Chopping Knife Method.
- 1.50 Chen Hongshou, *Yiqiu shi* 憶秋室 (Chamber of Recalling the Autumn), 1805, 2.3 X 2.3 X 3.4 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 1.51 Ding Jing, Five-character Line Couplet in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, first half of 18<sup>th</sup> c.
- 1.52 Jin Nong, Calligraphy in Regular-clerical Script, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 1745, 119.0 X 48.0 cm, Dashizhai.
- 1.53 (Left) Yang Fa, Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 110.5 X 28.0 cm, private collection; (Right) Detail of the character *de* in the Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script.

- 1.54 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.0 X 25.5 cm, private collection.
- 1.55 (Left) Zhao Zhiqian, Calligraphy in Regular Script, hanging scroll, 19<sup>th</sup> c; (Right) Detail of the Calligraphy in Regular Script.
- 1.56 Tao Junxuan, Eight-character Line Verse in Regular Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> c, 34.5 X 17.2 cm, Anhui Museum.
- 1.57 Li Ruiqing, Calligraphy on a Fan, fan leaf, 1907, 24.0 X 6.0 cm, private collection.
- 2.1 Chen Hongshou, *Xiling diao tu* 西冷釣徒 (fishing cohorts of Xiling), 1807.
- 2.2 Zhu Jian, *Feng Mengzheng yin* 馮夢禎印 (seal of Feng Mengzheng), late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.3 Chen Hongshou, *tianmen yi chang xiao* 天門一長嘯 (At Heaven's Gate, I give a long whistle), 1794.
- 2.4 Chen Hongshou, *shengya si zhongren* 生涯似衆人 (My career is like that of anyone), late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.5 Rubbings of the *Cliff Inscription with a Eulogy on the Reconstruction of the Roads in the Western Gorge by Li Xi* (171 CE), Ming dynasty.
- 2.6 Sun Xingyan, Seven-character Line Verse in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked paper, 1793, 132.0 X 29.7 cm, Lechangzai xuan.
- 2.7 (Left) Zhu Weibi, Seven-character Line Couplet in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1805; (Right) Details of the Seven-character Line Couplet in Seal Script.
- 2.8 *jun zhi xinxi* 君之信璽 (seal of the lord), jade, Warring States Period.
- 2.9 *zhongbu jiangjun zhang* 中部將軍章 (seal of the general of the center), bronze, Western Han dynasty.
- 2.10 Jiang Ren, *Hu Zuoqu yin* 胡作渠印章 (seal of Hu Zuoqu), 1785.
- 2.11 Huang Yi, *Han huashi* 漢畫室 (chamber with pictures of the Han dynasty), 1791.
- 2.12 (Left) Made under Huang Yi's supervision, Rubbings of Part of Inscriptions in the Wu Liang Shrine, ca. 1796 (From Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie*, 19); (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.11.
- 2.13 Huang Yi, *jinshi pi* 金石癖 (Addiction to Bronze and Stone Inscriptions), 1782.

- 2.14 (Above) Rubbing of the *Stele for the Shrine of Yuchi Jiong* (Stele: Cai Youlin (calligraphy of the stele), 738 CE); (Below) Detail of Fig. 2.13.
- 2.15 Ding Jing, *Wang Defu yin* 王德溥印 (Seal of Wang Defu), 1760.
- 2.16 Ding Jing, *Rongda* 容大, 1760.
- 2.17 *dushu tandao, zuyi zile, bu yuanshi ye* 讀書談道，足以自樂，不願仕也 (Reading books and discussing the way is enough to enjoy myself with. I do not wish to be an official).
- 2.18 *congren mi yanse, zi shi ruo naner* 從人覓顏色，自是弱男兒 ([Those who] follow other people and watch their facial expressions are naturally weak men).
- 2.19 *yuan shou yu li wei quan pin* 園收芋栗未全貧 ([If] your garden harvests taros and chestnuts, then you are not yet completely poor).
- 2.20 Gao Fenghan, *shiqing fuyu dongliushui* 世情付與東流水 (The ways of the world are like things thrown into the eastward flowing stream that are wasted and hopeless), first half of 18<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.21 Ding Jing, *Wang Pengshou Jingfu yin* 汪彭壽靜甫印 (seal of Wang Pengshou [with the style name] Jingfu), 1758.
- 2.22 Chen Hongshou, *feiruo ma niu quan shi bao lang milu ran* 非若馬牛犬豕豹狼麋鹿然 (Do not be like beasts), 1803.
- 2.23 Chen Hongshou, *Xiaohu* 小湖, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.24 *Jianwei jiangjun zhang* 建威將軍章 (seal of the general of Jianwei), bronze, Han dynasty.
- 2.25 Zhao Zhichen, *Lepeng lai shi* 樂朋來室 (Chamber Where Joyful Friends Come), 1843.
- 2.26 Huang Yi, *Wei shi Shangnong* 魏氏上農 (Mr. Wei [with the name of] Shangnong), late 18<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.27 Chen Hongshou, *Jiangdu Lin Baozeng Peiju xinyin* 江都林報曾佩琚信印 (official Seal of Lin Baozeng [with the style name of] Peiju from Jiangdu), 1803.
- 2.28 Zhou Lianggong, *Seal Book in the Hall of Relying on the Ancient*, ca. 1667.
- 2.29 Wang Qishu, *Seal Book in the Hall of Flying Swans*, mid-18<sup>th</sup> c.
- 2.30 Ding Jing, *ling shang baiyun* 嶺上白雲 (white clouds over the mountain peak), 1758.



- 2.31 Huang Yi, *Shizhu zhai ji* 師竹齋記 (record in the Studio of Learning from Bamboo), 1770.
- 2.32 (Left) Huang Yi, Clerical Script, late 18<sup>th</sup> c; (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.31.
- 2.33 Chen Hongshou, *shi nian zhongmu zhang fengyan* 十年種木長風煙 (Trees planted for ten years enhance the landscape), ca. 1798.
- 2.34 (Left) Detail of the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*; (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.33.
- 2.35 Shen Aixuan, *jiachen sui huajia yi zhou* 甲辰歲華甲一周 (In the year of *jiachen*, a cycle of sixty years made one circuit), first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 3.1 (Left) Chen Hongshou, Engravings of Plum Blossoms, an Inscription, and a Seal Mark, frames of a folding fan, bamboo, 31.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 301); (Right) Detail of the Engravings of Plum Blossoms.
- 3.2 Inkstone made with a Broken Pillar from the Wu Family Shrines, after 1786, 11.9 X 13.5 X 6.4 cm, Tianjin Museum (Inscriptions: Huang Yi, after 1786).
- 3.3 Duan Inkstone, stone from the Water Pit, 1802, 13.2 X 13.1 X 2.3 cm (Inscriptions: Yi Bingshou, Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, Ji Yun, Huang Yue, Wang Ze, Wu Liang, Ye Menglong, and Wu Rongguang (their composition and calligraphy), 1802-early 19<sup>th</sup> c).
- 3.4 Zhang Tingji, Copy of Weng Fanggang's Inscription on Zhang Yuan's Inkstone Made of a Brick from the Second Year of the Xianhe Period, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 3.5 Rubbing of an Inkstone Made of a Brick from the Xianhe Period, early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Weng Fanggang (composition), late 18<sup>th</sup> c-before 1809; and Weng Shupe (calligraphy), 1809).
- 3.6 Rubbing of the Thunderbolt Axe Inkstone, early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Liang Tongshu (composition and calligraphy), late 18<sup>th</sup> c-before 1814).
- 3.7 Duan Inkstone, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 28.6 X 19.3 X 6.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (Inscriptions: (Left) Qian Yong, 1844; (Right) Mo Youzhi 莫友芝 (1811-1870), mid-19<sup>th</sup> c).
- 3.8 Inkstone, Duan stone, Ming dynasty, 18.0 X 10.2 X 5.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (Inscriptions: Ji Nan (composition and calligraphy) and Li Pin (carving), 1811).
- 3.9 Rubbing of an Inkstone, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Zhu Kuntian (composition, calligraphy, and perhaps carving), second half of 17<sup>th</sup> c).
- 3.10 Rubbing of an Inkstone (Inscription: Xi Gang, 1791).

- 3.11 Stand for a Rock, mahogany, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Qu Yingshao, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c).
- 3.12 Brush Holder, red sanders, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, H. 14.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (Carvings: Zhang Yanchang, 1795).
- 3.13 Rubbing of the Inkstone Carved by Zhang Yanchang, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscriptions: Liang Tongshu (their composition and calligraphy), 1786).
- 3.14 Zhang Xin (carving of the inkstone) and Zhang Tingji (composition and calligraphy of the inscription on the underside of the inkstone), Inkstone, Duan stone, 15.5 X 8.9 X 3.1 cm, 1846.
- 3.15 Rubbing of a Shu Shi Brick, album leaf, ink on paper, ca. 1824 (Inscription: Ruan Yuan (composition), before 1824).
- 3.16 Rubbing of a Brick from the Wufeng Period, album leaf, ink on paper, ca. 1824 (Inscription: Weng Fanggang (composition), before 1824).
- 3.17 Brick from the First Year of the Yongning Period.
- 3.18 Monk Dashou (rubblings) and others (paintings), Flowers in Ancient Bricks, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 1835, 25.0 X 141.0 cm, Zhejiang Museum.
- 3.19 Rubbing of the “Broken Gui” Inkstone Made with a Piece of Stone from the *Stele for the Repair of the Shrine of Zichan in the Seventh Year of the Tianbao Period of the Tang Dynasty*, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inkstone: Lu Yunzhong, 1810).
- 3.20 Zhang Yanchang, Copy of Inscriptions on the Inkstone Made of the “Mr. Xu” Brick, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 3.21 Rubbing of a Tile Inscribed “Yannian” from Qin Dynasty.
- 3.22 Huang Yi, Rubblings of the Four Sides of the Inkstone Made with a Broken Stone from a Pillar in the Wu Family Shrine (Fig. 3.2), album leaves, ca. 1794, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 3.23 Zhang Yanchang, Copy of the Inscription on the Land Deeds from the Western Jin, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 3.24 Inkstone in Imitation of a Land Purchase Certificate, Duan stone, ca. 1801, 18.5 X 11.4 X 3.2 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 4.1 Rubblings of Shi Dabin’s Teapot, in Zhang Tingji, *Qianzai yishi*, album leaves, ink on paper, around 1805, 25.0 X 15.5 cm.

- 4.2 Wu Qian, Title Slip, in Zhang Tingji, *Qianzai yishi*, 1805.
- 4.3 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Xu Mao (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of an Upturned Rice Measure, stoneware, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 4.4 Yi Bingshou (inscription), Vase in the Shape of a Bell, stoneware, 1812, H 33.78 cm, British Museum (Accession No. 1910,0615.1).
- 4.5 (Left) Inscription on the Bell Shaped Vessel (Fig. 4.4); (Middle) Detail of Yi Bingshou's Signature in his Calligraphy; and (Right) Detail of Yi Bingshou's Signature in his Calligraphy.
- 4.6 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot), Qu Yingshao (engraving), and Qiao Zhongxi (?), Teapot in a Conical Shape, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 6.6 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 4.7 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot and inscription), Teapot with an Inscription from a Han Dynasty Coin, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 12 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 4.8 Sun Jun, *dafu qianwan* 大富千萬 (May great wealth last forever), 1815.
- 4.9 Rubbings of a Mold for Casting Coins from the Han Dynasty.
- 4.10 Rubbing of Yang Pengnian's Teapot in a Conical Shape (Teapot: stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c).
- 4.11 (Upper Left) Zhu Jian, Stoneware Teapot Encased in Pewter Modeled after a *Qin* Zither, stoneware (inner body); pewter (outer body); porcelain (spout); bronze (knob); Chinese redwood and silver (handle), first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 11.0 cm; (Upper Right) Detail of Inlay in the Handle of Fig. 4.11 (Upper Left); (Lower) Rubbing of Engravings on Fig. 4.11 (Upper Left).
- 4.12 Zhu Jian, Water Container Modeled after the Tang Dynasty Well in Liyang, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 3.8 cm, Tang Yun Museum.
- 4.13 (Upper) Zhu Jian, Fruits, fan painting, ink and color on paper, 1844, 20.0 X 54.5 cm; (Lower) Detail of Fig. 4.13 (Upper).
- 4.14 Zhu Jian, Prunus, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 1849, 94.0 X 19.5 cm.
- 4.15 Shen Xi (body of the teapot) and Zhu Jian (inscription), Teapot, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 12.5 cm, Nanjing Museum.
- 4.16 Fang Jie, Wrist Rest, bamboo, 1826, 27.2 X 5 cm.
- 4.17 (Left) Fang Jie, a Pair of Backbones of a Folding Fan with a Portrait of Master Molin, bamboo, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c; (Right) Detail of Fig. 4.17 (Left).

- 4.18 Fang Jie, Wrist Rest with an Image of Su Wu, bamboo, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 27.3 X 6.5 cm, Wenzhou Museum.
- 4.19 Fang Jie, Landscape, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c.
- 4.20 Gao Rijun (inscription), Water Container in the Shape of the Tang Dynasty Well in Liyang, stoneware, 1816, H 5.3 cm, Private collection.
- 4.21 Inscribed Well Parapet, 811, Liyang, Jiangsu Province.
- 4.22 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Flying Swan Longevity Teapot, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 8.9 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 4.23 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of a Gourd, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 9.0 cm, Tang Yun Museum.
- 4.24 (Left) Characters on the Teapot in the Shape of a Gourd (Fig. 4.23); (Right) Matching Characters in Chen Hongshou's calligraphy on paper.
- 4.25 Inscription on Yixing Teapots with a V-shaped Cross-Section.
- 4.26 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Happy Together Teapot, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 8.4 cm, Tang Yun Museum.
- 4.27 Chen Hongshou, Chrysanthemum and Teapot, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 1812, 31.1 X 38.6 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- 4.28 Zhu Jian, Copy of "Melon-shaped Teapot," in *Nourishing One's Mind and Soul*.
- 4.29 Zhu Jian, Copy of "Stone *Diao*" Teapot, in *Nourishing One's Mind and Soul*, by Wang Hong (drawing), Guo Lin (inscription), and Chen Hongshou (inscription) in 1813.
- 4.30 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Qian Du (calligraphy of the inscription and drawing), Chilly Jade Teapot, stoneware, 1816, H 8.5cm, Tianjin Municipal Art Museum.

## Acknowledgments

I am deeply indebted to my teachers for their valuable advice and support throughout the period I carried out this project. My most sincere gratitude goes to my advisor Hui-shu Lee for her great patience and unflagging support, as I developed this project over a long period of time. Without her firm guidance, I would not be writing this page of my dissertation at this moment. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to the other members of my dissertation committee, Peter C Sturman, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Burglind Jungmann, and Andrea Sue Goldman. Professor Sturman offered his extremely valuable advice at each crucial moment when my dissertation was further taking shape. Professor von Falkenhausen's rigorous academic standards and insightful comments on my works have been the driving force behind my pursuit of a higher level of academic research and writing. Professor Jungmann raised thought-provoking questions to encourage me to look into the broader cultural context of the inscribing practice. Professor Goldman consolidated my training in Chinese history so that my project assumes stronger interdisciplinarity. In addition, I am very grateful to my former advisor Chin-sung Chang for his enduring encouragement and wise counsel.

Teachers, mentors, and friends who have helped me bring this dissertation to fruition also include: He Yun'ao, Jenny So, Terese Tse Bartholomew, Jonathan Hay, Michele Matteini, Shen C. Y. Fu, Stephen Little, Lai Suk-Yee, Lin Haizhong, Guolong Lai, Yu Pei-chin, Lee Heekwan, and Byeongsun Bang. Special thanks should go to Kim Wishart for her painstakingly careful proofreading of my work. My wonderful companions near and far have sustained and enriched my UCLA years. They include Kathy Mak, Jawon Lee, Soyeon Kim, Yeo-hoon Choi, Ying-chen Peng, Julia Grimes, Jungsil Lee, Yoon-jeong Seo, Nat Kingdon, Seokwon Choi, Yoon-ah Hwang,

Yuna Han, Hwan-hee Seo, Najung Kim, Tzu-chin Chen, Guo Xing Shi, Lin-chin Tsai, Britt Marlowe, Huiyi Kan, Meimei Zhang, and Sung S. Park in the US, and also those in South Korea, including Song Yu-seol, Lee Eun-woo, Yoo Jaebin, Kim Tae-eun, Shim Chorong, Hwang Nayoung, Jeong Miyeon, and Kang Seong-il.

My dissertation research and writing were enabled under the generous auspices of the Chancellor's Prize Summer Mentorship, Edward A. Dickson History of Art Fellowships, Ruth Nagle Watkins Scholarships, and a Summer Award for Language Study at UCLA; the Marilyn A. Papp Scholarship in Chinese Art and Culture from the Marilyn A. Papp Scholarship Trust; and the Confucius China Studies Program: Joint Ph.D. Research Fellowship from the Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language.

Last but not least, words cannot express my deepest gratitude to my family. My late mother Han Hwa and my father Eon-baek Yi have been the richest sources of inspiration throughout my life. I am also blessed to have wonderful siblings, Hye-jeong Yi, Hye-jong Yi, and Byeong-uk Yi. Special gratitude is due to my parents-in-law Xu Feng and Peng Peirang, who often came to help and save my working hours. Lastly, my husband Peng Peng has shared with me every joy and frustration of my research, and most important of all, the unparalleled bliss of having our first kid, Leo Peng. Without his constant encouragement and unwavering support, I would not have been able to make my way to the completion of this dissertation. I dedicate this dissertation to my family with love and respect.

# Vita of Hye-shim Yi

July 2019

## EDUCATION

### **Nanjing University, China**

Graduate Research Student, Department of History, 2015-2016

### **Seoul National University, South Korea**

MA, Department of Archaeology and Art History, August 2010

### **Seoul National University, South Korea**

BA, Department of Aesthetics, February 2004

## PUBLICATIONS

“Lan Ying 藍瑛 (1585-1664 or later), *Rock* (寶晉齋石)”; “Fang Hengxian 方亨咸 (act. c. 1647-1678), *Painting and Calligraphy* (書畫冊) (after 1659)”; “Jiang Shijie 姜實節 (1647-1709), *Landscape* (山水扇面) (1701).” In *The Artful Recluse: Painting, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century China*, edited by Peter C. Sturman and Susan S. Tai, 188-189, 218-221, 264-265. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 2012.

## PRESENTATIONS

“Designs and Skills in the Multimedia Writing Practices of the Literati in Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) China,” The 105<sup>th</sup> Annual College Art Association Conference, New York, February 2017.

“Solid, but Not Bounded: Garden Rocks in Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) China,” 38<sup>th</sup> Art History, Visual Art, and Theory Graduate Student Symposium: “Le Temp,” The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, March 2015.

“The Designer and Painters of *Blossoming Plum* (1760) Attributed to Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763),” Final Student Conference of Mellon Chinese Object Study Workshop, Freer and Sackler Galleries of Art, November 2014.

“Design Lost Contact with Technique: A Speculation on the Process of Making the Sackler Bronze Fou (S 87.0277),” Final Student Conference of Mellon Chinese Object Study Workshop, Freer and Sackler Galleries of Art, November 2014.

“The Colors of Taihu Rock,” The Symposium of the Getty Consortium Seminar: “To

Dye the World: Interdisciplinary Approach to Color,” Getty Research Institute Lecture Hall, The Getty Center, Los Angeles, March 2013.

## **FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS**

Graduate Fellowship, UCLA, 2016-2017  
Confucius China Studies Program: Joint Ph.D. Research Fellowship, Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (Hanban), 2015-2016  
Dickson History of Art Fellowship, UCLA (declined), 2015-2016  
Dickson History of Art Fellowship, UCLA, 2014-2015  
Travel Grant, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 2014  
Marilyn A. Papp Scholarship in Chinese Art and Culture, Marilyn A. Papp Scholarship Trust, 2013  
Travel Grant, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 2013  
Ruth Nagle Watkins Scholarship, UCLA, 2012-2015  
Summer Award for Language Study, UCLA, 2012  
Chancellor’s Prize Summer Mentorship, UCLA, 2011-2013  
Dickson History of Art Fellowship, UCLA, 2011-2012  
GKS (Global Korea Scholarship) Study Abroad Scholarship, National Institute for International Education, Seoul, South Korea (declined), 2010

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES**

Translator of Abstracts from Korean to English, *Korean Journal of Art History*, February 2017-June 2019.  
Chinese Object Study Workshop: Seeing Chinese Paintings, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, June 2014.  
Chinese Object Study Workshop: Chinese Bronzes, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, June 2013.  
Research Assistant for Dr. Yu Pei-chin, Curator of the Department of Antiquities, National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, July-August 2012.



## Introduction

This dissertation represents research on the new literati cultural practice of inscribing objects in Qing dynasty (1644-1912) China.<sup>1</sup> At the center of this growing cultural phenomenon was the versatile scholar-artist Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽 (1768-1822), who is also the protagonist of this dissertation. Using Chen Hongshou as a portal to the network of numerous literati who engaged in this practice, this dissertation examines how making inscriptions on objects emerged as a new avenue of literati expression in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The literati executed calligraphy on solid objects of various materials, in addition to paper and silk that were the traditional materials that served as writing surfaces for Chinese literati. According to the conventional categories of Chinese art, their writing practices could be classified into three facets of activity: calligraphy written with a brush and ink on paper or silk; seal carving, which was typically executed on selected fine soft stones; and making inscriptions on three-dimensional artifacts (other than seals) that are usually small items for a scholar's studio, such as inkstones, bamboo frames of folding fans, and stoneware teapots. Each of these art forms differs in its history of integration into literati artistic practice and thus had a distinct cultural status in the period. Calligraphy on paper or silk was the most well-established and highest esteemed literati art, whereas seal carvings or inscriptions began to be executed by the educated in periods

---

<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of an educational degree may be a useful criterion to determine whether a person was a member of literati or not during the Qing dynasty. However, educational degrees were often sold, and it was not unusual that excellent scholars abandoned the examination life and chose to live as professional researchers. Therefore, this dissertation regards neither an educational degree nor an official position as a standard qualification for literati status. Rather, it gives a broader definition of literati as those who excelled in the traditional literati arts of literary writings, brush-based calligraphy, and painting, regardless of their official titles, and uses it as a more general term than the similar noun "scholar," which implies the acquisition of expertise in a certain area of study. For a discussion of how to define literati during the Qing, see Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955), xiii-xxi. For the professionalization of literati in the Qing dynasty, see Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, 1990), 87-138.

relatively recent to the period in question. Entailing working with knife that had been commonly used by lower-class artisans, the second group of writing practices did not enjoy a cultural status as high as that of brush-based calligraphy. Of the writing practices in this group, seal carving was, nevertheless, undergoing the greatest artistic development during this period, having already been practiced by a significant number of literati for more than two centuries. Meanwhile, making inscriptions on solid objects had just emerged as a new cultural activity of literati in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911).

This dissertation explores how the cultural practice of making calligraphic inscriptions on solid objects was engendered in this period by looking into the new artistic phenomena occurring in the related art forms of brush-based calligraphy and seal carving, as well as in inscription making, and the artistic, intellectual, and socio-cultural foundation that created a fertile ground for literati to engage in the making of inscriptions on objects. The literati practice of inscription has been addressed by scholars such as Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü and Dorothy Y. Ko. In her groundbreaking research about the socioeconomic life of the so-called Yangzhou Eccentrics, Hsü mentioned that the calligrapher and painter Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763) inscribed numerous inkstones to make extra income.<sup>2</sup> More recently, Ko undertook a remarkable research about the female inkstone maker Gu Erniang 顧二娘 (fl. 1700-1722) and literati inkstone collectors of Fuzhou 福州 (Fujian Province) in the early eighteenth century, and pointed out that some of the Fuzhou literati personally executed their inscriptions on inkstones.<sup>3</sup> In both studies, inscription making was basically characterized as a craft practice that literati who had been unsuccessful in

---

<sup>2</sup> Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-century Yangchow* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 175.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Y. Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 171-174.

civil service examinations or official careers engaged in as a means of living.<sup>4</sup> Though Ko identified a small group of scholars who did inscription carving despite their considerable socio-economic status, Ko defined their practice as out of the mainstream.<sup>5</sup> By focusing on the literati in such cultural centers of the period as Hangzhou 杭州 (Zhejiang Province), and in a period slightly later than those dealt with in the previous studies, current research presents a largely different picture of making inscriptions on objects as a cultural practice that a substantial number of mainstream literati engaged in, frequently as their enjoyable pastime or even as a fashion.

As someone who inscribed a variety of material objects, as well as being one of the most original calligraphers and influential seal carvers of the period, Chen Hongshou perfectly exemplifies the group of literati who practiced inscription making. Chen is best known as one of the Eight Masters of Xiling (Xiling bajia 西泠八家)<sup>6</sup> that constitute the core artists of the so-called Zhe School (Zhepai 浙派) of seal carving, but he is equally known for the purple clay (*zisha* 紫砂) teapots that bear his calligraphic inscriptions, called “Mansheng Teapots” (Mansheng hu 曼生壺), after one of his artistic names.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Chen is highly regarded as

---

<sup>4</sup> For example, see Ko’s explanation about two of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰 (1683-1749) and Jin Nong, who engaged in making inscriptions on inkstones. Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones*, 195-201.

<sup>5</sup> Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones*, 196.

<sup>6</sup> The group Eight Masters of Xiling consists of eight seal carvers either from or active in Hangzhou, namely, Ding Jing 丁敬 (1695-1765), Jiang Ren 蔣仁 (1743-1795), Huang Yi 黃易 (1744-1802), Xi Gang 奚岡 (1746-1803), Chen Yuzhong 陳豫鍾 (1762-1806), Chen Hongshou, Zhao Zhichen 趙之琛 (1781-1852), and Qian Song 錢松 (1806-1860). Unlike the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou (Yangzhou baguai 揚州八怪) in painting, the membership of this group is firmly established. For a brief introduction to the formation of the concept “Eight Masters of Xiling,” see Yu Zheng 余正, *Zhepai zhuanke shangxi* 浙派篆刻賞析 (Hangzhou, Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2016), 127-128.

<sup>7</sup> For an introduction to the Zhe School in seal carving, see Ye Yiwei 葉一葦, “Chonglun Zhepai” 重論浙派, in *Qingdai Zhepai yinfeng* 清代浙派印風, ed. Huang Dun 黃惇 and Yu Zheng 余正 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1999), 1-19; and Chak Kwong Lau, “Ding Jing (1695-1765) and the Foundation of the Xiling Identity in Hangzhou” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006), 159-247. For an introduction to Mansheng teapots, see 蕭建民, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu* 陳曼生研究 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011), 138-151.

a calligrapher, especially for his extremely original style of clerical script.<sup>8</sup> As an artist, he is typically defined as bold and untrammled. The late Qing connoisseur of painting and calligraphy Qin Zuyong 秦祖永 (1825-1884), for instance, commented, “[Chen Hongshou’s] *bafen* calligraphy is especially archaic, unadorned, and transcendent. It completely departed from convention” 八分書尤簡古超逸，脫盡恆蹊 (Figure 1).<sup>9</sup> Chen’s close friend and one of the Eight Masters of Xiling, Chen Yuzhong 陳豫鐘 (1762-1806), furthermore described Chen Hongshou’s seal carving as displaying “overwhelming boldness,” which Chen himself could not match (Figure 2).<sup>10</sup> The daring and unconventional character of Chen Hongshou’s artworks is derived from his approach to artistic practice that highly valued the expression of “natural charm” (*tianqu* 天趣), as opposed to the technical mastery of the arts.<sup>11</sup> Chen Hongshou stated, “Poetry, prose, calligraphy, and painting altogether do not have to strive for absolute technical perfection. Only then would it display natural charm” 凡詩文書畫不必十分到家乃見天趣.<sup>12</sup> As revealed in this statement, Chen took bold steps with regard to artistic conception, forms, and techniques. His innovative appropriation of purple clay teapots as writing surfaces also clearly illustrates his

---

<sup>8</sup> For example, Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839-1915) regarded Chen Hongshou as being one of the most remarkable calligraphers of clerical script of the Qing dynasty along with Gui Fu 桂馥 (1736-1805), Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬 (1754-1815), and Huang Yi 黃易 (1744-1802). Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, “Xueshu erylun” 學書邇言, in *Lidai shufa lunwenxuan xubian* 歷代書法論文選續編, ed. Cui Erping 崔爾平 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 742.

<sup>9</sup> Qin Zuyong 秦祖永, *Tongyin lunhua* 桐陰論畫 (Ōsaka: Asai Kichibē, 1880), , *xia* 下, 23a. *Bafen*, here, refers to clerical script in its mature form that was developed in the Eastern Han period (25 CE-220 CE). For the definition of *bafen*, see Hu Changchun 胡長春, *Zhongguo shufa yu guwenzi yanjiu* 中國書法與古文字研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2015), 196-202.

<sup>10</sup> Ding Ren 丁仁, *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西泠八家印選 (1925-26; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 259.

<sup>11</sup> “*Tianqu*” means natural charm and unaffected elegance. Tetsuji Morohashi 諸橋轍次, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten, 1986), 489.

<sup>12</sup> Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡, *Molin jinhua* 墨林今話 (China: Zhonghua shuju, preface 1852), *juan* 10, 2a.

unconventional approach to the traditional calligraphic practice, setting the new fashion of inscribing on solid objects for the following generations of Chinese artists (Figure 3).

Chen Hongshou was born into a declining scholar family of Hangzhou in 1768 (Figure 4). As his father was mostly away from home and his mother died when he was only fifteen, he lived in his maternal uncle's house in the nearby city of Haichang 海昌 for a period of his youth.<sup>13</sup> As a young man, Chen developed an independent and unrestrained yet cheerful and convivial character, and he associated with a wide range of scholars throughout his life.<sup>14</sup> The important regional historian and man of letters Zhu Peng 朱彭 (1731-1803) was his main literary teacher in his earlier years, but he also learned from the great poet (and both his paternal and maternal grandfathers' friend) Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1797), who by then had retired to Nanjing 南京 (Jiangsu Province).<sup>15</sup> Inspired by Yuan Mei's "Theory of Innate Sensibility" (*xingling shuo* 性靈說) that emphasized the genius and individuality of poets, Chen's poetry featured the natural and spontaneous expression of his emotions without so-called "bitter chanting" (*kuyin* 苦吟), which refers to composing poems with such great effort as to cause literal pain.<sup>16</sup> In his early twenties, Chen became a leading member of literary circles in Hangzhou and established the Poetry Society in the Balcony for Resting in Tree Shade (Deshuxuan yinshe 得樹軒吟社) with a

---

<sup>13</sup> Chen Hongshou's father repeatedly failed in civil service examinations and sojourned in other cities for a long time. On Chen Hongshou's family background, see Xiao Jianmin 蕭建民, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu* 陳曼生研究 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011), 4-11.

<sup>14</sup> For descriptions of Chen Hongshou's character, see Ye Yanlang 葉衍蘭, Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽, and Chen Zuwu 陳祖武, ed., *Qingdia xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu* 清代學者象傳校補, vol. 2 (Rpt., Beijing, Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017), 740-42.

<sup>15</sup> On Chen Hongshou's literary education, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 11-12, 24.

<sup>16</sup> On Yuan Mei, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Folkestone, Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2010), 955-957. For a contemporary comment on Chen Hongshou's poetry, see Wu Wenfu 吳文溥, *Nanyetang biji* 南野堂筆記 (Shanghai: Zhonghua guocui shushe, 1912), *juan* 9, 3a-3b.

number of local literati, including Zhu Peng, the collector of stone inscriptions He Yuanxi 何元錫 (1766-1829), the influential painter and seal carver Xi Gang 奚岡 (1746-1803), and his lifelong friend and calligrapher Guo Lin 郭麐 (1767-1831).<sup>17</sup> With these figures, Chen not only nurtured his literary talent, but also engaged in a variety of cultural activities, such as practicing calligraphy and painting, gathering to watch seasonal flowers, and appreciating antiques. Chen left more than five hundred poems throughout his life, which were compiled under the title *Poetry in the Celestial House of Planting Elm Trees* (*Zhongyu xianguan shichao* 種榆仙館詩鈔).

Starting from 1795, the year he became twenty-eight, Chen Hongshou successively served as a private secretary to the prominent officials Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), Na Yancheng 那彥成 (1764-1833), and Tiebao 鐵保 (1752-1824).<sup>18</sup> Of these figures, Chen most closely worked with Ruan Yuan for the longest period, as the latter was stationed in Hangzhou for over a decade, first as Education Commissioner of Zhejiang and later as Governor of Zhejiang.<sup>19</sup> Chen acted in a literary capacity in Ruan's secretariat, drawing up numerous documents.<sup>20</sup> Beyond his secretarial service, Chen was also involved in the cultural projects initiated by Ruan, which typically concerned promoting the dominant intellectual trend of the

---

<sup>17</sup> For Chen Hongshou's poems composed in the Poetry Society in the Balcony for Resting in Tree Shade, see Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽, *Zhongyu xianguan shi chao* 種榆仙館詩鈔, in *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編, vol. 488 (1915; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 233-235.

<sup>18</sup> For the fact that Chen Hongshou worked as a private secretary of these three figures, see Ruan Yuan 阮元, "Preface" 序, *Xiaocanglang bitan* 小滄浪筆談 (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1970), 1a; Chen Wenshu 陳文述, *Yidao tang shixuan* 頤道堂詩選 (China: n.p., 1817), *juan* 3, 27b; and Chen, *Yidao tang shixuan*, *juan* 9, 5a.

<sup>19</sup> On Ruan Yuan, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 399-401.

<sup>20</sup> Min Erchang 閔爾昌, *Beizhuanji bu* 碑傳集補, in *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊, vol. 123 (Rpt., Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 65-66.

period, evidential research (*kaozhengxue* 考證學), as well as regional history and culture.<sup>21</sup> With regard to the latter, Chen compiled an anthology of poetry of regional literati, titled *Record in an Official's Chariot in Zhejiang* (*Zhejiang youxuan lu* 兩浙輶軒錄), together with other scholars in Ruan's secretariat, including his relative and famous poet Chen Wenshu 陳文述 (1771-1843), the notable scholar of classics Li Fusun 李富孫 (1764-1843), and his cousin and important epigrapher Zhu Weibi 朱為弼 (1771-1840).<sup>22</sup> Upon Ruan's establishment of the Gujing Academy (Gujing jingshe 詁經精舍), which was particularly dedicated to evidential research, Chen Hongshou studied under the direction of the celebrated textual scholars Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806) and Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818).<sup>23</sup> Of Chen's colleagues in the academy were a number of renowned local scholars, including the eminent epigrapher and versatile carver Zhang Yanchang 張燕昌 (1738-1814) and the famous collector of ancient inscriptions and antiques Zhang Tingji 張廷濟 (1768-1848).<sup>24</sup>

Chen Hongshou's life as a private secretary greatly enriched his scholarly pursuits, especially those in the study of bronze and stone inscriptions (*jinshi xue* 金石學). As a branch of knowledge in evidential research, the study of ancient inscriptions was one of the most dominant

---

<sup>21</sup> Evidential research historicized the Confucian Classics and rendered them into objects of scholarly scrutiny to establish their original versions. On evidential research, see Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, 37-86.

<sup>22</sup> For a list of compilers of the publication, see Ruan Yuan, "Liang Zhe youxuan lu fanli" 兩浙輶軒錄凡例, *Liang Zhe youxuan lu* 兩浙輶軒錄 (China: Renhe Zhu shi, 1801), 2b-3a. For the fact that Zhu Weibi was Chen Hongshou's cousin, see Zhu Weibi's calligraphy in Soong Shu Kong 宋緒康, Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, and Anita Wong 黃燕芳, ed., *Tea, Wine and Poetry: Qing Dynasty Literati and their Drinking Vessels* 詩酒茶情：清代製壺名家遺珍 (Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong, 2006), 86-87. In this work, Zhu Weibi calls Chen Hongshou *biaoxiong* 表兄.

<sup>23</sup> On Wang Chang and Sun Xingyan, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 675-677, 805-807.

<sup>24</sup> For the list of figures who studied in the academy, see Sun Xinyang 孫星衍, "Gujing jingshe timing beiji" 詁經精舍題名碑記, in *Pingjinguang wengao* 平津館文稿, vol. 2 (Suzhou: Zhu shi jiashu jiaokan, 1886), 20a-27a.

scholarly disciplines of the period. In addition to his study in the Gujing Academy, Chen Hongshou was granted access to major private collections of ancient inscriptions, notably that of Ruan Yuan. For example, Chen examined inscriptions on ancient bricks from the Western Han (206 BCE-24 CE) to the Jin (265-420 CE) dynasties in Ruan's Study of Eight Bricks (Bazhuan yinguan 八甄吟館) along with Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733-1818), who was a leading authority on epigraphy during the period.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Chen had opportunities to examine extremely rare rubbings of ancient inscriptions through Huang Yi 黃易 (1744-1802), excavator of the Wu Liang Shrine (Wu Liang citang 武梁祠堂) (151 CE) and one of the Eight Masters of Xiling.<sup>26</sup> Chen stayed in close contact with Huang Yi from 1795 on, when the latter returned to Hangzhou from his government post in Shandong Province for his mother's funeral.<sup>27</sup> In addition to these scholars of national renown, Chen was also well acquainted with famous book collectors in Suzhou 蘇州, such as Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763-1825) and Yuan Tingtao 袁廷燾 (1764-1810), sharing their intellectual pursuits including epigraphic studies.<sup>28</sup> In 1804, for instance, Yuan Tingtao traveled to Jiaoshan 焦山 in Zhenjiang 鎮江 (Jiangsu Province) to make rubbings of the famous ancient bronze *ding* vessel of Wu Hui (Wu Hui ding 無奭鼎), which had been kept

---

<sup>25</sup> Ruan Yuan, *Bazhuan yinguan kezhu ji* 八甄吟館刻燭集, *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成. (Rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), *juan* 2, 1a-7a. On Weng Fanggang, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 856-858.

<sup>26</sup> On Huang Yi, see Weng Fanggang 翁方綱, "Huang Qiu'an zhuan" 黃秋盒傳, *Fuchu zhai wenji* 復初齋文集, *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊 (1877; rpt., Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969), 534-538.

<sup>27</sup> For Huang Yi's returning to Hangzhou in 1795, see Chen Hongshou's inscription on his seal *lianrong dizi* 蓮宗弟子 (disciple of the Pure Land sect), in Sun Weizu 孫慰祖, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke* 陳鴻壽篆刻 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2007), 78.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Chen Hongshou joined a literary gathering hosted by Huang Pilie and did a painting of a plantain in 1799. For the painting, see Lai Suk-Yee 黎淑儀, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou: Painting, Calligraphy, Seal-carving and Teapot-design* 書畫印壺：陳鴻壽的藝術 (Hong Kong: Shanghai Museum, Nanjing Museum and Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), P2. Chen Hongshou also made several seals for Yuan Tingtao. For the seals, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 57, 86, 87.



in a monastery of the area, and Chen Hongshou made a drawing of the vessel based on the rubbing.<sup>29</sup>

At the age of forty-two, Chen began to serve as an official in various places in Jiangsu Province, eight years after earning his highest degree, Graduate for Preeminence (*bagong* 拔貢), in 1801.<sup>30</sup> As an official, Chen was known as benevolent and highly principled. When serious famine struck during his term as Magistrate in Liyang 溧陽, a county located 100 kilometer southeast of Nanjing 南京, Chen stood against his senior official's command to collect taxes and earned great respect from the local people.<sup>31</sup> His five years in Liyang, from 1811 to 1816, turned out to be the most delightful period in his social and cultural life. Within the county office complex was a building, which Chen named House of Intertwined Mulberry Branches (Sang lianli guan 桑連理館) and received houseguests in all year round (Figure 5).<sup>32</sup> Among his houseguests were a number of renowned regional scholars and artists, including Guo Lin, the notable landscape painter Qian Du 錢杜 (1764-1844), the famous female-figure painter Gai Qi

---

<sup>29</sup> Zhao Yichen 趙詒琛, ed., *Gu Qianli xiansheng nianpu* 顧千里先生年譜, *Qian Jia mingru nianpu* 乾嘉名儒年譜, vol. 12 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2008), 295.

<sup>30</sup> *Bagong* is a degree awarded to Tribute Students (*shengyuan* 生員), who were admitted to the National University (*taixue* 太學). On *bagong*, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1985), 359. In 1801, Chen Hongshou was appointed a magistrate in Guangdong Province. But as his father and stepmother died one after another, Chen had to spend six years mourning. Meanwhile, he worked as a private secretary of the high officials. For these reasons, he could assume his first official position eight years after earning the degree. On the death of his parents, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Ye, Ye, and Chen, ed., *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, 740-42.

<sup>32</sup> On Chen Hongshou's naming the house and its function, see Shi Bing 史炳 et al., *Liyang xianzhi* 溧陽縣志, vol. 470 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (1896; rpt., Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 52.

改琦 (1774-1829), and the poet and seal artist Tu Zhuo 屠倬 (1781-1828).<sup>33</sup> With the assistance of the literati gathered around him, Chen initiated various cultural projects, including the compilation of *Gazetteer of Liyang County* (*Liyang xianzhi* 溧陽縣志) and *Sequel to the Compilation of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions* (*Xu Jinshi cuibian* 續金石萃編).<sup>34</sup> Upon the completion of his term in Liyang, Chen was appointed vice prefect of Huai'an 淮安 Prefecture, first in charge of river maintenance and then coastal defense.<sup>35</sup> Though this new position was a promotion, Chen frequently expressed feelings of frustration caused by the daunting challenge of river maintenance.<sup>36</sup> In 1822, at the age of fifty-five, Chen died from a stroke in Huai'an while serving in office. In his funeral oration for Chen, his best friend Guo Lin lamented the loss of such a unique individual, who combined a forthright and cheerful disposition with remarkable talent.<sup>37</sup>

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that Chen's lifetime spans are often defined as a period of decline in the history of the Qing dynasty. However, as to Chinese art and culture, it was an epoch-making period, when the study of bronze and stone inscriptions underwent a significant development and provided fertile sources of inspiration for various forms

---

<sup>33</sup> Guo Lin, "Sang lianliguan zhuketu ji" 桑連理館主客圖記, transcribed in Huang Zhenhui 黃振輝. *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu* 曼生與曼生壺 (Taipei: Yishujia chuban, 2006), 153; and Guo Lin, "Sang lianliguan zhuketu houji" 桑連理館主客圖後記, transcribed in Huang, *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu*, 153-154.

<sup>34</sup> Shi, et al., *Liyang xianzhi*. On *Sequel to the Collection of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions*, see Li Yusun 李遇孫, *Jinshi xuelu* 金石學錄, vol. 2 (1824; rpt., Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1914), *juan* 4, 17a. This publication is not surviving, but seems to have built on Wang Chang's *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編.

<sup>35</sup> Ye, Ye, and Chen, ed., *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, 740.

<sup>36</sup> Chen Hongshou, "Chen Mansheng chidu" 陳曼生尺牘, quoted in Cao Qing 曹清, "Cong *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan heji* shang de zaoxiang jiangqi: Chen Hongshou qiren qishi lun" 從清代學者象傳合集上的造像講起: 陳鴻壽其人其事論, in *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 200.

<sup>37</sup> Guo Lin 郭麐, "Ji Chen Mansheng wen" 祭陳曼生文, transcribed in Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 345.

of artistic production. While being seriously examined as historical texts, ancient inscriptions were also appreciated for their aesthetic qualities, and they thus emerged as important calligraphic models.<sup>38</sup> Archaic script types of seal and clerical scripts were widely practiced by the educated elite during the period, and new aesthetic criteria for calligraphy were developed accordingly. This new calligraphic trend became part of the mainstream, along with the hitherto orthodox tradition of calligraphy centered on the canonical masters Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361), Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), and Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636). These two distinct calligraphic traditions were to be called “Stele School” (*beipai* 碑派) and “Model-Calligraphy-Book School” (*tiepai* 帖派), respectively, according to Ruan Yuan’s designation of them in his treatises, “On the Northern and Southern Schools of Calligraphy” (“Nanbei shupai lun” 南北書派論) and “On Northern Steles and Southern Model-Calligraphy-Books” (“Beibei nantie lun” 北碑南帖論).<sup>39</sup> In these treatises, Ruan Yuan reconstructed the history of Stele School calligraphy, and highlighted its historical importance and unique aesthetic features.

The study of bronze and stone inscriptions further enriched the development of seal carving in this period. Two major schools of Chinese seal carving, the Zhe School and the Deng School (Deng pai 鄧派) originated with the works of the eminent seal artist Ding Jing 丁敬

---

<sup>38</sup> On the calligraphic trends of the Qing dynasty, see Lothar Ledderose, “Summary,” in *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Ch’ing-Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Chinesischen Schriftkunst* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), 246-253; Amy McNair, “Engraved Calligraphy in China: Recension and Reception,” *Art Bulletin* 77:1 (March 1995): 106-14; Bai Qianshen, *Fu Shan’s World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003); Huang Dun, “Two Schools of Calligraphy Join Hands: *Tiepai* and *Beipai* in the Qing Dynasty,” in *Chinese Calligraphy*, trans. and ed. Wang Youfen (New Haven: Yale University Press; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2008), 339-377; and Lothar Ledderose, “Aesthetic appropriation of Ancient calligraphy in Modern China,” in *Chinese Art Modern Expressions*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 212-245.

<sup>39</sup> Ruan Yuan, “Nanbei shupai lun” 南北書派論, in *Yanjingshi sanji* 掣經室三集, *Wenxuan lou congshu* 文選樓叢書 (Rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), *juan* 1, 1a-6b; and Ruan Yuan, “Beibei nantie lun” 北碑南帖論, in *Yanjingshi sanji*, *juan* 1, 6b-9b.

(1695-1765) and the giant calligrapher and seal carver Deng Shiru 鄧石如 (1743-1805), respectively. Established by the second-generation artists of the school, such as Jiang Ren 蔣仁 (1743-1795), Huang Yi, and Xi Gang,<sup>40</sup> the Zhe School style of seal carving was derived mainly from the bronze and jade seals of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), while the Deng School adopted visual features of ancient stele inscriptions, in addition to those of ancient seals, to its seal carvings.<sup>41</sup> Of these two schools, the Zhe School was dominant until the early nineteenth century, when Deng Shiru's style came to be increasingly recognized by such emerging artists as Wu Xizai 吳熙載 (1799-1870).

Compared to the remarkable developments in calligraphy and seal carving, painting in this period is typically characterized as having lost momentum toward a new artistic development.<sup>42</sup> This decline appears even more salient when one considers the formidable creative energy of the Yangzhou Eccentrics and the Shanghai School artists, who respectively emerged in the periods immediately preceding and following the period in question. Nonetheless, scholars have begun to direct renewed attention to the paintings of the period and have demonstrated that a new stage of integration of calligraphy and painting was taking place. For example, it has been observed that paintings done by Stele School calligraphers often display the

---

<sup>40</sup> For an analyses of how the Zhe School style of seal carving was established, see Luo Shuzi 羅叔子, "Shilun 'Xiling sijia' de zhuanke yishu" 試論西泠四家的篆刻藝術, *Xiling yicon* 西泠藝叢 2 (April 1980): 6-8; Ye, "Chonglun Zhepai," 1-19; and Lau, "Ding Jing (1695-1765) and the Foundation of the Xiling Identity in Hangzhou," 159-247.

<sup>41</sup> For an introduction to the Deng School, see see Zhang Yuming 張郁明, "Lun Huizong zhi goucheng ji qi yishu fengge zhi shanbian" 論徽宗之構成及其藝術風格之嬗變, in *Qingdai Huizong yinfeng* 清代徽宗印風, vol. 1 ed. Huang Dun 黃惇 and Zhang Yuming 張郁明 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2011), 1-55.

<sup>42</sup> For example, see James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982) 222-225; and Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1982), 458.

robust and assertive calligraphic brushwork that is characteristic of seal-script and clerical-script calligraphy.<sup>43</sup>

Chen Hongshou's manifold artistic practices well represent the artistic trends at the turn of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. As an extremely versatile artist, Chen Hongshou was accomplished in a variety of art forms. Developing one of the most influential theories of poetry in the period, Theory of Innate Sensibility, Chen composed poetry that drew critical acclaim from regional scholars.<sup>44</sup> Deeply interested in learning from calligraphic examples of both the Model-Calligraphy-Book tradition and the Stele School tradition, he formed markedly original calligraphic styles, especially in his clerical script, to achieve a major breakthrough in the development of Stele School calligraphy. He made full use of his powerful calligraphic brushwork for his paintings, further advancing the synthesis of calligraphy and painting. In seal carving, he largely built on the Zhe School style to establish his own individual style, which became enormously influential on contemporary seal artists. Beyond these traditional artistic practices of Chinese literati, Chen ventured into a new artistic practice, namely applying calligraphy onto stoneware teapots. While embodying his artistic creativity and innovative spirit, this element of his artistic practice represents the emergence of inscription making as a new literati cultural practice during the period. Following, I will outline Chen Hongshou's artistic practices and then proceed with further introduction of the issues to be addressed in this dissertation.

---

<sup>43</sup> Wan Qingli 萬青力, *The Century Was Not Declining in Art: A History of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Painting* 並非衰落的百年: 十九世紀中國繪畫史 (Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gongsi, 2005), 64-69, 95-107. It has been also argued that an engraved effect of ancient inscriptions and contemporary seal carvings was transferred to brushwork in paintings, simulating the roughened edges in aged bronze and stone inscriptions. Michael J. Hatch, "Qian Du (1763-1844) and the Senses in Early Nineteenth-Century Chinese Literati Painting" (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2015), 120.

<sup>44</sup> For example, see a member of the Gujing Academy and talented poet Wu Wenfu's 吳文燾 (1741-1802) critic of Chen Hongshou's poetry. Wu, *Nanyetang biji*, juan 9, 3a-3b.

As a painter, Chen Hongshou mainly painted flowers and plants using the boneless method (*mogufa* 沒骨法), which makes use of colored washes without outlines. He rarely did landscape painting. As he stated more than once, his flower paintings were indebted to the early Qing master Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690), who specialized in flower painting in the boneless style.<sup>45</sup> Yun Shouping's flower paintings are characterized by delicate forms, subtle hues, and a pure and elegant atmosphere (Figure 6). Yun's clean and exquisite images of flowers exerted an enormous influence on the painters in following generations, including Fang Xun 方薰 (1736-1799) and Xi Gang, who, as the most esteemed painters in Hangzhou during the second half of the eighteenth century were paired together and known as "Fang-Xi."<sup>46</sup> Though both painters are better known as landscapists working in the orthodox tradition, they also produced a considerable number of flower paintings in the style of Yun Shouping.<sup>47</sup> This is well illustrated in Xi Gang's painting of gardenia flowers, hydrangea, and daylilies, which masterfully combines bone and boneless methods and displays the artist's discipline and subtlety in both brushwork and coloration (Figure 7). Of the two, Xi Gang was particularly close to Chen, and thus likely to have affected Chen's painting practice.

---

<sup>45</sup> For a biography of Yun Shouping, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 960-961. On Yun Shouping's painting, see Nie Chongzheng 聶崇正, "Qing chu liujia ji qi huihua yishu" 清初六家及其繪畫藝術, in *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian* 中國美術全集：繪畫編, vol. 10 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 9.

<sup>46</sup> On Xi Gang and Fang Xun, see Qian Yong 錢泳, *Liuyuan conghua* 履園叢話, vol. 813 of *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congan xuji* 近代中國史料叢刊續輯 (Yonghe: Wenhai chubanshe, 1981), 302.

<sup>47</sup> Ye Ming 葉銘, ed., *Guochao huajia shu xiaozhuan* 國朝畫家書小傳, in vol. 81 of *Qingdai zhuanji congan* 清代傳記叢刊 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 451. For examples of their flower paintings, see *Zhongguo gudai huihua jianing zu* 中國古代繪畫鑑定組, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanqi* 中國繪畫全集, vol. 30 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), pls. 13, 14, 16; *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianing zu* 中國古代書畫鑑定組, ed., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 5 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986), 331-333, 348-350; *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianing zu*, ed., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 11, 128-129; and *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianing zu*, ed., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 16, 156.

Chen Hongshou's flower paintings exhibit the delicacy and sensitivity that is seen in both Yun Shouping's and Xi Gang's works, as exemplified in his painting of peach blossoms (Figure 8). The vertically ascending composition and the nuanced color of flower petals in Chen's painting are comparable to those in the works of the two senior artists (Figures 6, 8). Nonetheless, while the brushwork and washes of colors in the works of the two predecessors largely serve for a descriptive purpose, Chen's brushwork is often purely calligraphic and relatively abstract. This distinction is perfectly illustrated in the paintings of the flower branches in the works of Yun and Chen. While Yun created a naturalistic image of the branches with varied brown hues, Chen used a single, deliberate, and undulating calligraphic stroke to represent a branch. This divergence in their painting styles is derived mainly from their different approaches to painting. While Yun greatly emphasized painting from nature and achieving verisimilitude in his works, Chen often conveyed his preference for the sketchy and expressive mode of painting for "writing ideas" (*xieyi* 寫意) as opposed to "form-likeness" (*xingsi* 形似).<sup>48</sup>

In addition to his calligraphy, Chen Hongshou also appropriated his training in seal carving for his painting. This is especially evident in his paintings in a small album format, which allowed relatively constrained pictorial space and so required more tight composition of images, inscriptions and seal marks. In his painting of a lotus flower, for instance, the artist created variations of, and balances between, solid and void, which is characteristic of seal design (Figure 9). The heavy colors of the lotus leaves in the lower right corner were masterfully counterpoised by the white bloom and sparse brushstrokes above them as well as the bright red

---

<sup>48</sup> On Yun Shouping's approach to painting, see Nie, "Qing chu liujia ji qi huihua yishu," 9. For Chen Hongshou's approach to painting, see his inscriptions on his own paintings in Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, P5-3, P5-7, P7-12; Tang Yun yishuguan 唐云藝術館, ed., *Mansheng yiyun: Chen Hongshou de shahu, shuhua, zhuanke yishu* 曼生遺韻: 陳鴻壽的紫砂壺, 書畫, 篆刻藝術 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010), 75; and Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽, *Chen Mansheng huihua ce* 陳曼生繪畫冊 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1935), pl. 8.

of the seal mark on the left side. A circular motion generated by the lotus leaves, flower, and brushstrokes becomes fully contained within the pictorial space by the running-script inscription written along the left margin. The circular composition and the way the pictorial space is enclosed are comparable to how characters are arranged and contained within the minute surface area of a seal. Moreover, the strong, vibrant calligraphic brushstrokes beside the lotus flower imbue the painting with enormous vitality, while revealing the tendency of abstraction in his painting.<sup>49</sup> In these regards, Chen's flower paintings represent a masterful synthesis of his calligraphy, painting, and seal carving.

As a calligrapher, Chen Hongshou mainly practiced clerical and running (semi-cursive) script, while rarely using seal, standard, and cursive script. Although better known for his writing in clerical script, later critics also admired his running script, including Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍 (1897-1976), who wrote that Chen's running script displays energetic elegance and can rival that of the masters of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).<sup>50</sup> In his running-script writing, Chen was receptive to the prevalence of Dong Qichang's style, but he harked back to earlier masters, especially Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785), and Wang Xizhi. Chen's running script shares a slender and oblique character structure and natural and flowing brushwork with Dong's calligraphy, such as the latter's transcription of the great poet and calligrapher Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) *Ode on the Red Cliff* (*Chibi fu* 赤壁賦) (Figures 10,

---

<sup>49</sup> According to the artist's inscription on the painting, the calligraphic brushstrokes represent ripples in a lotus pond.

<sup>50</sup> Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍, *Shulin zaojian Qingdai pian* 書林藻鑑清代篇 in vol. 86 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (1935; rpt., Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 204.



11).<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, Chen's running script tends to be more angular and robust than the late Ming master's, as well illustrated in the jugged edges of its characters and the brisk and energetic manner of its execution. It is in these differences from Dong Qichang's calligraphy where Chen's running script converged with that of his contemporary artists, such as Guo Lin and Xi Gang.

During Chen's lifetime, the most eminent calligrapher in Hangzhou was Liang Tongshu 梁同書 (1723-1815), who was known as one of the Four Masters in the Model-Calligraphy-Book tradition. Liang was retired in his hometown of Hangzhou in 1758.<sup>52</sup> Liang Tongshu's reputation as a calligrapher was so great that even contemporary Japanese and Korean sought his calligraphy.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, Chen was impervious to Liang's calligraphy, likely because the demure gracefulness characteristic of Liang's calligraphic style did not appeal to Chen's taste. Instead, Chen's calligraphy reveals a close affinity with that of Guo Lin and Xi Gang in their sharp and expansive qualities. Guo's running script was explicitly modeled after that of Huang Tingjian, bearing a striking resemblance with the latter in their sharply defined angular brushstrokes, deliberate and quivering movements of the brush, and elongated diagonal strokes (Figures 12, 13).<sup>54</sup> As Chen was deeply interested in the Song master's calligraphy, Chen's running script also exhibits some of its visual features, such as angular and outward extending strokes, while forming its unique features with the brisk, fleshy, and spontaneous brushstrokes

---

<sup>51</sup> The stylistic affinity between Chen Hongshou's running script with that of Dong Qichang was pointed out in Hayashida Hōen 林田芳園, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō* 陳鴻壽の書法 (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1997), 225.

<sup>52</sup> On Liang Tongshu, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 505.

<sup>53</sup> On Liang Tongshu's calligraphy, see Ma, *Shulin zaojian Qingdai pian*, 148-150.

<sup>54</sup> On Guo Lin's calligraphy, see Liu Zhengcheng 劉正成, *Zhongguo shufa jianshang dacidian* 中國書法鑒賞大辭典 (Beijing: Dadi chubanshe, 1989), 1222-1223.

(Figure 14).<sup>55</sup> In brushwork and composition, Chen's running-script writing is closely comparable to that of Xi Gang. Both possess robust and untrammelled brushwork and dynamic character compositions that contract and expand freely (Figure 15).

Beyond calligraphic examples of the Song dynasty, Chen seriously studied the works of such earlier masters as the imposing figure of the Tang dynasty (618-907), Yan Zhenqing, and the so-called Sage of Calligraphy, Wang Xizhi. According to Guo Lin, Chen was especially dedicated to learning from Yan's *Letter on the Controversy over Seating Protocol* (*Zheng zuowei tie* 爭座位帖) and the *Preface to the Sacred Teaching in Wang Xizhi's Handwriting* (*Ji Wang shengjia xu* 集王聖教序).<sup>56</sup> Though Yan is best known for his powerful and monumental standard-script calligraphy, he is also highly regarded for his natural, unrestrained running-cursive script, of which the *Letter on the Controversy over Seating Protocol* is a superb example (Figure 16). Some of Chen's running-cursive script works are comparable to Yan's *Letter* in their organic formation of brushstrokes, which form dynamic contrasts between stout and lean (Figure 17). Chen earnestly studied Wang Xizhi's calligraphy for an extended period, as most of the literati of the time did. Chen even found an opportunity to personally examine the Shenlong Version (Shenlong ben 神龍本) of Wang Xizhi's *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion* (*Lanting xu* 蘭亭序), and wrote a colophon to the masterpiece (Figures 18, 19). Written in running-standard script, the colophon reveals traces of Wang Xizhi's influence on Chen's calligraphy in character structure (Figure 20).

---

<sup>55</sup> For an example of Chen Hongshou's transcription of Huang Tingjian's calligraphy, see Hayashida, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pl. 56.

<sup>56</sup> Guo Lin, "Mansheng cunyin ji" 曼生存印記, transcribed in Jin Dan 金丹, *Yi Bingshou Chen Hongshou* 伊秉綬 陳鴻壽 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 187, 194.

As for Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy, it occupies a distinctive position among calligraphic works of the period for being consciously archaic and decidedly original. In his practice of clerical-script writing, Chen made free-hand copies of a variety of stone inscriptions from the Han to the Six dynasties (220-589 CE), including those on steles, cliffs, bricks, and stone buildings. Having begun by the end of the Ming dynasty, transcribing ancient inscriptions became an increasingly popular calligraphic practice for the literati during the period.<sup>57</sup> Of the various types of stone inscriptions, cliff inscriptions from the Eastern Han period, especially the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road* (*Kaitong Baoxie dao shike* 開通褒斜道石刻) (63 CE), served as the principal source of inspiration for the development of Chen's clerical script (Figure 21).<sup>58</sup> Featuring square and unadorned forms of characters in varying sizes and straight strokes extending and interlocking with each other, the cliff inscription brims with vitality. Chen incorporated the essential visual qualities of this inscription into his clerical-script writing, and created a markedly original calligraphic style that is characterized by the dynamic composition and powerful and unaffected brushwork (Figure 1).

Of the calligraphers who specialized in clerical script during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Chen Hongshou is most comparable to the esteemed official and calligrapher Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬 (1754-1861), who was also a long-term acquaintance. Both displayed formidable creative energy. Most of the literati of the period practiced clerical-script

---

<sup>57</sup> For the practice of copying ancient stone inscriptions of late Ming and early Qing calligraphers, see Bai, *Fu Shan's World*, 185-192; and Kao Mingyi 高明一, "Ruan Yuan (1765-1849) dui jinshixue de tuidong yu xiangguan yingxiang" 阮元(1765-1849)對金石學的推動與相關影響 (PhD Diss., National Taiwan University, 2010), 150-155. Free-hand copies of ancient stone inscriptions by calligraphers in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are easily located in catalogues of Qing calligraphy. For example, see Kenshin Shodōkai 謙慎書道會, ed., *Seirei hakka no shoga tenkoku* 西泠八家の書画篆刻 (Tōkyō; Nigensha, 1996).

<sup>58</sup> Fang Shuo 方朔 (1816-?) noted Chen Hongshou diligently learned the calligraphic style of the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road*. Fang Shuo 方朔, *Zhenjingtang jinshi tiba* 枕經堂金石題跋 (Rpt., Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1977), 103-104.

calligraphy. However, outside of Chen and Yi, those who achieved a profound artistic transformation from ancient clerical script were rare. The clerical-script works of the two calligraphers share important visual elements, notably the brushstrokes with minimal modulation as opposed to the flaring brushstrokes called “silkworm head and goose tail” (*cantou yanwei* 蠶頭雁尾) that are characteristic of *bafen* (Figure 22). Nevertheless, their aesthetic features cannot be more distinct from each other, since Yi modeled his clerical script mainly after stele inscriptions from the Eastern Han period, especially the *Stele of the Chamberlain of the Court for the Palace Garrison Heng Fang* (*Weiwei qing Heng Fang bei* 衛尉卿衡方碑) (168 CE), which looks upright, solemn, and dignified (Figure 23).<sup>59</sup> By appropriating the aesthetic features of cliff inscriptions that are characterized as clumsy, unrestrained, and vibrant, Chen established his own unique aesthetic of clerical-script calligraphy.

Of his manifold artistic practices, in his own time Chen was regarded as most accomplished in seal carving.<sup>60</sup> This is also revealed in his complete confidence in his artistic achievement in seal carving, even compared to that of previous masters.<sup>61</sup> As a seal artist, Chen most admired Ding Jing and Huang Yi, and developed the Zhe School style of seal carving that

---

<sup>59</sup> According to the Qing literati Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅 (1775-1849), Yi Bingshou acknowledged that he seriously studied the stone inscription for his clerical-script calligraphy. Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Ji'anshi shulu: Qingdai mingren shuhuaqia cidian* 吉安室書錄: 清代名人書畫家辭典 (Rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 2003), 162. On Yi Bingshou's calligraphy, see Ho Pik Ki 何碧琪, “Qingdai lishu yu Yi Bingshou” 清代隸書與伊秉綬 (MA Thesis, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001).

<sup>60</sup> This is also testified in a Hangzhou literatus Zhou Sanxie's 周三變(1783-?) comparison between Chen's brush-based calligraphy and seal carving. Zhou Sanxie 周三變, (Untitled), in *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu* 種榆仙館印譜, by Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽 (China: Guo Zongtai, 1821), 2a.

<sup>61</sup> For example, see his side inscription, in Han Tianheng 韓天衡, ed., *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985), 782. The side inscription reads, “I by my nature indulge in calligraphy and painting. Though I cannot be mentioned in the same group with ancient people [for my calligraphy and painting], my use of the knife has accumulated over a long period of time, and [so] I have rather grasped the principles of contemplation [in seal carving]. I know the talented people of the past would not despise me” 余性耽書畫，雖無能與古人為徒，而用刀積久，頗有會于禪理，知昔賢不我欺也。

features a square and balanced composition and a coarse texture derived from the “chopping-knife method” (*qiedaofa* 切刀法).<sup>62</sup> These features of Zhe School seal carvings are well illustrated in the seal *lianzong dizi* 蓮宗弟子 (disciple of the Pure Land sect) that Chen carved for Huang Yi in 1795 (Figure 24). While largely succeeding the two senior artists, Chen also established his own style in seal carving that is represented by angular, vibrant strokes and a swift, spontaneous, and determined manner of execution (Figure 2).<sup>63</sup> Chen’s seal carvings have been defined as fierce and full of vital energy, especially in comparison to those of his peer Chen Yuzhong, which have been characterized as neat and refined (Figure 25).<sup>64</sup> For its raw and powerful qualities, Chen Hongshou’s seal carving enjoyed enormous popularity among the literati collectors and practitioners of seal carving during the period.<sup>65</sup>

By the time his seal carving days were over in his early forties, Chen Hongshou began to engage in another type of carving practice, namely inscribing Yixing 宜興 stoneware teapots, during his term of office in Liyang.<sup>66</sup> Yixing is a county in Jiangsu Province that has been

---

<sup>62</sup> In this knife method, the carver made a small crevice on the seal stone precisely the length of his knife blade by pressing down it without dragging it across the surface. For an explanation of the knife method, see Deng Sanmu 鄧散木, *Zhuanke xue* 篆刻學 (1979; rpt., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), *xia*, 41a-41b.

<sup>63</sup> For a detailed analysis of the development of Chen Hongshou’s style of seal carving, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 1-34.

<sup>64</sup> For example, see Chen Yuzhong’s comparison between his own seal carvings and Chen Hongshou’s seal carvings in his side inscription on the seal *Chen Hongshou yin* 陳鴻壽印 (Seal of Chen Hongshou) in Kobayashi Toan 小林斗盦, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka* 陳豫鍾·陳鴻壽·趙之琛·錢松他, Tenkoku zenshū, vol. 5: Chūgoku, Shin 篆刻全集 5: 中國, 清 (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 2001), 27. For examples of definitions of Chen Hongshou’s carvings by later scholars, see Ye, “Chonglun Zhepai,” 5; and Yu, *Zhepai zhuanke shangxi*, 80.

<sup>65</sup> On the popularity of Chen Hongshou’s seal carving, see Gao Rijun 高日濬, “Xu” 序, in Chen, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, 1a.

<sup>66</sup> Of Chen Hongshou’s seal carvings, dated pieces are mostly before his early forties. For the distribution of Chen’s seal carvings throughout his lifetime, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 18. Because of the physical demand of the practice of seal carving, artists tend to stop their practice of seal carving earlier than other art forms such as brush-based calligraphy and painting. For example, see Ju-his Chou’s explanation of Wu Changshuo’s 吳昌碩 (1844-1927)

renowned from the second half of the Ming dynasty for the production of small, unglazed purple clay teapots.<sup>67</sup> Because of the qualities of the raw material and the production process, Yixing teapots had high porosity, which in turn ensured the teapots to maintain the color, taste, and aroma of tea and to possess excellent insulating properties.<sup>68</sup> Unlike porcelains mass-produced through a complex division of labor among numerous laborers and artisans, individual Yixing teapots were made entirely by single potters, and thus are considered uniquely individual, creative works.<sup>69</sup> This character of Yixing teapots is embodied in the long-standing practice of Yixing potters of leaving their signatures on their works. Moreover, since the late Ming period elite patrons of Yixing teapots often engaged in decorating their teapots by composing and writing calligraphic inscriptions, adding to the Yixing wares the literary and artistic cachet that came from calligraphic inscriptions.<sup>70</sup>

---

artistic practice, in Claudia Brown and Ju-his Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796-1911* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), 272.

<sup>67</sup> An archaeological survey suggests that the production of Yixing stoneware teapots might have begun as early as the Northern Song dynasty. He Panfa 賀盤發, “Yixing Yangjiaoshan guyaozhi diaocha jianbao” 宜興羊角山古窯址調查簡報, in *Zhongguo gudao yaozhi diaocha fajue baogaoji* 中國古代窯址調查發掘報告集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 59-63. However, based on existing records on famous Yixing potters, Yixing teapots might have become increasingly popular in the second half of the Ming dynasty. For example, see the earliest systematic survey on Yixing teapots, Zhou Bogao 周伯高, *Yangxian minghu xi* 陽羨茗壺系, in *Zisha guji jinyi* 紫砂古籍今譯, trans. Han Qilou 韓其樓 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2011), 1-20.

<sup>68</sup> Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, part XII: Ceramic Technology (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 275.

<sup>69</sup> For a comparison between Yixing teapots and Jingdezhen 景德鎮 porcelain that is mass-produced, see Yung-ti Li, *The Anyang Bronze Foundries: Archaeological Remains, Casting Technology, and Production Organization* (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 2003), 18-44.

<sup>70</sup> Before Chen Hongshou, literati of the Ming and Qing dynasties such as Dong Qichang, Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639), Yang Zhongna 楊中訥 (1649-1719, *jinsi* 1691), Cao Lianrang 曹廉讓 (ca. 1662-1735), and Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (1693-1765) were involved in making Yixing teapots. Wu Qian 吳騫, *Yangxian mingtao lu* 陽羨名陶錄, in *Zisha mingtao dianji* 紫砂名陶典籍, ed. Gao Yingzi 高英姿 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000), 31; Li Jingkang 李景康 and Zhang Hong 張虹, *Yangxian shahu tukao* 陽羨砂壺圖考, in *Zisha guji jinyi*, 382-390; and Zhang Yan 張燕昌, *Yangxian tao shuo* 陽羨陶說, quoted in Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 35-36.

Neighboring Yixing, Liyang provided a geographically favorable condition for Chen Hongshou to initiate the new cultural activity of transferring calligraphic writing onto Yixing teapots in collaboration with Yang Pengnian 楊彭年 (act. early 19<sup>th</sup> c), the eminent potter of Yixing.<sup>71</sup> The great zeal of the literati around Chen for collecting and writing about Yixing teapots was also conducive to his engagement in inscribing Yixing teapots. Chen's long-term acquaintances and foremost experts in Yixing wares, Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733-1813) and Zhang Yanchang, for instance, boasted superb collections of Yixing teapots and even wrote treatises about Yixing wares.<sup>72</sup> A typical example of Mansheng teapots features Chen's running-script or clerical-script inscription on its body, Yang's seal mark on the underside of its handle, and another seal mark with Chen's studio name, Amantuo shi 阿曼陀室 (Studio of Aman's Mandala) on its bottom (Figure 3).<sup>73</sup> Displaying excellent calligraphic examples, as well as simple and elegant designs and exquisite craftsmanship, Mansheng teapots exemplify how calligraphic inscriptions elevated and transformed functional objects to works of literary and artistic elegance. Through his practice of inscription on Yixing wares, Chen greatly expanded and enriched the conventional calligraphic practice of Chinese literati.

In exploring how the cultural practice of inscription making was engendered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this dissertation addresses five related issues: first, the extent to which the literati engaged in creating inscriptions on objects during the period; second,

---

<sup>71</sup> On Yang Pengnian, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 378.

<sup>72</sup> Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 24-48; Wu Qian, *Yangxian mingtao xulu* 陽羨名陶續錄, in *Zish mingtao dianji*, 49-55; and Zhang, *Yangxian tao shuo*, 35-36.

<sup>73</sup> Amantuo seems to be the compound of one of Chen Hongshou's sobriquets Aman 阿曼 and *mantuoluo* 曼陀羅 and means Aman's mandala. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that one of his studio names was *Mantuolou shi* 曼陀羅室 (Hall of Mandala). On Chen Hongshou's sobriquets and studio names, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 71-76. On his studio name of *Mantuolou shi*, see Lu Minghua 陸明華, "A Study of Chen Hongshou and His Art of Zisha Teapots," in *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 179-198.

the growing sense of the literati that ancient writing was executed in materials that were distinct from those employed in their brush-based calligraphy; third, how calligraphic carving developed into a literati-style art via seal carving; fourth, the ways in which the active pursuits of the literati in seal carving and the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions were extended into their inscribing practice; and lastly, the cultural and intellectual boundaries between the literati and professional artisans that were increasingly blurred.

In analyzing calligraphic examples carried in a variety of material objects, the dissertation reconstructs the interaction between diverse forms of art not only in visual feature but also in method of execution. In tracing the process of migration of a visual element from one art form to another, the direction of its migration assumes critical importance, since this enables an assessment of the cultural value that calligraphic carvings carried during the period. In the centuries preceding the period, brush-written calligraphy typically served as the artistic models for calligraphic engravings. Nevertheless, this traditional relationship between the two types of writing was often reversed in this period, making the visual features of calligraphic engravings revived in calligraphy executed with a brush. This transition of calligraphic models implies that the distinctive aesthetic qualities of calligraphic carvings were being recognized and developed in the period. In addition to the visual elements, the technical interaction between diverse forms of calligraphy is carefully analyzed, since it can illustrate the increasing literati participation in making calligraphic carvings. The integration of the artistic process distinctive of brush-based calligraphy into seal carving and its subsequent application into inscribing objects is analyzed to demonstrate that the engravers of the calligraphic carvings were calligraphers, who had been trained to write with a brush in the first place. With all these avenues of analyses, the present study underscores the importance of cross-media examination in Chinese art history.



The dissertation is comprised of four chapters that are largely divided into two parts. The first half of the dissertation addresses the new artistic phenomena occurring in brush-based calligraphy and seal carving that are art forms closely related to inscription making, while its second half investigates the literati practice of making inscriptions on solid objects itself. The first chapter examines how the material contexts of ancient stone inscriptions were simulated in calligraphy the literati committed with brush and ink on paper. Analyzing clerical-script works of Chen Hongshou and his fellow literati, Chapter One traces how the visual features of rubbings, as the primary means for carrying images of ancient inscriptions, recreated in calligraphy executed with a brush. The last section of Chapter One and the first part of Chapter Two inquire into how the physical qualities of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions were revived in brush-written calligraphy and seal carving, respectively, to demonstrate the growing consciousness of the material aspects of ancient inscriptions during the period. Chapter Two subsequently investigates how the distinctive character of seal carving vis-à-vis that of both brush-based calligraphy and the making of bronze and stone inscriptions developed during the period. By examining the popularity, cultural status, and artistic process of seal carving vis-à-vis other visual arts of literati, Chapter Two further assesses the progress of the integration of seal carving into literati artistic practice during the period. Chapter Two lastly traces how the literati of the period extended their practice of calligraphic carving beyond seal carving by analyzing their practice of making “miniature steles” using side inscriptions as well as carving actual steles.

Chapter Three addresses the artistic and intellectual foundation for the practice of inscription making by analyzing inscriptions on wooden objects and inkstones. Chapter Three begins with an evaluation of the popularity of the inscribing practice among the literati of the period by examining the ways in which they engaged in various stages of making inscriptions

and how to determine whether the literati who signed inscriptions also personally engraved them. Chapter Three subsequently reconstructs the technical relationship between seal carving and making inscriptions on bamboo and inkstones to illuminate the artistic foundation that enabled the literati practice of inscription across different materials. Chapter Three lastly analyzes how the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions was extended into the inscribing practice of the literati by examining the ways in which the literati engaged in recarving and replicating ancient relics such as inscribed bricks and eaves tiles. Chapter Four proceeds to inquire into the socio-cultural context in which the literati came to take part in making inscriptions. The chapter firstly investigates the growing interest of the literati in various crafts, especially the making of Yixing teapots, by analyzing how the literati engaged in collecting, publishing about, and producing Yixing teapots. The second section of the chapter undertakes case studies of three professional artisans—the Yixing potter Yang Pengnian, the pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian 朱堅 (ca.1783-1852 or 1790-1852),<sup>74</sup> and the bamboo carver Fang Jie 方絜 (ca. 1801-1840),<sup>75</sup> to illuminate that professional artisans were increasingly well educated in this period. Chapter Four finally examines Chen Hongshou's involvement in producing Mansheng teapots to demonstrate that his inscribing practice was derived from his artistic sensibility and creativity and his intention to strengthen the literati community centered around him.

---

<sup>74</sup> Zhu Jian's dates are not recorded in any texts, but could be approximated. In the sequel to *Molin jinhua* 墨林今話, the author Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡 (1781-1840) mentioned that Zhu Jian became seventy in the year when he was writing the entry of the artist. As a colophon for the sequel was written in 1852, Zhu Jian was probably born in 1783 or before. However, Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚 determined Zhu Jian's dates according to an inscription carved on a pewter lamp made by Zhu Jian, and argued that Zhu Jian was born 1790. It might have been Jiang Baoling who made a mistake in recording Zhu Jian's age, or the inscription on the pewter lamp may not be authentic. It cannot be ascertained which is more reliable. See Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 續編 1, 6; and Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, *Zhikan pinhu lu* 智龕品壺錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 7.

<sup>75</sup> On Fang Jie's dates, see Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕, *Ming Qing zhuke yishu* 明清竹刻藝術 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1999), 118.

## Chapter 1. Recreating the Material Contexts of Ancient Inscriptions: Clerical-script Calligraphy

The literati practice of inscription making emerged amid their growing sense that ancient writing was executed in materials that were distinct from those employed in their brush-based calligraphy. Their keen sense of the material distinction between ancient writing and their own brush-written calligraphy is revealed in contemporary calligraphic works, which recreated the physical properties of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions. Focusing on Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy, this chapter examines how the material contexts of ancient stone inscriptions were simulated in calligraphy the literati committed with brush and ink on paper.

The chapter begins with a discussion on the ways in which Chen Hongshou's clerical-script writing was derived from ancient stone inscriptions in order to demonstrate the centrality of ancient inscriptions in calligraphy during the period. As Chen's clerical-script calligraphy is often characterized as "eccentric" and "creative," or even lacking in "ancient methods" by modern scholars,<sup>76</sup> reconstructing the relationship between Chen's clerical script and ancient stone inscriptions will further substantiate the importance of ancient inscriptions in calligraphic practices during the period.

Following the discussion, the chapter examines how the visual and material features of rubbings beyond the calligraphy presented therein were recreated in clerical-script works. Since rubbings were the primary means for carrying images of ancient inscriptions, simulating their

---

<sup>76</sup> For the comments that Chen Hongshou's clerical script, see Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍, *Qiyuelou bitan* 雲嶽樓筆談, quoted in Ma Zonghuo, *Shulin zaojian* 書林藻鑑 (1935; rpt., Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1982), 416; Wang Qiangang 王潛剛, *Qing ren shuping* 清人書評 (Shanghai: Xiushui xuehui, 1936), 6b; Matsui Joryū 松井如流, "Chin Mansei" 陳曼生, *Shohin* 書品 11 (November-December 1950): 5; Ho, "Qingdai lishu yu Yi Bingshou," 67; Jin, *Yi Bingshou Chen Hongshou*, 110.

appearance in calligraphic works demonstrates that the calligraphers of the period were highly conscious of the material contexts of ancient inscriptions and translated them into calligraphy executed with a brush.

Finally, the chapter investigates how the material qualities of ancient stone inscriptions were recreated in clerical-script calligraphy. The physical character of ancient stone inscriptions is embodied in their sharply angled strokes, as this form of strokes is the result of the interaction between the solid writing surface on stone and the shape of the carving tool, namely the square of a chisel. By analyzing how this unique visual element of ancient stone inscriptions was revived in clerical-script calligraphy, the chapter illuminates the growing consciousness of the material aspects of ancient inscriptions during the period.

## **1. The Centrality of Ancient Stone-inscriptions in Clerical-script Calligraphy**

Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy is characterized by its extreme dynamism in the designs of character variants, composition, and brushwork. In writing an individual character, Chen Hongshou sometimes slightly altered its design in order to incorporate a pictographic element into it. For instance, the first character in his five-character line couplet in clerical script is *gao* 高, which is a variant of the character *gao* 高 (Figure 1.1). By aligning the two parallel vertical strokes in the upper portion of the character with those in its lower portion, the artist created an image of a high-rising tower, which aptly illustrates the meaning of the character. Following the character *gao*, Chen wrote the character *ren* 人 with two round dots on its second stroke, which seem to represent two people climbing a slope to reach the tower. By creating this

kind of witty and creative designs of characters, Chen made his clerical-script works both visually and conceptually intriguing.

The composition of Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy is characterized by a dynamic equilibrium, in which individual characters and the relationship between characters in an entire piece of work maintain balance in an irregular and asymmetrical fashion. In one of his clerical-script works, Chen wrote the two horizontal strokes in the character *ping* 平 as slightly slanted to the right (Figure 1.2). However, the character as a whole attained a delicate balance, as the artist placed the right-side dot in the character in a slightly higher position than its counterpart on the left side. This slanted composition of the character was echoed in its neighboring character *du* 杜, in which its right portion is placed slightly higher than its left portion. The asymmetry of this character was even more emphasized by the extremely contracted first stroke and the fairly extended third stroke, which together reinforced the diagonal movement of the character. The irregular feature of this character structure was largely balanced out by the two horizontal strokes in the preceding character.

Some of Chen Hongshou's clerical-script works employed an extremely peculiar method of composition, in which the components of a character are not tightly woven but loosely connected. For example, in a piece of his clerical-script work in the Tang Yun Museum, the distance between the constituent components of a character is frequently as great as the distance between a character and its neighbors (Figure 1.3). Consequently, the piece gives the overall impression of various components of characters being strewn across the writing surface. This kind of experimental construction or "deconstruction" of characters was made possible, precisely because of Chen's long involvement with the practice of seal carving. In seal carving,

neighboring characters are as tightly integrated as the strokes within a single character because of the extreme limitations of the writing surface. Reversing this principle of character composition in seal carving, the relationship among components of a character could be made as loose as that between characters in brush-based calligraphy, where characters are usually wider apart than strokes within a character. This reversal may well have been Chen Hongshou's intention in this work.

Chen Hongshou's brushwork for clerical-script calligraphy is characterized as unadorned, forthright, and powerful. As previously mentioned, Chen Hongshou made minimal modulation in his brushwork, and frequently revealed the tip of the brush at the end of each stroke. The power and boldness in his brushwork is nicely illustrated in the first stroke of the character *jia* 駕 in his clerical-script work from 1816, which sweeps toward the lower-left side of the character (Figure 1.4). While keeping simplicity and boldness as the distinctive features of his brushwork, Chen created subtle variations in brushstrokes by alternating lean and stout brushwork, wet and dry ink, and the slanted tip (*cefeng* 側鋒) and the centered tip (*zhongfeng* 中鋒) of the brush, in a single piece of his clerical-script calligraphy. The variations in his brushstrokes were further augmented by the clear visual contrast between straight strokes and small circles, of which the latter sometimes replaced short strokes as exemplified by the first stroke of the character *de* 得 in the work from 1816.

These distinct features of Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy deviated sharply from the aesthetic standards for clerical script of the time. New standards of clerical script did eventually form, occurring in tandem with the rediscovery of the history of calligraphy in the

Stele tradition vis-à-vis that of calligraphy in the Model-Calligraphy-Book tradition.<sup>77</sup> In his two treatises about the two calligraphic traditions, Ruan Yuan defined calligraphy of the Stele tradition as square, upright, vigorous, and stern.<sup>78</sup> This definition of Stele School calligraphy was echoed in other contemporary writings such as Chen Hongshou's friend and the notable calligrapher and theoretician Qian Yong's 錢泳 (1759-1844) "Study of Calligraphy" ("Shu xue" 書學). In this essay, Qian described calligraphy of the Stele tradition as "stout and solemn" (*houzhong duanyan* 厚重端嚴).<sup>79</sup>

Examining the clerical-script works of the prominent calligraphers of the period, an immediately identifiable common feature is their square, stable, and evenly balanced composition of characters. Prominent contemporary calligraphers such as Gui Fu 桂馥 (1736-1805), Yi Bingshou, and Huang Yi, as well as Ruan Yuan and Qian Yong, all wrote clerical script, in which the horizontal and vertical movements of brushstrokes dominate in order to maintain the stability of characters (Figure 1.5).<sup>80</sup> Even Yi Bingshou, who distinguished himself

---

<sup>77</sup> The most influential calligrapher of clerical script in the first half of the Qing dynasty was Zheng Fu 鄭簠 (1622-1693). Zheng Fu utilized the brush method of cursive script in writing clerical script, and modeled his clerical script mainly after the *Stele of Cao Quan* (*Cao Quan bei* 曹全碑), whose aesthetic features are comparable to calligraphy in the Model-Calligraphy-Book tradition. This indicates that the distinct aesthetic characters of Stele School calligraphy had not been established in the earlier period of the Qing dynasty. The departure from Zheng Fu's style of clerical script to a more square and vigorous style of clerical script seems to have begun in the first half of eighteenth century with the criticism of Zheng Fu's clerical script. On the *Stele of Cao Quan*, see Yang Shoujing, "Heyang ling Cao Quan bei" 郟陽令曹全碑, in *Yang Shoujing ji* 楊守敬集, ed. Xie Chengren 謝承仁, (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1988), 549. For the fact that Zheng Fu utilized the brush method of cursive script, see Sha Menghai 沙孟海, "Jin sanbainian de shuxue" 近三百年的書學, in *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: lishi wenmai pian* 二十世紀書法研究叢書: 歷史文脈篇, ed. Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000), 19. On the criticism on Zheng Fu's clerical script, see Kao, "Ruan Yuan (1765-1849) dui jinshixue de tuidong yu xiangguan yingxiang," 151-152.

<sup>78</sup> Ruan, "Nanbei shupai lun," 1a-6b; and Ruan, "Beibei nantie lun," 6b-9b.

<sup>79</sup> Qian, *Lüyuan conghua*, 288-289.

<sup>80</sup> Liu Heng 劉恆 also pointed out that clerical-script calligraphy of Gui Fu, Yi Bingshou, and Huang Yi is similar in their brushwork that is "square, angled, thick, and heavy" (*fangzhe houzhong* 方折厚重), and this is distinct from

by his original approach to clerical-script writing, expressed his individuality within the established aesthetic standards of calligraphy from the Stele tradition. For instance, Yi Bingshou applied the unique feature of character composition in seal carving to his clerical-script calligraphy by leaving very narrow spaces between characters and in the margins as well as between individual strokes (Figure 1.6).<sup>81</sup> Nonetheless, his clerical-script calligraphy displays the square, upright and dignified qualities that were expected of calligraphy in the Stele tradition during the period.

Comparing this group of clerical-script calligraphy with that of Chen Hongshou, it is evident that Chen's clerical-script writing can indeed be defined as eccentric. Chen occasionally wrote clerical script that corresponded with the aesthetic standards for the script during the period, as exemplified in the four-character line couplet created in 1817 (Figure 1.7). In this work, Chen utilized stout strokes in an evenly balanced composition, creating an upright and monumental impression. Nevertheless, most of his clerical-script works are distinct from this type. He usually emphasized the diagonal movements of brushstrokes instead of the horizontal and vertical movements. As a result, his clerical-script characters do not appear square and upright. Since his clerical-script works feature a dramatic contrast between contraction and expansion of individual components of characters, the characters are not evenly balanced. In

---

the clerical-script calligraphy of the calligraphers during the Kangxi period (1662-1722), who were under the influence of Zheng Fu's calligraphic style. Liu Heng 劉恆, *Zhongguo shufashi: Qingdai juan* 中國書法史：清代卷 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 176.

<sup>81</sup> Yi Bingshou's application of the compositional method of seal carving to his brush-written calligraphy reflects his interest in seal carving and *mouzhuan* 繆篆, which is an ancient script type used in making seals. Yi handwrote the characters in the "Supplement" ("Buyi" 補遺) to the dictionary of *mouzhuan* 繆篆 characters compiled by Gui Fu for its publication in 1796. Gui Fu 桂馥, *Mouzhuan fenyun* 繆篆分韻 (Rpt., Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1985). For Yi's practice of seal carving, see Ye Ming 葉銘, *Guang yinren zhuan* 廣印人傳, in *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成 (1911; rpt., Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997), 357. On the definition of *mouzhuan*, see Ma Guoquan 馬國權, "Mouzhuan ji qi xingti chutan" 繆篆及其形體初探, *Shupu* 書譜 36 (1980): 3-11.



general, Chen's clerical-script calligraphy does not give a solemn impression; rather, it could be described as playful and witty.

Likely because of its rather unusual style, Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy seems to have not been so highly regarded during his own period. In the writings on the most eminent calligraphers of clerical script during the period, Chen was almost never included.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, Chen's clerical-script calligraphy was based upon his serious learning of ancient stone inscriptions. As previously mentioned, Chen actively engaged in the practice of making free-hand copies of stone inscriptions of various kinds from the Han to the Six dynasties. Of these stone inscriptions are stele inscriptions such as the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (*Wei Yuanpi bei* 魏元丕碑) (181 CE) and the *Stele of Qiao Min* (*Qiao Min bei* 譙敏碑) (187 CE), brick inscriptions including "May high officials in the levels of Duke and Marquis with the salary of 1,000 *shi* enjoy longevity and high statuses" 千石公侯壽貴 (Figures 1.8, 1.9), and the inscription in the pictorial engraving of the philosopher Zengzi 曾子 (505-435 BCE) in the Wu Liang Shrine.

For making copies of the stone inscriptions, Chen Hongshou likely utilized extremely rare antique rubbings of the inscriptions or tracing copies of them as his calligraphic models. Of the five stele inscriptions whose copies by Chen survive,<sup>83</sup> the original stones of four inscriptions

---

<sup>82</sup> For example, see Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Tui'an suibi* 退菴隨筆, vol. 1197 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (1820-1850; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 457; Qian, *Liyuan conghua*, 286-287; and Bao Shichen 包世臣, "Guochao shupin" 國朝書品, *Yizhou shuangji* 藝舟雙楫, in *Lidai shufa lunwen xuan* 歷代書法論文選, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1979), 656-660.

<sup>83</sup> The five stele inscriptions are the *Stele of the Huaiyuan Temple in Tongbai* (*Tongbai Huaiyuan miao bei* 桐柏淮源廟碑) (163 CE), the *Stele of the Tomb of Emperor Yao's Mother in Chengyang* (*Chengyang lingtai bei* 成陽靈臺碑) (172 CE), the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (*Wei Yuanpi bei* 魏元丕碑) (181 CE), the *Stele of Qiao Min*, and the *Stele of Fan Shi*.

were no longer extant in the Qing dynasty.<sup>84</sup> Though the *Stele of Fan Shi*, the only one to survive, was rediscovered by Huang Yi's colleagues in Jining 濟寧 (Shandong Province), the stone had been broken into pieces and seriously damaged.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, Huang Yi owned four of the five stele inscriptions, with the exception of the *Stele of the Huaiyuan Temple in Tongbai* (*Tongbai Huaiyuan miao bei* 桐柏淮源廟碑) (163 CE), in the form of rubbings (Figure 1.10).<sup>86</sup> As extremely rare visual records of the inscriptions, these rubbings served the best available sources for learning about the inscriptions during the period.<sup>87</sup>

Moreover, Chen Hongshou likely examined the rubbings of the Wu Liang Shrine engravings for making his copy of the inscription of Zengzi. The Wu Liang Shrine was excavated in Jiexiang 嘉祥 (Shandong Province) in 1786 under the direction of Huang Yi after it had been lost for centuries following the Song dynasty.<sup>88</sup> In the intervening period, the pictorial and textual engravings within the shrine had been transmitted only through a limited number of

---

<sup>84</sup> Huang, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi mu*, 200-202; and Wang Weimin 王衛民, “Huaiyuan miaobei mantan” 淮源廟碑漫談, in *Huaiyuan miaobei* 淮源廟碑, ed. Liu Canzhang 劉燦章 (Zhengzhou: Henan meishu chubanshe, 2010), 1.

<sup>85</sup> For the excavation of the stele, see Huang, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi mu*, 204; and Huang Yi, “Fan Shi bei canshi” 范式碑殘石, in *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi* 小蓬萊閣金石文字, vol. 3 (China: Shimo xuan, 1834), 2a-2b.

<sup>86</sup> Huang Yi 黃易, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi mu* 小蓬萊閣金石目, in *Penglai suyue: Gugong cang Huang Yi Han Wei beike teji* 蓬萊宿約: 故宮藏黃易漢魏碑刻特集, ed. Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010), 200-202, and 204.

<sup>87</sup> For example, the rubbing of the *Stele of Fan Shi* in Huang Yi's collection displayed around a hundred and eighty characters more than the rubbing taken from newly excavated stones. Huang Yi, “Fan Shi bei” 范式碑, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 3, 7b. Apart from this rubbing of the *Stele of Fan Shi*, the three others in Huang Yi's collection were also rare antique rubbings. Celebrating their rarity and value, Huang Yi designated them as “Five Steles of the Han and the Wei Dynasties” (Han Wei wu bei 漢魏五碑), together with the rubbing of the *Stele of Zhu Gui* (*Zhu Gui bei* 朱龜碑) (185 CE) in his collection. On the Five Steles of the Han and the Wei Dynasties, see Huang, “Fan Shi bei,” 7a.

<sup>88</sup> On Wu Liang Shrine, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989).

visual and textual records from the Song dynasty.<sup>89</sup> Among them was an album of fourteen rubbings of the engravings, which Huang Yi acquired in 1791.<sup>90</sup> The set of rubbings included an image of the inscription of Zengzi that Chen copied (Figure 1.11). Before the excavation of the shrine, the rubbing was the only available image of the inscription.<sup>91</sup> After its rediscovery, however, new rubbings of this carving became available in order to present a clearer image of the engraving than the antique rubbing and to allow the accurate identification of the inscription.<sup>92</sup> Chen probably referred to one of the rubbings or a tracing copy of them for making his cope of the inscription (Figures 1.12, 1.13).

As Chen Hongshou modeled his copies of the stone inscriptions after the most authentic sources of the engravings available during the period, his transcriptions of the inscriptions frequently display his conscious effort to closely imitate them. Even though his copies differ with their models in calligraphic style, the number and relative position of strokes of a character

---

<sup>89</sup> For Song dynasty records on carvings in the shrine, see Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠, *Jinshi lu* 金石錄, in vol. 12 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 (Rpt., Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977), 8885, and 8914; Hong Gua 洪适, *Lishi* 隸釋, in vol. 9 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 (Rpt., Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977), 6918-6919; and Hong Gua, *Lixu* 隸續, in vol. 10 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 (Rpt., Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977), 7124-7132. Dictionaries of clerical script such as Liu Qiu's 劉球 (fl. 1175) *Liyun* 隸韻, and Lou Ji's 婁機 (1133-1212) *Han li ziyuan* 漢隸字源 also reproduced characters in the inscriptions of the Wu Liang Shrine.

<sup>90</sup> On the set of rubbings, see Ma Ziyun 馬子雲, "Tan Wu Liang ci huaxiang de Song ta yu Huang Yi taben 談武梁祠畫象的宋拓與黃易拓本," *Gugong bowuyuan kan* 故宮博物院刊 2 (1960): 170-177.

<sup>91</sup> Hong Gua's *Lixu* also contains images of the pictorial carvings of the Wu Liang Shrine. However, *Lixu* left out many of the inscriptions accompanying the pictorial carvings of the shrine, including the one in the carving of Zengzi, in its reproduced images of the pictorial carvings. Hong Gua, *Lixu*, 7215.

<sup>92</sup> Generally speaking, older rubbings were expected to provide a more detailed picture of an inscription than newly made rubbings, as steles were gradually damaged. But for this particular inscription, Huang Yi's new rubbings presented a better image, as part of the inscription was murky in the Song dynasty rubbing. For the fact that Huang Yi re-identified the inscription with his new rubbing, see Huang Yi, "Wushi ci huaxiang tizi" 武氏祠畫像題字, in *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie* 上海圖書館藏善本碑帖, ed. Shanghai tushuguan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 22.

within the inscriptions were faithfully followed in his copies.<sup>93</sup> In transcribing the *Stele of Qiao Min*, for instance, Chen replicated the way in which the character *chan* 廛 was written in the stone inscription, with the *shi* 尸 component open to the left and the *yang* 羊 part within the *shi* being composed as a combination of *cao* 艹 above and *gan* 干 below (Figures 1.14, 1.15). In one of his copies of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*, even damaged characters with missing strokes in the inscription were transcribed exactly, demonstrating his intention to be faithful to the original (Figures 1.16, 1.17).

Based on his serious studies of the ancient stone inscriptions, Chen incorporated the visual elements of the inscriptions into his clerical-script writing. His unmodulated brushstrokes finished without rounding off are observed in the stone inscriptions that he transcribed, including the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road*, the brick inscription with an auspicious message for the nobility, and the inscription of the Wu Liang Shrine (Figures 20, 1.8, 1.12). As for character composition, the asymmetrical structure characteristic of Chen's clerical-script characters are identified in the stele inscriptions he copied, as illustrated in the character *gu* 故 in the *Stele of Qiao Min* (Figure 1.14). Furthermore, his strong emphasis on diagonal strokes shares a special affinity with the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road*, which displays a strong flow of diagonal rock veins as well as strokes (Figure 20).

In addition to his brushwork and character composition, his use of particular variants of clerical-script characters with distinctive structure of strokes was also derived from stone

---

<sup>93</sup> Lothar Ledderose defined the difference between script types and styles in calligraphy, and explained different script types are distinct in the shape, number, and relative position of strokes for lexically identical characters. Here Ledderose's definition of script types was applied to explaining Chen Hongshou's copies of the stone inscriptions, which are stylistically different from the original inscriptions, but closely imitated the overall structures of the characters. Lothar Ledderose, "An Approach to Chinese Calligraphy," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. 7, issue 1 (March/April 1972): 1-14.

inscriptions. For instance, the first and the last strokes of the character *nü* 女, connected at the top, and the radical *si* 絲, comprised of two stacked circles above and three dots below, can be identified in the stone inscriptions that Chen copied as well as in his clerical-script works (Figure 1.18).<sup>94</sup> These kinds of variants are also well illustrated in dictionaries of clerical script compiled from ancient stone inscriptions, especially those published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the philologist Zhai Yunsheng's 翟雲升 (*jinshi* 1822) *Book of Clerical Script* (*Li pian* 隸篇) (Figure 1.19). It is certainly possible that Chen Hongshou utilized such dictionaries in learning these clerical-script variants in addition to his direct copying of stone inscriptions.

Overall, while both in style and in the choice of character variants Chen Hongshou based his clerical-script writing on ancient stone inscriptions, he still created a considerable stylistic transformation. Chen's clerical script can indeed be described as unusual and eccentric when viewed against the clerical-script works of contemporary calligraphers. Nonetheless, this does not mean that his clerical script was divorced from ancient stone inscriptions. He recreated ancient clerical script in his own calligraphy, as most contemporaneous calligraphers did. He only differed from his fellow artists in the type of visual features of ancient clerical script that he appreciated and appropriated in his own calligraphy.

## 2. The Calligraphic Appropriation of Rubbings in Visual and Material Terms

---

<sup>94</sup> For examples of the matching characters in the stone inscriptions, see Huang, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 2, 1b, 2b, 4a; vol. 5, 13b, 23b, 25b.

As indicated by the fact that Chen Hongshou mainly utilized rubbings for copying ancient stone inscriptions, rubbings were the primary means for delivering images of inscriptions during the period. Not to mention the cases in which original stones were already missing, even when inscribed stones were still extant or newly excavated, rubbings of inscriptions rather than the original stones were examined to identify the inscriptions. This is because relatively few were capable of traveling to view steles in situ.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, even if one had access to the original stones, their inscriptions could be more clearly deciphered in rubbings that rendered the texts in the high contrast of black and white than on the stones themselves, which were often damaged. Even if the original carvings were in relatively decent condition and provided a clear view of the inscription, they weathered fairly quickly if exposed to the natural elements.<sup>96</sup> Accordingly, rubbings were usually viewed and examined as proxies of the original inscribed stones, while the stones remained in a fixed place and were not typically directly consulted.<sup>97</sup>

The fact that rubbings served as the primary means of transmitting images of inscriptions is evidenced in the way in which the primary sources for *Engraved Writings and Patterns on Bronze Objects in the Studio of Erudition* (*Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款

---

<sup>95</sup> On the collaboration between scholars who practiced *fangbei* 訪碑 (visiting steles) and those outside of the locales of *fangbei*, see Lu Huiwen 盧慧紋, “Han bei tuhuachu wenzhang—cong Jining zhouxue de Han bei tan shiba shiji houqi de fangbei huodong” 漢碑圖畫出文章—從濟寧州學的漢碑談十八世紀後期的訪碑活動, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立台灣大學美術史研究集刊 26 (2009:3): 37-92.

<sup>96</sup> This is illustrated in how the Wu Liang Shrine corroded a decade after its rediscovery in 1786. Huang Yi documented the characters, which had been seen on the rubbings taken right after the excavation of the shrine but were missing in 1796 in his colophon to rubbings of the shrine. Huang, “Wushi ci huaxiang tizi,” 22.

<sup>97</sup> For a discussion about the relationship between rubbings and the original artifacts from which rubbings were taken, see Wu Hung, “On Rubbings: Their Materiality and Historicity,” in *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, ed. Patrick Hanan, Judith T. Zeitlin et al (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2003), 29-72. As

識) (Hereafter *Jiguzhai*) were secured.<sup>98</sup> This large-scale compilation project was initiated by Ruan Yuan to document inscriptions on 560 ancient bronze objects and completed in 1804. As with many other cultural projects initiated by Ruan Yuan, this compilation involved numerous scholars in collecting, examining, and writing about the primary sources. The manuscript was written primarily by Zhu Weibi and reviewed by Ruan Yuan.<sup>99</sup> The bronze inscriptions were gathered with the assistance of a number of literati who owned inscribed bronze objects and rubbings or “copies” (*moben* 摹本) of bronze inscriptions.

Among the three types of primary sources—bronze objects, rubbings, and copies—rubbings occupy the largest portion. This estimate could be made because each entry recorded the types of sources that were utilized in documenting the inscription and who provided them. Comparing the number of entries in which actual bronzes alone were listed as the primary sources to the number of inscriptions recorded with either rubbings or copies, the latter constitutes roughly six times as many as the former. Of the two types of images of inscriptions, rubbings are approximately 1.5 times more frequently mentioned than copies.<sup>100</sup>

As rubbings were the primary means of transmitting inscriptions, making, circulating, and compiling rubbings became highly important cultural practices for literati of the period. This is perfectly demonstrated in Zhang Tingji’s *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of*

---

<sup>98</sup> Ruan Yuan 阮元 and Zhu Weibi 朱為弼, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識, vol. 21 of *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, ed. Xu Shu 徐蜀 (Qing dynasty; rpt., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004).

<sup>99</sup> Zhu Weibi 朱為弼, *Jiguzhai zhongding kuanzhi gaoben* 積古齋鍾鼎款識稿本 (Rpt., China: publisher unidentified, 1906).

<sup>100</sup> The major contributors of rubbings for the compilation include Zhao Wei 趙魏 (1746-1825), Chen Yuzhong, Ruan Yuan, Zhang Tingji, and Qian Dian 錢坫 (1744-1806), while some scholars such as Zhao Bingchong 趙秉冲 (*juren* 1782), Jiang Deliang 江德量 (1752-1793) and Chen Zhan 陳鱣 (1753-1817) contributed mainly copies of bronze inscriptions.

*the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing (Jiaxing Zhang shi Qingyige suocang gujin zhi wen* 嘉興張氏清儀閣所藏古金之文) (Hereafter *Qingyige*).<sup>101</sup> Edited by the early-twentieth-century epigrapher and seal carver Chu Deyi 褚德彝 (1871-1942) after the compilation had been scattered, the current edition of the compilation does not retain the original organization of the publication.<sup>102</sup> It still shows, however, the enormous scale of the compilation and the variety of artifacts included in it. The current edition comprises more than four hundred rubbings, which present bronze vessels, coins, mirrors, and measures; clay bricks and eaves-tiles; stone steles, seals, and ink-stones; and bamboo wrist-rests.

The major difference of this publication from *Jiguzhai* is that rubbings were not just utilized as the primary sources for epigraphic research, but also presented as final cultural products. In *Jiguzhai*, only inscriptions on rubbings or copies were selectively reproduced for the publication (Figure 1.20). As a result, the images became divorced from the material context of the inscriptions without pictures of the objects in their entirety. On the other hand, *Qingyige* directly presents rubbings and offers details of the objects and their inscriptions with the author's notes in the blank spaces of the rubbings (Figure 1.21).<sup>103</sup> Zhang's commentaries cover not only research on the inscriptions, but also when and how he acquired the objects and how much they

---

<sup>101</sup> Zhang Tingji, 張廷濟, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen* 清儀閣所藏古器物文 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925). As Zhao Wei inscribed its title page in 1820, the compilation was probably finalized close to that time.

<sup>102</sup> On the history of the publication of *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, see Kawai Naoko 川合尚子, "Chō Teisai to Seigigaku, Taiheiji— genchi chōsa karano kōsatsu" 張廷濟と清儀閣, 太平寺—現地調査からの考察, *Kyōto gobun* 京都語文 17 (2011): 248-265.

<sup>103</sup> These records accrued over several decades starting in 1804 and ending in 1847, a year before his death, though he intensely worked on these records in 1822, 1824, and 1831.



cost. Together with the images of the whole objects presented in the rubbings, his accounts explain the overall history of the objects beyond their inscriptions.<sup>104</sup>

The inscriptions in *Qingyige* were examined by several scholars as well as by Zhang Tingji, demonstrating how rubbings were circulated among literati within the same social circle. Zhang's nephew and an expert in bronze inscriptions, Xu Tongbo 徐同柏 (1775-1860), examined a large number of inscriptions on bronze vessels in this work. The numismatist Weng Shupe 翁樹培 (1765-1809), a son of Weng Fanggang, studied the majority of bronze coins.<sup>105</sup> Before the completion of *Qingyige*, Weng Fanggang seems to have been offered a small collection of rubbings of ancient inscriptions made by Zhang Tingji, titled *Inscriptions on Bronzes and Stones in the Pavilion of Moral Integrity* (*Qingyige jinshi wenzi* 清儀閣金石文字).<sup>106</sup> The title page of the compilation presents a rubbing of an engraving of the title written by Ruan Yuan, which is followed by rubbings of thirteen inscriptions and Weng Fanggang's colophon to the compilation (Figure 1.22). As Weng Fanggang is the only person who left notes on the rubbings, this collection of rubbings was likely made especially for him.

---

<sup>104</sup> Zhang Tingji took the same approach in his other compilations of rubbings such as Zhang Tingji, *Liuquan shibu taben shiji* 六泉什布拓本什記 (China: publisher unidentified, 20<sup>th</sup> century); and Zhang Tingji, *Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi* 張叔未解元所藏金石文字 (Sihui: Yanshi Heyuanzhai, 1884). The former is a collection of rubbings of ancient coins and coin molds, which are mainly Chinese but also includes European examples. The latter is a compilation of rubbings of a variety of objects, including seals, bricks and tiles, inkstones, broken steles, coins and coin molds, and bronze vessels.

<sup>105</sup> Other than these two figures, Weng Fanggang, Wu Qian, Zhao Wei, Song Baochun 宋葆淳 (1748-1818), Li Yusun 李遇孫 (1765-ca. 1839), Yin Shubo 殷樹柏 (1769-1847), Zhao Zhichen 趙之琛 (1781-1852), and Tu Zhuo all contributed their inscriptions to the compilation.

<sup>106</sup> Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige jinshi wenzi tapian* 清儀閣金石文字拓片, vol. 5 of *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, ed. Xu Shu 徐蜀 (Rpt., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 552-572.

Many of the rubbings in *Qingyige* were probably made by Zhang Tingji himself, as he was the leading specialist in making rubbings during this period.<sup>107</sup> At a slightly later date, the prominent epigrapher Chen Jieqi 陳介祺 (1813-1884) published a treatise on how to make rubbings, entitled “Special Record on the Transmission of the Ancient” (“*Chuangu bielu*” 傳古別錄), to explain the tools, materials, and techniques for making rubbings. In this treatise, Chen Jieqi mentions Zhang Tingji three times for his innovative materials and methods of making rubbings.<sup>108</sup> The first mention was to admire Zhang’s choice of Song dynasty paper, which turned out to make extremely exquisite rubbings, as opposed to *jingpi* 淨皮 (pure bark paper), which was commonly used in making rubbings of bronzes at that time. Chen’s second mention of Zhang explained how to make a type of sizing liquid that was invented by Zhang and which became the widely received recipe for sizing liquid in the subsequent periods. Lastly, Chen commented on Zhang’s method of removing corrosion from bronze with vinegar, which he seems to have disagreed with, because vinegar tended to dissolve and transform the inscriptions. Although it is not so noted in this treatise, Zhang very likely acquired the skill of making “full-form rubbings” (*quanxing ta* 全形拓) not much later than Ma Fuyan 馬傅岩 (ca. 1798-1859),<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> For an example of Zhang Tingji’s statement that he handmade rubbings of an ancient inscribed object, see Zhang, *Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi*, vol. 1, unpaginated. On a rubbing of an ancient coin mold, Zhang Tingji wrote that he personally made several rubbings of the mold in 1803 and one of his friends purchased them at a very high price.

<sup>108</sup> Chen Jieqi 陳介祺, “*Zhuangu bielu*” 傳古別錄, in *Wenfang sipu* 文房四譜, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Rpt., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968), 334, and 344.

<sup>109</sup> Ma Fuyan’s date is unknown, but he left a note on a rubbing of a *xi* 洗 vessel from the Han dynasty in 1798, and wrote an inscription on his rubbing of a *jue* 角 vessel from the Zhou dynasty in 1859. For the images of these two rubbings, see Bao Changxi 鮑昌熙, *Jinshi xie* 金石屑, in *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 2, vol. 6 (Rpt., Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1979), 4612; and Zhejiangsheng bowuguan 浙江省博物館, ed., *Liuzhou: Yiwei jinshiseng de yishu shijie* 六舟：一位金石僧的藝術世界 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2014), 10. It should be noted that the former is often mistaken as Ma Fuyan’s work. However, Ma Fuyan called it “an antique rubbing” (*jiuta* 舊拓) in his note, and Bao Changxi also wrote that it is Ma Fuyan’s “collected copy” (*cangben* 藏本). So this is not a rubbing that Ma Fuyan made.

who is currently recognized as the originator of the technique, because some of the rubbings in *Qingyige* are quite close to full-form rubbings (Figure 1.23).<sup>110</sup>

In fact, making rubbings was a common cultural practice among literati during the period. In *Jiguzhai*, the person who made a rubbing was specified with the phrase “made the rubbing by hand” (*shouta* 手搨) in some of the entries. Ruan Yuan was mentioned with this expression the greatest number of times, that is for twenty rubbings.<sup>111</sup> Other scholars, including Cheng Dun 程敦 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> c), Sun Xingyan, Chen Hongshou, Chen Yuzhong, Jiang Fan 江藩 (1761-1831), Xu Xiongfei 徐熊飛 (1762-1835), and Fang Tinghu 方廷瑚 (*juren* 1808), were all recorded as having offered their own handmade rubbings (Figure 1.24).<sup>112</sup> Apart from these figures, some of those who provided a rubbing of a bronze inscription, while being the owner of the bronze object, may well have also made rubbings themselves, such as Zhang Tingji and Huang Yi.<sup>113</sup>

The reason literati were the leading experts in making rubbings, as opposed to other kinds of crafts, is that it required the maker to understand the various kinds, states, and distinctive

---

<sup>110</sup> According to Xu Kang, it is currently known that Ma Fuyan originated the technique and Monk Dashou 達受 (1791-1858) developed it significantly. Though it cannot be ascertained when exactly Ma Fuyan created the technique, it would not have been so much earlier than when Zhang Tingji made full-form rubbings before 1820, though admittedly Zhang Tingji’s rubbings look less cubic and refined than Ma Fuyan’s works. Xu Kang 徐康, *Qianchen mengying lu* 前塵夢影錄, *Lingjian ge congshu* 靈鷲閣叢書 (1885; rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), xia 下, 21a. That Zhang Tingji made full-form rubbings is acknowledged in Rong Geng’s 容庚, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考, vol. 1 (Beiping: Havard-Yenching Institute, 1941), 179-180.

<sup>111</sup> Ruan and Zhu, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*, 65, 69, 81, 87, 90, 91, 108, 116, 117, 139, 157, 297, 344, 416, 426, and 464.

<sup>112</sup> Ruan and Zhu, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*, 181, 224, 235, 260, 271, 304, 314, 316, 356, 424, 445, 521, 541, 552, 593, and 595. The figures also include Gong Xianglin 龔翔麟 (1658-1733), Huang Wenyang 黃文暘 (1736-?), Wu Dongfa 吳東發 (1747-1803), and Zhu Wei 朱瑋 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>113</sup> These figures include Zhao Bingchong, Zhang Tingji, Huang Yi, Qian Dian, Liang Tongshu, Weng Shupeii 翁樹培 (1765-1809), Zhang Yuan 張沅 (1770-1847), Zhao Zhichen, Qin Enfu 秦恩復 (1760-1843), Gui Fu, Zheng Xun 鄭勳 (1763-1826), and Wang Chang.

characteristics of ink and paper, in addition to possessing the knowledge and visual sensitivity to recognize subtle formal details in ancient scripts. For instance, to apprehend the precise timing involved in applying ink to paper, one had to distinguish the subtle changes of the color of the paper as it gradually dried.<sup>114</sup> This would have certainly required the experience of working with paper in its different states for an extended period of time. Admittedly, so-called “rubbing artisans” (*tagong* 拓工) were hired in making rubbings, especially when there was a constant demand for producing a large number of rubbings or for traveling to remote places to access inscribed relics in situ.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, it was often the literati employers who trained the artisans in the craft step by step before entrusting them with the responsibility of producing actual works.<sup>116</sup> Being well versed in both original inscriptions and the physical materials for making rubbings, literati served as the ultimate repository of knowledge for this particular craft.

The qualities of rubbings from a single object varied greatly, depending on the sophistication of techniques and the characteristics of the materials employed in the rubbings, as well as on the environment where the rubbings were made.<sup>117</sup> Consequently, connoisseurship of rubbings developed, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As rubbings were

---

<sup>114</sup> Kenneth Starr, *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 100.

<sup>115</sup> Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, *Wu Dacheng he tade tagong* 吳大澂和他的拓工 (Beijing: Haituo chubanshe, 2013), 3-20.

<sup>116</sup> Bai, *Wu Dacheng he tade tagong*, 38, 45, and 47.

<sup>117</sup> For instance, the seemingly simple manual activity of tamping damp paper on an inscribed artifact actually had very specific methods that needed to be precisely followed, according to the kinds of carving—intaglio or relief—, the material of the artifact—bronze or stone—, and different stages of tamping. Meanwhile, one had to detect as early as possible the amount of stress and stretching the rubbing paper would bear without breaking in the process of tamping paper. In these regards, rubbing is distinct from mechanical reproduction, which would not make any difference, whoever executes it. Starr, *Black Tigers*, 91-100; Wang Chichen 王際真, *Reproductions of Chinese Rubbings: Taken from Inscriptions Cut in Stone, Wood and Also from Bronzes, Monuments and Other Bas-reliefs* (New York: Huxley House, 1938), 2; and Bai Qianshen, “The Artistic and Intellectual Dimensions of Chinese Calligraphy Rubbings: Some Examples from the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth,” *Orientalia* 30:3 (March 1999): 82-88.

the primary means for identifying and examining inscriptions, the number and sharpness of the characters presented in the rubbings were the primary standards employed in the evaluation of their quality. For example, when Huang Yi produced the first round of rubbings from the *Picture of Auspicious Signs* (*Xiangrui tu* 祥瑞圖) in the Wu Liang Shrine upon its excavation, he could identify only 195 characters. On the other hand, when he reexamined the engraving a decade later with “finer rubbings” (*jingta* 精拓), he could recognize 225 complete characters and five partially revealed ones.<sup>118</sup>

No less important than the function of rubbings as epigraphic sources was their role as objects for aesthetic appreciation.<sup>119</sup> As early as in the beginning of the Ming dynasty, a variety of visual and material features of rubbings, especially their paper textures and ink traces, were already noted and appreciated, to eventually develop two categories of appreciation for rubbings: “cicada-wing rubbings” (*chanyi ta* 蟬翼搨) (Figure 1.25) and “black-gold rubbings” (*wujin ta* 烏金搨) (Figure 1.26). According to the famous essayist and playwright Tu Long 屠隆 (1542-1605), cicada-wing rubbings originated during the Northern dynasties (386-581 CE), as rubbings were made with pine-soot ink of a bluish hue on thick, loosely-textured paper, to produced ink nuances like “thin clouds passing over a blue sky.”<sup>120</sup> In contrast, black-gold rubbings from the

---

<sup>118</sup> Huang, “Wushi ci huaxiang tizi,” 22.

<sup>119</sup> On aesthetic appreciation of rubbings, see Bai, *Wu Dacheng he tade tagong*, 90-101.

<sup>120</sup> Tu Long 屠隆, *Kaopan yushi* 考盤餘事, *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編 (Taipei: Taibei Shanwu yinshuguan, 1966), 3-4. It should be noted that Tu Long’s writing of the two kinds of rubbings is largely derived from previous writings on rubbings of the Northern and Southern dynasties such as Cao Zhao 曹昭 (fl. 1388) *Essential Criteria of Antiquities* (*Gegu yaolun* 格古要論), though the two terms “cicada-wing rubbings” and “black-gold rubbings” seem to have appeared for the first time in Tu Long’s writing. For Cao Zhao’s writing on the two kinds of rubbings, see Cao Zhao 曹昭, *Xinzegege yaolun* 新增格古要論, *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 (Daoguang period; rpt., Taipei: Yiwen chubanshe, 1967), *juan* 2, 2a.

Southern dynasties (420-589 CE) presented an appearance of solid and lustrous black, having been made with lampblack ink and oily wax.

While black-gold rubbings were more practical for tracing-copy calligraphy, cicada-wing rubbings received more aesthetic appreciation during the Qing dynasty for the visual pleasure derived from their inherent rich ink nuances.<sup>121</sup> Chen Jieqi described cicada-wing rubbings as elegant, and compared their gradations of ink tones to “mist and clouds,” even while he prioritized the sharpness of inscriptions to the beauty of ink tones in making rubbings as an epigrapher.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, Yi Bingshou used the metaphoric expressions “blue mountain mist” (*lancai* 嵐翠) and “ink flowers” (*mohua* 墨華) for the rubbing of a bronze *ding* vessel in Jiaoshan, handmade by the early Qing official Wang Shilu 王士祿 (1626-1673) and Huang Yi’s rubbings of the *Three Watch Towers of Mount Song* (*Song shan san que* 嵩山三闕) (118-123 CE), respectively, to portray the layers of ink tonalities therein (Figure 1.27).<sup>123</sup>

As changes of ink tones on rubbings were a primary point of appreciation along with the calligraphy they recorded, literati of the period were inspired to revive these ink tones along with the calligraphic styles of the inscriptions in the rubbings in their own calligraphic works. Among Chen Hongshou’s clerical-script works, there is a piece in which surfaces written with the brush remind the viewer of ink smudges on rubbings (Figure 1.28). The paper used for this work is so-

---

<sup>121</sup> For the usefulness of black-gold rubbings for tracing-copy calligraphy, see Chen, “Zhuangu bielu,” 336. For the fact that cicada-wing rubbings are more valued by collectors, see Wang, *Reproductions of Chinese Rubbings*, 3.

<sup>122</sup> Chen, “Zhuangu bielu,” 335-336.

<sup>123</sup> Yi Bingshou, “Jiaoshan dingming jiu taben” 焦山鼎銘舊拓本, in *Liuchun caotang shichao* 留春草堂詩鈔 (Guangzhou: Qiushui yuan, 1815), *juan* 4, 20a; and “Huang Xiaosong sima ta Songyang sanque wen ji Suzhai suoti” 黃小松司馬拓嵩陽三闕文寄蘇齋索題, in *Liuchun caotang shichao*, *juan* 2, 19a. Huang Yi also portrayed his experience with the rubbing of the *Stele of Fan Shi* as “ancient fragrance sweeps over people” 古香襲人, in which “ancient fragrance” referred to gradations of ink, according to Bai Qianshen. Bai, *Wu Dacheng he tade tagong*, 92.

called “waxed paper” (*lajian* 蠟箋) that was very commonly used as writing paper during the Qing dynasty.<sup>124</sup> This type of paper did not absorb ink easily because of its sizing of liquid wax, with the result that ink did not bleed well into the paper. The thick, tough fiber of the paper made it even harder for the paper to hold ink, revealing itself through the traces of ink on its surface. As a result, the entirety of the written surface appears worn out, which is, in turn, reminiscent of ink smudges on rubbings. This visual effect of ink and paper coordinated nicely with and enhanced the calligraphic style of the work. Chen Hongshou created expressly rugged contours of brushstrokes and utilized very dry ink to create written forms that were broken here and there. Together with the traces of ink on the paper’s surface, this calligraphic style perfectly revived the impression of weathered stone inscriptions.

While it is unclear how often Chen Hongshou tried to create this kind of visual effect, Yi Bingshou may have consistently endeavored to recreate the ink nuances on rubbings in his brush-written calligraphy. Previous scholars have often noted that Yi used dark black ink for his clerical script. For example, the prominent calligrapher of the late Qing period, He Shaoji 何紹基 (1799-1873), described Yi’s clerical script as “using ink like lacquer and paper like bamboo slips.”<sup>125</sup> This sentence concisely defines Yi’s clerical-script couplets, written with rich black ink in compact compositions of very narrow margins (Figure 1.29).<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> The paper was identified with the help of the Hangzhou-based artist Lin Haizhong 林海鐘 (1968-present).

<sup>125</sup> Ma, *Shulin zaojian*, 183.

<sup>126</sup> To intensify the black color of ink, Yi Bingshou may have sometimes applied multiple layers of brushstrokes to a single stroke of a character. For example, see the third strokes of the character *song* 宋 in Yi Bingshou’s clerical script work in Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, ed., *Qingdai jinshijia shuhua jicui* 清代金石家書畫集粹 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2013), 82-83.

In addition to using densely black ink, Yi Bingshou explored ways in which to express various ink tonalities in his calligraphic works. In a five-character line couplet executed in 1806, he created gradations of ink within the characters *su* 素, *wei* 味, and *xiang* 香 (Figure 1.30). The three horizontal strokes of *su* gradually become lighter from left to right. The upper edges of the two horizontal strokes of *wei* were made darker than their lower edges, while the central core of its central vertical stroke was made lighter than its corresponding edges. In the character *xiang*, the underside of the fourth horizontal stroke from the top is darker than its upper edge, and the three horizontal strokes of the *yue* 月 part of the character become rapidly thin and dry proceeding from their left. These features could simply be regarded as having been derived from the gradual loss of ink of the brush that occurred naturally in the process of writing the characters. If this had in fact happened naturally, the three consecutive horizontal strokes in *su* would not display the same symmetrical ink-gradation, while there is no such phenomenon in the preceding and following consecutive horizontal strokes, such as those in the character *qin* 親 and in the upper part of the *xiang* character. The same question could be asked regarding the strokes whose upper or lower sides are darker than their counterparts.

In a clerical-script work made in 1814, a year before his death, Yi Bingshou alluded to yet another aspect of ink traces on rubbings (Figure 1.31). The characters in the left-side scroll are dappled with white dots, while those in the right-side scroll are almost completely solid, without considerable alteration in tonality. Furthermore, the white blotches gradually decrease moving from the topmost character down to the bottom. The contrast between the right and left scroll and the regular change in the amount of the variegation in the left-side scroll indicate that this dappling was intentionally created by the calligrapher rather than accidentally made. Though it is difficult to identify how the calligrapher made these blotches, Yi may have made them with



a tool similar to the ink dabber used for making rubbings, since most of the white blotches are round and blurred, (Figure 1.32).

Yi Bingshou creatively applied the visual features of ink traces that appear outside characters on rubbings into the spaces within the characters in his own calligraphic works. This suggests that rubbings of ancient inscriptions as calligraphic models might have affected not only the calligraphic styles of those who appreciated and copied them, but also other aspects of their calligraphy, including the arrangement of characters and the overall formats of their works. For instance, the eminent calligraphers of clerical script Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804) and Huang Yi, in addition to Yi Bingshou, sometimes created characters in their couplets that were intentionally misaligned either horizontally or vertically. In one of Qian Daxin's couplets, the initial character *bai* 百 in the left hand scroll is placed significantly higher than its counterpart on the right side, the character *shi* 十 (Figure 1.33). In another of Qian's clerical script couplets, the characters in the left-side scroll decidedly lack neat alignment in their vertical arrangement (Figure 1.34).

In Huang Yi's five-character line couplet, the characters in the two sides of the scrolls are horizontally misaligned, since the calligrapher wrote the right-side characters at much lower positions than their corresponding characters on the left side (Figure 1.35). As a result, the last character in the right-hand scroll is forced to be appreciably squat in composition. Yi Bingshou, on the other hand, left larger margins in the top and the bottom parts of the right side scroll than in those of the left side scroll in one of his clerical-script couplets (Figure 1.36). While the heights of individual characters are almost regular in the left side scroll, the characters in the other scroll become taller toward its center, resulting in the character *yi* 意 being the tallest and

the first and the last characters *you* 由 and *he* 合 being the most compact. The phenomenon in which characters in the same rows and columns are not perfectly aligned is frequently observed in both stone and bronze ancient inscriptions. Being familiar with the inscriptions, the literati-artists were probably inspired to employ this visual feature of ancient inscription writing in their own calligraphy (Figure 1.37).

In addition to variations in the arrangement of characters, a new format in calligraphy seems to have been tried under the influence of the formats of ancient stone inscription rubbings. In the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston there is a clerical-script couplet written by Chen Hongshou (Figure 1.38). Containing twenty-two characters in each scroll, the work appears to be extraordinarily elongated. In fact, its length of 122.9 cm does not differ from that of the typical hanging scroll. With a width of only 11.8 cm, however, it measures less than half of the usual width of hanging scrolls of similar length. While each scroll of a couplet typically contains either five or seven characters, the number of characters in this piece is more than triple that. To include so many characters in a hanging scroll, the calligrapher chose to reduce the width of the scroll instead of extending its length, as the length of a hanging scroll is usually bound to the floor-to-ceiling height of an architectural structure.

Interestingly, Huang Yi wrote a clerical-script couplet almost identical to this work of Chen Hongshou in 1801, suggesting that either one of them copied the other's work or that they shared the same model (Figure 1.39). Since a third piece of calligraphy similar to these two works has not been found, we cannot verify which of the two postulations is true. Considering that it was common for calligraphers of the period to borrow a phrase from the calligraphic pieces of fellow literati when writing their own works, the former is not unlikely. For example,

Gui Fu wrote a clerical-script couplet with a phrase borrowed from Huang Yi's calligraphy, but with a slight change in the calligraphic style.<sup>127</sup> Chen Hongshou made a clerical-script work with a couplet from calligraphy done by Lu Fei 陸飛 (ca. 1765), a Hangzhou recluse.<sup>128</sup> This kind of practice is somewhat similar to quoting famous writings of historic figures in calligraphy.<sup>129</sup> However, it probably meant more than just citing literary phrases, because the writers were aware of the calligraphic styles of their models and consciously changed them.

If the former was the case, it is quite likely that Huang Yi imitated Chen Hongshou's work. The calligraphic style of this piece is extraordinary in Huang Yi's oeuvre of clerical-script calligraphy, which usually displays an even, square, and balanced composition. On the other hand, in Chen Hongshou's clerical-script works, characters written in structures and styles similar to those of the characters in this piece can be readily identified (Figure 1.40). The problem with this supposition, however, is that the two figures were staying in Shandong and Zhejiang respectively in 1801, so Huang Yi would have had to copy this piece of Chen

---

<sup>127</sup> Gui Fu inscribed in this work as follow. "Xiaosong (Huang Yi) wrote this phrase, which [I found] very good. [I] imitated its idea but slightly transformed it" 小松寫此句大好，仿其意而小變之。For an image of this clerical-script couplet, see Tokuami, et al., *I Heiju Kei Fu*, 35.

<sup>128</sup> For the work, see Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, ed., *Xiling yinshe cangpinji* 西泠印社藏品集 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2003), 75. On Lu Fei, see Wu Hao 吳顥 and Wu Zhenyu 吳振棫, *Guochao Hangjun shiji* 國朝杭郡詩輯 (1874; rpt., Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1988), *juan* 25, 9b-10a; and Xu Ke 徐珂, "Ziduhang" 自度航, in *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔, vol. 13 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1986), 6079.

<sup>129</sup> Chen Hongshou, for example, used the phrases written by famous literary figures, including Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-ca.1100), Chen Zao 陳造 (1133-1203), and Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) in his brush-written calligraphy. For images of these works, see Hayashida, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pls. 10, 11, and 46; and Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, C4; Harold Mok ed., *Double Beauty II: Qing Dynasty Couplets from the Lechangzai Xuan Collection* 合璧聯珠二：樂常在軒藏清代楹聯 (Hong Kong: Art Museum, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007), pl. 64.

Hongshou's clerical script or obtain Chen's clerical-script work that was almost exactly same as this piece before 1801, since the current piece specifies a recipient other than Huang Yi.<sup>130</sup>

On the other hand, it is still possible that Huang Yi first wrote the couplet and Chen Hongshou modeled his own writing after it, as it was not uncommon for a literatus to practice two distinctive styles of clerical script.<sup>131</sup> This supposition becomes a little more convincing when we consider that the calligraphic style and format of this work is quite similar to that of the inscriptions from the Wu Liang Shrine. In fact, Fang Shuo mentioned that Huang Yi's small clerical script was similar to the inscriptions of the shrine, though this work cannot be counted as being of a small size.<sup>132</sup> Comparing the inscriptions of the shrine with this piece, straight and stiff strokes with varying thickness and characters of varying heights are observed in both clerical-script works (Figure 1.41). Moreover, some of the rubbings of the inscriptions of the shrine appear in very elongated shapes, with as many as twenty characters. Huang Yi may have been inspired by this format of rubbings to create a clerical-script couplet in a similarly extraordinary shape. This peculiar format of calligraphy was later adopted by their mutual friend and epigraphic scholar, Qu Zhongrong 瞿中溶 (1769-1842), in his clerical-script work. Created in

---

<sup>130</sup> For Chen Hongshou's whereabouts in 1801, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 269-273. For the fact that Huang Yi was in Shandong in 1801, see Yang Guodong 楊國棟, "Huang Yi huodong nianbiao jianbian" 黃易活動年表簡編, in *Huang Yi yu jinshixue lunji* 黃易與金石學論集, ed. Qin Ming 秦明 (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2012), 391.

<sup>131</sup> It is often observed that literati in this period wrote clerical script in multiple styles including Weng Fanggang, Gui Fu, and Chen Hongshou. This is not because they gradually developed their calligraphic style in clerical script over time, considering that the styles practiced by one calligrapher are too distinct from each other to identify a stylistic evolution from one to another. On the other hand, their calligraphic styles of running or running cursive script are relatively stable and consistent. This is probably because they used running or running cursive script for their everyday written communication, and thus developed ingrained habits in the ways in which they wrote the script types. In other words, writing clerical script could have been less spontaneous than writing running or running cursive script and involved more conscious designing, and so they tried different styles. For Weng Fanggang's clerical-script works in three different styles, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 17b-19a; Xiling yinshe, ed., *Qingdai jinshijia shuhua jicui*, 40; and Chen Lie 陳烈, ed., *Xiaomangcangcangzhai cang Qingdai xuezhe fashu xuanji* 小莽蒼蒼齋藏 清代學者法書選集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), pl. 60.

<sup>132</sup> Fang, *Zhenjingtang jinshi tiba*, 197.

1837, this piece of calligraphy is even more elongated than the works of Huang Yi and Chen Hongshou (Figure 1.42). Regardless of whether Huang Yi or Chen Hongshou was the first to write the long-format couplet, it is conceivable that the format of the calligraphy was derived from that of rubbings of ancient inscriptions such as those from the Wu Liang Shrine.

### 3. The Revival of the Material Features of Ancient Stone Inscriptions

Many of Chen Hongshou's clerical script works display markedly straight brushstrokes with minimal modulation, with both ends either square or pointed. In his eight-character line verse in a private collection, for instance, the downward diagonals in the character *chun* 春 do not betray even a slight hint of a curve, and the tip of the left-side downward diagonal of the same character is clearly pointed (Figure 1.43). The last stroke of the character *shuo* 說 in the left hand scroll of the same piece was written straight and bent in the middle, instead of gradually curved. Overall, this calligraphic piece gives a stern and rigid impression, which is unusual in calligraphy written with a brush on paper.<sup>133</sup>

These visual features of Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy correspond to the ways in which ancient stone inscriptions are characterized. The eminent sociologist and historian Ying Chengyi 應成一 (1897-1983), for example, compared and contrasted the visual features of stone inscriptions before and after the Sui dynasty (581-618 CE) to the ways in which they were

---

<sup>133</sup> For other examples of Chen Hongshou's clerical-script works with similar features, see Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 64; Ge Siming 戈思明, ed., *Canghai yisu: gujin shuhua shisui* 滄海一粟：古今書畫拾穗 (Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 2008), pl. 17; and <https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1997.50.1-2/>, accessed May 15, 2018.

created.<sup>134</sup> According to Ying, stone carvers in the earlier period did not depend so heavily on drafts written with a brush, while those of the later period strictly followed brush-written drafts and models. In the former case, the forms of strokes were frequently determined by the way in which a carver wielded his chisel and hammer, and traces of the square blade of a chisel were directly exposed in inscriptions, leaving numerous angled edges in carved characters (Figure 1.44). On the other hand, famous calligraphers began to engage in writing drafts for steles in the latter period, and carvers often utilized a pointy knife so as not to leave traces of the knife blade in carving from brush-written calligraphic models and closely imitated the brushwork of the drafts (Figure 1.45).<sup>135</sup>

Scholars of Chinese calligraphy admit that strokes with angled edges in the stone inscriptions before the Sui dynasty, especially those from the Northern Wei (386-535 CE) period, cannot have been written with a brush but could only have been carved (Figure 1.46).<sup>136</sup> As a Chinese calligraphy brush has a tip with a conical shape, it cannot readily create strokes with square edges. The intrinsic difference between calligraphic carvings and calligraphy written with a brush in this period was confirmed in the discussions about “carving craftsmen” (*keshou* 刻手), who were identified as the final arbiters of the visual features of stone inscriptions from the

---

<sup>134</sup> Ying Chengyi 應成一, “Beixue yu tiexue” 碑學與帖學, in *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: kaoshi bianyi pian* 二十世紀書法研究叢書: 考識辨異篇, ed. Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000), 130-153.

<sup>135</sup> The reason the stone carvers in the earlier period worked “independently” from brush-written calligraphy might have been due to their lack of carving skills, as pointed out by Sha Menghai 沙孟海 (1900-1992). However, this could have also been derived from the function of steles as carriers of texts rather than calligraphic examples, which consequently would not have required technical mastery for stone carvers. Sha Menghai 沙孟海, “Shufashi shang de ruogan wenti” 書法史上的若干問題, in *Sha Menghai quanji* 沙孟海全集, vol. 5 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010), 83-88. For the function of steles in the earlier period as carriers of texts as opposed to those in the later period as preserving calligraphic examples, see Ying, “Beixue yu tiexue,” 135.

<sup>136</sup> For example, see Qi Gong 啓功, “Cong Henan beike tan gudai shike shufa yishu” 從河南碑刻談古代石刻書法藝術, in *Qi Gong congkao* 啓功叢稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 113-123.

Southern and Northern dynasties. In the debate, the eminent scholars and practitioners of calligraphy Sha Menghai 沙孟海 (1900-1992), Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991), Qi Gong 啓功 (1912-2005) all argued that the peculiar features of stone inscriptions of these periods should be attributed to carving artisans and should not be regarded as representing the styles of contemporary brush-written calligraphy in the same regions.<sup>137</sup>

Creating as he did so many strokes with angled edges, Chen Hongshou may well have been alluding to stone inscription in his clerical-script works. The relationship between the square ends of strokes and carved writings in Chen's calligraphic practice is indirectly evidenced in his calligraphy for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu* (*Xu dafu muzhi* 許大夫墓誌) (Figure 1.18). As Chen both wrote and carved the calligraphy of the tombstone, he must have been highly conscious of the later carving process while writing the calligraphy with a brush.<sup>138</sup> In this work, he wrote many of the strokes with notably square or pointy ends and solid contours. Some of the ends of the strokes are so square, sharp, and thick that they even appear to have been written not with a single brushstroke but with multiple touches after writing the stroke, especially the second strokes of the *ren* 人 characters. If the artist had indeed written the strokes in this way, the resulting visual features were intended for his carving, rather than his draft written with a brush, since this kind of “drawing” is not observed in his other calligraphic works. In other

---

<sup>137</sup> Shang Chengzuo 商承祚, “Lun Dong Jin de shufa fengge bingji Lantingxu” 論東晉的書法並及蘭亭序, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao: zhaxue shehui kexue ban* 中山大學學報: 哲學社會科學版 1 (1996): 25-39; Qi, “Cong Henan beike tan gudai shike shufa yishu,” 113-123; Sha Menghai, “Liang Jin Nanbeichao shuji de shuti yu keti” 兩晉南北朝書跡的書體與刻體, in *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 5, 108-111; and Sha Menghai, “Mantan beitie keshou wenti” 漫談碑帖刻手問題, in *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 5, 122-124.

<sup>138</sup> In the the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*, Chen Hongshou stated, “Chen Hongshou of the same village wrote and engraved it” 同邑陳鴻壽書并篆. Here *zhuan* 篆 means to carve. For an image of this work, see Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽, *Chen Mansheng shu xudafu muzhi zhenji* 陳曼生書許大夫墓誌真蹟 (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1923).

words, brushstrokes with square ends embody the formal qualities of carved writings in Chen Hongshou's artistic productions.

Then, what were the stylistic sources for the angled strokes in Chen's clerical-script calligraphy? Of the stone inscriptions whose copies made by Chen are still extant, those on a cliff, a brick, and a stone building other than stele inscriptions may well have inspired the artist for this particular style of his clerical-script writing. Less refined both in calligraphy and in execution of carving than contemporaneous stele inscriptions, the first group of stone inscriptions often exhibits visual features that are peculiar to carved writings. In the brick inscription from the Han dynasty, for instance, the tips of the last two strokes in the character *gui* 貴 have notably angled edges, which slightly protrude outward to highlight their sharp impression (Figure 1.8). On the other hand, the stele inscriptions that he copied seldom display the peculiar features of chiseled writings. The *Stele of the Huaiyuan Temple in Tongbai* and the *Stele of Qiao Min* both occasionally exhibit sharp edges at the end of a hooked stroke or a downward diagonal.<sup>139</sup> However, these qualities are not so obtrusive. Overall, the stele inscriptions effectively present the formal qualities of flexible brushstrokes, as illustrated in the round and pliant diagonal strokes in the character *da* 大 in the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (Figure 1.16).

Comparing the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* with one of Chen's copies of the inscription, it becomes more evident that the stylistic sources for Chen's sharp-edged brushstrokes were not the stele inscription (Figure 1.47). Throughout the process of his transcription, Chen changed the calligraphic style of the inscription, so that his copy of the inscription took on much more of the appearance of an engraved piece of writing than the original stone inscription. For example, the

---

<sup>139</sup> For example, see the last stroke in the character *shi* 是 in Huang Yi's tracing copy of the *Stele of Qiao Ming* in Huang, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 7, 5b.



upper part of the character *le* 樂 was originally comprised of a central square and a set of two stacked circles in either side, while he altered it to form an elongated central triangle with two additional triangles connected at their vertexes at either side (Figure 1.48). As a result, the entire character came to assume increased sharpness in its appearance when compared to its original form.

In addition to some of the stone inscriptions he studied, Chen's experience in seal carving may well have been crucial in developing this particular stylistic element of his clerical script. In seal carving, Chen primarily employed the chopping knife method, in which the carver made a small crevice as short as the blade of his knife on the seal stone by pressing down on it without really dragging it across the surface (Figure 1.49). By repeating this small cutting motion multiple times, the carver could eventually construct a stroke and a character. As a character consists of several of these short knife cuts created according to the shape of the knife blade, strokes within a character were not smooth but craggy and often made square or pointed at the end (Figure 1.50). Chen may well have intended to recreate these carved effects of his stone carvings in his clerical-script calligraphy executed with a brush, considering original examples of the script were embedded primarily on stone.

The idea of recreating the physical qualities of calligraphic engravings in their brush-based calligraphy started as early as the first half of the eighteenth century. Ding Jing, for example, wrote seal script with markedly ragged outlines likely inspired by his own seal carving, which often features coarse textures (Figure 1.51). The relationship between his seal-script calligraphy and seal carving is further suggested in the square composition of the characters, which was uncommon in seal-script writing on paper but very typical in seal designs of Zhe

School seal carvers. Ding Jing's friend Jin Nong, on the other hand, is known to have utilized woodblock prints of Buddhist scriptures to develop his distinctive style of regular and regular-clerical script calligraphy (Figure 1.52).<sup>140</sup> Regarding Chen Hongshou's strong interest in the artistic productions of both Ding Jing and Jin Nong, their application of the visual features of carved writings to their brush-written calligraphy may well have provided important artistic precedents for Chen to follow.<sup>141</sup>

Another Yangzhou-based artist, Yang Fa 楊法 (1696-after 1762), who is at times listed as one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou, might have also offered an excellent calligraphic model for Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy. In one of Yang's clerical-script couplets, brushstrokes are notably straight and square, and some of the brushstrokes are even disconnected in the middle, such as the second stroke of the character *xiong* 匈, in order to decrease the feeling of fluency associated with brush-written calligraphy and to enhance the rigid impression of carved writings (Figure 1.53). This may well have inspired Chen to write such clerical-script works as the one in a private collection with square, straight, and disconnected strokes as illustrated in the *qu* 取 component of the last character in the right hand scroll *qu* 趣 (Figure 1.54).<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Huang Dun 黃惇, "Jin Nong shufa pingzhuan" 金農書法評傳, in *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集, vol. 65, ed. Liu Zhengcheng 劉正成 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1997), 13-15.

<sup>141</sup> Chen Hongshou often mentioned Jin Nong in his inscriptions on paintings as his model painter. For example, see Hayashida, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pls. 5, and 62; Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, P6, and P7; and Wang, Shuyu 王舒羽. "Laotao fangbi kuang: Chen Hongshou huaguo ceye shangxi" 老饕放筆狂: 陳鴻壽花果冊頁賞析. *Shoucangjia* 收藏家 10 (2014): 59-60. Chen Hongshou's interest in Ding Jing's artistic production, especially seal carving, will be discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>142</sup> For Yang Fa's clerical script works with similar features, see Zhang Yao 張耀, ed., *Zhongguo lidai lishu zhenji* 中國歷代隸書珍跡, vol. 3 (Tianjin: Tianjin meishu chubanshe, 2002), 55-56.

While writing strokes with angled edges were relatively unusual during Chen Hongshou's lifetime,<sup>143</sup> this might have become an important brush method by the mid-nineteenth century, when Bao Shichen published *Two Oars of the Ship of Art* in 1844. In his calligraphic treatise, "Account of Calligraphy" ("Shu shu" 述書), in the publication, Bao Shichen quoted his friend and calligrapher, Huang Yisheng 黃乙生 (1771-1821), who had characterized calligraphy before the Tang dynasty by the square edges of ancient stone inscriptions and argued for using the slanted brush to its greatest extent.<sup>144</sup> Though Bao stated that he had practiced the calligraphic style for a couple of years to be proficient in it, calligraphy with angled brushstrokes seems to have been relatively rare in his oeuvre. On the other hand, calligraphers in the subsequent generations, such as Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829-1884), Tao Junxuan 陶澐宣 (1849-1915), and Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 (1867-1920), exerted sustained effort for recreating the carved effect of ancient stone inscriptions in their brush-based calligraphy (Figures 1.55-1.57). The distinction between these calligraphers and Chen Hongshou is that these later artists primarily modeled their calligraphy after stele inscriptions from the Northern dynasties written in regular script, as steles from the period began to emerge as important calligraphic models around mid-nineteenth century (Figure 1.46).<sup>145</sup> Moreover, the brush method utilized by the artists is different from that of Chen Hongshou. Tao Junxuan and Li Ruiqing, for example,

---

<sup>143</sup> Yi Bingshou and Gui Fu occasionally wrote clerical-script calligraphy that is dominated by brushstrokes with square ends. For example, see Tokuami, et al., *I Heiju Kei Fu*, 8; and Zhang Di 張迪, "Gui Fu de jiaoyou、zhushu he lishu chuanguo yanjiu" 桂馥的交游、著述和隸書創造研究 (MA thesis, Nanjing University, 2016), pl. 40.

<sup>144</sup> For Bao Shichen's quotation of Huang Yisheng, see Bao, *Yizhou shuangji*, 641-642. For an interpretation of the quotation, see Qi, "Cong Henan beike tan gudai shike shufa yishu," 119-120.

<sup>145</sup> It is roughly from the Daoguang (1820-1850) and the Xianfeng (1851-1861) periods that the stele inscriptions from the Northern dynasties began to be important calligraphic models. Ying, "Beixue yu tiexue," 151; Li Yixing 李義興, *Lidai mingbei fengge shangping* 歷代名碑風格賞評 (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishuyuan chubanshe, 1999), 150; and Xue Longchun 薛龍春, "Lun Qingdai beixue yi zhenxing" 論清代碑學以振興漢隸為起點, in *Zhongguo shufashi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中國書法史學國際學術研討會論文集 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2000), 298-304.

created a sharply angled stroke not with a single brushstroke but with multiple touches, which is almost never observed in Chen Hongshou's brush-based calligraphy.<sup>146</sup> Applying additional touches of the brush after writing a particular stroke in fact stands in direct opposition to the traditional literati ideal of calligraphy as a means for spontaneous self-expression, making it closer to crafts. This method, nonetheless, demonstrates the degree to which the calligraphers were passionate about reviving the carved features of ancient stone inscriptions in their brush-based calligraphy. As Sha Menghai mentioned, the "ridiculous" situation in which brush-written writing pursued carved writing occurred in this period, reversing the traditional relationship between the two categories of calligraphy.<sup>147</sup> Chen Hongshou can be considered a precursor of this later calligraphic trend.

---

<sup>146</sup> Qi, "Cong Henan beike tan gudai shike shufa yishu," 133. Chen Hongshou's calligraphy for the *Tombstone of the Grand Master Xu* might be the only exception.

<sup>147</sup> Sha, "Liang Jin Nanbeichao shuji de shuti yu keti," 111.

## **Chapter 2. Turning Calligraphic Carving into a Literati-Style Art: Seal Carving**

As they became intensely conscious of the distinctive physical features of ancient inscriptions as their calligraphic models, a considerable number of the literati practiced actually making calligraphy carvings beyond recreating ancient inscriptions in their brush-based calligraphy. Having been learned by the educated for centuries before the period, seal carving served as the most accessible means for the literati's practice of creating inscriptions on solid objects. This chapter examines how calligraphic carving developed into a literati-style art via seal carving, focusing on the works of Zhe School artists.

The chapter begins with an analysis on the stylistic sources for Zhe School seal carvings. As opposed to late Ming writers and practitioners of the art, who frequently emphasized reviving brushwork in seal carving, the Zhe School artists were committed to recreating the material and technical features of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions in their works. This transition of artistic models for seal carving suggests that calligraphic carving and brush-based calligraphy were being recognized as discrete artistic practices during the period.

Following the analysis, the chapter examines how the distinctive character of seal carving vis-à-vis that of both brush-based calligraphy and the making of bronze and stone inscriptions developed during the period. The emergence of carving as a primary means of artistic expression in seal carving and the expression of the material qualities of seal stone in Zhe School carvings illustrate that the formation of the technical and aesthetic elements of calligraphic carving greatly advanced during the period.

Subsequently, the chapter assesses the degree of the integration of seal carving into literati artistic practice during the period. By examining the popularity and cultural status of seal carving, on the one hand, it reveals that seal carving was not yet established as a literati art. On the other hand, the increased emphasis on spontaneity in seal carving and the influence of seal carving upon other visual arts of literati are argued to express the substantial progress of the integration of seal carving squarely into the realm of literati arts during the period.

Lastly, the chapter traces how the literati of the period extended their practice of calligraphic carving beyond seal carving by analyzing their practice of making “miniature steles” using side inscriptions (*biankuan* 邊款) as well as carving actual steles. The visual, technical, and conceptual relationship between side inscriptions and stele inscriptions are examined to illuminate that the literati were exploring and expanding their interest in various forms of calligraphic carving through their practice of seal carving.

## **1. Seal Carving and the Revival of the Material Features of Ancient Seals**

Chen Hongshou’s seal carvings embody both his boldness and subtle sensitivity as an artist. As seal carving involved organizing characters in the diminutive surface area of a seal, the artist created a seal design by adjusting extremely minute visual details. For example, in his seal carving for Tu Zhuo, *Xiling diao tu* 西泠釣徒 (fishing cohorts of Xiling), Chen Hongshou made progressive changes in character composition by making the first and the last characters most spacious and compact respectively (Figure 2.1). The gradual loss of breathing space in the seal carving, which culminates in the square and relatively dense composition of the last character,

was artfully balanced out by the frame of the seal that was partially broken in its the lower left corner. Furthermore, the artist made fine adjustments to the forms of the characters in order to allude to the meaning of the phrase carved on the seal. For instance, the *kou* 口 component of the first character *xi* 囿, which is a variant of the character *xi* 西, was transformed into a triangle so that the entire character illustrates a fish basket.

While Chen Hongshou demonstrated his subtle sensitivity in seal designs, his execution of seal carvings was bold and assertive. As his personal style of seal carving matured in his mid-thirties, Chen executed seal carvings in an increasingly swift and determined manner.<sup>148</sup> His knife cuts were not bound to the traces of brushwork, but revealed the shape of the knife blade throughout the carving process. Consequently, his seal carvings came to have extremely coarse textures that imbued his works with vibrant energy. Beyond revealing the traces of the knife blade, the artist consciously created angled edges in his seal carvings, as exemplified by the two pointed tips of the vertical strokes in the *zhi* 至 component of the character *shi* 室 in the *Yiqiu shi* 憶秋室 (Chamber of Recalling the Autumn) seal (Figure 1.50). The sharpness of his works reinforces the fierce quality of his seal carvings, while emphasizing their intrinsic nature as calligraphic carvings vis-à-vis that of calligraphy executed with a brush.

Though the uneven texture and angled edges in seal carvings of the Zhe School, particularly those of Chen Hongshou, embody their distinctive character as engravings of calligraphy, the formal features of Zhe School carvings have often been compared with

---

<sup>148</sup> For the development of Chen Hongshou's seal carving, see For a detailed analysis of the development of Chen Hongshou's style of seal carving, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 1-34.

brushwork by modern scholars.<sup>149</sup> In fact, the association between textured strokes in seal carving and brushwork was formed as early as the late Ming period when the renowned seal artist and theorist of the late Ming period Zhu Jian's 朱簡 (ca. 1562-1631) advanced his famous argument about the relationship between methods of the knife (*daofa* 刀法) and methods of the brush (*bifa* 筆法) in seal carving. In his *Classic of Seals* (*Yin jing* 印經), Zhu Jian stated, "That which is methods of the knife should deliver methods of the brush" 刀法也者，所以傳筆法也。<sup>150</sup> In addition to his theories of the art, Zhu Jian is also known for being one of the earliest seal artists who used a chopping-knife method and as having influenced Ding Jing in developing his chopping-knife method (Figure 2.2).<sup>151</sup> Considering his argument about the relationship between methods of the knife and the brush, Zhu Jian likely intended to revive the qualities of brushwork, specifically the textured strokes written with a brush, with the knife method.<sup>152</sup>

The fact that the chopping knife method could be utilized for recreating brushwork in a seal carving is illustrated in some of the seals made by the Zhe School artists, which have soft

---

<sup>149</sup> For example, see Ye Yiwei, *Zhongguo zhuanke shi* 中國篆刻史 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chuban faxing, 2000), 83-84; and Yu Zheng 余正, "Chulun Ding Jing (xia)" 初論丁敬 (下), *Zhuanke* 篆刻 4 (2005): 13-17.

<sup>150</sup> Zhu Jian 朱簡, *Yin jing* 印經, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 164.

<sup>151</sup> Wei Xizeng quoted He Shu 何澍 (ca. 1796-?) as saying that Ding Jing's knife method originated from that of Zhu Jian, and this opinion was agreed with by many later scholars. He Shu was a son of He Yuanxi, whose extensive knowledge of seal carvings of the Zhe School artists led him to compile *Xiling sijia yinpu* 西泠四家印譜 in 1808. For Wei Xizeng's quotation of He Shu, see Wei Xizeng, *Jiyutang tiba* 續語堂題跋, in vol. 2 of *Wei Jiasun quanji* 魏稼孫全集 (1883; rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 19??), 17a. On He Yuanxi, see Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 386. On He Shu, see Huang Changming 黃嘗銘, "He Shu (Suming)" 何澍 (夙明), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911 篆刻年歷, 1051 — 1911, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=1&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q9605&SK=MV>. Other than Zhu Jian, Su Xuan 蘇宣 (1553-after 1626) has been also mentioned as the source for Ding Jing's knife method. For example, see Luo, "Shilun 'Xiling sijia,'" 7; and Yu, "Chulun Ding Jing (xia)," 14.

<sup>152</sup> In discussions on seal carving during the Ming dynasty, it was often emphasized that a seal carving should recreate the visual features of brushwork. For example, see Gan Yang 甘暘, *Yinzhang jishuo* 印章集說, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 93-94; and Xu Shangda 徐上達, *Yinfa cantong* 印法參同, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 146.



and round strokes. Of Chen Hongshou's seal carvings that create a relatively distinct impression of brush-written calligraphy is the seal carved for one of his uncles with a phrase from the great poet of the Tang dynasty Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) composition: *tianmen yi chang xiao* 天門一長嘯 (At Heaven's Gate, I give a long whistle) (Figure 2.3). In this seal carving, the character *tian* 天 and the upper half of the character *chang* 長 are reminiscent of brushstrokes, primarily in the gradually tapering strokes with relatively soft curves and in the rounded ends of strokes respectively.<sup>153</sup>

Moreover, the Zhe School artists occasionally mentioned that they intended to recreate the appearance of brushwork in their seal carvings. One of few such examples in Chen Hongshou's works is *shengya si zhongren* 生涯似眾人 (My career is like that of anyone), for which Chen utilized the "brushwork" (*biyi* 筆意) of name seals of the Han dynasty (Figure 2.4). Zhang Yanchang imitated the brushwork of the inscription in the head of the *Stele of Zhang Qian, the Director of Dangyin* (*Dangyin ling Zhang Qian bei* 盪陰令張遷碑) (186 CE) in his seal carving done in 1766.<sup>154</sup> The same stele inscription was noted as an important model for brushwork in seal carving, along with the *Cliff Inscription with a Eulogy on the Reconstruction of the Roads in the Western Gorge by Li Xi* (*Han Wudu taishou Hanyang Heyang Li Xi Xixia*

---

<sup>153</sup> For examples of works of other Zhe School artists with similar features, see Ding Jing's *Shufeng shuhua* 曙峰書畫 (Calligraphy and Painting of Shufeng) and Huang Yi's *Jianhou fu* 建侯父 (Father of Jianhou) in Ding, *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 55, 145.

<sup>154</sup> For Zhang Yanchang's side inscription on the carving, see Han, *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 845-846.

*song* 漢武都太守漢陽河陽李翕西狹頌) (171 CE) in Xi Gang's side inscription on his carving *jinshi pi* 金石癖 (addiction to bronze and stone inscriptions).<sup>155</sup>

However, what the Zhe School artists were referring to was not actual brushwork but, rather, “ideational brushwork” imagined from bronze and stone inscriptions that were carvings in the first place. The inscriptions were, moreover, not directly observed but typically viewed via rubbings, onto which the images of the inscriptions had been transferred. In other words, at least two layers of physical barrier interfered between the seal artists and the brushwork they were imagining. The final images of the inscriptions that were presented in the rubbings were largely determined by the production process of the inscriptions, which involved either carving or chiseling. This is clearly illustrated in the stiff and square strokes in the cliff inscription that Xi Gang mentioned in his side inscription on the seal *jinshi pi* (Figure 2.5).<sup>156</sup> Therefore, the literati seal carvers' imagination of the brushwork was founded less on actual brushwork than “knife-work.”<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> The side inscription reads, “In making [seals in the style of] the Han dynasty, brushwork should tend toward the round, [while] its spirit should remain square. It should refer to stele inscriptions like those of Li Xi and Zhang Qian” 作漢印，宜筆往而圓，神存而方。當以李翕、張遷等碑參之。 For the side inscription, see Ding, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 166.

<sup>156</sup> For an example of his carvings that successfully recreated the formal qualities of the cliff inscription, see *Mengquan waishi* 蒙泉外史 (Unofficial history of Mengquan), in Fang Quji, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 142.

<sup>157</sup> For other examples of carvings that seal carvers such as Xi Gang and Huang Yi possibly intended to model after brushwork, see Han, ed., *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 863; and Kobayashi, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 115, 135, and 136. In the side inscriptions on some of the carvings, Huang Yi mentioned the names of seal-script calligraphers, such as Zhao Mengfu and Cheng Sui 程邃 (1605-1691), as his models. However, Huang Yi may have referred not to their seal-script calligraphy executed with a brush but to their seal-script writing in the seal carvings designed and/or executed by them. This is because Zhao Mengfu developed a type of seal design with “round and red characters” (*yuanzhuwen* 圓朱文), and Cheng Sui was an accomplished seal carver who was highly regarded for his application of large seal script to seal carvings. For a brief introduction to the importance of Zhao Mengfu and Cheng Sui in the history of seal carving, see Sha, “Yinxue shi” 印學史, in *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 6, 76, and 95.

It should be noted that even if the seal carvers intended to recreate actual brushwork in their seal carvings, their models were limited because the brushwork of seal-script calligraphy made substantial progress only with Deng Shiru's calligraphy, which was not well received during the period.<sup>158</sup> Seal script was typically written in small seal script with thin, even, and smooth brushstrokes, which minimally expressed the physical qualities of a pliant brush. This is exemplified in the seal-script works of such scholars as Qian Dian 錢坫 (1744-1806), Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (1746-1809), and Sun Xingyan, who practiced seal-script calligraphy in the tradition of the Tang dynasty calligrapher Li Yangbing 李陽冰 (ca. 756) (Figure 2.6).<sup>159</sup> Moreover, an emerging trend in seal-script calligraphy focused on recreating the coarse textures of corroded bronze inscriptions, as illustrated in the works of Zhu Weibi and Zhang Tingji (Figure 2.7).<sup>160</sup> This calligraphic trend is in fact in line with the concern of the Zhe School artists for embodying the material features of ancient inscriptions in their seal carvings.

The Zhe School artists often referred to antique seals from the Qin, the Han, and later dynastic periods from the Six dynasties to the Ming as their models.<sup>161</sup> Of various types of

---

<sup>158</sup> Deng Shiru's seal-script calligraphy was often criticized by influential cultural figures of the period, such as Weng Fanggang and Qian Dian, for the lack of the calligrapher's scholarship in seal script. His cultural status increased greatly after his death because of the theoretical writings and artistic practices of his students and followers, including Bao Shichen's and Wu Xizai. For the fact that his seal-script calligraphy was criticized by contemporaries, see Sha, "Jin sanbainian de shuxue," 17; and Wang Dongling 王冬齡, "Beixue jubao Deng Shiru" 碑學巨擘鄧石如, *Shupu* 書譜 39 (1981): 33.

<sup>159</sup> On the calligraphic style of these figures, see Ma Guoquan, "Qingdai zhuanhu gailun" 清代篆書概論, *Shupu* 書譜 80 (1988): 62-69; and Zhu Suizhi 祝遂之, "Qingdai zhuanhu yishu shixi" 清代篆書藝術試析歷史文脈編, in *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: lishi wenmai pian*, 364-380.

<sup>160</sup> For examples of their seal-script calligraphy, see Kenshin Shodōkai, ed., *Seirei hakka no shoga tenkoku*, 158, 159, 162-163; and Sun Xun 孫詢, *Qingdai Qian Jia xuepai yu shufa* 清代乾嘉學派與書法 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2005), 199.

<sup>161</sup> Chen Hongshou mainly referred to seals from the Qin and the Han dynasties, but he also occasionally mentioned seals from the Six dynasties and the Yuan dynasty as his models. For example, see his side inscriptions on his seal

ancient seals, carved or chiseled bronze and jade seals served as major stylistic sources for the Zhe School artists.<sup>162</sup> These types of ancient seals are typically composed of thin strokes due primarily to the hardness of the carving surfaces (Figure 2.8). Ancient bronze seals carved impromptu for newly appointed military officials, called “generals’ seals” (*jiangjun zhang* 將軍章), moreover, exhibit a relatively clumsy writing style since they were made without preparation (Figure 2.9). These formal features are frequently observed in the *baiwen* 白文 (white character, or intaglio) seals made by the Zhe School artists, including Jiang Ren, Zhang Yanchang, Huang Yi, Chen Yuzhong, and Zhao Zhichen 趙之琛 (1781-1852) (Figure 2.10).<sup>163</sup>

In addition to being inspired by ancient seals, Huang Yi also revived the visual features of stele inscriptions in his seal carvings. His seal *Han huashi* 漢畫室 (chamber with pictures of the Han dynasty) was engraved after he had acquired the Song dynasty album of rubbings of pictorial carvings from the Wu Liang Shrine in 1791 (Figure 2.11). Though Huang Yi did not specify that he modeled his seal design after the inscriptions accompanying the pictorial carvings, its visual features indicate that Huang consciously borrowed from the formal qualities of the inscriptions. For instance, the sharply pointed strokes that taper towards the end, which are

---

carvings in Kobayashi Toan 小林斗盦, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju* 陳豫鍾 · 陳鴻壽, *Chūgoku tenkoku sōkan*, vol. 16: Shin, vol. 10 中國篆刻叢刊 16: 清 10 (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1984), 130-131, and 138-139.

<sup>162</sup> Ding Jing noted these types of seals as his models multiple times in side inscriptions. For example, see Ding, *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 57, 75, 97, and 99; and Kobayashi, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 75, and 80.

<sup>163</sup> For example, see Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, ed., *Xiling sijia yinpu* 西泠四家印譜 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1965), 64, 65, and 73; Fang Quji 方去疾, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu* 明清篆刻流派印譜 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1980), 115, and 176; Ge Changying 葛昌楹 and Ge Changfen 葛昌紛, ed., *Chuanputang cangyin jinhua* 傳樸堂藏印菁華 (1925; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1999), 25, 27, and 92; Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 14, 16, and 118; Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling housijia yinpu*, 4; and Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling bajia yinpu* 西泠八家印譜 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010), 69. Especially regarding Zhao Zhichen, these types of ancient seals served as a major stylistic source for his personal style. For Zhao Zhichen’s creation of his personal style of seal carvings inspired by ancient carved and chiseled seals, see Ye, “Chonglun Zhepai,” 6-20; and Yu, *Zhepai zhuanke shangxi*, 95-97.

particularly numerous in this single carving when compared with his other seals, exhibit strong visual affinities with the inscription (Figure 2.12). His carving *jinshi pi* 金石癖 (addiction to bronze and stone inscriptions), on the other hand, was carved upon acquiring the rubbing of the *Stele for the Shrine of Yuchi Jiong* (*Yuchi Jiong miao bei* 尉遲迥廟碑) (738) written by the Tang dynasty calligrapher Cai Youlin 蔡有鄰 (ca. the first half of 8<sup>th</sup> c) (Figure 2.13). As the stele inscription had been substantially corroded, some of the strokes came to be emaciated, appearing almost disconnected in the middle (Figure 2.14). This visual feature of the inscription may have inspired Huang Yi to create the extremely attenuated vertical strokes in the character *pi* 癖.

In modeling their carvings after these ancient inscriptions, the Zhe School artists focused on recreating the physical properties of the inscriptions in their works. In their side inscriptions, the artists often specified the material and production technique of the kind of antique seals after which they were modeling their works, such as if they were carved, chiseled, or cast, and if they were made of jade or bronze.<sup>164</sup> By doing this, they suggested that their carvings embodied the unique features of a particular material and the production technique of these antique seals. In carving two seals for his friend Wang Defu 王德溥 (ca. 1760) in the same year of 1760, Ding Jing imitated cast bronze seals of the Han dynasty in one, and chiseled bronze seals in the other (Figures 2.15, 2.16). In the former, relatively plump and round strokes display clean outlines in

---

<sup>164</sup> For side inscriptions of Chen Hongshou, Chen Yuzhong and Zhao Zhichen, in which they mentioned the materials and techniques of the kinds of ancient seals that they modeled after, see Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, ed., *Xiling houshijia yinpu* 西泠后四家印譜 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1998), 13, 33, 34, 46, 51, 54, 60, 63, 64, and 68; and Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 7, 95, 110, 112, and 121; Kobayashi, *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 100-101, 106-107, 128-129, 142-143, and 176-179; and Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 70, 71, 90, and 127.

the same manner as cast bronze seals that originally would have been carved on soft clay.<sup>165</sup> The second seal shows very thin and pointed strokes because incising extremely hard bronze with a sharp blade only would have allowed the carver to make relatively narrow strokes with angled edges.<sup>166</sup>

The interest of the Zhe School artists in recreating the material qualities of ancient seals is embodied in the coarse texture of their seal carvings created with the chopping-knife method. According to the contemporary seal carver Chen Keshu's 陳克恕 (1741-1809) treatise *Passing on the Expertise of Seal Carving* (*Zhuanke zhendu* 篆刻針度), the uneven texture of Zhe School seal carvings very likely intended to revive the damage and corrosion displayed on ancient seals. Under the section "Knife Methods" ("Dao fa" 刀法) of the treatise is a sub-section titled "Discussion on Seals Broken in Small Pieces" ("Lun posui yin" 論破碎印), which begins as follows.

Those who carve [seals] these days mostly say that [if] the traces of the knife are even and straight, it would have the defect of being rigid and inflexible and would not transform and have the qualities of the ancients. Therefore, they compete in using the blunt knife to attack the stone, break its four edges into small pieces, and absurdly call it an ancient concept... (Of ancient seals), certainly because their age is considerable, and mist and clouds have eroded them, there are those that became damaged and blurred. In fact, the ancient flavor of knife methods is not only in having the form but more importantly in possessing the spirit.

---

<sup>165</sup> For carvings in imitation of cast bronze seals, it was especially noted in treatises about seal carving of the period, such as *Zhuanke zhendu* 篆刻鍼度 by Chen Keshu 陳克恕 (1741-1809), that carvings should not show traces of the knife blade. Chen Keshu 陳克恕, *Zhuanke zhendu* 篆刻鍼度 (Rpt.: China: n.p., 1931), *juan*3, 4b-5a.

<sup>166</sup> For examples of Ding Jing's side inscriptions on his carvings, in which he noted the technique of the kind of ancient seals that he modeled after, see Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō* 丁敬 · 蔣仁 · 黃易 · 奚岡, *Tenkoku zenshū*, vol. 4: *Chūgoku, Shin* 篆刻全集 4: 中國, 清 (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 2001), 49, 56, 75, 80, and 83; and Ding, *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 89, 97, and 99.

今之刻者，率多謂刀痕均齊方正，病於板執，不化不古，因爭用鈍刀激石，破碎四邊，妄謂古意……良由世久，風煙剝蝕，以致損缺模糊者有之。其實刀法古趣，不徒有形，貴乎有神。<sup>167</sup>

In this passage, the author criticizes seal carvings that display the uneven traces of knife cuts—a defining feature of the Zhe School carvings—because they imitated mainly the outer appearance of damaged and eroded ancient seals.

Largely quoting Ming dynasty writings about seal carving, especially the seal artist and theorist Xu Shangda's 徐上達 (ca. 1565-1614) *Experimental Verification of Methods for Seal Carving* (*Yinfa cantong* 印法參同), the passage was originally written to criticize not the Zhe School, but seal carvers of the late Ming, who literally damaged seal faces (*yinmian* 印面).<sup>168</sup> Numerous examples of such seals are found in the serious seal collector Zhang Hao's 張灝 (ca. 1617-1633) *Seal Book in the Hall of Learning from a Mountain* (*Xueshan tang yinpu* 學山堂印譜), which offers a comprehensive view of seal carvings of the late Ming with around 2,000 carvings. While the majority of seals in this seal book display strokes with smooth and straight outlines (Figure 2.17),<sup>169</sup> *baiwen* seals often have areas around the strokes that are broken off, and *zhuwen* 朱文 (red character, or relief) seals with similar forms of damage (Figures 2.18, 2.19). In the case of the *zhuwen* seals, the damages were not made by breaking the seal faces but by leaving areas around the strokes uncarved. Though the seal carvings of both the Zhe School

---

<sup>167</sup> Chen, *Zhuanke zhendu*, juan 5, 8a-8b.

<sup>168</sup> Xu, *Yinfa cantong*, 149. The practice of intentionally damaging seal faces had already been criticized by critics such as Tu Long, before Xu Shangda. Tu, *Kaopan yushi*, 79.

<sup>169</sup> There might have been a few artists who were interested in developing textured strokes during this period, such as Su Xuan and Zhu Jian, as they are some of the earliest artists who used the chopping-knife method.

artists and the late Ming artists display uneven strokes, the latter only created the damages apparent on the seals, leaving the actual texture of strokes untreated.<sup>170</sup>

Despite its overlap with Xu Shangda's writing, the passage in Chen Keshu's treatise was targeted at seal carvings that differed from the late Ming examples. In the late eighteenth century, seal carvings made with the late Ming artists' method of creating damaged areas on seal faces became increasingly scarce.<sup>171</sup> Meanwhile, making textured strokes became an important concern of seal carvers. This transition is observed in the famous seal aficionado Wang Qishu's 汪啟淑 (1728-1799) *Seal Book in the Hall of Flying Swans* (*Feihong tang yinpu* 飛鴻堂印譜), which compiled approximately 4,000 contemporary seal carvings around 1776. Numerous seal carvings in this compilation reveal the conscious endeavor of the artists to fastidiously present the coarse texture of strokes with great consistency. This feature is observed not only in the works of the Zhe School artists such as Ding Jing, Zhang Yanchang, and Huang Yi, but also in works by other seal carvers including Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰 (1683-1749) and Shen Feng 沈鳳 (1685-1755) (Figure 2.20).<sup>172</sup> Accordingly, what Chen Keshu was criticizing in the passage

---

<sup>170</sup> This suggests that the qualities of strokes largely remained as an uncharted area of artistic expression in seal carving during the late Ming period. Zhu Jian's argument that knife methods should deliver methods of the brush was formulated against this status quo of seal carving, probably intending to develop a texture of a stroke as a means for artistic expression.

<sup>171</sup> For example of such carvings in the eighteenth century, see carvings of Li Deguang 李德光 (ca. 1710-1755) and Zhou Fen 周芬 in Wang Qishu, ed., *Feihongtang yinpu* 飛鴻堂印譜 (Rpt., China: Lingshi shanfang, 1912-1930), 39, and 75.

<sup>172</sup> For examples of their carvings with coarse textures, see Wang, ed., *Feihongtang yinpu*, 1 *ji*, 3 *juan*, 13a; 1 *ji*, 8 *juan*, 3a; 2 *ji*, 1 *juan*, 4a; 2 *ji*, 2 *juan*, 3a; 2 *ji*, 4 *juan*, 1a; 2 *ji*, 8 *juan*, 8a; 3 *ji*, 6 *juan*, 16a, 19a; 4 *ji*, 3 *juan*, 14a; 4 *ji*, 5 *juan*, 10a; 4 *ji*, 6 *juan*, 2a, 12a; 4 *ji*, 7 *juan*, 7a; 5 *ji*, 1 *juan*, 22a, 24a; 5 *ji*, 3 *juan*, 20a; and 5 *ji*, 6 *juan*, 21a.



quoted above was not only the intentional damage on the seal faces but also the uneven textured strokes.<sup>173</sup>

Chen Keshu's criticism of seal artists who made use of coarse strokes was targeted mainly at the Zhe School seal carvers. This is revealed in the two sub-sections following "Discussion on Seals Broken in Small Pieces," entitled "Argument about Using a Blunt Knife" ("Bian yong dundao" 辨用鈍刀) and "Discussion on the Zhe School" ("Lun Zhe pai" 論浙派) respectively.<sup>174</sup> The first of the two sub-sections argues against the use of the blunt knife, while the second of the two is an outright rejection of the knife method of the Zhe School.<sup>175</sup> These two sub-sections together criticize Zhe School seal carvings, since Ding Jing's carvings were often characterized as "blunt" (*dun* 鈍) in the period.<sup>176</sup> Moreover, these sub-sections were written to

---

<sup>173</sup> Apart from these famous figures, numerous other seal carvings in *Seal Book in the Hall of Flying Swans* also show the intention of the artists to develop textured strokes. Chen Lian 陳鍊 (1730-1775), Wang Gu 王穀 (ca. 1739-1777), Wang Xie 王燮 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c), Shen Gao 沈阜 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c), Zhu Rongxi 朱榮錫 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c), Chen Xiyan 陳西菴 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c?), Xu Yu 徐鉦 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c), Wu Chao 吳超 (ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup> c), and Zhou Fen 周芬 (ca. 1712-1789) are but a few of these artists. For examples of their coarse-texture carvings, see Wang Qishu, ed., *Feihongtang yinpu*, 1 *ji*, 3 *juan*, 13a; 1 *ji*, 5 *juan*, 4a; 2 *ji*, 4 *juan*, 1a; 3 *ji*, 5 *juan*, 14a; 3 *ji*, 6 *juan*, 7a; 4 *ji*, 5 *juan*, 9a; 4 *ji*, 8 *juan*, 12a; 5 *ji*, 1 *juan*, 9a, 22a; and 5 *ji*, 4 *juan*, 17a.

<sup>174</sup> Chen, *Zhuanke zhendu*, *juan* 5, 8b-9a. This treatise is probably the earliest historical text that used the term "Zhe School". The "Zhe School" mentioned in this writing might not be precisely the same as the Zhe School currently known to us, because at the time this treatise was written, the three second-generation seal carvers of the school after Ding Jing were still in their early forties, and thus the formation of the Zhe School style of seal carving was really still in progress. Moreover, there were some seal artists from Hangzhou who seem to have used the chopping-knife method, such as Jin Nong, but they are not included in our current definition of the Zhe School. Nonetheless, the earlier four masters of the Zhe School, namely Ding Jing, Jiang Ren, Huang Yi, and Xi Gang, were probably part of the group of seal carvers that the author identified as the Zhe School, because all of the four artists were active or influential in Hangzhou and often used the chopping-knife method. For Jin Nong's seal carvings that seem to have been carved with the chopping-knife method, see Huang and Zhang, ed., *Qingdai Huizong yinfeng*, vol. 1, 194.

<sup>175</sup> Chen Keshu's opposition to the Zhe School style of seal carving could be partly understood, considering how much his style of seal carving differed from that of the Zhe School. He seems to have carved strokes mainly with smooth and clean outlines, and often used small seal script characters with strokes of even thickness and soft curves for his seal carvings. For introductions to Chen Keshu's seal carving and examples of his works, see Han Tianheng, *Zhongguo zhuanke dacidian* 中國篆刻大辭典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2003), 149; and Huang, "Chen Keshu (Mugeng)" 陳克恕 (目耕), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911, accessed July 27, 2018, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=2&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q4101&SK=MV>.

<sup>176</sup> For example, see Zhou Sanxie's comment on Ding Jing's seal carving in Zhou Sanxie, (Untitled), 1b-3a.

reiterate the point of “Discussion on Seals Broken in Small Pieces,” as the use of the blunt knife had already been criticized in the latter and the Zhe School style closely matches that of the seal carving described as “broken into pieces” (*sui* 碎).<sup>177</sup> Therefore, “Discussion on Seals Broken in Small Pieces” reflects the contemporary understanding of Zhe School seal carvings, according to which the Zhe School artists revived the damage and corrosion on ancient seals with the coarse texture of their carvings.

## 2. Seal Carving as an Art of Stone and Knife

While seal carving focused on reviving the material qualities of ancient inscriptions, the distinctive character of seal carving as an individual form of art further developed during the period. This is above all revealed in the fact that methods of the knife came to serve as the primary means for artistic expression vis-à-vis other technical and theoretical elements involved in seal carving, such as methods of the brush, methods of composition (*zhangfa* 章法), and methods of characters (*zifa* 字法) (which refers to selecting character variants from a single historical period for a single seal). Three of the four elements of seal carving, with the exception of methods of the knife, are in fact essential components of brush-based calligraphy as well. On the other hand, methods of the knife are means of artistic expression that are unique to seal carving. Therefore, the development of knife methods indicates that the intrinsic character of seal carving was being further established.

---

<sup>177</sup> The eminent seal carver of early Qing Zhang Zaixin 張在辛 (1651-1738) also described the chopping-knife method as “breaking into pieces and chopping with the knife” (*yongdao sui qie* 用刀碎切) in his treatise on the process of seal carving, “Methods of Seal Carvings Understood in the Mind” (“Zhuanyin xinfā” 篆印心法), completed in 1738. Zhang Zaixin 張在辛, “Zhuanyin xinfā” 篆印心法, *Shufa* 書法 3 (1984): 39.

Methods of the knife had been frequently disregarded in favor of other elements of seal carving in writings about the art from the Yuan (1279-1368) through the Ming dynasties.<sup>178</sup> This is because carving was the last among the various technical and theoretical elements in seal carving to have been learned by the educated. Before literati's practice of carving stone seals was beginning to take hold in the early sixteenth century, seals had been typically made through collaboration between literati and professional carvers. Literati patrons created seal designs, as it required considerable etymological knowledge, while professional carvers executed them on seal faces. For instance, Wen Peng 文彭 (1498-1573), who is one of the earliest literati to carve seal stones personally, in fact often commissioned the carver Li Shiyong 李石英 (ca. 1498-?) to carve his seal designs on ivory.<sup>179</sup> In this system of collaboration, the execution of a seal carving may well have been a mechanical process, in which a carver transcribed a given seal design onto a seal stone, rather than creative work.

However, as literati personally executed seal carvings, carving came to be regarded as a primary means of artistic expression. This change in the concept of carving with regard to seal making is evidenced in the increasing recognition of the importance of methods of the knife. In “Instructions on Seal Carving” (“Yin zhi” 印指), the late Ming and early Qing writer and practitioner of seal carving Qin Cuangong 秦爨公 (ca. 1649) wrote, “[even though] methods of composition and methods of characters are adopted [properly], the fineness and flow, and

---

<sup>178</sup> For an overview of discussions of knife methods from the Ming and Qing dynasties, see Cui Shuqiang 崔樹強, *Zhongguo yishu piping tongshi: Qingdai juan* 中國藝術批評通史：清代卷 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015), 304-313.

<sup>179</sup> Li Shiyong is better known by his style name Wenfu 文甫. On Wen Peng's commissions to Li Shiyong for carving ivory seals with his designs, see Zhou Liangong 周亮工, *Yinren zhuan* 印人傳, in *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, ed. Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al. (Rpt., Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997), 20.

solemnity and elegance [of a seal carving] all rest on methods of the knife” 章法字法雖具，而豐神流動、庄重古雅俱在刀法。<sup>180</sup> In fact, a seal artist of the late Ming period, Gan Yang 甘暘 (ca. 1547-1612), had already written a similar sentence in his “Collected Discussions of Seals” (“Yinzhang jishuo” 印章集說), not about methods of the knife, but about methods of the brush.<sup>181</sup> Qin’s revision to the original sentence indicates that a transition to recognizing the significance of knife method was under way in the seventeenth century.

With the emergence of the Zhe School in the eighteenth century, the execution of a seal carving became further established as creative work as opposed to a mechanical process.<sup>182</sup> This is revealed in the particular emphasis on spontaneity in seal carving by the Zhe School artists such as Ding Jing, Huang Yi, and Chen Hongshou. These artists often expressed that their seal carvings were executed in a relatively short time, without planning.<sup>183</sup> Ding Jing described some of his works as having been “accomplished in a moment” (*qingke er jiu* 頃刻而就). Of his work

---

<sup>180</sup> For this sentence, see Qin Cuangong 秦燾公, *Yinzhǐ* 印指, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 198.

<sup>181</sup> Gan Yang wrote, “Seal-script characters, therefore, have a style. But the fineness and flow, and solemnity and elegance [of a work] all rests on methods of the brush” 篆故有體，而豐神流動、庄重古雅俱在筆法。Gan, *Yinzhang jishuo*, 93.

<sup>182</sup> Han Tianheng wrote that with the Zhe School knife methods in seal carving came to have the same high status as brushwork in brush-based calligraphy. Han Tianheng 韓天衡, “Ming Qing daoshuo” 明清刀說, *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 1 (1996): 68-72.

<sup>183</sup> It is difficult to know how much time the seal carvers usually spent executing a seal. Chen Hongshou often made multiple seals in a single day, suggesting that he spent, at a maximum, a few hours carving a single seal. His seals made in a single day include *Tiao yuan waishi* 苔園外史 (unofficial history in the garden Tiao) and *Liang Baosheng yin* 梁寶繩印 (seal of Liang Baosheng) made in a day of 1796; *Jianglang* 江郎 and *Jianglang shanguan* 江郎山館 (Mountain House of Jianglang) on a day in 1802; and *xue yi Liu shi Qilue wei zong* 學以繻氏七略為宗 (In learning, take Mr. Liu’s *Seven Points* and make it your model) and *Bingtang* 丙塘 in one day of 1806. For these carvings, see Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 120-123, 148-149, and 172-173; and Fang, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 160.

*Wang Pengshou Jingfu yin* 汪彭壽靜甫印 (seal of Wang Pengshou [with the style name] Jingfu)

(Figure 2.21), for instance, the artist wrote,

Jingfu took this stone and asked this old man to carve a seal on it. [The stone] had stayed on my desk for an extremely long time. Today [as] I happened to work on it, I accomplished it in a moment's time. It was just like a strong wind sweeping away thin mist.

靜甫以此石求老夫篆刻，留案頭者甚久，今日偶為作之，頃刻而就，猶勁風之掃薄靄也。<sup>184</sup>

In this writing, Ding Jing portrays himself as an artist who suddenly set about his work and completed it in short order. Huang Yi and Chen Hongshou utilized a different expression to similar effect, stating that they did not have time to “calculate what is skillful and what is clumsy” (*ji gongzhuo* 計工拙) in executing their works.<sup>185</sup>

The increased recognition of the execution of seal carvings as a creative process is further demonstrated by the fact that an artist executing a seal carving was often observed by multiple audiences. While Chen Hongshou was engraving a seal for Guo Lin in 1803, seven figures surrounded and watched him, including the seal carvers Chen Yuzhong, Yu E 余鏗 (ca. 1779-1821), Jiang Buqing 江步青 (ca. 1783-1839), and Qiu Chunzhan 裘春湛 (ca. 1803-1817) (Figure 2.22).<sup>186</sup> The fact that the way in which Chen Hongshou wielded his knife became a

---

<sup>184</sup> In addition to this side inscription, Ding Jing used the same expression “accomplished in a moment” in his side inscription on the carving *Xu Guanhai yin* 徐觀海印 (Seal of Xu Guanhai). For these two side inscriptions, see Kobayashi, ed. *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 188.

<sup>185</sup> For instance, see Huang Yi's *Liu yuchun shanfang* 留餘春山房 (House of Lingering Spring in a Mountain) and Chen Hongshou's (*Shicun sanren* 十村散人 (Shicun, the Useless Person) in Ding, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 161; and Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 88.

<sup>186</sup> For another example of seals executed by Chen Hongshou while being watched by other people, see Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 148-149. Other than Chen Hongshou, other contemporary seal carvers also recorded in their side inscriptions that there were viewers observing their carvings. For example, see Zhang Liu's side

visual spectacle indicates that there was something surprising and unpredictable in his carving process. According to the notable artist and scholar in seal carving Chen Zhenlian 陳振濂, a design of a seal made before carving it only serves as the “starting point” rather than the “destination” of the carving, as it offers merely a vague idea of how to carve the seal.<sup>187</sup> He explains that many factors are at play in the process of executing a seal carving that intervene between the design and the finished work. This includes inspiration striking the seal carver as the carving proceeds; the seal carver’s impromptu responses with effective skills to changing circumstance, such as the artist’s gradually coming to understand the grain of the stone and the particular shape and position of a knife cut that needs to be followed up with a subsequent cut; and revisions to be made to the qualities of strokes already engraved. When Chen Hongshou’s fellow literati came together to watch him carving a seal, it was probably to observe how Chen improvised every individual knife cut throughout the process of execution to complete a carving as an original work of art.<sup>188</sup>

In addition to the development of carving into a primary means of artistic expression in seal carving, the formation of the distinctive character of seal carving as an art form is demonstrated in the stylistic features of Zhe School seal carvings, especially those of the works of Chen Hongshou and his followers. Chen Hongshou’s seal carving is characterized by its

---

inscription on his carving *Guo Lin Xiangbo* 郭慶祥伯 (Guo Lin [with the style name] Xiangbo) done in 1804, in Huang, “Zhang Liu (Zizhen)” 張鏐 (子貞), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911, accessed July 27, 2018, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=2&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q6901&SK=MV>.

<sup>187</sup> Chen Zhenlian 陳振濂, *Zhuanke xingshi meixue de zhankai* 篆刻形式美學的展開 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2005), 31.

<sup>188</sup> People who observed Chen Hongshou engaged in carving a seal often described him as “absolutely like someone who is not careful” 絕若不經意, meaning that he seemed as if he were carving without following a detailed plan. Zhou Sanxie, (Untitled), 2a.

craggy texture and sharply angled strokes. For example, his carving *Xiaohu* 小湖 with his friend Fan Chongjie's 范崇階 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) sobriquet displays large and angled waves along the contours of strokes, as illustrated on the either edge of each vertical stroke (Figure 2.23). The upper ends of the vertical strokes are pointed, while the lower ends are square, with two corners slightly protruding outwards to exaggerate their pointed nature. Having examined the distinctive features of Chen's seal carvings, a literatus of Hangzhou Zhou Sanxie 周三燮 (1783-?) defined them as "sharp" (*li* 利) and "pointed" (*ruì* 銳) in his writing for Chen's seal book, *Seal Book in the Celestial House of Planting Elm Trees* (*Zhongyu xianguan yinpu* 種榆仙館印譜).<sup>189</sup> The famous late Qing theoretician of seal carving Wei Xizeng 魏錫曾 (1828-1881) also described the jaggedness of Chen's seal carvings as, "For example, the broken and damaged [appearance] of Chen Mansheng's knife method in recent times is also that which has never appeared before" 如近時陳曼生刀法之缺蝕，亦從來所無。<sup>190</sup>

These stylistic features of Chen Hongshou's works embody the physical properties of the primary material and tool for seal carving—soft stone and knife—that are distinct from those for making ancient seals as well as for brush-based calligraphy. Above all, the angled edges in Chen Hongshou's carvings demonstrate that they were not written with a soft brush but carved with a sharp blade of a knife.<sup>191</sup> Though ancient seals are carvings in the first place, their visual

---

<sup>189</sup> Zhou Sanxie, (Untitled), 1b-3a.

<sup>190</sup> Wei Xizeng 魏錫曾, "Shu Laigutang canpu hou" 書賴古堂殘譜后, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, ed. Han Tianheng 韓天衡 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985), 624. For a detailed analysis of the development of Chen Hongshou's knife method, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 1-34.

<sup>191</sup> In addition, side inscriptions engraved with the single knife method (*dandao fa* 單刀法) by the Zhe School artists did not give the fluent feeling of brush-written calligraphy. The single knife method was the primary knife method of the Zhe School artists for carving side inscriptions, in which, in principal, a stroke was carved with a single knife cut. Characters carved with the single knife method give a rigid impression due to the lack of curvature in strokes

qualities were different from those of Chen's seal carvings. Comparing ancient bronze and jade seals with Chen's works, bronze and jade are not as malleable as seal stones, and so less suitable for the type of nuanced and quavering outlines that a knife is capable of making on a seal stone's surface, as seen in Chen's works.<sup>192</sup> Moreover, the uneven textures in ancient seals and Chen's carvings are distinct from each other in visual qualities. The rough texture in ancient seals is derived not only from their production process (e.g., carving with a knife) but also from natural erosion over a long period of time so that contours of characters and originally sharp corners in the characters became blurred and softened in the course of time (Figure 2.24). On the other hand, in Chen's seal carvings, pointed edges are accentuated to illustrate that they were freshly carved with a sharp blade. In other words, Chen Hongshou's seal carvings visually announce their material and tool as soft stone and knife, respectively, unlike ancient seals.

Chen Hongshou's style of seal carving became greatly influential during his period, as his friend Qian Yong wrote, "Recently those who do seal carving always model themselves after Vice-Magistrate Chen Mansheng" 近時模印者、輒效法陳曼生司馬。<sup>193</sup> The square and pointed edges and rugged texture of his works are observed in works of seal artists such as Gao Kai 高培 (1769-1839), Zhang Liu 張鏐 (1769-1821), Gao Rijun 高日濬 (ca.1773-after 1821), Sun Jun 孫均 (1777-1826), Wang Hong 汪鴻 (ca. 1777-1826), Zhao Zhichen, Tu Zhuo, and Zhao Yi 趙懿

---

and the frequent disconnection in the middle of a stroke when it requires a radical turn of direction like a hook stroke. This knife method will be further discussed in the following section of this chapter.

<sup>192</sup> That the material properties of bronze and jade are different from those of seal stones, and thus not suitable for making the forms "broken into pieces" was pointed out by seal carvers of the Ming and Qing, such as Xu Shangda and Chen Keshu. Xu, *Yinfa cantong*, 149; and Chen, *Zhuanke zhendu*, juan 5, 8a.

<sup>193</sup> Qian, *Lüyuan conghua*, 315-316.



(ca. 1786-after 1830), all of whom were his friends, relatives, or students (Figure 2.25).<sup>194</sup> Through their works, Chen Hongshou's personal style of seal carving, as well as that of the Zhe School, remained extremely popular among seal carvers until the first half of the nineteenth century, when it began to be criticized by emerging artists such as Zhao Zhiqian, who wrote, concerning the followers of the Zhe School style, "Ancient seals have [the features of the traces of] a brush and especially ink, [whereas] recent people only have a knife and stone" 古印有筆尤有墨，今人但有刀與石。<sup>195</sup> Though denouncing the manneristic style of later artists of the Zhe School, this statement of Zhao Zhiqian succinctly expresses that the Zhe School style embodied the physical features of the material and tool for the art, thus developing the distinctive character of seal carving.<sup>196</sup>

### 3. Seal Carving: Towards a Literati Art

Seal carving is often explained as having developed into a literati art in the Ming dynasty after Wen Peng accidentally discovered soapstone as a material for seal carving and began to

---

<sup>194</sup> For examples of their carvings, see Ding Ren, et al., *Dingchou jieyu yincun* 丁丑劫餘印存, vol. 1 (1939; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1985), *juan* 7, 31-33, 41, 42, 43, and 44; Ge Changying 葛昌楹 and Hu Quan 胡淦, ed., *Ming Qing mingren keyin jingpin huicun* 明清名人刻印精品彙存 (1944; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 265-266, 269-271, and 273; Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 178, 179, 181, and 184; Fang, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 168, and 178; and Ge and Ge, ed., *Chuanputang cangyin jinhua*, 63, and 95.

<sup>195</sup> This phrase is from his side inscription on the carving *Julu Wei shi* 鉅鹿魏氏 (Mr. Wei of Julu). For this side inscription, see Han, ed., *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 892-893.

<sup>196</sup> It has been pointed out in previous studies that this remark was targeted at the later followers of the Zhe School. For example, see Ma Guoquan 馬國權, "Zhuanke jifa zhong de zhuanfa wenti" 篆刻技法中的篆法問題, *Shupu* 書譜 64 (1985): 61.

carve seals himself using this type of stone.<sup>197</sup> Having originated in the great essayist and aficionado of seals Zhou Lianggong's 周亮工 (1612-1672) *Biographies of Seal Artists* (*Yinren zhuan* 印人傳), this story is largely apocryphal and not well founded on historical facts.<sup>198</sup> There was no such magical moment in the history of seal carving at which the art suddenly became a component of literati artistic activity. The integration of seal carving, and especially the activity of personally carving stone seals, into the artistic practice of the literati had been underway before the time of Wen Peng, as demonstrated in the studies of literati-artists such as the eminent painter Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1524).<sup>199</sup> Moreover, with regard to both the popularity of seal carving and the importance of seal carving vis-à-vis the more established visual arts of literati—brush-based calligraphy and painting—in their artistic practice, the art had a much longer road to travel in its progress toward being a more thoroughly literati art after Wen Peng's period, even during and after the Qing dynasty.<sup>200</sup>

---

<sup>197</sup> For example, see James C. Y. Watt, "The Literati Environment," in *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period: An Exhibition from the Shanghai Museum*, ed. Chu-Tsing Li and James C.Y. Watt (New York: Asia Society Galleries in association with Thames and Hudson, 1987), 11.

<sup>198</sup> Wu Xiang 無相, "Lun Wen Peng zai zhuanke shi shang de diwei he gongxian" 論文彭在篆刻史上的地位和貢獻, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 122 (2005): 78-81; and Liu Dongqin 劉東芹, "Wen Peng wannian shufa zhanke huodong ji liangjing xingji kaoshu" 文彭晚年書法篆刻活動及兩京行跡考述, *Shuhua yishu xuekan* 書畫藝術學刊 3 (2007): 432-433.

<sup>199</sup> Huang Dun, "Mingdai chuzhongqi wenren yinzhang yishu gouchen" 明代初中期文人印章藝術鈎沈, in *Xiling yinshe guoji yinxue yantaohui lunwenji* 西泠印社國際印學研討會論文集 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1999), 170-186; and Wu, "Lun Wen Peng zai zhuanke shi shang," 78-96.

<sup>200</sup> Discussions on the secondary cultural status of seal carving vis-à-vis brush-based calligraphy continue even today. For example, see Chen Zhenlian, "Duli: zhuanke benwei de guannian queli (shang)" 獨立：篆刻本位的觀念確立（上）, *Zhongguo zhuanke* 中國篆刻 1 (August 1994): 2-6; and Chen, *Zhuanke xingshi meixue de zhankai*, 10-30.

The four primary biographical compilations of seal artists in China, including Zhou Lianggong's *Biographies of Seal Artists*,<sup>201</sup> document a large number of literati who probably both designed and carved seals during the latter half of the Ming dynasty; this includes the eminent literati and artists Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), Wang Chong 王寵 (1494-1533), Wen Jia 文嘉 (1501-1583), and Wang Kuxiang 王穀祥 (1501-1568), just to name a few.<sup>202</sup> Nonetheless, the visual and textual records that provide evidence for their practice of seal carving are very limited.<sup>203</sup> This is likely in part because seal carving was a one-time hobby for many, rather than a serious pursuit in which they invested a sustained effort over the course of a lifetime.<sup>204</sup> Though these artists practiced seal carving, the art does not seem to have developed into a principal component of their artistic activity.

---

<sup>201</sup> The four biographical compilations of seal artists are Zhou Lianggong's *Biographies of Seal Artists*, Wang Qishu's *Sequel to the Biographies of Seal Artists* (*Xu Yinren zhuan* 續印人傳), and one of the founders of the Xiling Seal Carvers' Society (Xiling yinshu 西泠印社), and Ye Ming's 葉銘 (1867-1948) *Second Sequel to the Biographies of Seal Artists* (*Zaixu Yinren zhuan* 再續印人傳) and *Comprehensive Biographies of Seal Artists* (*Guang yinren zhuan* 廣印人傳).

<sup>202</sup> Wen Zhengming probably played a key role in the increasing popularity of seal carving in the latter half of the Ming dynasty and personally carved seals, considering that many of his students and friends, such as Tang Yin, Wang Chong, Wang Chong's brother Wang Shou 王守 (*jinshi* 1526), Wang Kuxiang, as well as his two sons, Wen Peng and Wen Jia, carved seals. Other than these figures, Chen Daofu 陳道復 (1483-1544), Liu Zhisun 劉穉孫 (ca. first half of 16<sup>th</sup> c), Zhou Tianqiu 周天球 (1514-1515), Qian Zhong 錢仲 (ca. 1500-?), Xue Yi 薛益 (ca. first half of 16<sup>th</sup> c), and Zhang Yunxiao 張允孝 (ca. first half of 16<sup>th</sup> c) were all close to Wen Zhengming and were also probably skilled in seal carving. For a brief introduction to these figures, see Ye Ming 葉銘, *Zaixu yinren xiaozhuan* 再續印人小傳, in *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, ed. Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al. (Rpt., Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997), 247, 269-270, 282; Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 394; Han, *Zhongguo zhuanke dacidian*, 78-80; Huang, "Mingdai chuzhongqi wenren yinzhang yishu," 175-193; and Wu, "Lun Wen Peng zai zhuanke shi shang," 82-90.

<sup>203</sup> For example, the seal carvings that have been positively identified as Wen Zhengming's own works are extremely rare, and textual records of his practice of seal carving do not seem to directly testify that he had personally carved seals. For a possible example of his seal carving in ivory, see Ge and Hu, ed., *Ming Qing mingren keyin jingpin huicun*, 33.

<sup>204</sup> For example, Wang Kuxiang engaged in seal carving when he was young, only to stop later in his life. Wu, "Lun Wen Peng zai zhuanke shi shang," 89-90.

In the period under discussion, seal carving was not as significant a cultural practice of literati as brush-based calligraphy and painting either. This is suggested in the writings of seal carvers during the period. In addition to the common apology that seal carving was a “lesser skill” (*xiaoji* 小技), arguments for the importance of seal carving vis-à-vis brush-based calligraphy and painting also betray that seal carving did not enjoy as high a cultural status as the other visual arts.<sup>205</sup> For example, in his side inscription on the seal *Wei shi Shangnong* 魏氏上農 (Mr. Wei [with the name of] Shangnong), Huang Yi compares seal carving with brush-based calligraphy and painting, as follows (Figure 2.26).

[The traces of] the brush and ink of Wen Hengshan (Wen Zhengming 文徵明, 1470-1559) are elegant and neat, and Shen Shitian’s (Shen Zhou 沈周, 1427-1509) expression is of the ancient and unaffected. Painting, calligraphy—these are respected arts. I think that seals also ought to be deemed commensurate with calligraphy and painting.

文衡山筆墨秀整，沈石田意態蒼渾，是畫是書，各稱其體，余謂印章與書畫亦當相稱。<sup>206</sup>

Though Huang Yi expresses in this writing his perspective that seal carving is an art as respectable as brush-based calligraphy and painting, he reveals by using the character *dang* 當, “ought to,” that the idea was not yet common among his contemporaries, but still closer to a theoretical proposition.

---

<sup>205</sup> For example, in their prefaces to Chen Hongshou’s seal book, Guo Lin and Xu Mao 徐楙 (ca. 1774–after 1837) first wrote that seal carving was “insignificant” (*xiao* 小), before discussing the importance or principles of the art. Guo Lin, “Xu” 序, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, (unpaginated); and Xu Mao 徐楙, “Xu” 序, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, 1a.

<sup>206</sup> For the side inscription, see Kobayashi, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 194.

Chen Hongshou also emphasized the value of seal carving vis-à-vis brush-based calligraphy in his side inscriptions on two seals made in 1801 and 1803 respectively for his friend Lin Baozeng 林報曾 (ca. 1801-1803) (Figure 2.27).<sup>207</sup> Based on the two side inscriptions, it seems that Lin belittled seal carving, whereas he was serious in learning brush-based calligraphy.<sup>208</sup> Chen, as a proud seal carver, tried to demonstrate how seal carving shared the same artistic principles with calligraphy executed with a brush, and thus is an artistic practice as sophisticated as the latter. The side inscription for the second of the two seals reads,

In discussing calligraphy, previous people said that large characters are difficult to make solid and dense, and that small characters are difficult to make broad. Making seals is also like that. [When I], Mansheng, made this seal, I gained the pleasure of marching in a leisurely and comfortable manner in the midst of the narrow. This is also surely what can be preserved...I am only afraid that later these eyes have become dim and my hands shiver and so it is difficult to continue. Xiaotong (Lin Baozeng) must not look down upon this.

前人論書云，大字難于結密，小字難于寬展，作印亦然。曼生此作，于逼仄中得掉臂游行之樂，亦自可存.....恐後此目眇手戰難為繼耳。小桐其勿輕視此。

In this side inscription, Chen Hongshou clearly expresses his serious attitude toward the art. Though it is difficult to know how common Lin's attitude toward seal carving as less than respectable might have been in this period, Lin was probably not an eccentric person with extreme views, considering Huang Yi's statement in the *Wei shi Shangnong* seal.

---

<sup>207</sup> The seal made in 1801 is *Baozeng yinxin* 報曾印信 (Official Seal of Baozeng). For the seal, see Sun, *Chen Hongshou zhuanke*, 92.

<sup>208</sup> In the side inscription for the first of the two seals, Chen Hongshou wrote, "Xiaotong (Lin Baozeng) has recently been practicing calligraphy in the *bafen* style, and [his calligraphy] is full of the taste of the ancient. He should know this skill [of seal carving] and making calligraphy share the same principle" 小桐近習八分書，有古意。當知此技與作書無二理也。 For the two side inscriptions, see Han, ed., *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 872; and Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 154-155.

Moreover, seal carving was not so popular an artistic practice among the literati of the period to the degree that it could be defined as an essential component in their cultural training. Taking the literati in Chen Hongshou's circle as an example, those who were skilled in seal carving seem to have not been more than the rest.<sup>209</sup> Many of the literati who attained the highest official Metropolitan Graduate (*jinshi* 進士) degree are not reported to have learned seal carving; this includes Wang Chang, Qian Daxin, Hong Liangji, Ruan Yuan, and Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅 (1775-1849), just to name a few. The literati who obtained an official qualification other than *jinshi*, including Fang Tinghu, Chen Zhan 陳鱣 (1753-1817), and Xu Xiongfei 徐熊飛 (1762-1835), seem not to have practiced seal carving either. In fact, of the 223 individuals identified as having been in Chen Hongshou's circle, only thirty-seven people were documented in Ye Ming's 葉銘 (1867-1948) *Comprehensive Biographies of Seal Artists* (*Guang yinren zhuan* 廣印人傳), which is the last and most comprehensive of the four primary biographical compilations of seal artists. One of the founders of the Xiling Society of Seal Carvers (Xiling yinshe 西泠印社), Ye Ming published this compilation by combining and expanding the three other works to include over 1,100 seal artists. Admittedly, this compilation cannot be as comprehensive as a national census, and so the ratio of seal carvers to the overall number of members of the group can only be underestimated.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, the ratio of seal carvers to the others in the circle is already

---

<sup>209</sup> A list of figures in Chen Hongshou's circle is found in Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 24-67.

<sup>210</sup> The fact that the ratio of seal carvers to the entire members among *jinshi* is almost the same as that in the group as a whole also suggests that there might have been more seal carvers in Chen Hongshou's circle than those identified in *Comprehensive Biographies of Seal Artists*. This is because literati with such lofty official qualifications as *jinshi* are likely to have been better documented than those without the *jinshi* degree in the compilation. In fact, Wang Yueshen 王曰申 (1788-1841), who was noted for his skill in seal carving in Xiao Jianmin's *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, is not found in *Comprehensive Biographies of Seal Artists*. On Wang Yueshen, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 58. The ratio of seal artists to the people in the whole group is 37: 223 ( $37/223=0.165$ ), while the ratio of the number of *jinshi* holders who practiced seal carving to the number of the entire pool of *jinshi* degree holders in the circle is 9: 57 ( $9/57=0.157$ ).

low enough to demonstrate that seal carving was not part of the basic cultural training of literati during the period.

Though seal carving was not yet a core literati art in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the integration of seal carving squarely into the realm of literati arts had been in progress since the late Ming period. The increasing emphasis on authorship in seal carving is one of the indications of the progress. While craftsmen often remain unknown, the artistic productions of the literati were usually recognized as the creations of individuals. Despite the fact that seal carvers inscribed their names on the sides of their works from the Ming dynasty onwards, seal books, especially the compilations of seal carvings of multiple artists, did not always record their names.<sup>211</sup> For instance, the first two of the three major seal books of contemporary seal carvings in China—Zhang Hao’s *Seal Book in the Hall of Learning from a Mountain* and Zhou Liangong’s *Seal Book in the Hall of Relying on the Ancient* (*Laigu tang yinpu* 賴古堂印譜) that were compiled around 1628 and 1667 respectively, present only images of seal faces without recording the names of artists and characters on the seal faces (Figure 2.28). In contrast, the last of the three seal books, Wang Qishu’s *Seal Book in the Hall of Flying Swans* compiled around the mid-eighteenth century, documents both the artist’s name and characters on the seal face for each work (Figure 2.29).<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>211</sup> Compilations of seal carvings of multiple artists first appeared with *Seal Book in the Hall of Inheriting the Elegant* (*Chengqing guan yinpu* 承清館印譜) made by Zhang Hao 張灝 (?–after 1634) in 1617. For an introduction on the seal book, see Chen Zhenlian, “Zhongguo yinpushi yanjiu daolun” 中國印譜史研究導論, in *Zhongguo yinpushi tudian* 中國印譜史圖典, vol. 1 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011), 14.

<sup>212</sup> The dates of the prefaces, inscriptions, and colophons in this compilation span two decades between 1745 and 1764.

Moreover, seal carving was further assuming the distinctive character of a literati art that was embodied in brush-based calligraphy, especially the transparent presentation of the process of execution. In brush-based calligraphy, a brushstroke is seldom revised once it is executed so that the physical movement of the artist is transparently revealed in the final form of the work. The traces of the brush, connected as they are to the arm and the entire body of the calligrapher, are clearly visible in a piece of calligraphy. On the other hand, most crafts involve a production procedure with multiple stages, and thus physical traces made by the artisan in one stage frequently become erased or are made invisible in subsequent stages of execution. This implies that the time required to execute a piece of calligraphy with a brush is considerably shorter than that needed for a work of craft. As a result, the aspect of physical labor is less critical in brush-written calligraphy than in crafts.

The Zhe School style of seal carving is distinctive in its relatively transparent presentation of the process of executing a seal carving. The chopping-knife method of the Zhe School artists typically involved revealing the traces of the knife blade and creating an uneven texture. As it is said that the number of knife cuts in a Zhe School carving can be counted, the movement of the knife blade for making a seal face could be pictured to a certain degree by observing the completed seal carvings.<sup>213</sup> The primary knife method developed by the Zhe School artists for side inscriptions was the single knife method (*dandao fa* 單刀法), in which, in principal, a stroke was carved with a single knife cut.<sup>214</sup> Though seal artists of the previous dynasty such as He Zhen 何震 (ca. 1530-1606) had already utilized the knife method, it was only

---

<sup>213</sup> For example, see Luo Shuzi's description of Huang Yi's carving style. Luo, "Shilun 'Xiling sijia' de zhuanke yishu," 8.

<sup>214</sup> In the single-knife method, a knife cut or knife cuts were made along the center of a stroke, and knife cuts were not repeated in the same spot. On the knife method, see Deng, *Zhuanke xue, xia*, 40a.



after Ding Jing's application of the knife method to his side inscriptions that it became prevalent, especially in those written in standard and running scripts (Figure 2.30).<sup>215</sup> When Ding Jing carved a side inscription with the knife method, he is reported to have directly carved on stone without writing out a draft with a brush, with his knife in a fixed position while moving the stone toward the knife blade.<sup>216</sup> Another variant of the knife method was developed by Chen Yuzhong, who kept the stone fixed and moved his knife to carve on it.<sup>217</sup> Since the knife method seldom involved making a draft or revising a stroke once it had been written or carved, the carving method brought about the effect of stressing the process of executing a side inscription rather than its final, fixed form. In the end, precisely because of its relatively transparent presentation of the process of executing a seal carving, the emergence of the Zhe School style enhanced the qualities of seal carving to be defined as a literati art.

The development in the integration of seal carving into literati artistic practice is further evidenced in the increasing importance of seal carving vis-à-vis other visual arts to the degree that seal carving served as the overarching form of art that would influence styles and techniques in other types of art in the artistic practice of some individuals. For instance, Chen Hongshou's seal carving exerted significant influence on his brush-based calligraphy and inscriptions on solid objects other than seal stones. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the unique features of his clerical-script calligraphy executed with a brush, such as angled strokes, may well have been derived from his experience in seal carving. Of his inscriptions on objects, which will be

---

<sup>215</sup> For the fact that He Zhen used the single-knife method, but that this method was not as popular as the double-knife method in the Ming dynasty, see Sha, "Yinxue shi," 69.

<sup>216</sup> On Ding Jing's single-knife method, see Chen Yuzhong's side inscription on his carving *Xilian zhi yin* 希濂之印 (Seal of Xilian), in Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling housijia yinpu*, 3.

<sup>217</sup> On Chen Yuzhong's single-knife method, see his side inscriptions on the carving *Xilian zhi yin* and *zui ai rechang ren* 最愛熱腸人 (Most love warmhearted people) in Xiling yinshe, ed. *Xiling housijia yinpu*, 3; and Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 30, and 192.

discussed further in subsequent chapters, suffice it to say that his seal carving practice formed the technical foundation for his practice of inscription writing. This increased influence of seal carving on other forms of art is in fact exactly opposite to the received concept of the relationship between brush-written calligraphy and seal carving, in which the former dominates the latter.<sup>218</sup>

#### **4. From Seal Carving to Inscribing Objects: Carving “Miniature Steles”**

While seal carving was growing toward fully becoming a literati art, the literati of the period further extended their interest in making calligraphic engravings beyond seal carving. This is indirectly suggested in their practice of making “miniature steles” using side inscriptions, as well as their engagement in carving actual steles. Side inscriptions share special visual and technical affinities with ancient stele inscriptions. In addition to overall format correspondences, seen in the typically long, narrow rectangular shapes of the sides of seals, the characters themselves that are aligned vertically and horizontally in side inscriptions are strongly reminiscent of stele inscriptions. Moreover, side inscriptions are preserved for viewing through black and white rubbings, as opposed to the engravings on seal faces, which are primarily stamped using red paste. As a result, through both format and color, side inscriptions and steles appear to be related (Figure 2.31).

In addition to visual feature, a considerable number of side inscriptions are directly comparable to stele inscriptions in carving method. Side inscriptions written in clerical script

---

<sup>218</sup> For example, see Ju-his Chou’s definition of the relationship between brush-written calligraphy and seal carving, in Claudia Brown and Ju-his Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China’s Empire, 1796-1911* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), 242-243.

were often executed with the double-knife method (*shuangdaofa* 雙刀法), which had been employed to carve steles.<sup>219</sup> This method involved writing a draft with a brush and carving both sides of a stroke along its contours. For example, Huang Yi's side inscription on his carving *Shizhu zhai ji* 師竹齋記 (record in the Studio of Learning from Bamboo) closely recreated his clerical-script calligraphy executed with a brush on paper (Figure 2.31). In his free-hand copy of the *Stele of Mr. Yang, the Magistrate of Fanyang County* (*Fanyang ling Yang jun bei* 繁陽令楊君碑) of the Han dynasty, Huang Yi made downward diagonals accentuated towards the ends (Figure 2.32). In so doing, he made the ends of leftward diagonals similar to round bulbs and the rightward diagonals hang down heavily. These formal elements were closely recreated in the side inscription, as demonstrated in the characters *da* 大 and *zi* 字. Moreover, the character *chang* 長 in both calligraphic examples appears in nearly identical, matching compositions, as illustrated in the vertical stroke of its upper half placed to the slightly right side of the vertical stroke of its lower half. This direct visual correspondence between the two calligraphic examples suggests that the artist carved the side inscription by tracing after his own brushwork.<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> In the double-knife method, knife cuts were made along both sides of a stroke. On the knife method, see Deng, *Zhuanke xue, xia*, 40a.

<sup>220</sup> Eminent calligrapher and seal carver of the twentieth century Deng Sanmu 鄧散木 (1898-1963) also pointed out that the clerical-script side inscriptions of Huang Yi, Zhao Zhichen, Yang Xie 楊澣 (1781-1850), and Weng Danian 翁大年 (1811-1890) were first written with a brush and then carved. Deng, *Zhuanke xue, xia*, 64a. For examples of clerical-script side inscriptions that were carved with the double-knife method during the period, see Ding, *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 143, 147, 149, 161, 165, 169, 171, 175, 177, 185, 187, 189, 191, 195, 225, 235, 303, 343, 345, and 365; Fang, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 111, 153, 159, 161, 174, 179; Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling housijia yinpu*, 10, and 47; Kobayashi, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 125, 127, 132, 137, 138, 159-162, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175, and 186-184; Kobayashi, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 10, 14, 18, 19, 21, 76, 86, 114, 181, 182; and Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling bajia yinpu*, 10, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, and 26. These examples include works by Huang Yi, Xi Gang, Chen Yuzhong, Zhao Zhichen, Gui Fu, Tu Zhuo, and Yang Xie.

For the visual and technical affinities between side inscriptions and stele inscriptions, a conceptual association between the two types of carvings seems to have begun to form during the period. This is revealed in the direct stylistic correspondence between Chen Hongshou's side inscriptions in clerical script and his calligraphy for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu* (Figure 1.18). For example, Chen Hongshou made side inscriptions in clerical script on a pair of seals, each of which was carved with one of the two lines in a couplet of a Huang Tingjian poem (Figures 2.33). The side inscriptions feature a very square and evenly balanced composition of characters, which is relatively unusual in Chen Hongshou's clerical-script calligraphy. Carved with the chopping knife method, the characters in the side inscriptions have undulating contours, and extremely pointed edges. These visual elements of the side inscriptions were replicated in Chen's calligraphy for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu* with great precision, as illustrated in the character *fu* 夫 (Figure 2.34). Chen's replication of the calligraphic style of the side inscriptions in his carving of the tombstone suggests that the calligrapher may well have made an association between inscriptions on sides of seals and steles that include tombstones.<sup>221</sup>

The conceptual association between side inscriptions and stele inscriptions was firmly established by seal carvers in the subsequent generations.<sup>222</sup> For example, Shen Aixuan 沈愛讓 (ca. 1806-1858) explicitly borrowed the format of stele inscriptions for his seal carvings such as *jiachen sui huajia yi zhou* 甲辰歲華甲一周 (In the year of *jiachen*, a cycle of sixty years made one circuit) (Figure 2.35). In this work, the seven characters on the seal face were transcribed on

---

<sup>221</sup> For the definition of *bei* 碑 (stele), see Zhong Wei 仲威 and Shen Zhuanfeng 沈傳鳳, *Gumo xinyan—Chunhua getie zongheng tan* 古墨新硯—淳化閣帖縱橫談 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 2-6.

<sup>222</sup> The visual and technical relationships between side inscriptions and steles were most actively appropriated in the works of Zhao Zhiqian, who came a generation after Shen Aixuan. For examples of Zhao Zhiqian's works, see Fang, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 199-200.

the upper portion of one side, the lower part of which was carved with a running-standard script inscription. In so doing, Shen Aixuan made the seven characters larger and closer in appearance to seal script, while those in the lower part much smaller. As an ancient stele often has a title written in seal-script characters in a size larger than that of characters in the body of its text, Shen's inscription clearly shows that the artist consciously borrowed its format from that of steles.

While the similarities between side inscription and stele inscriptions were still largely metaphoric because of their differences in dimension and function, some seal artists of the period engaged in engraving calligraphy for actual steles. As noted above, Chen Hongshou both wrote and engraved the inscription for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*. Of his fellow seal carvers, Qian Yong is reported to have actually carved steles, along with several contemporaneous artists, including the great-great-grandson of the famous painter Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715), Wang Yingshou 王應綬 (1788-1841); Zhang Yanchang's grandson Zhang Zihe 張子和 (ca. 1793-?); Zhao Zhichen's student in seal carving Chen Zuwang 陳祖望 (ca. 1793-1856); and Zhang Yanchang's nephew and Zhang Tingji's cousin's son Zhang Xin 張辛 (1811-1848).<sup>223</sup> Although the details of the steles that they engraved remain largely obscure, many of them may have been replicas of ancient writings.<sup>224</sup> The making of actual steles as well as "miniature steles" suggests that calligraphic carving became a new avenue for literati expression, one that suits multiple interests.

---

<sup>223</sup> For their practice of carving steles, see Ye, *Zaixu yinren xiaozhuan*, 14b, 25b, and 28a; Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 381; and Chu Deyi 褚德彝, *Zhuren xulu* 竹人續錄 (1930; rpt., Hangzhou: Hangzhou gujiu shudian fuyin, 1983), 31a.

<sup>224</sup> This is suggested in the fact that Wang Yingshou made reduced-scale reproductions of one hundred stone inscriptions from the Han dynasty on the undersides of inkstones. On Wang Yingshou's carvings of one hundred of stone inscriptions, see Ye, *Zaixu yinren xiaozhuan*, 273.

### **Chapter 3. Literati Craft 1: Inscribing Wooden Objects and Inkstones**

This chapter explores the literati practice of making inscriptions on solid objects beyond seal carving by focusing on inscriptions on wooden objects and inkstones. It investigates the extent to which the literati engaged in creating inscriptions on the objects and how their active pursuits in seal carving and epigraphy were extended into their inscribing practice. By doing so, the chapter illuminates the importance of inscription making as an emerging cultural practice of the literati and its artistic and intellectual foundation.

The chapter begins with the documentation of the literati who practiced making inscriptions in Chen Hongshou's circle. Then, it analyzes how the literati engaged in various stages of making inscriptions focusing on their inscriptions on inkstones. By examining how to determine whether the person who signed an inscription also engraved it when the inscription does not offer sufficient information, the chapter evaluates the popularity of the inscribing practice among the literati of the period.

Subsequently, the chapter investigates the relationship between seal carving and making inscriptions on bamboo and inkstones with regard to their carving tools and techniques. By tracing how seal artists applied their carving skills to a variety of material objects beyond bamboo and inkstones, the chapter sheds light on the technical foundation that enabled the literati practice of inscription across diverse materials.

Finally, the chapter analyzes how the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions was extended into the inscribing practice of the literati by examining a special kind of inkstone that

was carved from ancient relics such as bricks and eaves tiles. It analyzes the ways in which the literati examined, excavated, and collected ancient inscribed bricks and eaves tiles as epigraphic sources, and how the literati collectors engaged in recarving them into inkstones. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the literati practice of replicating inscriptions on ancient relics by carving them on various material objects.

## 1. Writing and Engraving Inscriptions on Inkstones

Chen Hongshou engaged in making calligraphic inscriptions on objects beyond seal stone. This is exemplified by an engraving of his calligraphy and drawing of plum blossoms on a bamboo hookah (*yantong* 烟筩).<sup>225</sup> His own execution of the carving is clearly stated at the end of the inscription, which reads, *Mansheng zi ming bing ke* 曼生自銘並刻. In this sentence, the verb *ming* 銘, whose principal meaning is “to inscribe,” actually means “to compose an inscription,” because there is a separate verb *ke* 刻 (to carve) after the *ming* to deliver the meaning “to inscribe.” The sentence is, therefore, translated as “Mansheng personally composed and carved the inscription.” In addition to this bamboo hookah, contemporary textual records testify that Chen personally executed his inscriptions on Mansheng teapots.<sup>226</sup> Further

---

<sup>225</sup> For the record on this bamboo hookah, including Chen Hongshou’s inscription on it, see Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 27.

<sup>226</sup> For example, Peng Yuncan 彭蘊燦 (1780-1840) stated Chen Hongshou “made inscriptions and engraved sentences by himself” 自製銘鐫句. Peng Yuncan, *Lidai huashi huizhuan* 歷代畫史彙傳 (Rpt., Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1956), 309. Wu Zhenyu 吳振棫 (1792-1870) also wrote that Chen Hongshou had “composed inscriptions, wrote them [with a brush], and chiseled them” 撰為銘詞，書而鐫之. Wu Zhenyu 吳振棫, *Guochao Hangjun shi xuji* 國朝杭郡詩續輯, *juan* 13 (1876; rpt., Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1988), 6. In one of his poems, Tu Zhuo stated that Chen Hongshou used a tool similar to an awl (*zhui* 錐) to write on Yixing teapots. Tu Zhuo 屠倬, *Shicheng tang erji* 是程堂二集, vol. 1517 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (1821; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 404.

considering the surviving examples of his inscriptions on pewter teapots, a bamboo wrist rest, the bamboo backbones of a folding fan, and a brush holder made of mahogany, the variety of objects, upon which Chen exercised the skill of carving is readily apparent (Figure 3.1).<sup>227</sup>

Such versatile carving skills were possessed not only by Chen Hongshou, but also by many of his fellow literati (Table 1). Of the Eight Masters of Xiling, Jiang Ren and Xi Gang practiced bamboo carving, and Jiang was even reported to have sculpted a female figurine out of bamboo.<sup>228</sup> Huang Yi engraved inscriptions on inkstones such as the one made with a broken stone pillar of the Wu Family Shrines (Wu shi ci 武氏祠) (ca. 147 CE) (Figure 3.2). The epigraphist Zhang Yanchang carved inscriptions on a variety of wooden objects, including brush holders and an antique table that had been owned by Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525-1590), the famous collector of the Ming dynasty, either by himself or in collaboration with his fellow literati such as Liang Tongshu and Zhang Tingji.<sup>229</sup> These literati typically inscribed small utensils for a scholar’s study that were made of bamboo and stone.

**<Table 1> Carving Practices of the Literati in Chen Hongshou’s Circle**

	Name	Carving Materials	Relevant Sources <sup>230</sup>
--	------	-------------------	---------------------------------

<sup>227</sup> For examples of these objects with Chen Hongshou’s inscriptions, see Zou An 鄒安, *Guangcang yanlu* 廣倉研錄, vol. 1 (Dongjingshi: Dongjing tang, 1981), “Yan fu” 硯附 (unpaginated); and Wang Shixiang 王世襄, “Cijun jingyan lu” 此君經眼錄, in *Zhuke* 竹刻, ed. Wang Shixiang (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 133-134.

<sup>228</sup> Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 31b; and Ip Yee 葉義 and Laurence C. S. Tam 譚志成, *Chinese Bamboo Carving: Zhongguo zhuke yishu* 中國竹刻藝術, vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1978), 158.

<sup>229</sup> For examples of the objects with Zhang Yanchang’s inscriptions, see Zhu Jiajin 朱家潛 and Wang Shixiang, ed., *Zhumu yajiaoqi* 竹木牙角器, vol. 11 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji: gongyi meishubian* 中國美術全集：工藝美術編 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1987), pl. 31; Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 30b; Zou, *Guangcang yanlu*, vol. 1, “Shuzhen shuiyu,” unpaginated; and Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, ed., *Weiyuan zuotian: Shanghai bowuguan cang yan jingcui* 惟硯作田：上海博物館藏硯精粹 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2015), 133.

<sup>230</sup> Sources relevant to their carving practices other than seal carving are documented here, as they were all basically seal carvers, except for Qian Daxin.



1	Gao Kai 高埏 (1769-1839)	stone seals, bamboo	Wang Shixiang, <i>Bamboo Carving of China</i> , pl. 72; and Zhao Yu, <i>Huaixiu yawu</i> , vol. 3, 212.
2	Gao Rijun 高日浚 (1768-1822)	stone seals, stoneware teapots	Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, <i>Tea, Wine and Poetry</i> , pl. 17.
3	Guo Lin 郭麐 (1767-1831)	stone seals, stoneware teapots	Li Jingkang and Zhang Hong, <i>Illustrated Study of Clay Teapots from Yangxian</i> , 141.
4	Huang Yi 黃易 (1744-1802)	stone seals, bamboo, stone (other than seals)	Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan, ed., <i>Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan cang yan</i> , pl. 107; Zhao Yu, <i>Huaixiu yawu</i> , vol. 3, 213; Tong Yanfang, <i>Jinshi qishou</i> , vol. 2, 144; Guo Ruoyu, <i>Zhikan pinyan lu</i> , 56; Shoudu bowuguan, ed., <i>Shoudu bowuguan cang mingyan</i> , 86-87; Zhang Tingji, <i>Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi</i> , unpaginated.
5	Jiang Buqing 江步青 (ca. 1783-1839)	stone seals, stoneware teapots	Gu Jingzhou, Xu Xiutang, and Li Changhong, ed., <i>Yixing zisha zhenshang</i> , 109.
6	Jiang Ren 蔣仁 (1743-1795)	stone seals, bamboo	Ip Yee and Laurence C. S. Tam, <i>Chinese Bamboo Carving</i> , 158.
7	Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804)	bamboo	Lü Shunxiang, “Jiading de zhuke,” 102, 108, and 118
8	Qian Yong 錢泳 (1759-1844)	stone seals, stone (other than seals)	Ye Ming, <i>Guang yinren zhuan</i> , 381; Zhang Shufen, ed., <i>Wenfang sibao: zhiyan</i> , 167
9	Qu Yingshao 瞿應紹 (1778-1849)	stone seals, bamboo, wood, stone (other than seals)	Shu Kong Soong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, <i>Tea, Wine and Poetry</i> , pls. 38, 40-43.
10	Qu Zhongrong 瞿中溶 (1769-1842)	stone seals, bamboo	Lü Shunxiang, “Jiading de zhuke,” 102.
11	Sun Jun 孫均 (1777-1826)	stone seals, stone (other than seals)	Ge Changying and Ge Changfen, ed., <i>Chuanputang cangyin jinhua</i> , 61.
12	Wang Hong 汪鴻 (fl. 1811-1815)	stone seals, bamboo, wood, stone (other than seals), gold, bronze, porcelain, stoneware, and pewter	Chu Deyi, <i>Zhuren xulu</i> , 14b; Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, <i>Tea, Wine and Poetry</i> , pl. 16; Jiang Baoling, <i>Molin jinhua</i> , juan 17, 4a.

13	Xi Gang 奚岡 (1746-1803)	stone seals, bamboo	Ip Yee and Laurence C.S. Tam, <i>Chinese Bamboo Carving</i> , vol. 2, 79.
14	Xu Mao 徐霖 (ca. 1774-1836)	stone seals, stoneware teapots	Li Jingkang and Zhang Hong, <i>Yangxian shahu tukao</i> , 392.
15	Yang Xie 楊澥 (1781-1850)	stone seals, bamboo, stone (other than seals)	Ip Yee and Laurence C.S. Tam, <i>Chinese Bamboo Carving</i> , vol. 2, 134-135; Guo Ruoyu, <i>Zhikan pinyan lu</i> , 85-88; Shanghai bowuguan, ed., <i>Weiyang zuotian</i> , 166-171; Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., <i>Lanqian shanguan mingyan mulu</i> , 368-369; Zou An, <i>Guangcang yanlu</i> , vol. 2, “Qing yan” (unpaginated); Guangdongsheng bowuguan and The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, ed., <i>Zishi ningying</i> , pl. 86.
16	Yin Shubo 殷樹柏 (1769-1847)	stone seals, bamboo, stone (other than seals)	Guangdongsheng bowuguan and The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, ed., <i>Zishi ningying</i> , pl. 86; Guo Ruoyu, <i>Zhikan pinyan lu</i> , 77-81; Ip Yee and Laurence C. S. Tam, <i>Chinese Bamboo Carving: Zhongguo zhuke yishu</i> , 137.
17	Zhang Tingji 張廷濟 (1768-1848)	stone seals, wood	Zhang Tingji, <i>Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen</i> , vol. 10, 33b.
18	Zhang Yanchang 張燕昌 (1738-1814)	stone seals, bamboo, wood, and stone (other than seals)	Zhu Jiajin and Wang Shixiang, ed., <i>Zhumu yajiao qi</i> , pl. 31; Zhang Tingji, <i>Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen</i> , vol. 10, 30b; From Zou An, <i>Guangcang yanlu</i> , vol. 1, “Shuzhen shuiyu,” unpaginated; Shanghai bowuguan, ed., <i>Weiyang zuotian</i> , 133.
19	Zhao Zhichen 趙之琛 (1781-1852)	stone seals, bamboo, stone (other than seals)	Zhao Yu, <i>Huaixiu yawu</i> , vol. 3, 31-33; Tong Yanfang, <i>Jinshi qishou</i> , vol. 2, 106.

Of the standard utensils for a scholar's study, inkstones were the most suitable for inscription for their relative durability and smooth and spacious surfaces.<sup>231</sup> The literati practice of composing and handwriting an inscription to be carved on an inkstone started as early as the Jin dynasty (265-420).<sup>232</sup> Of Chen Hongshou's contemporaries, prominent scholars, including Liang Tongshu, Qian Daxin, Weng Fanggang, Yi Bingshou, and Ruan Yuan all composed and handwrote inscriptions to be carved on inkstones.<sup>233</sup> For instance, Yi Bingshou wrote the character *yi* 伊 on a Duan inkstone along with his three other clerical-script inscriptions (Figure 3.3). According to one of the three inscriptions, the character is what Huang Yi discovered on the Western Watch Tower (123 CE) of the Eastern Han period in Mount Song of Henan Province.

---

<sup>231</sup> Inksticks frequently carried inscriptions too, though they are usually much shorter than inscriptions on inkstones. Inscriptions on inksticks were stamped after the overall shapes of their bodies were molded, as opposed to those on inkstones, which were directly carved on the bodies of inkstones. Commonly the final consumers of inksticks, literati would not have had access to molds for inksticks. Hence, if a literatus patron had written an inscription for an inkstick, it is most likely to have been written on paper and given to its maker to be carved on its mold. On the process of making inksticks, see Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, part 1: Paper and Printing (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 243-247; and Zhai Tunjian 翟屯建, *Huipai zhuanke* 徽派篆刻 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 2005), 26.

<sup>232</sup> Inscriptions for inkstones as a literary genre existed before the Jin dynasty. However, it is not certain whether the inscriptions were carved on inkstones. Zhang Yuanqing 張元慶, *Gudai shiren yu yan zhi yanjiu* 古代士人與硯之研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2005), 129. For examples of inscriptions on inkstones written by literati from the Jin to the Qing dynasties, any of the major inkstone catalogues can serve as good resources. For instance, see Shanghai shudian chubanshe 上海書店出版社, ed., *Xiqing yanpu: Qinding Siku quanshu* 西清硯譜: 欽定四庫全書 (1933; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010), 42, 90, 112, 117, 140-162, 165-176, 255-256, 262-277, and 384. The literati who wrote inscriptions for these inkstones include Wang Xin 王廙 (ca. 397), Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-658), Su Shi, and Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107), just to name some of the literati of earlier periods.

<sup>233</sup> For examples of inkstones with their inscriptions, see Zhang Yanchang 張燕昌, *Chongding Jinshiqi* 重定金石契, vol. 4 (China: Liu Congshi, 1896), *yu* 羽, 73a; Wu Tingkan 吳廷康, *Mutaoxuan guzhuantulu* 慕陶軒古甄圖錄 (China: n. p., 1851?), unpaginated; Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyang zuotian*, 68-70, 117-119; Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, ed., *Lanqian shanguan mingyan mulu* 蘭千山館名硯目錄 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1987), 192-193, 234-236, and 254-256; Zou, *Guangcang yanlu*, vol. 2, "Qing yan" (unpaginated); Tong Yanfang 童衍方, ed., *Jinshi qishou: jinshijia shuhua mingke tezhan tulu* 金石齊壽: 金石家書畫銘刻特展圖錄, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian chubanshe, 2016), 117; and Zhang Shufen 張淑芬, ed., *Wenfang sibao: zhiyan* 文房四寶: 紙硯, vol. 48 of *Gugong bowuguan cang zhenpin quanji* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品全集 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005), pl. 81.

Yi Bingshou transcribed it onto the inkstone as it precisely matched his family name.<sup>234</sup> In addition to Yi Bingshou's inscriptions, the inkstone bears short remarks by eight literati figures, including Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, and the famous inkstone aficionado Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805), illustrating that circulating and appreciating inkstones and writing inscriptions for them was a common cultural activity among the literati of the period.<sup>235</sup>

It must be asked, then, did they write an inscription directly onto an inkstone or was it written first on paper to be later transcribed onto the inkstone? This question is important since writing on an inkstone can be regarded as a distinct form of writing practice that utilized a material different from the traditional ones of paper, silk, and black ink, even if both were executed with a brush.<sup>236</sup> Some inscriptions seem to have been written not directly on inkstones but on paper first. For instance, Weng Fanggang's inscription for the inkstone of Zhang Tingji's younger brother Zhang Yuan 張沅 (1770-1847) that was made of an ancient brick from the second year of the Xianhe period (326-334) of the Jin dynasty was likely written on paper (Figure 3.4). This assumption can be made because of the size of the characters in Weng Fanggang's inscription, which was trace-copied by Zhang Tingji with the double-hook method (*shuanggou fa* 雙鉤法). The size of the inscription is too large to have been contained on the

---

<sup>234</sup> For the inkstone, see Guo, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 58-61.

<sup>235</sup> Generally speaking, it can be assumed that the person whose signature appears at the end of an inscription both composed and handwrote it with a brush, unless noted otherwise in the inscription, or the inscription was forged. If there had been a separate calligrapher of an inscription on an inkstone other than its composer, then this would have been noted in the inscription to avoid having the viewer misunderstand that it had been handwritten by its composer. For an example of an inscription on an inkstone whose calligrapher and composer are different, see Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyang zuotian*, 90-91.

<sup>236</sup> On the primary ingredients used in making ink, see Tsien, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, part 1, 234, 241-242.

surfaces of an inkstone, and Zhang Tingji seems to have not enlarged the original inscription significantly, considering the dimensions of the two seal marks of Weng Fanggang at the end.

On the other hand, Weng Fanggang's son and epigraphic scholar Weng Shupei's 翁樹培 (1765-1809) transcription of his father's inscription for the inkstone onto another inkstone in Zhang Tingji's collection was directly made on the inkstone (Figure 3.5).<sup>237</sup> At the end of the inscription, Weng Shupei wrote, "Shupei again wrote [the inscription] with cinnabar" 樹培再書丹. The phrase "to write with cinnabar" (*shudan* 書丹) mainly refers to writing a stele inscription with a brush and vermilion ink directly on the stone. However, this expression was applied to writing an inscription directly on an inkstone by Qing literati, because it involved using red ink and writing on stone just like writing an inscription on a stele.<sup>238</sup> The reason vermilion ink was used for writing on stone instead of black ink is because of the solid and non-absorbent surface of stone required more adhesive ink than black ink,<sup>239</sup> and vermilion is a far more visible color against the usually dark color of an inkstone. Writing directly on an inkstone with vermilion ink must have been challenging for most literati to some degree, since the material properties of

---

<sup>237</sup> On the inkstone in Zhang Tingji's collection, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 16b-19a.

<sup>238</sup> As another example of Qing literati using this expression to refer to writing an inscription directly on an inkstone, see Zhang Tingji's inkstone inscribed by Weng Fanggang in Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 10a-10b. According to Zhang Tingji's note on the brick-cum-inkstone, Weng Fanggang "wrote [the inscription] with cinnabar" for him in 1809. The tight composition of the inscription, which precisely fits into the given area for writing and leaves narrow margins along the edge of the calligraphy, might have been possible precisely because Weng Fanggang wrote it directly on the inkstone.

<sup>239</sup> Being more adhesive than ink used for writing on paper and silk, ink made of cinnabar was employed in writing on hard and non-absorbent surfaces such as armor and weaponry. See Tsien, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, part 1, 239.

stone and vermilion ink, especially the slippery, non-absorbent surface of an inkstone, differed substantially from those of paper/silk and black ink.<sup>240</sup>

The affinities between writing a stele inscription and an inkstone inscription sometimes went far beyond their common writing material. This is revealed in Zhang Tingji's comparison of Liang Tongshu's inscription on an inkstone called Thunderbolt Axe (Pili fu 霹靂斧) with a stele inscription (Figure 3.6).<sup>241</sup> The inscription had been written on the inkstone, when it had been owned by Liang Tongshu before being acquired by Zhang Yanchang, and subsequently by Zhang Tingji.<sup>242</sup> In his writing on the rubbing of the inkstone, Zhang Tingji commented on the inscription, stating, "Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy Liang [Tongshu] imitated writing a cliff inscription with cinnabar. Its location is natural. Moreover, [it] forms a fine composition" 梁髣磨崖書丹，位置天然，益成精構. Based on this description, Liang Tongshu's inscription was comparable to a cliff inscription in its writing material, location, and composition.

Regarding the location of the inscription, there is in fact nothing special, since the placement of an inscription on the sides of an inkstone was extremely common. What Zhang Tingji found "natural" regarding its location was likely the irregular shape and rough texture of the writing surface. The shape of the side of the inkstone that bears the inscription is neither round nor square on its ends, and its surface is indented here and there. In addition to the location

---

<sup>240</sup> For a brief description about the difference between writing on an inkstone and on paper, see Li Tiemin 李鐵民, *Yandiao yishu yu zhizuo* 硯雕藝術與製作 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2004), 56. The difficulty of writing directly on stone in vermilion is also noted in Zhu Guantian, "An Epoch of Eminent Calligraphers: The Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties," in Ouyang Zhongshi, et al., *Chinese Calligraphy*, 205.

<sup>241</sup> On the inkstone, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 12a.

<sup>242</sup> After acquiring this inkstone, Zhang Yanchang requested a person to paint *Receiving the Inkstone with Respect* (*Fengyan tu* 奉研圖), on which Liang Tongshu wrote the inscription on the inkstone again with larger characters. Thus, the inkstone seems to have been originally owned by Liang Tongshu, then acquired by Zhang Yanchang, and subsequently by Zhang Tingji.

of the inscription, Zhang mentioned its composition. What is unique about the composition is that the characters were not aligned vertically but horizontally. Inscriptions on the long and narrow areas on the sides of an inkstone were usually written vertically, according to the usual writing practice of the literati in letters or books of small sizes. Arranging characters horizontally was rather typically observed in writings of larger sizes such as those on tablets or the heads of steles. This composition, together with the rough, irregular stone surface, may well have prompted Zhang Tingji to compare Liang Tongshu's inscription with writing on cliffs.

Apart from composing and writing inscriptions on inkstones, Qing literati personally engraved them. The most direct evidence for this practice is found in verbs following after the name of the composer and calligrapher of an inscription such as *ke* 刻 and *le* 勒 that unequivocally mean “to carve.” One of the most common verbs written after the name of the person who wrote an inscription, *ming*, could also mean “to engrave an inscription.” Nonetheless, as previously mentioned, *ming* sometimes stood specifically for “to compose an inscription” so that the verb cannot be read as “to carve an inscription” without additional evidence to substantiate that the subject executed the engraving of the inscription. It should be noted, however, that a verb specifying that its subject carved an inscription cannot be accepted verbatim, especially when the person is not known to have learned carving in any material. The inscription may mean that the person commissioned the engraving of the inscription rather than having personally engraved it. This doubt is founded on the observations made with regard to inscriptions on inksticks. The verb “to make” (*zhi* 製, *zhi* 制, or *zao* 造) in an inscription on an inkstick frequently means that the individual who was the subject of that verb actually

commissioned a professional inkstick maker to make the inkstick.<sup>243</sup> Hence, inkstone inscriptions that specify their carver should be read with reservations, depending on whether the person practiced carving in any other material objects.

Many of Qing literati are identified as having personally carved inscriptions on inkstones. For example, the early Qing poet Lü Liuliang 呂留良 (1629-1683) engraved a long regular-script inscription on the underside of a Duan inkstone for his friend Gao Danzhong 高旦中 (ca. 1660) in 1665.<sup>244</sup> At the end of the inscription, Lü stated that he had “hand carved” (*shoule* 手勒) it.<sup>245</sup> The prominent calligrapher of seal script Wang Shu 王澐 (1668-1743) mentioned that he had “chiseled” (*zhuo* 琢) an inscription on a Duan inkstone, which he had purchased in 1724 after having been fond of it for over a decade.<sup>246</sup> Chen Hongshou’s friend and seal carver Qian Yong engraved an inscription on his own Duan inkstone, which had accompanied him in his long-distance travels, in 1844 (Figure 3.7).<sup>247</sup> Regarding their proficiency in seal carving and special

---

<sup>243</sup> The literati practice of having artisans make inksticks under their direction and still attributing the inksticks to themselves seems to have started as early as the Song dynasty. Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, *Zhou Shaoliang xumo xiaoyan* 周紹良蓄墨小言 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2009), 31; and Fang Xiaoyang 方曉陽, Wang Wei 王偉, and Wu Dantong 吳丹彤, *Zhiyan zhimo* 制硯制墨 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2015), 537-539.

<sup>244</sup> For the inkstone, see Shanghai bowuguan, ed. *Weiyang zuotian*, 85-87.

<sup>245</sup> For another example of his inscriptions on inkstones, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Lanqian shanguan mingyan mulu*, 74-76.

<sup>246</sup> At the end of the inscription, it is written, “The Hermit from Liangchang, Wang Hou, chiseled” 良常山人王屋琢. The Hermit from Liangchnag is Wang Shu’s sobriquet. For the inkstone, see 天津博物館, ed., *Tianjin bowuguan cang yan* 天津博物館藏硯 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012), 87. For an additional example of inkstones bearing Wang Shu’s inscription, see Zou, *Guangcang yanlu*, vol. 1, “Qing yan” (unpaginated); and Tianjin bowuguan, ed., *Tianjin bowuguan cang yan*, 86.

<sup>247</sup> In the inscription, Qian Yong wrote that he had “carved the inscription and commemorated its merit” 勒銘紀功. For a transcription of the inscription, see Zhang, ed., *Wenfang sibao: zhiyan*, 167.



note on their execution of carvings of the inscriptions, these individuals could be regarded as having engraved them in addition to composing and handwriting them.<sup>248</sup>

Though these inscriptions specify who their engravers were, most Qing inscriptions on inkstones record only the individuals who composed and handwrote them, without mentioning their engravers. Under these circumstances, it is often very difficult to ascertain whether these “writers” and “calligraphers,” who most likely did both the composing and writing of the inscriptions, also executed their carvings. Nonetheless, if the writer and calligrapher of an inscription was proficient in seal carving and their seal mark appears at the end of the inscription, there is a good chance that the same figure also executed its carving. This is because Qing seal artists tended not to entrust making their own seals to other seal carvers.<sup>249</sup> As carving methods was an important element for artistic expression, especially with Zhe School carvings, a carving of a seal design made by a seal carver would not have been commissioned of someone who was less thoroughly trained in seal carving than the seal carver himself. Huang Yi’s seal mark, following his inscription on one of his inkstones, for instance, may well have been carved by Huang himself, even though he simply signed his name at the end of the inscription and did not mention that he engraved it personally.<sup>250</sup> If Huang Yi indeed did the carving of his seal mark, it is reasonable to assume that he engraved the entire preceding calligraphic inscription.

On the other hand, if the carvings of the seal mark and the inscription had been entrusted to a seal carver other than himself, Huang Yi would have been obliged to mention it in his inscription, or the other seal carver would have at least left a signature on the inkstone. For

---

<sup>248</sup> On their practice of seal carving, see Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 381, 395, 416.

<sup>249</sup> Zhou, *Yinren zhuan*, 30; and Zhang, “Lun Huizong zhi goucheng ji qi yishu fengge zhi shanbian,” 13.

<sup>250</sup> For a transcription of the inscription on the inkstone, see Guo, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 55-57.

example, the painter and inkstone collector Ji Nan 計楠 (1760-1834) left his seal mark and inscription on an inkstone from the Ming dynasty, the carving of which was requested of the seal carver Li Pin 李聘 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) (Figure 3.8).<sup>251</sup> Even though Li Pin was a relatively minor seal artist compared to Huang Yi, he left his own seal mark and a note at the end of the inscription that he had “carved the words of the inscription” (*le ming ci* 勒銘辭) for Ji Nan. Based on this example, if an inscription includes a seal mark of the writer who was accomplished in seal carving, and there is no special remark with regard to the engraver of the inscription, it is likely the writer personally engraved the inscription, including the seal mark.

In fact, Qing literati made similar assumptions regarding inscriptions of their predecessors on inkstones. The literatus and seal carver Zhang Zhen 張貞 (1636-1712), for instance, considered Zhou Lianggong’s inscription on a Duan inkstone as having been engraved by Zhou himself, as demonstrated in his inscription on the same inkstone where he called Zhou’s inscription “what Master Liyuan (Zhou Lianggong) carved” 櫟園師所刻.<sup>252</sup> However, Zhou Lianggong mentioned neither himself nor another person as the carver in the inscription. In a similar example, there is an inkstone with the eminent poet Zhu Yizun’s 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) son Zhu Kuntian’s 朱昆田 (1652-1699) running-script inscription, which does not specify the identity of its carver (Figure 3.9). In explaining about the inkstone, however, Zhang Tingji mentioned, “Xijun (Zhu Kuntian) is proficient in all aspects—carving, composing, and

---

<sup>251</sup> For the inkstone, see Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyuan zuotian*, 58-61. On Li Pin, see Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 415.

<sup>252</sup> On the inkstone, see Tianjin bowuguan, ed., *Tianjin bowuguan cang yan*, 67; and Zhongguo wenfang sibao quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國文房四寶全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo wenfang sibao quanji 2: yan* 中國文房四寶全集 2: 硯 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2007), pl. 142.

handwriting inscriptions” 西峻銘刻撰寫俱精, implying that the carving of the inscription had been executed by Zhu Kuntian.<sup>253</sup>

Zhang Zhen and Zhang Tingji could make these assumptions because they were likely far better knowledgeable of the carving practices of Zhou Lianggong and Zhu Kuntian than we are. Though Zhou Lianggong is reported to have practiced seal carving, surviving examples of his seal carvings are extremely rare, revealing that his interest in seal carving focused primarily on collecting and writing about it.<sup>254</sup> Moreover, no record of Zhu Kuntian’s carving practice has been identified, except for the Zhang Tingji’s note about the inkstone. It is also possible is that Zhang Zhen and Zhang Tingji’s assumptions are more a reflection of their own contemporary practice in making inscriptions. In other words, because it was common for literati to personally engrave inscriptions on inkstones as well as on other material objects, they may have come to assume that Zhou Lianggong and Zhu Kuntian did the same. In any case, these two examples suggest that carving inscriptions in person on inkstones may have been much more common among Qing literati than textual records can confirm.

## 2. The Applicability of Seal-carving Techniques to Inscriptions

The carvings of the literati on bamboo and inkstones were mainly shallow incisions of calligraphy or a pictorial design. The reason they could make incised negative carvings in such a variety of materials is that they could apply the very same tools and techniques used in seal

---

<sup>253</sup> Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 7b-8a.

<sup>254</sup> For an example of Zhou Lianggong’s seal carving, see Fang, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 56.

carving to making the negative incisions called for in working with these other materials. Taking bamboo carving as an example, the kind of knife with a flat, square blade that is utilized for making incisions on the surface of bamboo is similar to the knives typically used for seal carving except that their blades are slightly thinner.<sup>255</sup> Of the various techniques employed in bamboo carving, negative incision, such as shallow carving (*qianke* 淺刻) and deep carving (*shenke* 深刻), is directly comparable to carving seal faces with *baiwen* characters and side inscriptions, in that all of them involve carving only the surface of the objects and the areas within the contours of forms.<sup>256</sup> Techniques for positive carving, especially thin ground relief (*bodi yangwen* 薄地陽文), is also comparable to carving seal faces, but those with *zhuwen* characters.<sup>257</sup> The technical affinities between seal carving and bamboo carving are clearly demonstrated by the fact that the seal carvers who mainly made stone seals occasionally crafted bamboo-root seals.<sup>258</sup> Though the differences in the material properties of bamboo when compared to those of seal stones, particularly with regard to the tough fibrous nature of bamboo that often caused the knife blade

---

<sup>255</sup> Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 31a-31b; and Jin Shaofang 金紹坊, “Kezhu xiaoyan” 刻竹小言, in *Zhuke yishu* 竹刻藝術, by Jin Shaofang and Wang Shixiang (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980), 28.

<sup>256</sup> On various carving techniques in bamboo carving, see Jin, “Kezhu xiaoyan,” 31, and 36-42. Jin Shaofang 金紹坊 (1890-1979) was one of the most respected Chinese bamboo carvers of the twentieth century.

<sup>257</sup> Thin ground relief was often used for copying ancient bronze and stone inscriptions with corrosion. Jin, “Kezhu xiaoyan,” 45-46. Compared to shallow carving and deep carving, this skill was much less utilized by the seal artists for their bamboo carvings or carvings in other materials, perhaps because carving the portions external to the writings or designs proper entailed much more work.

<sup>258</sup> Carving seals with bamboo roots might have started as early as the Yuan dynasty, but became popular from the Qianlong period. Seal carvers such as Deng Shiru and Wu Xizhai occasionally carved bamboo seals. On seal carvings with bamboo roots and the works of these two artists, see Zhi Kan 智龕, “Pan Xifeng de zhugen yin” 潘西鳳的竹根印, in *Yilin conglu* 藝林叢錄, vol. 8 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973), 331; and Sun Weizu 孫慰祖, “Qingdai zhuyin santi” 清代竹印三題, in *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014), 155-170.

to bounce off the surface, presented significant challenges to the seal artists, their training in carving stone seals greatly facilitated their attempts at carving bamboo.<sup>259</sup>

The applicability of seal carving techniques to inscriptions is further illustrated in the inscriptions carved with the single-knife method, which was the most popular method for carving side inscriptions in seals during this period. For instance, Han Chao 韓潮 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c),<sup>260</sup> the seal and bamboo carver who is renowned for his carvings of hundreds of tiny running-script or standard-script characters on the backbones of bamboo folding fans, is reported to have crafted such engravings with the single-knife method and likely without first writing out drafts of his texts with a brush.<sup>261</sup> Meanwhile, the eminent seal artists of the period Xi Gang, Wen Ding 文鼎 (1766-1852), and the monk Dashou 達受 (1791-1858) all left inscriptions on inkstones that were apparently engraved with the single-knife method (Figure 3.10).<sup>262</sup> Based on these examples, seal carving must have served as the major conduit through which the literati of the period came to engage in inscribing bamboo and inkstones.

The techniques for carving stone seals are, in fact, applicable to engraving on a variety of materials beyond bamboo and inkstones. According to the notable seal artists of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries Chen Keshu and Deng Sanmu 鄧散木 (1898-1963), respectively, three

---

<sup>259</sup> On bamboo fibers causing the knife blade to bounce, see Jin, “Kezhu xiaoyan,” 42.

<sup>260</sup> On Han Chao’s date, see Jiang Baoling, *Molin jinhua*, vol. 73 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (Rpt., Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 524; Ji, *Ming Qing zhuke yishu*, 143 (footnote 88); and “Han Chao (Jiaomen)” 韓潮 (蛟門), *Zhenwei yinku* 真微印庫, accessed June 29, 2018, <http://www.sealbank.net/m1MainFind.asp?LM=1&L1=1&L2=3&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q7012&SK=MV>.

<sup>261</sup> For his practice of bamboo carving, see Li Juanya 李狷厓, *Zhongguo yishujia zhenglue* 中國藝術家徵略 (Rpt., Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1968), 46b; and Jin, “Kezhu xiaoyan,” 21. On his practice of seal carving, see Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 379.

<sup>262</sup> For examples of Wen Ding’s and Dashou’s inscriptions on inkstones that were engraved with the single-knife method, see Guo, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 81; and Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 249.

groups of materials used in seal carving share similar physical properties within each of the groups, and thus the same carving knives and carving methods.<sup>263</sup> The three groups are: first, bamboo, ivory, wood from trees such as plum trees and Chinese boxwood, and rhinoceros horn; second, metals including gold, silver, and bronze; and third, hard stones such as jade, crystal, and agate. Consequently, seals made of ivory, wood, and rhinoceros horn could be engraved with the same knife and technique as that for making bamboo seals. Moreover, seals in almost all these materials can be engraved with the same type of knives for carving soft-stone seals, though it may or may not entail customizing the blade or handle of the carving knife according to the physical properties of the materials in question. In other words, the techniques for carving seals in each of the groups of materials could be regarded as additional applications of the techniques for carving soft-stone seals. This means that a person trained in seal carving would be able to engrave nearly any of the materials listed above.

The transferability of techniques of carving stone seals into a variety of materials is not a theoretical construction but one practiced by numerous seal carvers in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The major biographical compilations of seal artists in China record many of the artists as having carved diverse materials other than stone seals.<sup>264</sup> Of the literati in the late eighteenth

---

<sup>263</sup> Chen, *Zhuanke zhendu*, juan 5, 9a-10a; and Deng, *Zhuanke xue*, xia, 46b-49a.

<sup>264</sup> For such artists in *Biographies of Seal Artists*, see entries on Wang Shouqi 萬壽祺 (1603-1652), Jiang Haochen 江臯臣 (ca. 1592-1656), and Lin Jin 林晉 (ca. 1600-1661), in Zhou, *Yinren zhuan*, 30, 44-45, and 63. They carved seals of crystal, jade, and stone; seals of stone and jade; and crystal seals, respectively. For such artists in *Sequel to the Biographies of Seal Artists*, see entries on Li Deguang 李德光 (ca. 1710-1755), Zhu Hongjin 朱宏晉 (ca. 1713-1762), Qiu Kai 仇埏 (ca. 1735-1762), Zhou Fen 周芬 (1712-1789), Xia Yan 夏儼 (ca. 1746-1793), Yan Yu 嚴煜 (ca. 1728-?), and Yang Qian 楊謙 (ca. 1738-1797), in Wang Qishu 汪啟淑, *Xu yinren zhuan* 續印人傳, in *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, ed. Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al. (1910; rpt., Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997), 107, 126, 129, 135, 158, 164, and 190. Zhu Hongjin, for example, carved seals made of jade, gold, silver, porcelain, bamboo, ivory, and horns in addition to stone seals, and excelled in carving lacquer ware. For such artists in *Second Sequel to the Biographies of Seal Artists*, see Xu He 徐鶴 (?), Zhuge Zuo 諸葛胙 (18<sup>th</sup> c), Zhu Fengbing 朱逢丙 (ca. 1780-?), Zhu Ming 朱銘 (?), Zhu Jian 朱堅 (ca. 1783-1852 or ca. 1790-1852), Zhu Xiong 朱熊 (ca. 1801-1864), Chen Zuwang 陳祖望 (ca. 1793-1856), Sun Wei 孫韡 (ca. 1753-1804), Sun Kun 孫坤 (?), Yuan

and early nineteenth centuries, for instance, the scholar-official who engaged in decorating Yixing stoneware teapots with his engravings, Qu Yingshao 瞿應紹 (1778-1849), carved seals made of jade and bamboo root as well as of stone, and engraved his calligraphy and painting on bamboo fan frames, inkstones, and a wooden stand.<sup>265</sup> Upon purchasing a strange rock in the shape of a bamboo root from a market in Suzhou, for example, Qu Yingshao had a stand made of red sandalwood for the rock and personally engraved his running-script prose about the rock along the side of the stand (Figure 3.11).<sup>266</sup>

While technical training in seal carving is most directly applicable to making engravings on the surface of a variety of material objects, some seal carvers extended their carving practices from shallow incisions to deeper carvings, including relief and sculpture. For instance, Zhang Yanchang carved a landscape in relief on a brush holder made of red sandalwood (Figure

---

Xin 袁馨 (ca. 1832-1873), Han Chao 韓潮 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c), Cao Shikai 曹世楷 (ca. 1788-?), Mao Geng 毛庚 (?-1861), Zhang Shouyi 章壽彝 (?), Zhang Qi 張圻 (ca. mid-17<sup>th</sup> C), Zhang Tao 張濤 (ca. 1849), Zhang Rong 張溶 (ca. 1767-1815), Zhang Zihe 張子和 (ca. 1793-?), Wang Guangzu 王光祖 (ca. 1759-1795), Wang Yingshou 王應綬 (1788-1841), Fang Hao 方鎬 (?-1906), Huang Zongyan 黃宗炎 (1616-1686), Wang Hong 汪鴻 (ca. 1777-1826), Wang Tan 汪潭 (?), Wang Rong 汪鏞 (1817-1882), Zhou Zhili 周之禮 (ca. 1848-1891), Jin Yunmen 金雲門 (Qing dynasty), Dong Hanyu 董漢禹 (ca. 1713-?), Kong Qianqiu 孔千秋 (1736-1795), Li Xiqiao 李希喬 (ca. 1648-?), Li Nonghuan 李弄丸 (?), Li Xiaobai 李效白 (1806-1855), Li Xu 李栩 (?), Xu Xichong 許希仲 (ca. 1844), Shen Xie 沈翹 (?), Gu Yuancheng 顧元成 (Qing dynasty), Cai Zhao 蔡照 (ca. 1834-1881), Kuai Zeng 蒯增 (?), Dai Binggong 戴並功 (?), Xie Huangshan 謝黃山 (Qing dynasty), Xie Yong 謝庸 (1832-1900), Lu Guyu 陸古愚 (?), Lu Fengchi 陸鳳墀 (ca. 1865-?), Zhutang 竹堂 (?), Pang Yuanhui 龐元暉 (ca. 1780-1821), Wu Yin 吳隱 (1866-1922), and Yao Rukun 姚汝錕 (Qing dynasty), in Ye, *Zaixu yinren xiaozhuan*, 227-228, 230-232, 246-247, 249, 251, 256, 258, 262, 264-265, 268, 271, 273-275, 278-279, 283, 285, 289-290, 292-293, 301, 304-307, 311, 316, 323, 325-326. Zhu Jian, who excelled in making clay teapots encased in pewter, for example, carved clay, pewter, stone, bamboo, and bronze.

<sup>265</sup> For examples of objects with Qu Yingshao's inscriptions, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pls. 38, 40-43.

<sup>266</sup> Part of the inscription reads, "Ziye (Qu Yingshao) acquired this rock in a market in Suzhou and made this inscription and stored it" 子冶得此石于吳門市上，製此銘藏之。On the object, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 42.

3.12).<sup>267</sup> This carving can be best defined as low relief (*qianfudiao* 淺浮雕), which is deeper than thin ground relief.<sup>268</sup> Low relief, like sculpture, entails more special skills both in designing and in executing than negative incision.<sup>269</sup> Techniques in the traditional literati arts of brush-based calligraphy and painting are directly applicable to designing incised negative carvings, because they are all two-dimensional art forms.<sup>270</sup> Low relief and sculpture, on the other hand, require multiple layers of carvings and need to be designed layer by layer.<sup>271</sup> The designs for different layers cannot be made all at once, but only one at a time, starting from the surface, and based on the state of the carving completed at each stage. This would have presented serious challenges to literati, who had worked mainly with two-dimensional art forms.

In addition to sculpting bamboo objects, some literati crafted the bodies of inkstones, in addition to inscribing them. Zhang Yanchang, for instance, carved multiple axe-shaped inkstones, one of which carried Liang Tongshu's running-script inscriptions, dated 1786, on its bottom and sides (Figure 3.13). The important Hui-lineage seal carver Ba Weizu 巴慰祖 (1744-1793) carved

---

<sup>267</sup> Engraved following the title are, "In the second month of the *yimao* year (1795) of the Qianlong period, Zhang Yanchang [with the style name of] Wenyu carved [this]" 乾隆乙卯二月文漁張燕昌刻, and his seal marks. For the transcription of the inscription, see Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國竹木牙角器全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji* 中國竹木牙角器全集, vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), pl. 73.

<sup>268</sup> Wu Zhifan's 吳之璠 (ca. late 17<sup>th</sup> c) works serve as the standard of low-relief carving. Wang Shixiang, *Bamboo Carving of China* (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America, 1983), 28-29, and 49.

<sup>269</sup> According to Bao Yanli 包燕麗, the process of learning to carve starts with shallow carving and progresses to deeper carving. Those who are good at deep carvings are therefore likely to have good skills in shallow carving. Bao Yanli 包燕麗, "Shilun Qingdai qianqi zhuke dui diaoqi de yingxiang" 詩論清代前期竹刻對雕漆的影響, in *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, ed. Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014), 435.

<sup>270</sup> It should be noted, however, that an understanding of various carving techniques is still needed when utilizing brush-written calligraphy and painting for designing a bamboo carving, so as to be able to assess what features in a piece of calligraphy executed with a brush or painting could be effectively expressed in the bamboo carving. Liu Shuoshi 劉碩識, *Zhuke yishu* 竹刻藝術 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1996), 57.

<sup>271</sup> For the fact that multiple drawings should be made for different layers in carvings in low relief, high relief or sculpture in the round, see Jin, "Kezhu xiaoyan," 22, 33, and 39.



an inkstone using a Duan stone for his eldest son Ba Mengjia 巴孟嘉 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> C) around 1789.<sup>272</sup> A younger relative of both Zhang Yanchang and Zhang Tingji, the seal carver Zhang Xin 張辛 (1811-1848), made an inkstone in 1846 on which he replicated the inscription from an ancient brick owned by Zhang Tingji, “May high officials at the levels of Duke and Marquis with the salary of 1,000 *shi* enjoy longevity and high status” to wish him long life (Figures 1.8, 3.14).<sup>273</sup> Even though techniques for seal carving were not as directly related to carving the bodies of objects as to the inscriptions on them, the technical expertise accumulated by literati through their lengthy engagement with seal carving must have still provided a sound foundation for them to engage in carving that was more complex than negative incision.

As the most established art form in which literati might practice carving in this period, seal carving served as the major passage along which the literati came to engage in carving, including making inscriptions on various material objects. Nonetheless, it is important to note that seal carving was not the only means with which literati learnt carving in general, as evidenced by the Qing literati who engaged in bamboo carving without considerable exercise in seal carving, such as the landscape painter Wu Li 吳歷 (1632-1718)<sup>274</sup> and the eminent scholar-official Qian Daxin.<sup>275</sup> This is also illustrated in the carving practices of the artists who were

---

<sup>272</sup> This is testified in Ba Weizu’s nephew and seal carver Hu Tang’s 胡唐 (1759-after 1826) inscription on its container. By the time Hu Tang carved the inscription in 1809, Ba Mengjia’s son had the inkstone and requested Hu Tang to make the inscription. As a seal carver, Hu Tang probably carved the inscription himself. On the inkstone, see Guo, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 64-67.

<sup>273</sup> According to Zhang Tingji’s inscription on the inkstone, Zhang Xin had previously made an inkstone with the same inscription to celebrate Ruan Yuan’s longevity. For the inkstone, see Guo, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 68-70.

<sup>274</sup> On Wu Li’s bamboo carvings, see Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 28b. One of his carvings, recorded by Chu Deyi, is a wristrest carved with a landscape with the artist’s signature, “Daoist Priest of Ink Well drew and carved [this]” 墨井道人畫並刻.

<sup>275</sup> Wu Li and Qian Daxin are not known to have learned seal carving. For Qian Daxin’s practice of bamboo carving, see Lü Shunxiang 呂舜祥, “Jiading de zhuke,” 102, 108, and 118. Qian Daxin was close to the bamboo carver Zhou

specialized in bamboo carving but practiced carving in other materials during the Ming and Qing dynasties, such as Pu Cheng 濮澄 (1582-?),<sup>276</sup> Pan Xifeng 潘西鳳 (ca. 1685-1764),<sup>277</sup> Qiao Lin 喬林 (ca. 1700-1785),<sup>278</sup> and Fang Jie, to name a few.<sup>279</sup> These artists likely developed their carving skills mainly through their practice of bamboo carving, and then applied them to other material objects. The common character between these bamboo carvers and those who were mainly trained in seal carving is that once the skill of carving is acquired in any material, it was applied to others.

---

Hao 周顥 (1685-1773) and wrote a biography of the artist. For the biography written by Qian Daxin, see Jin Yuanyu 金元鈺, *Zhuren lu* 竹人錄, in *Zhuanke xue* 篆刻學, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Rpt., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966), 195-196.

<sup>276</sup> Pu Cheng 濮澄 (1582-?), who was highly regarded by the eminent literati of his period such as Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) and Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1689), carved not only bamboo but also jade, ivory, ebony, red sandalwood, lacquerware, and rhinoceros horn. On Pu Cheng, see Zhang Dai 張岱, *Tao'an mengyi, Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶, 西湖夢尋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 9; Li, *Zhongguo yishujia zhenglue*, 28; and Liu Luan 劉鑾, *Wushihu* 五石瓠, in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編, vol. 96 (Rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), 318.

<sup>277</sup> Pan Xifeng 潘西鳳 (ca. 1685-1764) engraved artifacts such as a wristrest, a folding fan frame, and a brushholder made of bamboo, red sandalwood, and ivory with pictorial designs and calligraphy. On the other hand, he crafted the entire body of an artifact, one such example being making a *qin* 琴 zither with an unusual type of bamboo, and crafting a brush holder with bamboo nodes and carving his own clerical-script calligraphy on it. On Pan Xifeng's carving practices, see Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 6b, 27a; Wang, "Cijun jingyan lu," 132; Qian Dingyi 錢定一, *Zhongguo minjian meishu yiren zhi* 中國民間美術藝人志 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), 214; Zhu and Wang, ed., *Zhumu yajiao qi*, pls. 24-25; and Li, *Zhongguo yishujia zhenglue*, 45b.

<sup>278</sup> Qiao Lin, who excelled in carving bamboo seals, also made seals in crystal, jade, porcelain, and ivory, and was also able to carve stone, bronze, and iron. On Qiao Lin, see Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 7a.

<sup>279</sup> As other examples of bamboo carvers who extended their carving practices to other materials, Li Shiyong, Zhu He 朱鶴 (ca. late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> C), Feng Xilu 封錫祿 (ca. 1703), and Shi Tianzhang 施天章 (1702-1774) can be mentioned. Li Shiyong is known to have excelled in engraving on the surfaces of bamboo folding fans, and carved ivory seals designed by Wen Peng. On Li Shiyong, see Li, *Zhongguo yishujia zhenglue*, 27-28. The originator of Jiading 嘉定 School of bamboo carving, Zhu He, crafted objects of rhinoceros horn and ivory and practiced seal carving. On Zhu He's carving practices, see Wang, *Bamboo Carving of China*, 18; and Tao Jiming 陶繼明, "Lun wenren yashi yu zhuke de guanxi" 論文人雅士與竹刻的關係, in *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, ed. Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014), 387. As the first generation of the famous Feng family of bamboo carvers in the early Qing period, Feng Xilu carved not only bamboo but also walnut shells and olive seeds. On Feng Xilu, see Jin, *Zhuren lu*, 189-191. Shi Tianzhang sculpted jade, agate, ivory, red sandalwood, and seal stones. On Shi Tianzhang's carvings, see Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕, "Qing qianqi neiting de Jiading zhuren" 清前期內廷的嘉定竹人, in *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, ed. Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014), 13-18.

### 3. From Epigraphy to Inscribing: Recarving Ancient Relics into Inkstones

Literati began to engage in making inkstones as early as the Song dynasty.<sup>280</sup> When this age-old cultural practice merged with the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions, a special type of inkstone became increasingly popular, namely, inkstones carved from ancient inscribed relics, including bricks and eaves tiles. Recarving ancient eaves tiles, such as those from the Bronze Sparrow Terrace (Tongque tai 銅雀臺) of the Eastern Han period, into inkstones started as early as the Tang dynasty.<sup>281</sup> However, the practice became extremely popular during the period in question, when inscribed bricks and tiles were actively being excavated and collected as primary sources for epigraphic studies. Because bricks and tiles with the same inscriptions were relatively abundant, and because surviving bricks and tiles were frequently broken and damaged, they were often recarved into inkstones rather than preserved intact.<sup>282</sup> In so doing, they came to serve as both research materials and functional objects within the scholar's studio.

The ways in which inscribed bricks served as primary sources for epigraphy are well illustrated in the essays on the bricks in Ruan Yuan's Study of Eight Bricks. Eight scholars including Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, Chen Hongshou, and Zhu Weibi, wrote an essay on each

---

<sup>280</sup> For example, Mi Fu carved the bodies of inkstones in person. In his treatise entitled "History of Inkstones" ("Yan xhi" 硯史), his carvings of inkstones are mentioned multiple times. Mi Fu 米芾, "Yan shi" 硯史, in *Yan shi (ji qi ta sizhong)* 硯史（及其他四種）(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 1, 7, and 8.

<sup>281</sup> For the fact that recarving ancient bricks and tiles into inkstones started in the Tang dynasty, see Cai Hongru 蔡鴻茹, "Gu zhuanyan" 古甃瓦硯, *Shupu* 書譜 84 (1988): 76-78.

<sup>282</sup> Wang Chang wrote that because of damage to the bricks and tiles, they were often made into inkstones. Wang Chang 王昶, *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (1871-1872; rpt., Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1964), 410.

of the eight bricks in the study.<sup>283</sup> Ruan Yuan wrote about the fourth of the eight bricks with the inscription of “Mr. Shi [from] the State of Shu” (Shu Shi 蜀師), utilizing inscriptions on Shu Shi bricks, including this particular piece, as historical texts (Figure 3.15).<sup>284</sup> As some of the Shu Shi bricks were marked with a regnal title and the year of their production, Ruan Yuan could deduce from the brick inscriptions as well as received historical texts that “Shu Shi” refers to an artisan who had built city walls for the regent of the State of Wu 吳 (222-280), Sun Jun 孫峻 (219-256), in the second year of the Wufeng 五鳳 period (254-256).

Brick inscriptions were also utilized as visual materials for reconstructing the development of different script types, especially seal and clerical scripts. Weng Fanggang, conducted a detailed formal analysis of the characters in the inscription on the brick from “the fifth year of the Wufeng period (57-54 BCE)” (Wufeng wu nian 五鳳五年) (Figure 3.16).<sup>285</sup> The inscription had been previously identified as “the third year of the Wufeng period” (Wufeng san nian 五鳳三年), since the Wufeng period lasted only for four years and there was damage on the second *wu* character. However, it became reidentified as the fifth year of the Wufeng period with the careful observation, shared by Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan, of the formal qualities of the second *wu*. Consequently, it was argued that this brick had been made before the third month of the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 period (53-50 BCE), when the new regnal title Ganlu was adopted to succeed Wufeng.

---

<sup>283</sup> The eight pieces of writing are included in Ruan, *Bazhuan yinguan kezhu ji*, *juan 2*, 1a-7a.

<sup>284</sup> For Ruan Yuan’s writing on this brick, see Ruan, *Bazhuan yinguan kezhu ji*, *juan 2*, 3b-4b. For interpretations of “Shu Shi,” see Shao Xiping 邵喜平, “Shu Shi zhuan kao” 蜀師磚考, *Yinxue yanjiu* 印學研究 12 (2018): 102-106.

<sup>285</sup> For Qing literati’s writings on this brick, including the one by Weng Fanggang, see Ruan, *Bazhuan yinguan kezhu ji*, *juan 2*, 1a-2a; and Zhang, *Chongding Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu*, 67a-72b.

In his writing about this brick inscription, Weng Fanggang analyzed the formal features of the two *wu* characters to illustrate the transition from seal script to clerical script. According to Weng, the two middle strokes of the first *wu* character were written as straight lines that cross each other, just as they would in clerical script, while those of the second *wu* character were curved, just as they would appear in seal script. Moreover, he pointed out that the flamboyant downward diagonals characteristic of mature clerical script were absent from this brick inscription. As an extremely rare example of clerical-script calligraphy of the Western Han (206 BCE-9 CE) period, it was greatly valued by Weng, and he was planning to make one hundred rubbings of the inscription to spread amongst the scholars in his circle.

As valuable objects bearing ancient inscriptions, bricks and eaves tiles were actively excavated and collected by epigraphic scholars of the period, such as Wang Chang, Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797), and Zhang Tingji. Both Wang Chang and Bi Yuan served as officials in Xi'an 西安 (Shaanxi Province), where the remains of the capitals of the Qin and the Western Han dynasties were located, and thus ancient eaves tiles were relatively abundant.<sup>286</sup> During their service in the region, they excavated and collected inscribed eaves tiles with the assistance of their private secretaries, students, and fellow literati, including Qian Dian, Shen Zhaoding 申兆定 (*juren* 1762), Yu Zhaoxiu 俞肇修 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> c), Zhao Wei 趙魏 (1746-1825), and Sun Xingyan, and compiled rubbings of the eaves tiles and research notes on their inscriptions in publications such as *Record of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions from the Central Shaanxi Plain*

---

<sup>286</sup> Bi Yuan actively engaged in collecting inscribed tiles during his service as Provincial Governor of Shaanxi Province from 1780, and Wang Chang during his service as Surveillance Commissioner of Xi'an from 1783. Wang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 409-410.

(*Guanzhong jinshi ji* 關中金石記) and *Compilation of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions (Jinshi cui bian* 金石萃編).<sup>287</sup>

On the other hand, Zhang Tingji engaged in collecting inscribed bricks from 1795 when he traveled to Haiyan 海鹽 in current Jiaxing 嘉興 (Zhejiang Province) with his brothers-in-law Xu Shu 徐澍 (1757-1831) and Shen Mingyi 沈銘彝 (1763-1837), his cousin Zhang Hao 張灝 (1761-1813), and his nephew Xu Tongbo.<sup>288</sup> In Haiyan, a natural wonder called “Sea Appearance” (*haixian* 海現) occurred once every hundreds of years, in which the sea level ebbed dramatically to reveal the usually underwater remains of an ancient village with coins, ceramics, bricks, and tiles. When Zhang Tingji sailed a boat to Haiyan in April of 1795, he intended to acquire ancient bricks from the most recent Sea Appearance in the autumn of 1779. Though bricks bearing an inscription were scarce and those with a regnal title were even harder to find, he ended up purchasing some valuable inscribed bricks from local people. Upon coming back from the journey, he brought the bricks to Zhang Yanchang, who had already published inscriptions precisely matching those on two of the bricks in his *Inscriptions on Bronzes and Stones (Jinshi qi* 金石契) (Figure 3.17).<sup>289</sup> Celebrating his acquisition of the bricks, Zhang Tingji

---

<sup>287</sup> Other than these figures, Qing literati who actively engaged in collecting ancient tiles include Lin Ji 林佶 (1660~1720), Zhu Feng 朱楓 (1695-after 1781), and Zhu Feng published the first book in Chinese history specialized in tile inscriptions, entitled *Record on Pictures of Tiles from the Qin and the Han Dynasties (Qin Han watu ji* 秦漢瓦圖記). Wang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 409-410.

<sup>288</sup> On this trip of Zhang Tingji and his family members, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 2a-2b, 43b, 45a. Other than these figures, Zhang Tingji’s older brother Zhang Yan 張沆 (1764-1809), his younger brother Zhang Yuan 張沆 (1770-1847), his nephews Zhang Shanglin 張上林 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) and Zhang Bangqu 張邦樞 (1785-1823), his son Zhang Qingrong 張慶榮 (1824-1854), and his grandson Zhang Puxie 張普燮 (?-1860) all engaged in collecting ancient inscribed bricks. On the family members of Zhang Tingji who collected ancient bricks, see Kawai Naoko 川合尚子, “Chō Teisai to kosen no en” 張廷濟と古甌の縁, *Kyōto gobun* 京都語文 20 (2013): 293-311.

<sup>289</sup> One of the two bricks has the inscription “Mr. Shi [from] the State of Shu” and the other the inscription “On the nineteenth of the sixth month in the first year of the Yongning period (120-121 CE), Mr. Chunyu made and

named his study, “Studio of Eight Bricks” (Bazhuan jingshe 八磚精舍), which was echoed by other brick collectors such as Xie Qikun 謝啓昆 (1737-1802) and Ruan Yuan, who had studio names of “Library Boat with Eight Bricks” (Bazhuan shufang 八甌書舫) and “Study of Eight Bricks,” respectively.<sup>290</sup>

In addition to traveling to the ancient remains, Zhang Tingji employed the usual means of acquiring antique objects in procuring inscribed bricks, such as purchasing, bartering, and gift-giving. Those from whom Zhang Tingji purchased ancient bricks included the antique dealer Zhu Yueqiao 朱月樵 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) of Haiyan,<sup>291</sup> the versatile pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian with his own curio shop in Wujiang 吳江 (current Suzhou), and a few literati with official degrees like Cultivated Talent (*xiucai* 秀才) and Tribute Student (*gongsheng* 貢生).<sup>292</sup> In addition, people sometimes brought him ancient bricks in exchange for his calligraphic works, knowing that he was an avid collector of ancient bricks.<sup>293</sup> Moreover, many of Zhang Tingji’s friends are

---

dedicated [this] to the emperor” 永寧元年六月十九日淳于氏作奉在立. On the two bricks, see Zhang, *Chongding Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu*, 15a-21b.

<sup>290</sup> That the studio names of Xie Qikun and Ruan Yuan followed that of Zhang Tingji is testified to in Zhang Tingji’s preface to an album of rubbings of the eight bricks of Ruan Yuan’s Study of Eight Bricks. For the album of rubbings, see Tong, *Jinshi qishou*, vol. 1, 214.

<sup>291</sup> On Zhu Yueqiao, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 3b, 11a-11b, 19b, 21b, and 37b. As a villager of Haiyan, Zhu Yueqiao sold Zhang Tingji bricks from the locale.

<sup>292</sup> For the literati with official degrees who sold Zhang Tingji inscribed bricks, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 4b, 8b, and 22b.

<sup>293</sup> For instance, while he was sojourning in the county office of Zhangxing 張興 (Zhejiang Province) in 1803, a person brought him a Han dynasty brick engraved with the inscription “ten thousand years” (*wansui* 萬歲) to obtain his calligraphy. One of his friends also brought bricks excavated in Haiyan to obtain his calligraphy. For these episodes, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 13a, and 16a.

reported to have given him inscribed bricks as gifts,<sup>294</sup> though some may have sold the bricks to Zhang Tingji.

As for his contemporaries who were also passionate about collecting ancient bricks, Zhang Tingji specifically mentioned the renowned monk epigrapher Dashou.<sup>295</sup> Monk Dashou engaged in collecting ancient bricks from 1826 when he was traveling in Linhai 臨海 (Zhejiang Province) and found bricks from the Jin dynasty, the Southern dynasties, and the Song dynasty in an ancient remain of the region.<sup>296</sup> With a keen and abiding interest in ancient bricks, the monk ended up gathering hundreds of inscribed bricks and named his study “House of Polishing Bricks to Make Mirrors” (Mozhuan zuojing xuan 磨磚作鏡軒).<sup>297</sup> Being the foremost technician in making rubbings, he often made rubbings of inscribed bricks and presented them to his fellow literati, as exemplified by the composite picture of rocks and flowers planted in antique bricks, of which the images of the bricks are full-form rubbings made by the monk (Figure 3.18).<sup>298</sup>

---

<sup>294</sup> The friends include Tian Jingsong 田景松 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) in Pinghu County (Pinghu xian 平湖縣) of Zhejiang; Ge Xingtan 葛星坦 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c), an Educational Official (*xueguan* 學官) in Sheng County (Sheng xian 嵊縣) in Shaoxing 紹興; Wen Rusui 溫汝遂 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) in Shunde 順德 of Guangdong; and Wang Xianglin 王祥麟 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) of Haiyan. One these friends, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 14b-15b, 21a, 24b, 28b, 29b, and 39a.

<sup>295</sup> Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 11.

<sup>296</sup> The story of the beginning of his collection of ancient inscribed bricks is recorded in his inscription on the hanging scroll with rubbings of a brick from the Song dynasty. His studio name, “Studio of One Hundred-Eight Bricks and Inkstones” (Baiba zhuanyan zhai 百八磚硯齋) and his seal mark “Chamber of Bricks from the Twenty-eight Constellation Wells.” (Ershi ba sujing zhuan zhi shi 二十八宿井磚之室) all testify to his intense interest in and superb collection of ancient bricks. On the hanging scroll, studio names, and seal mark, see Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 116, 155, and 191.

<sup>297</sup> Monk Dashou wrote that he had gathered over five hundred ancient inscribed bricks. Monk Dashou, “Mozhuan zuojing” 磨甌作鏡, *Xiaolitian an shichao* 小綠天盒詩鈔, in *Liuzhou*, 286.

<sup>298</sup> For example, Monk Dashou presented rubbings of ancient inscribed bricks to Zhang Tingji as gifts, For the rubbings, see Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 116-117; and Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 5b.



Collected bricks and eaves tiles were not only stored in the studios of the scholars as treasured curios, but also recarved into inkstones to serve as functional objects along with other types of stone relics, such as broken pieces of steles, statues, and buildings.<sup>299</sup> At least six of the eight bricks in Ruan Yuan's Study of Eight Bricks were made into inkstones either before or after entering into his collection.<sup>300</sup> Zhang Tingji had several ancient stone relics recarved into inkstones, including a piece of stone broken off in the shape of a jade *gui* 圭 from a Tang dynasty stele for commemorating the repair of the shrine of Zichan 子產 (d. 522 BCE), a statesman of the State of Zheng 鄭 (806-375 BCE) (Figure 3.19). This inkstone was to represent Zhang's Chamber of the Three Treasured Inkstones Made from a Han Tile, a Jin Brick, and a Tang Stele (Han wa Jin zhuan Tang bei san baoyan zhi shi 漢瓦晉甃唐碑三寶研之室) along with the other two inkstones.<sup>301</sup>

Carving these ancient relics in order to transform them into inkstones was a task scholars not only commissioned of professional artisans, but also carried out themselves. Shen Zhuoshan 沈琢山 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) of Jinling 金陵 (current Nanjing),<sup>302</sup> Hu Shan 胡珊 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c)

---

<sup>299</sup> For an example of ancient statues that were carved into inkstones, Huang Yi had a broken piece of a Buddhist statue of the Northern Qi (550-577), which he would later give to Ruan Yuan as a gift. On the head of the second inkstone, it is inscribed, "Huang Xiaosong (Huang Yi) presents [this] to Ruan Yuan from Yangzhou for his treasured use" 黃小松贈揚州阮元寶用. On the inkstone, see Zhang, *Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi*, unpaginated. In addition, Huang Yi also had an inkstone made with a brick from a well of the Six dynasties, and inscribed it. For the inkstone, see Shoudu bowuguan 首都博物館, ed., *Shoudu bowuguan cang mingyan* 首都博物館藏名硯 (Beijing: Beijing gongyi meishu chubanshe, 1997), 86-87.

<sup>300</sup> For images of the eight bricks, see Tong, *Jinshi qishou*, vol. 1, 214-215; and Zhang, *Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi*, unpaginated. For another example of inkstones made of ancient bricks in Ruan Yuan's collection, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Lanqian shanguan mingyan mulu*, 428-430.

<sup>301</sup> On the chamber, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 7, 4a.

<sup>302</sup> For the records of Zhang Tingji's commissioning Shen Zhuoshan to make inkstones with bricks, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 16a, 21a, 24a, 25b, 27a, and 46b.

from She County (She xian 歙縣) (Anhui Province),<sup>303</sup> Lu Yunzhong 陸雲中 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) of Haiyan<sup>304</sup> are some of the professional carvers who Zhang Tingji entrusted with making inkstones from ancient relics in his collection.<sup>305</sup> On the other hand, epigraphists such as Xu Tongbo, Zhang Yanchang, and Monk Dashou all practiced recarving ancient bricks into inkstones.<sup>306</sup> For example, Xu Tongbo “finely carved” (*jing zhuo* 精琢) an inkstone out of a brick inscribed, “the fourth year of the Taiyuan period (376-396)” (Taiyuan sinian 太元四年), upon having acquired it from inside a ruined wall in Haiyan.<sup>307</sup> Originally from Haiyan, Zhang Yanchang also engaged in collecting inscribed bricks and personally recarved them into inkstones, as exemplified by a brick from the Eastern Han period with an inscription “Mr. Xu” (Xu jun 徐君) that he had discovered at the seashore of his hometown (Figure 3.20).<sup>308</sup>

Along with carving the bodies of inscribed relics into inkstones, replicating their inscriptions was a cultural activity in which epigraphists often engaged. As a matter of course, this involved their exercise in carving on various materials including stone, wood and clay. For example, whenever Shen Zhaoding and his colleagues acquired a new inscribed tile, Shen

---

<sup>303</sup> For the records of Zhang Tingji’s commissioning Hu Shan to make inkstones with bricks, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 3a, 31a-32b, 35b-36a, 38a, 41a-41b, and 46a.

<sup>304</sup> For a record of Zhang Tingji’s commissioning Lu Yunzhong to make an inkstone with a stone broken off from an ancient stele, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 2a.

<sup>305</sup> Other than commissioning artisans to carve bricks into inkstones, Zhang Tingji bought finished inkstones made from inscribed bricks. Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 12a, and 13b-14a.

<sup>306</sup> For examples of inkstones carved out of ancient bricks by the monk, see Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 245-246; and Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Lanqian shangguan mingyan mulu*, 436-438.

<sup>307</sup> Qian Daxin left his inscription on the side of the inkstone. On the inkstone, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 25b.

<sup>308</sup> On the inkstone, see Zhang, *Chongding Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu*, 73a-76a. Zhang Yanchang himself wrote “I made it into an inkstone” 余制為硯, and Xu Xiongfei wrote a poem about the inkstone, in which he stated “Qitang (Zhang Yanchang) acquired an ancient brick in the sea and carved it to make an inkstone-cum-brick for writing” 芑堂徵君於海上拾得古甃琢為著書研甃.

replicated the inscription onto an antique brick in person, which Wang Chang described as following.

Though dust was full in front of him, the sound of an awl and a chisel extended into the night. He did not rest at all, [but] he himself did not regard it as hardship. Therefore, if the tiles that the three men acquired had unusual patterns or strange characters, Mr. Shen made imitations of all of them, and so none of them were left out.

雖塵盆滿前，錐鑿之聲丁丁達夜，分不息不自以為苦也。以故三君所得瓦苟有異文奇字申君皆放而弄之靡有遺者。<sup>309</sup>

In this writing the three men refers to Zhao Wei, Qian Dian, and Yu Zhaoxiu, who were ardent collectors of ancient tiles in Wang Chang's secretariat. Of the three figures, Qian Dian is also reported to have carved and imitated all kinds of tile inscriptions, such as the Flying Swan Longevity (Feihong yannian 飛鴻延年) tile (Figure 3.21).<sup>310</sup>

Replicating inscriptions on ancient relics was often combined with making small utensils for literati, including inkstones, trays, and seals.<sup>311</sup> For example, Huang Yi made an inkstone with a broken stone pillar of the Wu Family Shrines and replicated parts of the inscriptions and one pictorial carving from the shrines onto four sides of the inkstone and its underside, respectively (Figures 3.2, 3.22). Engraved at the head of the inkstone is Huang Yi's inscription, "A broken stone pillar of the stone chamber of the Wu Family Shrines of the Han dynasty. Taking advantage of the material, [I] made this inkstone and carved missing characters as

---

<sup>309</sup> Wang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 410.

<sup>310</sup> Wang, *Jinshi cuibian*, 402.

<sup>311</sup> For example, Zhang Tingji's nephew, Zhang Shanglin, replicated the characters on a Han dynasty bronze seal that might have originally been used to mark a *dou* 斗 measure onto a Qingtian 青田 stone—one of the most common seal stones—in 1804. Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 2, 25b. Ba Weizu reproduced the inscription of the bronze San Family Plate (San shi pan 散氏盤) from the Zhou dynasty on a "bronze tray to contain miscellaneous items" (*tong ducheng pan* 銅都承盤) in a scholar's study. For the tray, see Zou, *Guangcang yanlu*, vol. 1, "Yan fu," unpaginated.

supplement. Huang Yi” 漢武氏石室碎石柱，因材為研補刻缺字，黃易。<sup>312</sup> As Huang Yi explained, the characters replicated on the inkstone had previously been visible in the first round of rubbings of the engravings within the shrines upon its excavation, but became either completely missing or partially damaged by the time Huang Yi made this inkstone. Huang Yi utilized the inkstone as a means for preserving the damaged inscriptions of the shrines.

Zhang Yanchang, on the other hand, replicated an inscription on an ancient funerary object called “land deeds” (*maidiquan* 買地券) onto a Duan inkstone (Figures 3.23, 3.24).<sup>313</sup> Having originally been made as a glazed ceramic plate during the Western Jin period, the land deeds object was excavated during the Ming dynasty, and came to be owned by the painter Tong Yu 童鈺 (1721-1782) by the time Zhang Yanchang viewed it in 1771.<sup>314</sup> The inscription was subsequently published in Zhang Yanchang’s *Bronze and Stone Inscriptions*, and copied on the underside of the inkstone. The replicated inscription is followed by the statement, “Zhang Yanchang copied this according to the original artifact” 張燕昌依原器摹, suggesting that Zhang personally executed the inscription. Reflecting his own interest in and practice of carving, Zhang Yanchang made careful observations of the traces of the knife in the original inscription on the land deeds, and described them in his *Bronze and Stone Inscriptions*.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>312</sup> For a transcription of the inscriptions on the inkstone, see Qin Ming 秦明, “Huang Yi jingyan taben heji · Wu shi shishi shizhu yanming 黃易鏡研拓本合輯·武氏石室石柱研銘,” Palace Museum, Beijing, accessed November 25, 2017, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/impres/231835.html>.

<sup>313</sup> For the inkstone, see Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyuan zuotian*, 126-129.

<sup>314</sup> On the land deeds, see Zhang, *Chongding Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu*, 62a-66b.

<sup>315</sup> “The method of making the writing on the platform of the deeds is drawing on clay with an owl. The traces of shallowness and deepness of the carving can be clearly inspected, one after another” 券臺之制書灑以錐畫沙，先後淺深之跡歷歷可驗. Zhang, *Chongding Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu*, 63a.

Epigraphy was one of the most direct routes along which the literati of the period came to engage in inscribing. This is clearly demonstrated in Huang Yi's side-inscription on his seal carving, *jinshi kehua chen neng wei* 金石刻畫臣能為 (This subject can make bronze and stone inscriptions and pictorial carvings), which describes his motivation for inscribing as follows.

Of those which have survived until to the present day among ancient scripts before the Qin and seal and clerical scripts, only bronze and stone [inscriptions] are the most ancient. [The reason] later people imitate and carve them, and pass them around and circulate them is likely that their love of antique objects is great, ... I have had a craving for bronze and stone inscriptions for a long time, and I also like to probe into the history of seal and clerical scripts. Relying on all my hands, I transmit [them] to stone, ...

古文篆隸之存于今者，惟金石為最古。後人摹仿鐫刻，輾轉流傳，蓋好古情深，……余宿有金石癖，又喜探討篆隸之原委，托諸手以寄于石，……。<sup>316</sup>

In this side inscription, Huang Yi presents a logical process of how learning ancient inscriptions could have been extended into the practice of inscription carving. Following ancient writings, including the materials in which they were executed, was surely a way in which the popularity of inscription carving grew as an artistic practice among the literati during this period.

---

<sup>316</sup> Han, *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan*, 858-859.

## Chapter 4. Literati Craft 2: Inscribing on Yixing Stoneware Teapots

The chapter explores the socio-cultural context in which the literati practice of making inscriptions on solid objects emerged during the period by focusing on inscriptions on Yixing stoneware teapots. The chapter examines the cultural pursuits of the literati and professional artisans to argue that the boundaries between the two seemingly distinct social groups were increasingly blurred during the period. By analyzing Chen Hongshou's involvement in making Mansheng teapots, the chapter further illuminates the social status of the literati involved in the practice of inscription making.<sup>317</sup>

The chapter begins with an examination of the growing interest of the literati in various crafts, especially in the making of Yixing teapots. By analyzing the ways in which the literati engaged in collecting, publishing about, and producing Yixing teapots other than Mansheng teapots, the chapter demonstrates that the literati extended their cultural practice into making works of craft beyond appreciating and collecting them.

The chapter proceeds to conduct case studies of three professional artisans who collaborated with the literati in making inscribed objects: the potter Yang Pengnian, the pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian, and the bamboo carver Fang Jie. By investigating their practice of literati arts and interaction with their literati patrons, this part of the chapter illustrates that professional

---

<sup>317</sup> Lai Suk Yee defined Mansheng teapots as designed by Chen Hongshou, inscribed by Chen Hongshou or Chen Hongshou's friends, and made by Yang Pengnian. However, it is often unclear which designs of teapots were Chen Hongshou's work, and Chen Hongshou also engaged in making teapots in addition to designing and inscribing them. For Lai Suk Yee's definition, see Lai Suk-Yee, "Zisha er Chen: Chen Mingyuan he Chen Mansheng zisha taoyi chengjiu zongshu 紫砂二陳：陳鳴遠和陳曼生紫砂陶藝成就綜述," in *2007 nian guoji zisha yantaohui lunwenji* 2007 年國際紫砂研討會論文集, ed. Palace Museum, Beijing (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2007), 161-176.

artisans were increasingly well educated, as much as contemporary literati took greater interest in crafts.

The chapter finally examines Chen Hongshou's involvement in making Mansheng teapots and his motivation for the cultural practice. In so doing, chapter reveals that neither a marginalized social status nor financial rewards were the reasons for Chen's engagement in inscription making. It demonstrates that the practice was rather derived from Chen's artistic sensibility and creativity and his intention to strengthen the literati community centered around him.

## 1. Literati-Collectors, Writers, and Makers of Teapots

Yixing teapots were not merely utensils for brewing tea, but also highly esteemed cultural objects. The great cultural value that an Yixing teapot could have assumed is well illustrated in the ways in which Zhang Tingji acquired, presented, and appreciated a square teapot made by the legendary late Ming master potter of Yixing wares, Shi Dabin 時大彬 (ca. late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c) (Figure 4.1). The teapot carried the potter's inscription in regular script, which quoted the Song dynasty literary figure Fan Zhongyan's 范仲淹 (989-1052) "Song of a Tea Fight" ("Doucha ge" 斗茶歌).<sup>318</sup> It had been passed down as an heirloom in a Wang family in Zhang's hometown village of Xinhuang 新篁 in Jiaxing (Zhejiang Province) from the late Ming and early Qing

---

<sup>318</sup> For the fact that the potter quoted Fan Zhongyan, see Chen Shenghong 陳聖泓, *Qianzai yishi: Shi Dabin Han fanghu taben tiyong ce kao* 千載一時: 時大彬漢方壺拓本題詠冊考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 60-63. "Song of a Tea Fight" describes not only a tea fight but also the process of growing, harvesting, and making tea.

literatus Wang Youfu 王幼扶 (*jinshi* 1661).<sup>319</sup> Zhang and several people in his circle had taken great interest in the teapot, finding a chance to view it and compose poetic writings about it even before Zhang acquired it.<sup>320</sup> When Zhang finally purchased the teapot in the spring of 1803, Zhang paid an extremely high price.<sup>321</sup>

Upon acquiring the teapot, Zhang Tingji had rubbings made of it and requested his friends to compose writings about the teapot for inclusion in an album of images and writings on it, titled *Qianzai yishi* 千載一時 (Figure 4.2). Originally meant an invaluable opportunity coming once a thousand years, the phrase *qianzai yishi* was adopted for this album for the allusion to Shi Dabin's surname through the homophone character "time" (*shi* 時). The allusion of the title implies that both Shi Dabin's talent and this particular teapot were so great that it could have been found only once in a thousand years.<sup>322</sup> In the first pages of the album are two rubbings of the teapot: a full-form rubbing presenting the overall shape of the teapot, and another showing the bottom of the teapot with the potter's inscription.<sup>323</sup> Following the rubbings are colophons written by fifteen individuals, including the leading expert in Yixing wares Wu Qian,

---

<sup>319</sup> For the fact that the teapot originally belonged to Wang Youfu, see Zhang, *Qingyige zayong*, 263. For an introduction to Wang Youfu, see Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 68.

<sup>320</sup> For the appreciation of the teapot by Zhang Tingji and the figures in his circle, see Zhang, *Qingyige zayong*, 264; and Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 100-103.

<sup>321</sup> For the year in which Zhang Tingji acquired this teapot, see Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige zayong* 清儀閣雜詠, in vol. 1 of *Ming Qing ren tiba* 明清人題跋, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Rpt., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968), 263-264. For the fact that Zhang Tingji paid a high price for the teapot, see Zhang Gongfan's 張公璠 (1785-1862) inscription transcribed in Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 118-122.

<sup>322</sup> Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 65.

<sup>323</sup> It should be noted that this is a very early example of "full-form rubbing," as it is usually said that the technique of making full-form rubbings was developed by Ma Qifeng 馬起鳳 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c) and Monk Dashou in the beginning of the Daoguang period (1820-1850). On the beginnings of full-form rubbings, see Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu*, xia, 21a.



his close friend, scholar, and bibliophile Chen Zhan, and the renowned painter Fang Xun's son Fang Tinghu 方廷瑚 (*juren* 1808).

The teapot was highly cherished to the degree that several authors of the colophons juxtaposed the teapot with antique bronzes and bricks in Zhang Tingji's collection. Zhang's brother-in-law Shen Mingyi wrote, "Bronzes of the Shang and Zhou dynasties are arranged on the desk. As the teapot brings up the rear, the whole collection shines more brightly" 商周吉金案頭列，殿以瓦注光磷彬。<sup>324</sup> Comparing the teapot with ancient bronzes and stones could have been a way of emphasizing its importance in a figurative sense rather than indicating that the teapots and antique bronzes and stones actually were of comparable cultural and economic value. Nonetheless, according to the early Qing hermit Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1679), prices of Yixing teapots by Shi Dabin skyrocketed in his period, and even compared favorably with those of bronzes from the Shang and Zhou dynasties.<sup>325</sup> Quoting this part of Zhang Dai's writing, Zhang Tingji compared the value of this particular teapot with that of antique bronzes, and displayed the teapot and his ancient bronzes side by side in his studio.<sup>326</sup>

The teapot was highly cherished mainly because it had been made by Shi Dabin. Shi was regarded as the greatest master in the history of Yixing wares in Zhang Tingji's time, and one of the earliest potters whose works were still available in the market.<sup>327</sup> In the standard history of Yixing wares in the Ming and the Qing dynasties, it is related that Yixing teapots originated with

---

<sup>324</sup> Shen Mingyi's inscription transcribed in Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 101.

<sup>325</sup> Zhang Dai 張岱, *Tao'an mengyi* 陶菴夢憶, *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1966), 15.

<sup>326</sup> Zhang, *Qingyige zayong*, 265.

<sup>327</sup> For an evaluation of Shi Dabin in the period, see Zhang Yanchang's comment on him, quoted in Wu Qian's publication. Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 32.

a monk in the Jinsha Temple (Jinsha si 金沙寺) in Yixing who was proficient at pottery, and Gong Chun 供春 (ca. early 16<sup>th</sup> c), who learned this craft from the monk during the Zhengde period (1505-1521). After these two figures, a group of masters of the Wanli period (1572-1620), including Shi Dabin's father Shi Peng 時朋 (ca. late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c), Shi Dabin, and his disciples continued the tradition. By the late eighteenth century, however, works by the first two masters seem to have been unavailable in the market.<sup>328</sup> On the other hand, Shi Dabin's teapots were the most highly prized teapots among tea lovers of the period, even to the point that a legend about his teapot emitting light at night was being circulated.<sup>329</sup>

As Shi Dabin's teapots were highly popular, forgeries proliferated in the market. In his inscription on the full-form rubbing of the teapot, Zhang Tingji stated that only few among many teapots claiming to be works of Shi Dabin were authentic, and took pride in that the teapot that he had acquired was definitely genuine (Figure 4.1). The reason why he was so confident about its authenticity was because of its reliable provenance and its visual and material characteristics. As previously mentioned, the teapot had been owned by Wang Youfu, who would have been well positioned to acquire an authentic teapot of Shi Dabin, living nearly contemporaneously with the potter. Moreover, the quality of its clay, design, craftsmanship, and calligraphy of the inscription were identified as salient features confirming its authenticity.<sup>330</sup> Shi Dabin's signature in the inscription especially enhanced the credibility of its attribution, since nothing could

---

<sup>328</sup> Zhang Yanchang wrote that he had never seen a work by Gong Chun. Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 32.

<sup>329</sup> For the story, see Chen Zhan's inscription transcribed in Chen, *Qianzai yishi*, 118.

<sup>330</sup> Part of Zhang Tingji's inscription reads, "[The teapot shows] coarse clay, fine craft, an archaic and simple style, and character strokes that are decent and careful. [If a teapot is] like this, then it is an authentic work of Shi Dabin" 麤砂細做形式古樸字畫端謹，如此方是一時真蹟。

declare the identity of the potter more clearly than his inscription.<sup>331</sup> The ways in which Zhang Tingji evaluated the teapot by considering its history of collection and its visual details illustrates the standard practice of connoisseurship. Yixing teapots were the objects of critical appraisal, as they accrued increasingly higher cultural and economic value over time.

Along with Zhang Tingji, many contemporaneous literati engaged in collecting antique Yixing wares, and directed special attention to who owned what in their circle. For example, Wu Qian recorded teapots collected by his close friend Chen Zhan as well as himself, including those by Shi Dabin, the early Qing master potter Chen Mingyuan 陳鳴遠 (ca. late 17<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> c), and the late Ming and early Qing literatus Xiang Busun 項不損 (ca. mid-17<sup>th</sup> c), who engaged in making and inscribing Yixing teapots.<sup>332</sup> Zhang Yanchang, another leading expert of the period in Yixing wares, amassed an extensive collection of Yixing teapots from his childhood; this was partly because his father loved tea drinking and collected Yixing wares.<sup>333</sup> In his family collection, there were works by prominent potters such as Shi Dabin, Xu Youquan 徐友泉 (ca. late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c), and Hui Mengchen 惠孟臣 (ca. the first half of 17<sup>th</sup> c).

Some of these literati even engaged in publishing about Yixing teapots beyond collecting them as exemplified by Wu Qian and Zhang Yanchang. Wu Qian revised and expanded the first treatise in China of Yixing wares, *Lineage of Teapots from Yangxian* (*Yangxian minghu xi* 陽羨茗壺系) written by the late Ming connoisseur of tea ware Zhou Bogao 周伯高 (ca. first half of

---

<sup>331</sup> It was Shi Dabin who initiated leaving the potter's signature as a calligraphic inscription. It is also said that Shi Dabin used a seal to record his name. But based on extant visual materials of Yixing teapots from the Ming dynasty, the use of a potter's seal was relatively rare in the period. For Shi Dabin's practice of leaving his signature, see Zhou Bogao, *Yangxian minghu xi*, 16.

<sup>332</sup> Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 31, and 32.

<sup>333</sup> Zhang, *Yangxian tao shuo*, 31-32, 35-36.

17<sup>th</sup> c) to complete his *Record of Famous Ceramics from Yangxian* (*Yangxian mingtao lu* 陽羨名陶錄) (Hereafter *Mingtao lu*); Yangxian is an ancient name of Yixing.<sup>334</sup> Zhang Yanchang also wrote *Discussion of Ceramics from Yangxian* (*Yangxian taoshuo* 陽羨陶說) (Hereafter *Taoshuo*). Though *Taoshuo* is not extant, it was partially quoted in *Mingtao lu*. Since Zhang's *Taoshuo* quoted in Wu's *Mingtao lu* quotes back *Mingtao lu* and is dated 1786, these two treatises were written during the same period, around 1786.<sup>335</sup> These two treatises were well known among their fellow literati, since Zhang Tingji specifically mentioned *Mingtao lu* and *Taoshuo* as he was planning to inquire of two experts in Yixing wares about the inscription on the Shi Dabin teapot.<sup>336</sup>

Wu Qian, a native of Haining 海寧 (Zhejiang Province), had been an enthusiast of Yixing wares and often visit Yixing potters and collect their works for decades before his publication of *Mingtao lu*.<sup>337</sup> An official degree holder (Tribute Student), Wu Qian was renowned for the extensive library and collection of antiques in his Pavilion of Doing Obeisance to the Classics (Baijing lou 拜經樓). Based on Chen Zhan's description of the pavilion, Wu collected not only antiques such as jades, bronzes, and rubbings of steles, but also relatively recent works of craft in

---

<sup>334</sup> For an introduction to Zhou Bogao and his treatise, see Han, ed., *Zisha guji jinyi*, 2.

<sup>335</sup> Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 35.

<sup>336</sup> Zhang, *Qingyige zayong*, 264.

<sup>337</sup> For an introduction to Wu Qian, see Gao, ed., *Zisha mingtao dianji*, 23. On his frequent travel to Yixing and collection of teapots there, see Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 24. Because of his frequent travel to Yixing, as well as his interest in epigraphy, Wu Qian's research and writing often concerned ancient stone inscriptions in Yixing, as exemplified in his *Record of the Cliff Inscriptions of Yangxian* (*Yangxian moya jilu* 陽羨摩厓紀錄) and *Study on the Stele of Mount Guo* (*Guoshan bei kao* 國山碑考). Wu Qian, *Yangxian moya jilu* 陽羨摩厓紀錄, in *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 3, vol. 7 (Rpt., Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban, 1986), 47-54; and Wu Qian, *Guoshan bei kao* 國山碑考, *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 (Rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968).

various materials, including lacquer, ivory, rhinoceros horn, and bamboo.<sup>338</sup> Chen Zhan noted that, in addition to collecting the objects, Wu examined their dates, styles, categories, and inscriptions, and catalogued them. The two treatises about Yixing wares embody this long-standing interest of Wu Qian in various craftworks, while demonstrating his especially earnest effort to learn about Yixing wares, since he did not write a treatise on any other craft.

Zhang Yanchang, a native of Haiyan (Zhejiang Province) and official degree holder (Graduate for Excellence *yougong* 優貢), developed a wide-ranging interest in craftwork as illustrated in his treatises on antique paper and feather fans. His *Discussion of the Paper of Jinsu* (*Jinsu jian shuo* 金粟箋說) documents antique papers utilized for writing Buddhist sutras that Zhang Yanchang personally viewed or heard about for an extended period around 1762.<sup>339</sup> He committed himself to this writing project since he was concerned that this type of paper became increasingly scarce, as some “busybodies” (*haoshijia* 好事家) recklessly stripped it off and utilized it for mounting. In this treatise, he mainly focused on the Tang dynasty paper of the Song dynasty Buddhist sutras in the Jinsu Temple in his hometown Haiyan, and compared it with numerous pieces of other sutra paper. The author paid attention to such physical details of the paper as its color, texture, thickness, and mounting; he copied the seal marks on each of the papers that he documented, and studied the origin of the seals and thus the history of the paper. Despite differences in subject matter, his writings about sutra paper and Yixing wares are quite

---

<sup>338</sup> For Chen Zhan’s description of Wu Qian’s library and his collections in it, see Chen Zhan 陳鱣, “Xu” 序, in Wu Qian, *Yugu wencun* 愚谷文存, *Baijinglou congshu* 拜經樓叢書 (Rpt., Taipei: Yiwen, 1968), 1.

<sup>339</sup> Zhang Yanchang, *Jinsu jian shuo* 金粟箋說, in vol. 3 of *Yuyuan congkan shizhong* 娛園叢刻十種, ed. Xu Zhen 許增 (Rpt., Hangzhou: Hangzhou guji shudian fuyin, 1982).

similar in nature in that both concern works of craft and provide detailed accounts of the objects he personally examined.<sup>340</sup>

Sometime before 1785, Zhang Yanchang completed a manuscript of his treatise on feather fans, titled *Catalogue of Feather Fans* (*Yushan pu* 羽扇譜).<sup>341</sup> In this writing, Zhang compiled literary works about feather fans, and explained the entire procedure for making the fans, the features of various types of feathers and numerous nomenclatures related to the craft. In so doing, he often quoted artisans in the field, demonstrating that he had close contact and personally interviewed them.<sup>342</sup> This method of doing research about a craft is highly significant, as it acknowledges artisanal experience and knowledge as critical sources for learning about the craft. Considering Zhang's writing of the two treatises about paper and feather fans, he had been engaged in conducting research and writing about multiple crafts before writing *Taoshuo*, which in turn offered a sound foundation for writing his treatise on Yixing wares.

In fact, it was not very rare for Qing literati to publish about craftworks. The early Qing scholars Qian Chaoding 錢朝鼎 (*jinshi* 1647) and Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) wrote essays about Duan inkstones.<sup>343</sup> Jin Nong and Qiu Xuemin 邱學敏 (ca. 1766-1787), who was one of the

---

<sup>340</sup> Wu Qian and Zhang Tingji also took interest in the Jinsu paper. For example, see Zhang Yanchang, *Jinsu jian shuo*, 5b and 9a; and Zhang, *Qingyige zayong*, 257-258.

<sup>341</sup> According to the colophon to the publication written by Yang Fuji 楊復吉 in 1815, Yang Fuji had heard about this writing thirty years previously, but it was only published between 1813 and 1814. Yang Fuji 楊復吉, (Untitled), in Zhang Yanchang, *Yushan pu* 羽扇譜, in vol. 1111 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍 (1849; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 680.

<sup>342</sup> Zhang Yanchang frequently used the phrase “according to a specialist in making fans” (*an zhishan jia yun* 按製扇家云) in the treatise. For example, see Zhang, *Yushan pu*, 677.

<sup>343</sup> Qian Chaoding 錢朝鼎, *Shuikeng shi ji* 水坑石記, in vol. 38 of *Guojia tushuguan cang guji yishu leibian* 國家圖書館藏古籍藝術類編, ed. Xu Shu 徐蜀 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 357-362; and Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Shuo yan* 說硯, in vol. 38 of *Guojia tushuguan cang guji yishu leibian*, 349-356. There are numerous other

editors of the Siku quanshu 四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), compiled inscriptions and appreciative writings about inkstones and inksticks, respectively.<sup>344</sup> Of Chen Hongshou's contemporaries, Liang Tongshu published *History of Brushes* (*Bi shi* 筆史) and *Study of Vessels from Ancient Kilns* (*Gu yaoqi kao* 古窯器考), and the notable philologist Cheng Yaotian 程瑤田 (1725-1814) wrote a short article, "Record of Inkstones" ("Ji yan" 紀硯).<sup>345</sup> The kinds of crafts that these literati concerned themselves with were usually items for a scholar's study, such as writing implements and rare curios. Yixing teapots also belonged to this group of objects as clearly illustrated in a poem that Qian Lin 錢林 (1762-1828), a scholar-official from Hangzhou, composed after receiving a Mansheng teapot from Chen Hongshou.<sup>346</sup> The writing describes the "three friends" of Qian's study, namely the teapot, an inkstick, and an inkstone created by Chen Hongshou, Jin Nong, and the celebrated female inkstone carver Gu Erniang, respectively. The fact that Wu Qian and Zhang Yanchang chose to write about Yixing wares is closely related to the fact that teapots were an integral component of the set of standard utensils for a scholar's study in this period.

Further developing their interest in Yixing wares, some of the literati engaged in making teapots. Of the figures in Chen Hongshou's circle, Tang Zhongmian 唐仲冕 (1753-1827) and Xu

---

literati who wrote about inkstones from the Song to the Qing dynasties, as illustrated in Sang Xingzhi 桑行之, ed., *Shuo yan* 說硯 (Shanghai: Shanghai keji jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994).

<sup>344</sup> Jin Nong 金農, *Dongxinzhai yanming* 冬心齋硯銘, in *Shuo yan*, 411-418; and Qiu Xuemin 邱學敏, *Baishier jia molu tici* 百十二家墨錄題詞, *Siku weishou shu jikan* 四庫未收書輯刊 (Rpt., Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2002), 535-580.

<sup>345</sup> Liang Tongshu 梁同書, *Guyaoqi kao* 古窯器考, in *Taoci bulu* 陶瓷譜錄, vol. 1, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Rpt., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968), 135-164; and Cheng Yaotian 程瑤田, "Jiyan" 紀硯, in *Shuo yan*, 531-532.

<sup>346</sup> Qian Lin 錢林, *Yushan caotang xuji* 玉山草堂續集, *Yueya tang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書 (Rpt., Taipei: Yiwen, 1965), 6-7.

Mao were involved in making Yixing teapots earlier than Chen. Tang served as Magistrate of Jingxi 荊溪 County in present-day Yixing from 1793 to 1795, and commissioned teapots modeled after ancient vessels and personally wrote inscriptions on them to utilize as gifts.<sup>347</sup> Xu Mao, a Government Student (*shengyuan* 生員) in Hangzhou, requested Yang Pengnian to make teapots and then engraved his own inscriptions and signatures on them (Figure 4.3).<sup>348</sup> Chen Hongshou's practice of inscribing Yixing teapots may well have been inspired by these individuals.

At approximately the same time that Chen Hongshou was making Mansheng teapots, Yi Bingshou and Yin Shubo, a notable seal and bamboo carver, may have tried writing and/or engraving inscriptions on Yixing wares upon occasion.<sup>349</sup> In the British Museum, there is an Yixing stoneware vase in the shape of an ancient bronze bell, which bears a seal-script inscription signed by Yi Bingshou (Figure 4.4). The calligraphic style of his signature in regular script closely corresponds with that of his calligraphic works on paper (Figure 4.5). The way in which the two characters in his signature, *bing* 秉 and *shou* 綬, are tightly woven together is also distinctive of Yi's signature in his calligraphy. This unique way of writing his name is derived from one of the compositional methods in seal carving, in which two characters are merged into

---

<sup>347</sup> For the fact that Tang Zhongmian served as the Magistrate of Jingxi County, see Tang Zhongmian 唐仲冕 and Duan Qi 段琦, et al., *Jiaqing xinxiu Jingxi xianzhi* 嘉慶新修荊溪縣志, in *Wuxi wenku* 無錫文庫, *di 1 ji* (1797, rpt., Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2011), 187. Wu Qian wrote five poems with titles stating that Tang Zhongmian liked giving teapots modeled after ancient vessels. In one of the poems, it is written that Tang Zhongmian “personally named the teapot and wrote it.” 自號茗壺並署之. Wu, *Yangxian mingtao lu*, 47.

<sup>348</sup> Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 392. Li Jingkan and Zhang Hong assessed this particular teapot as having been made earlier than Mansheng teapots. For the fact that Xu Mao and Chen Hongshou were very likely acquainted, see Xu Mao 徐懋, “Xu” 序, in Chen Hongshou, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, unpaginated.

<sup>349</sup> For an example of Yixing ware inscribed by Yin Shubo, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 178.



one.<sup>350</sup> As Yi was deeply interested in the ancient script used for seal making, *mouzhuan* 繆篆, and practiced seal carving, he may well have applied a composition from seal script to his signature.<sup>351</sup> In addition, the name of his hometown in Guangdong Province, Tingzhou 汀州, written before his name, was constitutive of his identity, since he was called “Yi Tingzhou” and frequently wrote this before his name in calligraphic works. As Yi Bingshou was already acquainted with Tang Zhongmian and Chen Hongshou by the time the vase was made, he possibly drew the idea of writing inscriptions on Yixing wares from these two individuals.<sup>352</sup> All of this is positive, yet hardly conclusive evidence for Yi’s direct involvement in making this inscription.

In a slightly later period, Chen Hongshou’s long-term friend and colleague Chen Wenshu collaborated with multiple individuals to produce pewter teapots. Chen Wenshu may have occasionally contributed to the production of Mansheng teapots by composing inscriptions.<sup>353</sup> Meanwhile, he embarked on making his own pewter teapots to use as gifts for his guests during his service as Magistrate of Jiangdu 江都 County (Jiangsu Province) from 1821 to 1823.<sup>354</sup> He collaborated with three of his friends who were proficient in engraving calligraphy and drawings on pewter teapots in the project. The teapots were called Yun teapots (Yun hu 雲壺), after the

---

<sup>350</sup> On the compositional method, see Sun Weizu, “Zhuanke goutu xingshi ji shenmei” 篆刻構圖形式及審美, in *Sun Weizu lun yin wengao* 孫慰祖論印文稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000), 385.

<sup>351</sup> See footnote 81.

<sup>352</sup> Tang Zhongmian and Chen Hongshou were invited to a farewell party for Yi Bingshou hosted by the renowned book collector Yuan Tingdao in 1804. Chen Wenshu, *Yidao tang shixuan*; *Yidao tang shi waiji*; *Yidao tang shiwen chao* 頤道堂詩選; 頤道堂詩外集; 頤道堂詩文鈔, Xuxiu Siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (1817; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 421.

<sup>353</sup> For his composition of an inscription for a Mansheng teapot, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 163.

<sup>354</sup> On this production of pewter teapots in Jiangdu, see Chen Wenshu 陳文述, *Shulin xinyong* 畫林新咏, *juan 3* (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1915), 29-30. For the fact that Chen Wenshu served as Magistrate of Jiangdu County from 1821 to 1823, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, 103-104.

first character of his sobriquet Yunbo 雲伯, just as Chen Hongshou's teapots were called Man teapots (Man hu 曼壺).<sup>355</sup> For making these teapots, Chen Wenshu likely composed and wrote inscriptions or made drawings for the three people to carve. Since he practiced seal carving, he may have occasionally tried executing engravings himself.<sup>356</sup> Interestingly, Chen Wenshu wrote that he did not intend to compete with Chen Hongshou for a reputation using his pewter teapots, and so ascribed his teapots to the famous pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian.<sup>357</sup> It is perhaps because Chen Wenshu marked his teapots neither with his own name nor with the names of the three individuals he worked with to produce them that the teapots have not been identified.

A possible acquaintance of Chen Hongshou, Qu Yingshao 瞿應紹 (1778-1849), was the most notable figure among literati who actively engaged in creating inscriptions on Yixing wares after Chen Hongshou.<sup>358</sup> Qu achieved the degree of Tribute Student, and served as Subprefectural Magistrate (*tongzhi* 同知) of Yuhuan 玉環 (Zhejiang Province) during the Daoguang period (1820-1850).<sup>359</sup> He began to be involved in making Yixing teapots from the early 1840s, and collaborated with multiple individuals, including Yang Pengnian and Deng Kui

---

<sup>355</sup> For the fact that the Chen Hongshou's teapots were called Man hu, see Qian, *Lüyuan conghua*, 307.

<sup>356</sup> For Chen Wenshu's practice of seal carving, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 340.

<sup>357</sup> Chen, *Shulin xinyong*, 29-30.

<sup>358</sup> Chen Hongshou and Qu Yingshao could have been acquainted with each other, through their mutual friend Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827). According to Huang Zhenhui, Qu Yingshao's seal book *Catalogue of Seals by Qu Ziyu* 瞿子冶印譜 includes Qu Yingshao's inscription, mentioning his own friendship with Chen Hongshou. Huang, *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu*, 22.

<sup>359</sup> On Qu Yingshao, see Sheng Shuqing 盛叔清, *Qingdai huashi zengbian* 清代畫史增編, vol. 78 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (Rpt., Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 78-142; and Li Junzhi 李潛之, *Qing huajia shishi* 清畫家詩史, *kangxia* 康下 (1930; rpt., Beijing: Beijing shi zhongguo shudian, 1983), 38b.

鄧奎 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c), a literatus with considerable craft skills<sup>360</sup> in making the bodies of the teapots.<sup>361</sup> Proficient at brush-based calligraphy, seal carving, and painting, he decorated the teapots with his calligraphic inscriptions and drawings.<sup>362</sup> A fine example of his teapots is the one in the shape of a truncated cone, which carries his running-script inscription and drawings of bamboo that not only cover the side of the teapot but also overflow onto its lid (Figure 4.6).<sup>363</sup>

The literati practice of making inscriptions on objects emerged amid their growing interest in various crafts. As exemplified in their engagement in collecting, writing about, and inscribing Yixing teapots, the literati evinced their interest in crafts in diverse ways that include being involved in the production of craftworks. This cultural phenomenon demonstrates that the cultural pursuits of the literati were not completely separated from those of artisans but increasingly overlapping during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The blurred boundaries between literati and artisans are further evidenced by the artisans who worked with the literati for making inscribed objects and who themselves became increasingly cultured.

---

<sup>360</sup> Deng Kui was proficient in literary composition and calligraphy, and engraved his own writings on Yixing teapots. On Deng Kui, see Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu*, xia, 30a; and Li and Zhang, *Yangxian zishas tukao*, 397. Deng Kui is also reported to have been good at making stoneware teapots encased in pewter. Guo, *Zhikan pinhu lu*, 7.

<sup>361</sup> Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu*, xia, 30a. Deng Kui supervised potters in making teapots in Yixing on behalf of Qu rather than making the teapots himself, and sometimes marked a *Fusheng Deng Kui jianzao* 符生鄧奎監造 (Deng Kui [with the style name of] Fusheng made) seal on them. For example, see Gu Jingzhou 顧景舟, Xu Xiutang 徐秀棠, and Li Changhong 李昌鴻, ed., *Yixing zisha zhenshang* 宜興紫砂珍賞 (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1992), pl. 106.

<sup>362</sup> For his proficiency in brush-based calligraphy, seal carving, and painting, Jiang, *Molin jinhua*, juan 17, 4a-4b.

<sup>363</sup> The cone shape and overflowing inscription characteristic of Qu Yingshao's teapots are in fact features shared by both his works and the teapots decorated by his friend Qiao Zhongxi 喬重禧 (ca. mid-19<sup>th</sup> c), another Qing literatus, who actively engaged in inscribing Yixing wares. On Qiao Zhongxi, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 396.

## 2. Three Cultured Artisans

Artisans who engaged in making articles of elegance for the literati such as teapots, inkstones, and folding fans stayed in close contact with their patrons and learned about their tastes.<sup>364</sup> Mansheng teapot potter Yang Pengnian was one such artisan. Yang Pengnian was born into a potter family.<sup>365</sup> Both his younger brother Yang Baonian 楊寶年 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) and his younger sister Yang Fengnian 楊鳳年 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c) were notable potters of Yixing wares.<sup>366</sup> Yang Pengnian was the most outstanding potter of the period, as well as among his siblings; he departed from the molding method for making the bodies of teapots that was popular during the period and revived the kneading method that had been practiced by Shi Dabin.<sup>367</sup> In addition to making stoneware teapots, Yang developed considerable carving skills, and practiced carving pewter and bamboo.<sup>368</sup> Examples of bamboo folding fans, the backbones of which were inscribed by Yang Pengnian, still survive.<sup>369</sup> Some of the Yixing teapots encased in pewter and

---

<sup>364</sup> Among Yixing potters, this trend started as early as the late Ming period with Shi Dabin, who is reported to have communicated with Chen Jiru and inspired by Chen to make teapots of smaller sizes. On Shi Dabin's relationship with Chen Jiru, see Zhou, *Yangxian minghu xi*, 14.

<sup>365</sup> Xu Kang wrote that Yang Pengnian's family was skilled at pottery. Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu, xia*, 29b.

<sup>366</sup> On Yang Baonian and Yang Fengnian, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 379.

<sup>367</sup> Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu, xia*, 29b; and Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 378.

<sup>368</sup> For the fact that Yang Pengnian excelled at carving pewter, see Peng, *Lidai huashi huizhuan*, 309.

<sup>369</sup> For example, see Zhao Yu 趙羽, *Huaxiu yawu: Suzhou zheshan 懷袖雅物: 蘇州摺扇*, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2010), 37, 142.

marked with his seal on the inner bottom may have been made entirely by him, including the outer pewter sections.<sup>370</sup>

Yang Pengnian seems to have acquired decent reading and writing skills, based on the square, convex teapot in the Palace Museum, Beijing (Figure 4.7). The front side of the teapot bears four seal-script characters in a grid-style frame, and the bottom of the pot is marked with a seal “Made by Yang Pengnian” (Yang Pengnian zao 楊彭年造). In a standard-script inscription on its backside, the potter states,

The characters on the reverse of a coin mold from the Han dynasty read, *fu ren da wan* 富人大萬. Referring to [an ancient coin with an inscription] *da quan dang qian* 大泉當千, I confirm that there should be a dot in the character *ren* 人 for it to make the character *qian* 千. Reading them in a circular fashion, the characters read, *dafu qianwan* 大富千萬. In [reading this way], the meaning is also reasonable. Perhaps [because the coin is] old and corroded, this has caused the edges [of the inscription] to transform. Mr. Sun Guyun (Sun Jun 孫均, 1777-1826) once carved a stone with the method of making a reduced copy, and gave me it as a gift. [I] made a teapot, with which I wait for a person who engage in archaeological studies.

漢泉范背文，富人大萬，予以大布當千証之，人字中應有一點，作千字回環讀之，文曰：富人大萬，於義亦順。或久而剝蝕以致沿訛。孫氏古雲曾以縮本法勒石贈余，制茗壺以候考古者。<sup>371</sup>

According to this writing, Yang Pengnian received the inscription on the coin mold from one of Chen Hongshou’s friends and students in seal carving, Sun Jun, in the form of a stone

---

<sup>370</sup> For examples of Yixing teapots encased in pewter and marked by Yang Pengnian’s seal on the inner bottom, see Wang Jianhua 王健華, ed., *Gogong bowuyuan cang Yixing zisha* 故宮博物院藏宜興紫砂 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2007), pls. 60 and 61.

<sup>371</sup> For a transcription of the entire inscription on the teapot, see Xia Junwei 夏俊偉 and Han Qilou 韓其樓, ed., *Zhongguo zisha minghu zhenshang* 中國紫砂茗壺珍賞 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), pl. 147.

carving, which was likely either a seal or an inkstone,<sup>372</sup> and reproduced the inscription in his teapot (Figure 4.8). Comparing a rubbing of the coin mold with the teapot,<sup>373</sup> it can be seen that not only the inscription but also the shape of the mold was replicated in the teapot (Figure 4.9).

More importantly, this passage reveals that the potter had achieved at least basic literacy. In fact, Yang Pengnian likely gained the information on the missing stroke in the *ren* character and the correct order of reading the four characters from Sun Jun, since this information is recorded in Sun Jun's side inscription on his seal carving with the four characters (Figure 4.8). Nevertheless, the writing still demonstrates that the potter was able to recognize the characters. On the other hand, whether the standard script of the inscription was written by the potter or not is difficult to verify, as there is no reliable example of Yang Pengnian's calligraphy. However, it should be noted that rubbings of two teapots bearing running-script inscriptions ending with the potter's signature are surviving (Figure 4.10).<sup>374</sup> Even though the two inscriptions were not his compositions, he could have executed them himself, both writing and carving them.<sup>375</sup> This

---

<sup>372</sup> In his side inscription on a seal carving done with the four characters in 1815, Sun Jun stated that he had carved the same characters on an inkstone. For the side inscription of the seal, see Ge and Ge, ed., *Chuanputang cangyin jinhua*, 61. On Sun Jun's relationship with Chen Hongshou, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 56.

<sup>373</sup> For the fact that the mold came to be owned by Zhang Tingji in 1816, see Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 3, 13b. The inscription on this coin mold is also published in Qian Dian 錢坫, *Shiliu changletang guqi kuanshi kao* 十六長樂堂古器款識考, in vol. 5 of *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, ed. Xu Shu 徐蜀 (1796; rpt., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 738. However, in this compilation, the inscription on the coin mold was identified as *furen liu wan* 富人六萬.

<sup>374</sup> For the two teapots, see Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai mingtao tulu* 虛齋名陶圖錄 (China: n. p., 1910s), unpaginated. In one of the two teapots, Yang Pengnian's style name, Erquan 二泉, is written as part of the signature. For Yang Pengnian's style name, see Wu Jingqiang 吳景牆 et al., *Yixing Jingxi xianzhi* 宜興荆谿縣志, vol. 156 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (1882; rpt., Taipei, Chengwen chubanshe, 1974), 1113.

<sup>375</sup> For the first of the two teapots, catalogue author Pang Yuanji explains that Yang Pengnian carved an inscription that had already been composed by Chen Hongshou. Pang, *Xuzhai minghu lu*, unpaginated. Regarding the inscription on the second teapot, an identical inscription written and signed by Guo Lin was carved on a teapot made by Yang Pengnian. For this teapot, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 242.

speculation is based on the examples of inscriptions on Yixing teapots, which were composed and executed by two different individuals and signed by the person who executed them.<sup>376</sup>

Besides providing positive evidence for Yang Pengnian's literacy skills, the inscription on the teapot modeled after the coin mold presents an image of the potter as an elegant person who could appreciate ancient inscribed artifacts and made a teapot for pleasure. The fact that Sun Jun presented his stone carving to Yang Pengnian suggests that Sun regarded Yang as a person who could understand the value of the inscription on his seal carving. Moreover, the teapot was made out of Yang's interest in the inscription, since there seems to have been no client to purchase the teapot at the time when it was made.<sup>377</sup> In another inscription under the spout of the teapot, Yang stated that he had "ten renowned and brilliant friends join him in appreciating [the teapot]" 名華十友參清玩, further emphasizing that he made the teapot partially, if not entirely, for pleasure. Making an artistic production for pleasure and inviting friends to appreciate a rare curio was in fact typical of the behavioral patterns of the educated. Yang Pengnian must have learned these cultural practices as well as his knowledge for appreciating antique artifacts in the

---

<sup>376</sup> For instance, a Mansheng teapot in the Tang Yun Museum bears an inscription composed by Guo Lin. Chen Hongshou borrowed the Guo Lin's inscription, executed it on the teapot, and signed his name at the end of the inscription. For the teapot, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 14. For the fact that the inscription was Guo Lin's work, see Guo Lin, *Lingfenguan shi chuji*; *Lingfenguan erji*; *Lingfenguan shi sanji*; *Lingfenguan shi siji*; *Lingfenguan shi wuji*; *Lingfenguan zazhu*; *Lingfenguan zazhu xubian*; *Lingfenguan zazhu sanbian* 靈芬館詩初集; 靈芬館詩二集; 靈芬館詩三集; 靈芬館詩四集; 靈芬館詩續集; 靈芬館雜著; 靈芬館雜著續編; 靈芬館雜著三編, vol. 485 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 (1796-1850; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 490.

<sup>377</sup> This is suggested in the last part of the inscription on the backside of the teapot that he would "wait for a person who would studied ancient artifacts" 制茗壺以俟考古者, meaning someone who would appreciate and perhaps purchase the teapot.

process of interacting with his literati patrons and collaborators in making teapots that include Qian Du,<sup>378</sup> Wang Hong, and Jiang Buqing, who were all Chen Hongshou's friends.

Contemporary with Yang Pengnian, the pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian was a brilliant teapot maker and antique dealer. Originally from Shanyin 山陰 (Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang Province),<sup>379</sup> Zhu Jian owned an antique shop in Suzhou around 1818 and had Zhang Tingji as one of his most important customers.<sup>380</sup> As an artisan, Zhu Jian was a pioneering figure, as he originated the method of encasing Yixing stoneware teapots in pewter (Figure 4.11).<sup>381</sup> Though pewter teapots had been made from the Ming dynasty,<sup>382</sup> stoneware teapots encased in pewter were Zhu Jian's invention. This method of making teapots in fact seriously impaired the merit of Yixing wares, which was, after all, air-permeable clay bodies. Nonetheless, the outer section of pewter brought considerable advantage to the practice of inscription making. To inscribe a stoneware teapot, the artist needed to recognize and take advantage of the proper timing when the clay body became leather hard. On the other hand, pewter, as a soft and malleable metal, does not harden like clay, and so inscriptions could be added virtually any time after the teapots were encased.<sup>383</sup>

---

<sup>378</sup> For an example of a teapot made by Yang Pengnian and engraved with Qian Du's painting, see Xia and Han, ed., *Zhongguo zisha minghu zhenshang*, pl. 142.

<sup>379</sup> For the fact that his hometown is Shanyin, see an inscription on his pewter wine cup. Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 52.

<sup>380</sup> Zhu Jian sold ancient bricks to Zhang Tingji multiple times and sometimes gave them to Zhang Tingji as gifts. Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 7b, 20b, 26b, and 36b.

<sup>381</sup> Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 6a.

<sup>382</sup> Guo, *Zhikan pinhu lu*, 58.

<sup>383</sup> This information was gained from Terese Tse Bartholomew, the former curator of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, during my conversation with her on 10/26/2013.



Zhu Jian was a versatile artisan who made diverse material objects. Apart from Yixing stoneware teapots encased in pewter, Zhu Jian produced pure pewter artifacts such as teapots, wine cups, and lamps, and pure stoneware objects including teapots, water containers, and seal paste boxes (Figure 4.12).<sup>384</sup> In his pewter artifacts, he often combined such different materials as bronze, jade, porcelain, and wood to make handles, spouts, and knobs on the lids (Figure 4.11). This combination of various materials was intended to protect the user's hands from getting burned. In addition, it also performed a decorative function, displaying a variety of colors and textures in a single object. To work with such diverse materials, Zhu Jian must have developed excellent craft skills. He was, in fact, recognized for his carving skills across a variety of materials, including bamboo, stone, bronze, and pewter, and applied the inlay technique to the wooden handles of his teapots to inscribe characters and patterns on them (Figure 4.11).<sup>385</sup> Considering the diversity of objects, materials, and techniques that Zhu Jian handled, he is very likely to have been a professional artisan.

Despite his apparent professional status, Zhu Jian was classified as belonging to the “Elegant Class” (*yaliu* 雅流) in one of the most comprehensive studies on the history of Yixing ware, *Illustrated Study of Purple Clay Teapots from Yangxian* (*Yangxian shahu tukao* 陽羨紫砂壺圖考), written by the eminent connoisseurs of Yixing wares, Li Jingkang 李景康 (ca. early 20<sup>th</sup> c) and Zhang Hong 張虹 (ca. early 20<sup>th</sup> c). This indicates that the authors

---

<sup>384</sup> For an example of pure pewter teapots made by Zhu Jian, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 48. For a pure stoneware teapot and a seal paste box made by him, see Liang Baiquan 梁白泉, *Yixing zisha* 宜興紫砂 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pl. 61; and Luo Yanqing 駱彥卿 and Shuai Ciping 帥茨平, *Zhongguo zisha tulu* 中國紫砂圖錄 (Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 2000), 83.

<sup>385</sup> For his carving skills across different material objects, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 6a.

considered Zhu Jian as a literatus who engaged in making teapots for personal expression.<sup>386</sup> This definition of Zhu Jian was likely derived from his extensive practice of literati arts.<sup>387</sup> The poetic inscriptions written in clerical, running, and running-cursive scripts on his artistic productions offer sufficient evidence for his literary and calligraphic training (Figure 4.13).<sup>388</sup> Apart from the numerous drawings of plum blossoms engraved on his works of craft, his extant paintings illustrate his proficiency in painting (Figure 4.14).<sup>389</sup> Furthermore, Zhu Jian wrote a book titled *History of Teapots* (*Hu shi* 壺史), which was widely acclaimed by contemporary literati.<sup>390</sup>

Zhu Jian's social status, situated as it was between the seemingly two distinct social groups of literati and professional artisans, is embodied in the ways in which he worked with contemporary literati and artisans in artistic productions. He often involved other literati, including Chen Hongshou, Guo Lin, and Gai Qi, in writing inscriptions or drawing paintings on the works of craft that he made.<sup>391</sup> On the other hand, when he collaborated with professional

---

<sup>386</sup> For an explanation of “Elegant Class” in this publication, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 382.

<sup>387</sup> For a comment on his poetry and calligraphy, see Li Yufen 李玉棻, *Ouboluo shi shuhua guomu kao* 甌鉢羅室書畫過目攷, *juan* 3 (Rpt., Shanghai: Chaoji shuzhuang, 1921), 32a. For the fact that he did seal carving, see Qian, *Zhongguo minjian meishu yiren zhi*, 275-276.

<sup>388</sup> This painting is his imitation of a painting of peach and lotus pips done by the painter Fan Tingzhen 范廷鎮 (ca. late 17<sup>th</sup> c), a student of Yun Shouping.

<sup>389</sup> This painting reminds the viewer of Jin Nong's painting, not only for its composition, but also for the artist's clerical-script inscription.

<sup>390</sup> This book is not extant. For the fact that he wrote a book with this title, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 6a. Zhu Jian seems to have been very proud of this piece of writing, inlaying its title on the handle of a teapot he made in 1825. For the teapot, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 47.

<sup>391</sup> For the stoneware teapot made by Zhu Jian and inscribed by Chen Hongshou, Guo Lin, and Ling Yu 凌魚 (ca. early 19<sup>th</sup> c), see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian zisha tukao, xia*, 142. For a pewter wine cup made by Zhu Jian and engraved with Gai Qi's drawing, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 55.

potters such as Yang Pengnian,<sup>392</sup> Pan Dahe 潘大和 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c),<sup>393</sup> and Shen Xi 申錫 (ca. first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c)<sup>394</sup> in making stoneware, he decorated the surfaces of the works with his own calligraphy and drawings, while the potters were responsible for fashioning their clay bodies (Figure 4.15). This unique mode of collaboration, in which Zhu Jian changed his role in making a work according to the profession and social status of his partners, embodies his fluid identity both as a literatus and as an artisan.

Contemporary with Zhu Jian, the famous bamboo carver Fang Jie excelled in engraving drawings and calligraphy on articles for the scholar's studio, such as folding fans, wrist rests, and brush holders. Originally from Huangyan 黃巖 (Zhejiang Province), he resided in Jiaxing during the period preceding his death.<sup>395</sup> Bamboo carving seems to have initially been his hobby, but became his occupation at some later point in his life.<sup>396</sup> Among the different techniques of bamboo carving, he was particularly renowned for the “sunken ground shallow carving” (*xiandi*

---

<sup>392</sup> For examples of stoneware teapots made by Yang Pengnian and inscribed by Zhu Jian, see Tang Yun 唐雲 and Zheng Zhong 鄭重, *Zishahu jianshang* 紫砂壺鑑賞 (Hong Kong: Wanli jigou, Wanli shudian chuban, 1993), 61; and Li and Zhang, *Yangxian zisha tukao*, 395. For an example of a stoneware teapot encased in pewter made by Yang Pengnian and inscribed by Zhu Jian, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 49; and Gu, Xu, and Li, ed., *Yixing zisha zhenshang*, pl. 103.

<sup>393</sup> On Pan Dahe, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian zisha tukao*, 378. For an example of a stoneware teapot encased in pewter made in collaboration between Pan Dahe and Zhu Jian, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 51.

<sup>394</sup> On Shen Xi, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian zisha tukao*, 380.

<sup>395</sup> Jiang Baoling wrote that he was from Huangyan, while Xu Kang recorded him as hailing from Shexian 歙縣. Considering that he signed “Huangyan Fang Jie” on his bamboo carving of a fisherman on a wrist rest, the former is likely correct. For the wrist rest, see Wang, *Bamboo Carving of China*, 130. Jiang Baoling mentioned that he resided in Jiaxing, and Xu Kang also recorded that he died in Jiaxing. Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 9b; and Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu, xia*, 20b.

<sup>396</sup> Deng Zhicheng's 鄧之誠 (1887-1960) quotation from Li Lanjiu 李蘭九 (19<sup>th</sup> c?) describes bamboo carving as “originally his extra skill” (*ben yuji* 本餘技), suggesting that he became a professional later on. In contemporary research, Fang Jie is also classified as a professional bamboo carver who was proficient in brush-based calligraphy, painting, and seal carving. Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠, *Gudong suoji* 骨董瑣記 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991), 152; Zhao, *Huaixiu yawu*, vol. 3, 4; and Ji, *Ming Qing zhuke yishu*, 117.

*qianke* 陷地淺刻) technique, in which designs were carved with shallow incisions and the untouched surface of bamboo served as the background of the designs (Figure 4.16).<sup>397</sup> As this technique was suitable for decorating artifacts with a limited thickness, he mainly worked on objects with a thin layer of bamboo, including the frames of folding fans and wrist rests.<sup>398</sup>

With this technique, Fang Jie often engraved figure drawings, including the portraits of living figures, which presented a striking degree of verisimilitude. As an example, Fang Jie engraved a portrait of the monk Dashou on a wrist rest, and the author of *Sequel to the Record of Bamboo Carvers* (*Zhuren xulu* 竹人續錄), Chu Deyi 褚德彝 (1871-1942), testified to its being very similar to the monk's portrait painted on paper with a brush.<sup>399</sup> Furthermore, Fang Jie engraved Ruan Yuan's portrait, which is reported to have been even better than that of Monk Daoshou.<sup>400</sup> Among extant examples of Fang Jie's carvings, Master Molin's (Molin xiansheng 墨林先生) portrait on the backbone of a folding fan perfectly illustrates his technical virtuosity in carving portraits (Figure 4.17). The engraving vividly portrays the facial features of the man and appears almost three-dimensional despite its limited depth. It is likely for such technical

---

<sup>397</sup> Wang, *Bamboo Carving of China*, 38.

<sup>398</sup> For the objects that he primarily worked on, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 9b. He occasionally engaged in carving veneered bamboo (*tiehuang* 貼黃) screens. For example, there is a veneered screen with a drawing of the philosopher Laozi riding an ox and a running-script inscription that were engraved on its either side. Wang, *Bamboo Carving of China*, 39.

<sup>399</sup> Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 34a.

<sup>400</sup> According to Xu Kang, the monk himself described that Fang Jie's carving of a portrait of Ruan Yuan was even better than the bamboo carver's portrait of him. Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu, xia*, 20b.

mastery that Zhang Tingji acclaimed him as more excellent than the carvers of Jiading 嘉定, long the traditional center of bamboo carving.<sup>401</sup>

Apart from bamboo carving, Fang Jie was proficient in the literati arts. While he sojourned in Jiaxing in his later years, he seems to have devoted much more of his time to reading books than to bamboo carving.<sup>402</sup> It is reported that he enjoyed reciting poetry and compiled a book of his poems, titled *Manuscript of Poetry in the Studio of Stone and I* (*Shi wo zhai yin gao* 石我齋吟稿).<sup>403</sup> His running- or standard-script inscriptions on his bamboo carvings and paintings, on the other hand, demonstrate his calligraphic practices (Figure 4.18). Displaying his proficiency in painting, he left a landscape painting in the orthodox tradition and sketched designs of all his carvings himself (Figure 4.19).<sup>404</sup> Fang Jie also learned seal carving, a fact that can be seen in seal marks carved in his bamboo carvings.<sup>405</sup> Considering Fang Jie's extensive practice in a wide array of literati arts, he likely qualifies to be defined as a literatus while at the same time it is apparent that he was a professional artisan. Fang Jie clearly demonstrates that a combination of the two seemingly distinctive social statuses could be embodied in a single person at the turn of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>401</sup> Zhang Tingji made this statement in his inscription on a compilation of rubbings of Fang Jie's bamboo carvings. Yu Mao 餘懋, *Baiyue an shihua* 白嶽菴詩話, quoted in Chu, *Zhuren xulu*, 12b.

<sup>402</sup> Wu Yangxian 吳仰賢 and Xu Yaoguang 許瑤光 et al., *Jiaxing fuzhi* 嘉興府志, vol. 53 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (1879; rpt., Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 1477.

<sup>403</sup> For the fact that he liked reciting poetry, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 9b. For his compilation of poems, see Yu, *Baiyue an shihua*, 12b. It seems that his poetry received mixed reviews, because it is said that some of his poems were not very good in Yu Mao's writing, while Jiang Baoling complimented his poems. Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 9b.

<sup>404</sup> Wang Shixiang wrote that he had viewed Fang Jie's landscape painting after the style of the Four Wangs of the early Qing, which might be this painting. Wang Shixiang, "Zhuke zonglun" 竹刻總論, in *Zhu, mu, ya, jiao qi* 竹木牙角器, vol. 11 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji: gongyi meishu bian*, 10. For the fact that he sketched designs of his carvings himself, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua, xubian* 1, 9b.

<sup>405</sup> His seal carving skill is also recorded in Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 398.

### 3. The Collaborative Production of Teapots

Chen Hongshou began to engage in making Yixing teapots after assuming his official position in Liyang in 1811. Though there are differing opinions as to the date of the beginning of Mansheng teapots, it probably came after Chen Hongshou moved to Liyang, because the earliest dated Mansheng teapot among surviving examples dates to 1812, and because Liyang's geographical proximity to Yixing greatly facilitated Chen's active engagement in making Yixing wares.<sup>406</sup> The earliest painting in Chen's oeuvre that depicts an Yixing teapot was also created in 1812, and it specifically portrays a teapot made by Yang Pengnian.<sup>407</sup> Based on this evidence, Mansheng teapots can be securely dated to a period following 1811.

Despite the fact that Chen Hongshou's calligraphic inscriptions are usually highlighted as his contribution to the designs of Mansheng teapots, Chen in fact engaged in various stages of making the teapots, including designing their shapes. Apart from the famous nineteenth-century connoisseur Xu Kang's 徐康 (1814-?) note about "Eighteen Models of Mansheng Teapots" (Mansheng shiba shi 曼生十八式),<sup>408</sup> some of the extant Yixing wares provide quite credible

---

<sup>406</sup> For the earliest dated Mansheng teapot, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, T1. For an opinion that Chen Hongshou began to make teapots well before his official service in Liyang, see Huang, *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu*, 18. Huang Zhenhui uses a Yixing teapot, which is said to have been found in a tomb of the Qing dynasty, as a proof that Chen Hongshou began to engage in making Yixing teapots earlier than 1811. However, this is a crude imitation of Mansheng teapots in both its design and the calligraphy of the inscription on it. As Lu Minghua 陸明華 pointed out, its provenance is uncertain, and its date should be later than the Qing dynasty. For Lu Minghua's catalogue entry of the teapot, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, T22.

<sup>407</sup> For the paintings, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, P4, P6.

<sup>408</sup> Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu, xia*, 29b-30a. Xu Kang did not specify which teapot designs he was pointing at by the phrase "eighteen models," forcing later researchers to speculate about them. Terese Tse Bartholomew selected eighteen designs among extant examples of Mansheng teapots to suggest possible "Eighteen Designs of Mansheng." Terese Tse Bartholomew, "A Study on the Shapes and Decorations of Yixing Teapots," in *Yixing taoyi* 宜興陶藝,

evidence for Chen's direct involvement in designing Yixing teapots. For example, Chen's brother-in-law Gao Rijun stated in his inscription on an Yixing water container that Chen had replicated the shape of a well parapet from the Tang dynasty and the inscription on it in order to design teapots and water containers (Figure 4.20).<sup>409</sup> The well had been built in the Lingling Temple (Lingling si 零陵寺) in Liyang and carved with an inscription that narrated its origin (Figure 4.21).

In addition to teapots and water containers in the shape of the Tang dynasty well, Chen Hongshou might have created a teapot model that incorporated the design of the Flying Swan Longevity tile from the Qin dynasty on its outer bottom (Figures 3.21, 4.22). The image of the tile was published in compilations of rubbings of ancient tiles during the period, such as those compiled by Cheng Dun 程敦 (ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> c), Bi Yuan, and Huang Yi.<sup>410</sup> Likely inspired by an image of the tile in one of these compilations, Chen engraved his own seal with the tile design sometime before 1809, as the character for swan *hong* 鴻 overlapped with his name.<sup>411</sup> When the tile design was applied to a teapot design around 1813, it may well have been Chen Hongshou who came up with the idea.

---

ed. Gerard Tsang (Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1981), 24, 30, and 31. Subsequently, other scholars have attempted to identify the number of designs in Mansheng teapots based on existing visual and textual sources, and have proposed different numbers of designs of Mansheng teapots. Guo Ruoyu proposed twenty-seven designs, and Ji Ye 季野 identified thirty eight. Guo, *Zhikan pinhu lu*, 6; and Han, ed., *Zisha guji jinyi*, 486.

<sup>409</sup> For the inscription on this water container, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 17.

<sup>410</sup> Cheng Dun, *Qin Han wadang wenzi* 秦漢瓦當文字 (Rpt., Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2013), unpaginated; Bi Yuan, *Qin Han wadang tu* 秦漢瓦當圖, *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 4, vol. 10 (Rpt., Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 2006), 703; and Huang Yi, *Qin Han wawen* 秦漢瓦文, in *Penglai suyue*, 68.

<sup>411</sup> Chen Hongshou stamped the seal in a letter written one year after he returned from Beijing. The last time Chen Hongshou traveled to Beijing was 1808. For the Chen Hongshou's letter, see Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍, ed., *Ming Qing mingren chidu mobao* 明清名人尺牘墨寶, vol. 3 (Rpt., Taipei: Yonghai chubanshe, 1975), 627-630. For Chen Hongshou's travel routes and dates, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 23.

Compared to designing the shapes of teapots, there is more clear and abundant evidence for Chen Hongshou's practice of making inscriptions on them. Chen Hongshou composed inscriptions for teapots made by Yang Pengnian.<sup>412</sup> The formal features of his inscriptions executed on the teapots provide convincing evidence that the inscriptions were both brush-written and engraved by Chen Hongshou. For example, the running-script inscription on a gourd-shaped teapot in the Tang Yun Museum displays a strong stylistic affinity with Chen's calligraphy executed with a brush (Figure 4.23). Chen's running-script calligraphy is characterized by a slender, oblique character structure and angular, robust brushstrokes (Figure 14). These visual features are exactly reproduced in the inscription on the teapot, as illustrated in matching examples of characters between the two samples of calligraphy (Figure 4.24).

While the text of the inscription on the gourd-shaped teapot does not reveal whether the engraving of the inscription was executed by Chen Hongshou or not, its formal features provide decisive evidence for this. Many of the strokes in the inscription were carved along both sides, and the cross-section of the strokes is shaped like a "V" (Figures 4.23, 4.25).<sup>413</sup> On the other hand, there are some places where strokes were carved with a single knife cut rather than with multiple cuts. For instance, when the artist moved his knife from one stroke to the next one, he often left a thin trace of the knife blade between the two strokes, such as between the final stroke of the *wang* 王 in the character *man* 曼 and the first stroke of the *you* 又 component in the same character (Figure 4.23). In these spots, the artist slightly lifted his knife blade up in the same way

---

<sup>412</sup> For their practice of composing inscriptions for teapots made by Yang Pengnian, see Wang Hong, Guo Lin, and Chen Hongshou, *Taoye xingling* 陶冶性靈, in Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 145-151.

<sup>413</sup> Master potter and inscriber of Yixing teapots Xu Xiutang 徐秀棠 (1937-present) has pointed out that this was a typical method of earlier masters in engraving inscriptions on Yixing teapots. Chen Hongshou is very likely to have been one of the "earlier masters" that Xu Xiutang referred to. Xu Xiutang 徐秀棠, *Yixing zisha chuantong gongyi* 宜興紫砂傳統工藝 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2010), 99.



he would have lifted his brush up when writing the characters on paper. In other words, the artist was wielding his knife as if it were a brush, creating a spontaneous movement. Considering that Chen Hongshou's calligraphy was perfectly reconstituted with such spontaneous movement of the knife, the most likely candidate for the artist is Chen Hongshou.<sup>414</sup>

As Chen engraved inscriptions in his own calligraphic style, the need to hand-write a draft of an inscription before engraving it may be questioned. It is theoretically possible that Chen engraved an inscription without writing it with a brush beforehand, especially considering his proficiency in both brush-based calligraphy and seal carving. In fact, the method of carving a pictorial design or calligraphy on Yixing teapots without a draft, called “empty carving” (*kongke* 空刻), has been practiced, but usually for works of lower quality.<sup>415</sup> The reason this method is not effective for making fine decoration is related to the unique character of inscriptions on Yixing teapots. The size, number, and arrangement of characters in an inscription are tightly governed by the dimension and shape of the available writing surface, which is very limited on a teapot compared with the surface available on paper for calligraphy using a brush. In the inscription on the shoulder of a round, squat teapot in the Tang Yun Museum, for instance, the distance between the base of the spout and the edge of the lid decides the width of a character in the inscription, and thus the size and the number of characters as well (Figure 4.26). To evenly distribute all of the nineteen characters in the inscription within the circumference of the shoulder of the teapot, the artist would have needed to write the inscription on the teapot before engraving it, no matter how rough the calligraphy of the draft would have been.

---

<sup>414</sup> For other examples of Mansheng teapots with strokes that seem to have been carved with a single knife cut, see Wang Jianhua, ed., *Gugong bowuyuan cang Yixing zisha*, 109; and Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 44.

<sup>415</sup> Xu, *Yixing zisha chuantong gongyi*, 96.

The same teapot further illustrates Chen Hongshou's artistry in composing and executing inscriptions on Yixing teapots. This teapot model was named "Happy Together Teapot" ("Hehuan hu" 合歡壺) by Guo Lin and Chen Hongshou in order to allude to its shape, in which two hemispheric bodies of clay were seamlessly joined to each other.<sup>416</sup> In composing his inscription for this teapot, Chen related the name of the teapot to the pleasure of tea drinking, creating multiple layers of literary allusions. The inscription reads, "As trying tea from Yangxian and boiling water of Hejiang, the celestial being Po's disciples are all blissfully joyful" 試陽羨茶，煮合江水，坡仙之徒，皆大歡喜. The celestial being Po in this poem refers to the artistic giant of the Song dynasty Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), who came to symbolize the literati love of tea drinking during the period.<sup>417</sup> By the inclusion of the characters *he* 合 and *huan* 歡 in the composition, Chen further alluded to the name of the teapot, which perfectly matched and enriched the overall meaning of the poem. In executing the inscription on the teapot, Chen artfully coordinated the shape of the writing surface and the structure of his characters. As the outer circumference of the shoulder of the teapot is longer than the inner one, Chen made his characters greatly tilted so that they tightly fit into the writing space. His adjustment in character structure according to the shape of the available writing surface is illustrated in the difference between the first and the second characters in the inscription, which is square and oblique in composition respectively.

---

<sup>416</sup> For the meaning of the name of the teapot, see Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 3.

<sup>417</sup> A teapot named "Stone Diao" ("Shi diao" 石鈔) and owned by Su Shi was surviving during the period. Its image was circulated among literati including Weng Fanggang, and some of Chen Hongshou's inscriptions on teapots and paintings specifically mentioned the Stone Diao teapot. On the teapot, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 389. For Chen Hongshou's inscriptions mentioning the teapot, see Lai, ed., *Art of Chen Hongshou*, 242, P7-5; and Hayashida, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pl. 5.

Chen Hongshou's active engagement in making Yixing teapots lasted throughout his Liyang period.<sup>418</sup> The fact that he undertook the cultural activities only after assuming his first regular official position strongly suggests that financial rewards were not his primary motivation for inscribing Yixing teapots. The practice, rather, was sparked partly by his appreciation of the Yixing teapots made by Yang Pengnian. This is indicated in his inscription on the painting of the Yang Pengnian teapot from 1812 (Figure 4.27).

Yang Pengnian makes teapots and attained the methods left by Gong [Chun] and Shi [Dabin]. I also love teapots and have an ingrained habit of making them. [However], I have never been able to make a teapot as fine as this one. [So] I have painted it and wait for friends with the same interest to appreciate it. West Lake Fisherman, Chen Hongshou.  
楊君彭年製茗壺得龔時遺法，而余又愛壺并亦有製壺之癖。終未能如此壺之精妙者，圖之以俟同好之賞。西湖漁者陳鴻壽。

In addition to revealing Chen's practice of pottery, this inscription demonstrates Chen's approach to the Yang Pengnian teapot as an object of aesthetic appreciation to be shared by his fellow literati.<sup>419</sup> The juxtaposition of the teapot with chrysanthemums, one of the primary subjects of traditional literati painting, also implies that Chen regarded it as an aesthetic object. By depicting the teapot, Chen was celebrating the aesthetics of the teapot.

The relationship between Chen's appreciation of Yang Pengnian's teapots and his practice of inscription is further confirmed in his postscript to a compilation of drawings of

---

<sup>418</sup> There is an Yixing teapot bearing Chen Hongshou's signature and made after 1816. But this piece was recently reidentified as a twentieth-century replica. Lai Suk Yee and Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Beishan jigu: Yixing zisha* 北山汲古：宜興紫砂 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Art Museum, 2015), pl. 24.

<sup>419</sup> In examining the shared practice of appreciating teapots and making inscriptions on them between Chen Hongshou and his guests in House of Intertwined Mulberry Branches, the inscriptions on a round, squat teapot in the Hong Kong Museum of Art that list the names of sixteen figures among Chen Hongshou's houseguests can be regarded as important evidence. However, this teapot does not seem authentic regarding the loose composition of characters, awkward calligraphy, and general absence of Chen Hongshou's carving style in the Studio of Amantuo seal mark on its bottom. For the teapot, see Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, T2.

twenty teapots made by Yang Pengnian, entitled *Cleansing One's Mind and Soul* (*Taoye xingling* 陶冶性靈) (Figure 4.28).<sup>420</sup>

Yang Pengnian made twenty kinds of teapots. Xiaoyu (Wang Hong) made drawings for them. Pinjia (Guo Lin) and Mansheng admired them and wrote inscriptions, as presented at right. Recorded on the twentieth day of the fourth month in the year of *guiyou* (1813).

楊生彭年作茗壺廿種，小迂為之圖，頻迦、曼生嘉之著銘如右。癸酉四月廿日記。

According to this postscript, Guo Lin and Chen Hongshou composed the inscriptions upon viewing the twenty teapots that had already been made by the potter in order to express their admiration of them, while Chen Hongshou's student in seal carving and private secretary, Wang Hong made the drawings of the teapots.<sup>421</sup> The compositions of the inscriptions were, moreover, followed by engraving the inscriptions on matching types of teapots, as illustrated in the gourd-shaped teapot in the Tang Yun Museum (Figures 4.23, 4.28).

In addition to expressing his appreciation of Yang Pengnian teapots, Chen Hongshou likely intended to utilize the teapots as gifts. This speculation is based on Chen Wenshu's statement of his production of pewter teapots, which seem to have emulated Mansheng teapots. Chen Wenshu stated that he had previously offered fine foods such as meat and fish as gifts to

---

<sup>420</sup> Currently two different versions of the catalogue are extant, both of which are the pewter teapot maker Zhu Jian's copies. In one of the versions, the inscriptions were reproduced in the double-hooked method (*shuanggou fa* 雙鉤法), while in the other version Zhu Jian seems to have made a free hand copy of the inscriptions. For the first version, see Soong, Guo, and Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, 184-199. For the other version that used to be held by Tang Yun 唐雲 (1910-1993), see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 145-151.

<sup>421</sup> Because five of the twenty inscriptions were followed by Guo Lin's signature and/or seal mark, and five of the remaining fifteen inscriptions are located in Guo Lin's anthology, Chen Hongshou likely composed the other ten inscriptions, or at least part of them. Guo, *Lingfenguan shi chujì; Lingfenguan erji; Lingfenguan shi sanji; Lingfenguan shi siji; Lingfenguan shi xuji; Lingfenguan zazhu; Lingfenguan zazhu xubian; Lingfenguan zazhu sanbian*, 490.

his guests.<sup>422</sup> However, since the foods had often been wasted or rotten, he decided to change his gifts to more durable objects like pewter teapots. In the case of Mansheng teapots, the calligraphic inscriptions that Chen Hongshou personally composed and executed would have made them very personal and memorable gifts for his friends and guests, whom Chen cherished dearly. During his Liyang period, Chen Hongshou had several visual and textual records of his houseguests made by his artist friends, feeling a special attachment to them.<sup>423</sup> Of his houseguests, Tu Zhuo received several pieces of Mansheng teapots as gifts such as a Stone Diao (Shi diao 石銚) teapot and a Straight and Upright (Ji zhi 汲直) teapot, and particularly appreciated Chen's calligraphic inscriptions (Figure 4.29).<sup>424</sup> Moreover, Chen Hongshou mailed his letter to Chen Wenshu along with two of Mansheng teapots as an expression of his apology for having not been able to meet the latter's request for his seal carving.<sup>425</sup>

The fact that several of Chen Hongshou's houseguests engaged in decorating Yixing teapots with calligraphy and drawings suggests that inscription making was a cultural activity shared between Chen Hongshou and his houseguests. For instance, the calligrapher Gao Kai 高埏 (1769-1839) and the official and poet Zha Kui 查揆 (1770-1834) are reported to have

---

<sup>422</sup> Chen, *Shulin xinyong*, juan 3, 29-30.

<sup>423</sup> For example, Chen Hongshou requested his guests Qian Du, Gai Qi, and Wang Hong to jointly make *Painting of the Host and Guests in the House of Intertwined Mulberry Branches* (*Sang lianli guan zhuke tu* 桑連理館主客圖). The painting seems to have been lost. However, Guo Lin's two descriptive writings on the painting, made in 1814 and 1815, provide a detailed account of the individuals who were depicted in the painting. For the transcription of Guo Lin's two records, see Huang, *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu*, 153-154. The first record listed thirty-four people, while the second added nineteen figures.

<sup>424</sup> Tu, *Shicheng tang erji*, 404. In the title of the poem Tu Zhuo composed after receiving the two teapots, he wrote that Chen Hongshou gave him "multiple pieces" (*shu shi* 數事) [of newly made teapots].

<sup>425</sup> For the transcription of Chen Hongshou's letter to Chen Wenshu, see Xiao, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 335-336.

composed inscriptions for Mansheng teapots.<sup>426</sup> The painter Qian Du made a drawing of plum blossoms on a teapot made by Yang Pengnian (Figure 4.30). Guo Lin, Wang Hong, Tu Zhuo, and Jiang Buqing are all likely to have engraved inscriptions on Yixing teapots.<sup>427</sup> In fact, Chen initiated various cultural projects along with his houseguests.<sup>428</sup> Between 1811 and 1812, he had nine ancient rocks that had been dispersed in various places of Liyang transferred to the Pingling Academy (Pingling shuyuan 平陵書院) in the county. After the move was completed, he had the rocks painted multiple times and requested the famous poet Yue Jun 樂鈞 (1766-1814) and Guo Lin to compose literary writings on them.<sup>429</sup> Meanwhile, the textual scholar Shi Bing 史柄 (1762-1833) was in charge of writing a new gazetteer of the county, and Wang Hong drew famous places in the county to be included in the gazetteer.<sup>430</sup> It was also reported that Chen Hongshou and his houseguest and book collector Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827) authored *Sequel to the Collection of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions* (*Xu Jinshi cuibian* 續金石萃編),

---

<sup>426</sup> Xu, *Qianchen mengying lu*, xia, 30a.

<sup>427</sup> For examples of Yixing teapots made by Yang Pengnian and engraved with inscriptions of Guo Lin, Wang Hong, and Jiang Buqing, see Gu, Xu, and Li, ed., *Yixing zisha zhenshang*, 109; Lai, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 273, 242; and Deng Shi 鄧實, *Ming Qing ge mingjia shahu quanxing jita* 明清各名家沙壺全形集拓, in *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, Figs. 4-8. For Tu Zhuo's practice of composing and handwriting inscriptions on Yixing teapots, see Li and Zhang, *Yangxian shahu tukao*, 391. They were all proficient in seal carving. For their practices of seal carving, see Ye, *Guang yinren zhuan*, 361, 403, 435; and Huang, "Jiang Qing (Yunfu)" 江青 (雲甫), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911, accessed May 21, 2018, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=2&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q8301&SK=MV>.

<sup>428</sup> Some of the houseguests may have been Chen Hongshou's private secretaries rather than mere guests, especially those who were involved in long-term projects initiated by Chen Hongshou, such as Wang Hong, Shi Bing 史柄 (1762-1833), and Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827).

<sup>429</sup> Yue Jun 樂鈞, *Qingzhi shangguan shiji*; *Qingzhi shangguan pianti wenji*; *Duanshui ci* 青芝山館詩集; 青芝山館駢體文集; 斷水詞, in vol. 481 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 (1817; rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 278; and Guo, "Sanglianli guan zhuke tu houji," in Huang, *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu*, 153-154.

<sup>430</sup> For Wang Hong's drawings of famous places in Liyang, see Shi, et al., *Liyang xian zhi*, 20-27.

which was published after his death.<sup>431</sup> Along with these projects, making inscriptions on Yixing teapots may well have been a cultural activity that Chen initiated and shared with his guests and friends in Liyang.

---

<sup>431</sup> Li, *Jinshi xuelu*, *juan* 4, 17a.

## Conclusion

This dissertation explores how the making of calligraphic inscriptions on solid objects emerged as an important cultural practice of the literati during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in China. Traditionally, inscriptions had been made in a collaboration between a literatus-calligrapher and an artisan-carver, in which the latter trace-carved calligraphy executed with a brush by the former. As a type of craft, which involves working with knife or chisel on a range of solid materials, inscription carving had not been regarded as a province of the literati before the mid-Qing period. This dissertation presents how literati assumed the role of engravers as well as calligraphers in making inscriptions by looking into the intellectual, aesthetic, and artistic foundation for the practice of making inscriptions of the literati during the period.

The emergence of making calligraphic inscriptions as a new literati cultural practice is inextricably related to the dominance of the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions during the period. In the study of bronze and stone inscriptions, calligraphic engravings on ancient objects served as the primary sources for knowledge production, making the inscriptions assume enormous cultural significance. The most distinctive character and virtue of the ancient inscriptions lied in their material bodies, since it was the physical qualities of the inscriptions that ensured their durability and authenticity, and thus their reliability as sources for historical studies. The recognition of the physical aspects of ancient inscriptions is succinctly expressed in Ruan Yuan's division of the Chinese calligraphic tradition into the Stele School and the Model-Calligraphy-Book School, according to the material objects in which calligraphic models were embedded. In studying and recreating ancient inscriptions, the literati gave serious consideration



to their material contexts so that they often replicated ancient inscriptions as carvings on hard surfaces rather than calligraphy executed with a brush. Contemporary writings followed suit and were made as inscriptions in a variety of materials. An example that calligraphic inscriptions of the literati of the period were viewed as an extension of ancient inscriptions is illustrated in the fact that *Qingyige* presented contemporary seal carvings and calligraphic inscriptions on stationery in addition to numerous antique bronzes and stones.<sup>432</sup>

The increased consciousness of the physical features of both ancient inscriptions and contemporary calligraphy is clearly expressed in the brush-based calligraphy and seal carving of the literati of the period. As ancient stone inscriptions were experienced either in the form of rubbings or as original stones, these two types of material contexts of the stone inscriptions were recreated in clerical-script calligraphy executed with a brush. Ink traces and formats of rubbings and a carved effect of ancient stone inscriptions embodied in angled strokes were closely simulated in brush-written calligraphy of clerical script. In seal carving, on the other hand, the material and technical features of ancient bronze and jade seals that had been chiseled, carved, or cast, were closely examined and recreated in the works of the Zhe School artists, while the unique character of the primary material for seal carving, soft stone, was actively appropriated in the seal carvings of Chen Hongshou and his followers. These new artistic phenomena in calligraphy and seal carving illustrate that the distinct aesthetic features of calligraphic carvings that were independent of those of calligraphy executed with a brush were being recognized and developed during the period.

---

<sup>432</sup> The last two volumes of the compilation present contemporary engravings on stone, bamboo and wood. Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*.

As the primary art form in which the literati practiced carving, the art of seal carving further created an excellent artistic foundation for the inscribing practice of the literati. Above all, it provided the literati with a means for exploring the potential of expanding brush writing into knife engraving as a means for artistic expression. The increased significance of methods of the knife vis-à-vis other theoretical and technical elements of seal carving, as well as the Zhe School style that actively reveals the traces of the knife blade, demonstrates that calligraphic carving became an instrument for artistic expression. The increasing emphasis on spontaneity of the execution of seal carving both in seal faces and in side inscriptions further illustrates that calligraphic engraving was being integrated into and expanding the areas of visual arts of the literati as means for spontaneous self-expression. On the other hand, the literati learned the more traditional way of making calligraphic carvings, that is, trace-carving brush-written drafts in both side inscriptions and making actual steles. This type of carving practices demonstrates that the literati were embracing calligraphic carving as their optional cultural practice to an unprecedented degree.

The literati of the period made calligraphic carvings on a variety of material objects beyond seal stones. The objects were typically small items for a scholar's study, such as inkstones, bamboo frames of folding fans, and stoneware teapots. Though these were basically functional articles, they were valuable collectibles and cultural objects as well, serving as powerful instruments for expressing one's taste, artistic sensibility, and connoisseurship. As such, they were actively documented in visual and textual forms as evidenced by the compilation of the twenty teapots made by Yang Pengnian and the treatises of Yixing wares written by Wu

Qian and Zhang Yanchang, respectively.<sup>433</sup> Adding one's calligraphic inscriptions to the surface of these objects was an act of acknowledging and further augmenting the cultural values of the objects, as perfectly demonstrated in Chen Hongshou's inscriptions on the stoneware teapots made by Yang Pengnian. Inscription making was an active expression of appreciation and creativity and a powerful cultural activity that could transform functional objects to objects of literary and artistic elegance.

The literati who practiced inscriptions during the period were of diverse socio-economic statuses, suggesting that this cultural activity was not limited to a certain group of literati. Of the thirty-two Qing literati who were noted as having definitely inscribed or very likely inscribed any material objects other than stone seals in the last two chapters of this dissertation, seven figures held either the Metropolitan Graduate or Provincial Graduate (*juren* 舉人) degrees, including Zhang Tingji (*jiyuan* 解元 1798),<sup>434</sup> Chen Wenshu (*juren* 1800), and Tu Zhuo (*jinshi* 1808).<sup>435</sup> In this group, Zhang Tingji alone never served as an official. Nevertheless, he seems to have been very well-to-do to the degree that he could often purchase extremely expensive antiques such as the Shi Dabin teapot. Of the figures with lesser educational qualifications,

---

<sup>433</sup> See the first section of the fourth chapter of this dissertation, "Literati-Collectors, Writers, and Makers of Teapots," 154-157.

<sup>434</sup> *Jiyuan* is a degree awarded to provincial graduates with highest honors. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 145. On Zhang Tingji, see Li Fang 李放, *Huang Qing shushi* 皇清書史, in vol. 83 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (1933?; rpt., Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 838.

<sup>435</sup> On Chen Wenshu, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 104. On Tu Zhuo, see Jiang, *Molin jinhua*, *juan* 13, 1a. Other *jinshi* and *juren* degree holders of the seven figures are Wang Shu (*jinshi* 1712), Qian Daxin (*jinshi* 1754), Qu Zhongrong (*jinshi* 1814), and Shen Zhaoding (*juren* 1760). On Wang Shu and Shen Zhaoding, see Li, *Huang Qing shushi*, 232, 551. On Qian Daxin, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 152-155. On Qu Zhongrong, see Huang, "Qu Zhongrong (Mufu)" 瞿中溶 (木夫), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911, accessed June 25, 2019, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=2&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q6903&SK=MV>.

several including Huang Yi and Chen Hongshou served as officials for extended periods,<sup>436</sup> while others such as Qian Yong and Guo Lin had never been officials and worked as private secretaries of high officials, as this was one of the established ways of living for the literati of the period.<sup>437</sup>

One the other hand, Zhang Yanchang, who only briefly served as an official and may have been a member of Ruan Yuan's secretariat, received financial rewards for his carvings.<sup>438</sup> Nevertheless, this does not necessarily indicate that Zhang was a professional inscriber or his socio-cultural status was lower than, for example, those of Huang Yi or Chen Hongshou. Zhang Yanchang was a Graduate for Excellence and also recommended as the Filial, Incorrupt, Straightforward, and Upright (*xiaolian fangzheng* 孝廉方正 1796).<sup>439</sup> Moreover, he published writings of scholarly and artistic import such as *Inscriptions on Bronzes and Stones, Elucidation of the Stone Drum Inscriptions* (*Shigu wen shicun* 石鼓文釋存), and *Record of Flying-White Calligraphy* (*Feibai shu lu* 飛白書錄). Considering the substantial cultural capital that Zhang accumulated, his social identity may well have been that of scholar rather than that of professional artisan. The fact that making a profit with artistic works was only one of many factors that determined one's social status during the period is clearly illustrated by the eminent

---

<sup>436</sup> Those who served as officials in this group include Qu Yingshao, Qian Dian, Ba Weizu, and Sun Jun in addition to Huang Yi, Chen Hongshou, and Qian Yong. On Qian Dian, see Ye, Ye, and Chen, ed., *Qingdia xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, vol. 2, 618-619. On Ba Weizu, see Li, *Huang Qing shushi*, 444. On Sun Jun, see Huang, "Sun Jun (Guyun)" 孫均 (古雲), in *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911, accessed June 25, 2019, <http://www.sealbank.net/m2MainFind.asp?LM=2&L1=2&L2=2&L3=0&LS=C&SRCHTXT=Q7701&SK=MV>. On Huang Yi's official services, see Yang, "Huang Yi huodong nianbiao jianbian," 372-397.

<sup>437</sup> Those who did not serve as government officials in this group include Zhang Yanchang, Guo Lin, Qian Yong, Xu Tongbo, and Xu Mao. On Guo Lin, see Ye, Ye, and Chen, ed., *Qingdia xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, vol. 2, 736-738. On Qian Yong, Xu Tongbo and Xu Mao, see Li, *Huang Qing shushi*, 120, 357-362.

<sup>438</sup> Zhang Yanchang carved multiple ax-shaped inkstones and sold them to Zhang Tingji. Zhang, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 13a-13b.

<sup>439</sup> On Zhang Yanchang, see Ye, Ye, and Chen, ed., *Qingdia xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, vol. 2, 712-714.

poet Yuan Mei, who earned a good living with his writings.<sup>440</sup> As scholars were professionalized, the pejorative connotation about receiving financial rewards for one's literary and artistic productions seems to have been greatly blurred during the period.<sup>441</sup>

Chen Hongshou is emblematic of the literati living in the period in his artistic practices as well as in his career as a private secretary. The period in which he worked as a private secretary of high-ranking officials spanned as long a time as that as an official. His membership in the secretariat of the prominent cultural figure Ruan Yuan, moreover, greatly enriched his scholarly and artistic life, since it created ample opportunities for him to interact with the leading scholars and artists of the period, notably those who actively engaged in the study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions. Chen's interest in ancient inscriptions was as much artistic as it was scholarly, as consistently manifested in his artistic productions that recreated calligraphic engravings on ancient bronze and stone. His calligraphic works, whether executed with a brush on paper or on a fine seal stone demonstrate the artist's attention to the material features of the artifacts, in which his calligraphic models or his own works were carried. This keen interest in the physicality of calligraphy must have been a fundamental driving force behind his engagement in the innovative artistic practice of applying calligraphy onto Yixing stoneware teapots. Since this new cultural practice was initiated only after his social status was further established as a government official, his inscriptions on Yixing teapots present decisive evidence that making calligraphic inscriptions on solid objects was a fine cultural activity that became increasingly fashionable among the educated elite of the period.

---

<sup>440</sup> On Yuan Mei, see Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 955.

<sup>441</sup> On the professionalization of scholars in the period, see Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, 87-138.

This dissertation presents a historic moment in China's history when a type of craft was integrated into literati artistic practices. Of various types of crafts, inscription making is unique, since it combines the highest esteemed literati art of brush-written calligraphy with the traditionally artisanal craft of carving. It is this calligraphic element that enormously facilitated its integration into literati artistic practices. Nonetheless, current research also reveals that the literati were not completely separated from other types of crafts, such as pottery and stone carving. This suggests that there may be a critical chasm between our historical stereotype of Chinese literati as leisured gentlemen, who typically shunned manual work, and their actual artistic practices. The fragmentary pieces of evidence of literati practices of crafts from the Song through the first half of the Qing dynasty that were gleaned throughout the dissertation research further implies that there could be a quite large area to be charted in the history of Chinese literati and their engagement in craft practices.<sup>442</sup> In addition to reconstructing a more comprehensive picture of literati artistic practices, this line of research would also create a more nuanced understanding of the historicity of cultural connotations of various crafts. It is hoped that this dissertation has set a steppingstone for this new avenue of research in Chinese art history.

---

<sup>442</sup> For example, it is questionable whether Mi Fu was demonstrating his eccentricity as a scholar by carving seals and ink-stones during the Song dynasty. For his practice of carving inkstones, see Mi Fu, "Yan shi," 1, 7, and 8. Sha Menghai speculated that Mi Fu very likely carved his own seals himself, based on the visual features of his seal marks. Sha, "Yinxue xingcheng de jige jieduan," 7; and Sha, "Yinxue shi," 73-75. The originator of the Zhe School of seal carving, Ding Jing mentioned multiple times in his side-inscriptions that Mi Fu had carved seals himself. For the side inscriptions, see Kobayashi, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 11, 25.

Figures

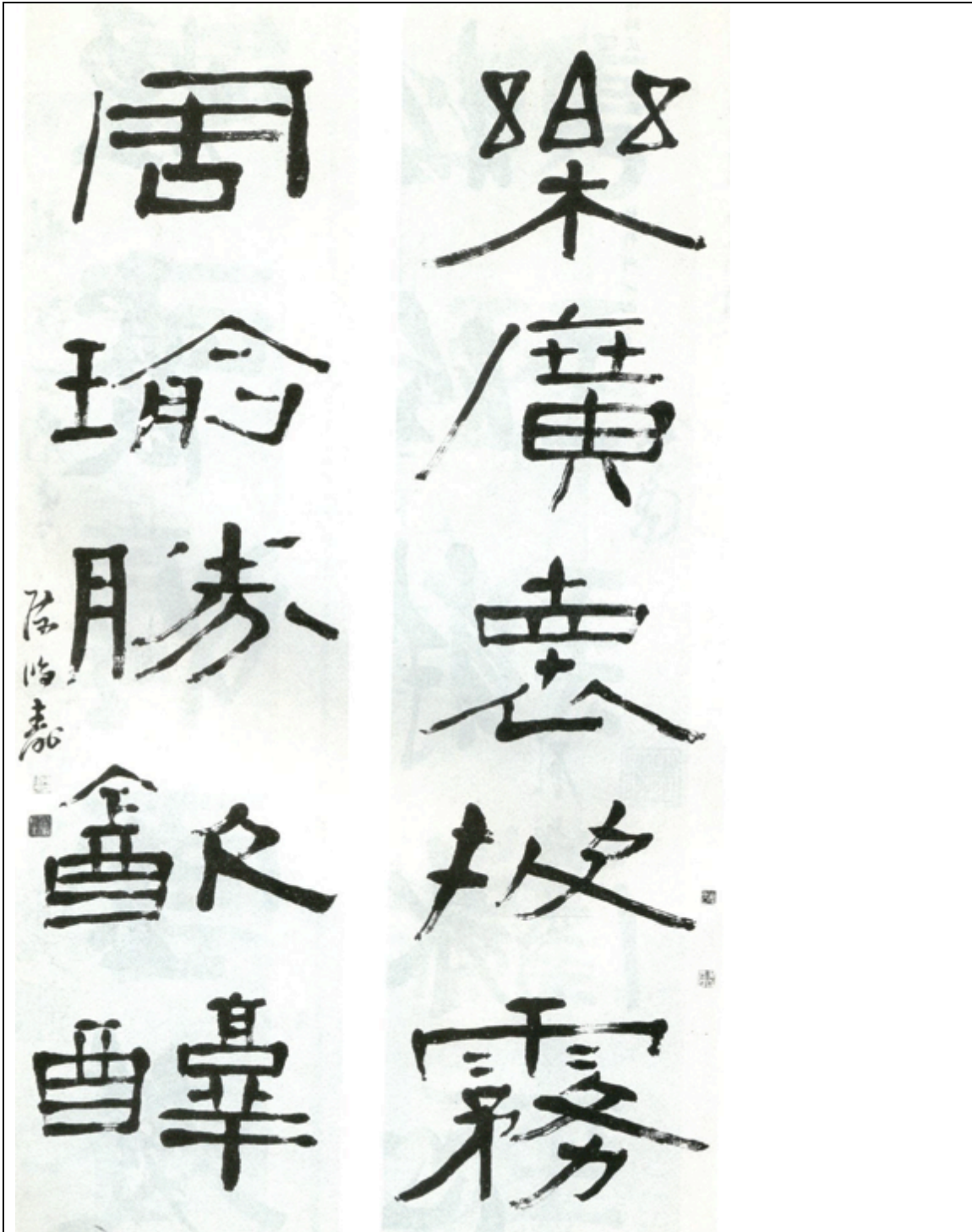


Fig. 1 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, ed., *Mingren yinglian moji*, 10).



Fig. 2 Chen Hongshou, *Xiejing lou* 寫經樓 (Tower of Transcribing Buddhist Scriptures), late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 201).

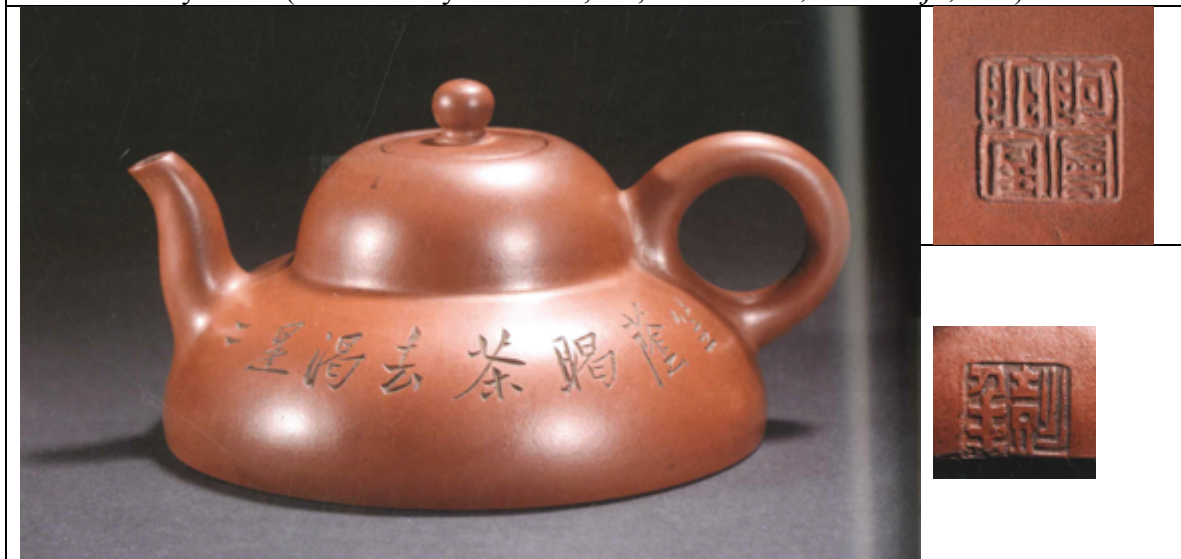


Fig. 3 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of a Bamboo Hat, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 7.8 cm, Tang Yun Museum (From Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 32, 35).



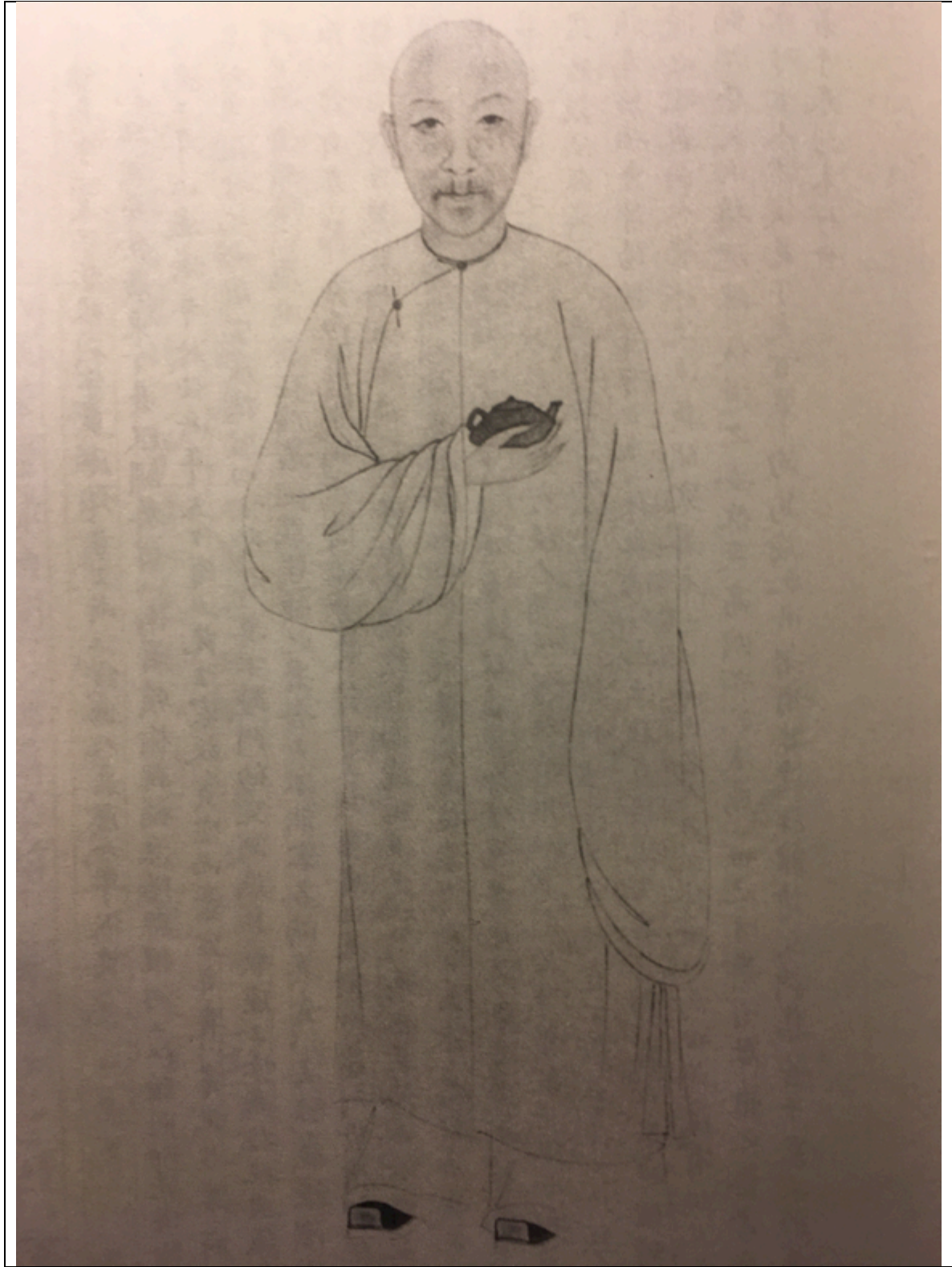


Fig. 4 Portrait of Chen Hongshou (From Ye Yanlang, Ye Gongchuo, and Chen Zuwu, ed., *Qingdia xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu*, vol. 2, 739).

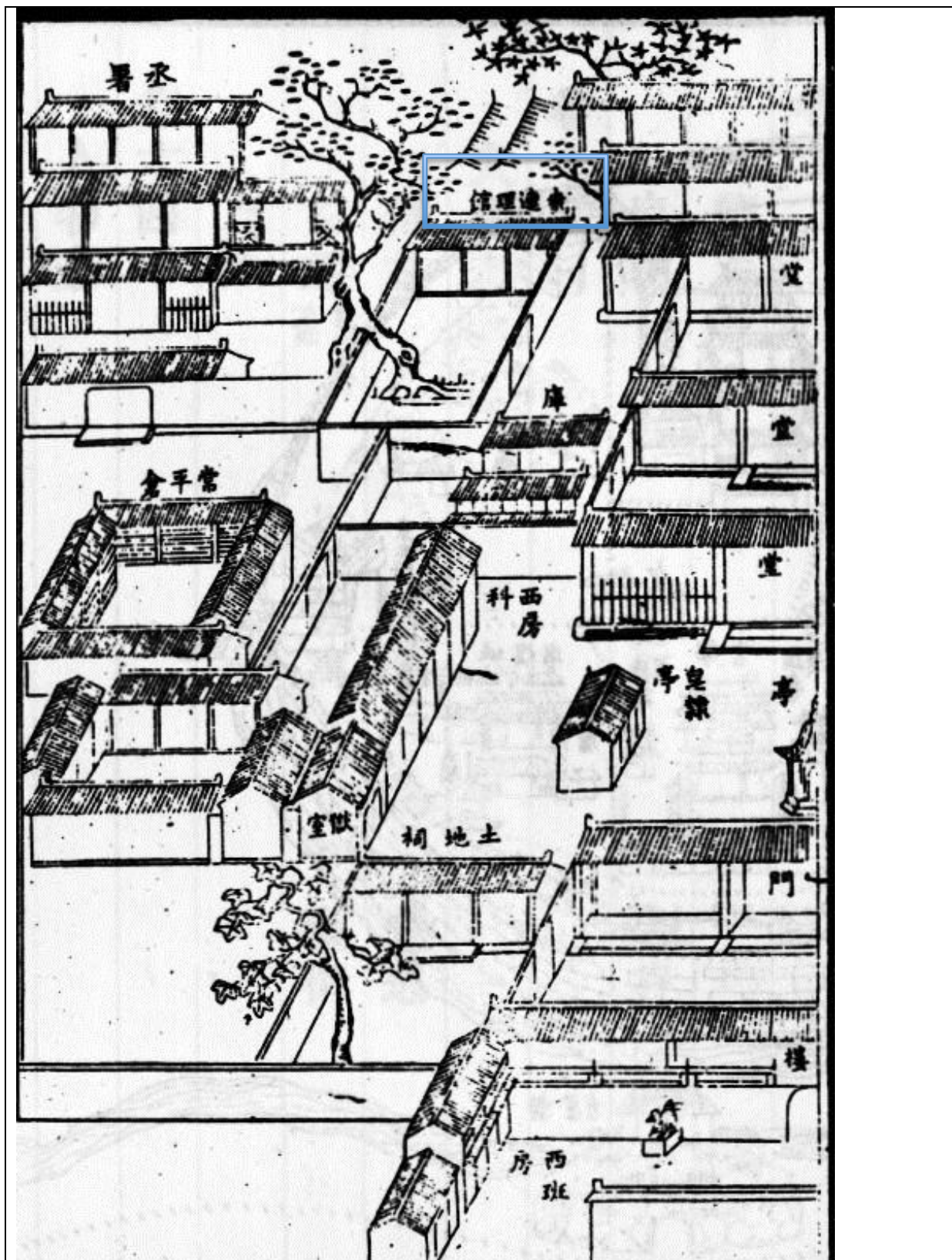


Fig. 5 Detail of a Drawing of the County Office, in *Gazetteer of Liyang*, 1813 (From Shi Bing, Li Jingyi, and others, *Liyang xianzhi*, 20).



Fig. 6 Yun Shouping, Flowers, hanging scroll, color on paper, late 17<sup>th</sup> c, 24.0 X 15.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Zhongguo gudai huihua jiangding zu, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanqi*, vol. 25. pl. 61).



Fig. 7 Xi Gang, Flowers, hanging scroll, color on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 129.5 X 31.5 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Yang Han, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian*, vol. 11, pl. 112).



Fig. 8 Chen Hongshou, Peach Blossoms, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 85.5 X 41.8 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, P3).



Fig. 9 Chen Hongshou, Osmanthus, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 1812, Tang Yun Museum (From Tang Yun Museum, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 71).

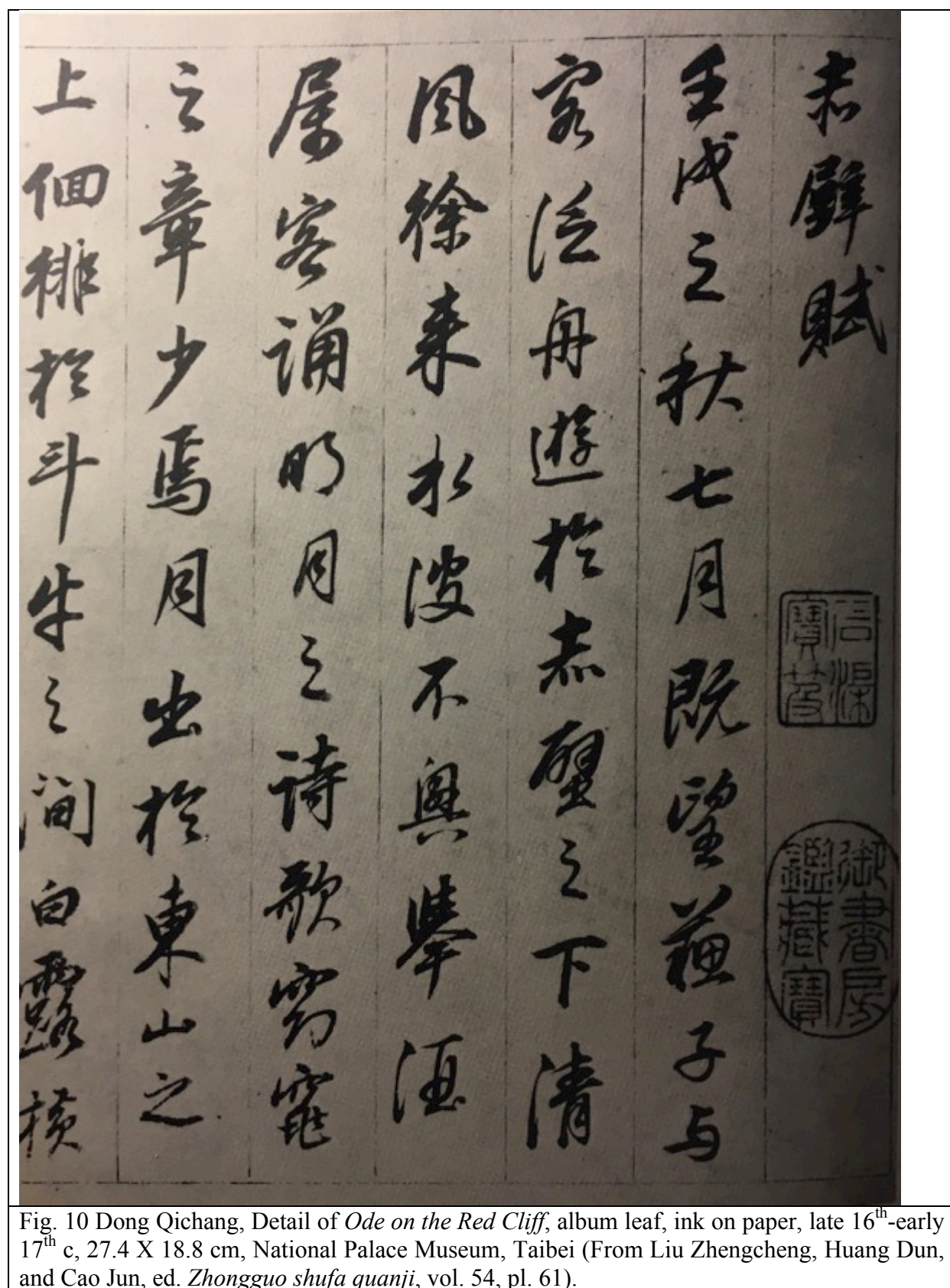


Fig. 10 Dong Qichang, Detail of *Ode on the Red Cliff*, album leaf, ink on paper, late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c, 27.4 X 18.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (From Liu Zhengcheng, Huang Dun, and Cao Jun, ed. *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 54, pl. 61).



Fig. 11 Chen Hongshou, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, ink on painted paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 127.0 X 31.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 65).



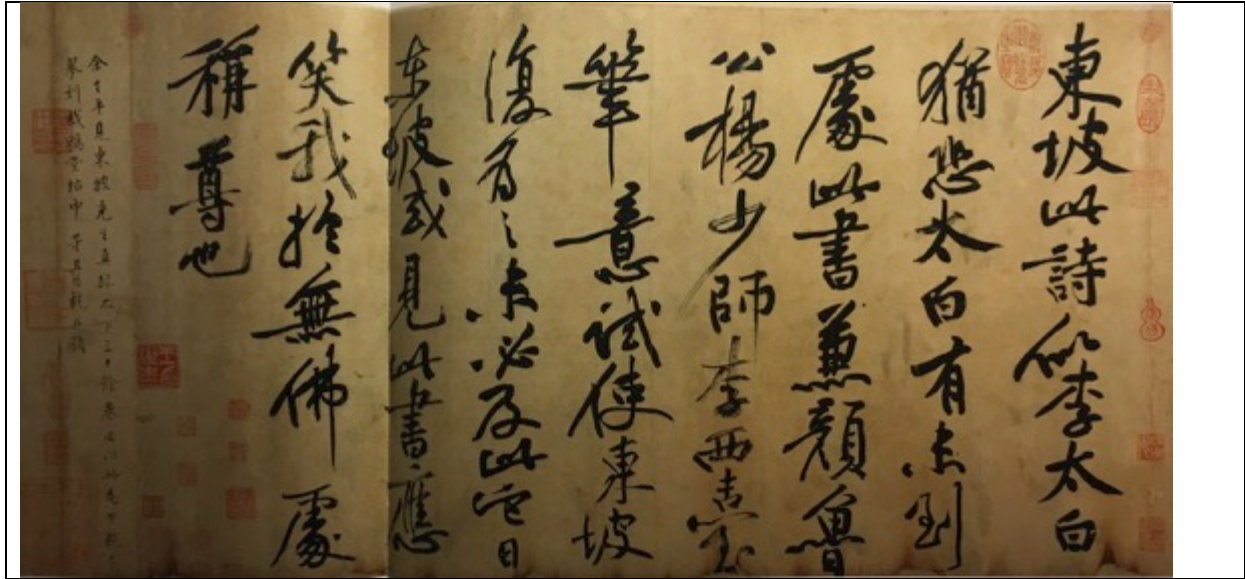


Fig. 12 Huang Tingjian, Colophon for Su Shi's *Poems Written in Huangzhou on Cold Food Festival*, handscroll, ink on paper, 1100, 34.2 X 64.0 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (From Ouyang Zhongshi, et al., *Chinese Calligraphy*, Fig. 5-10).

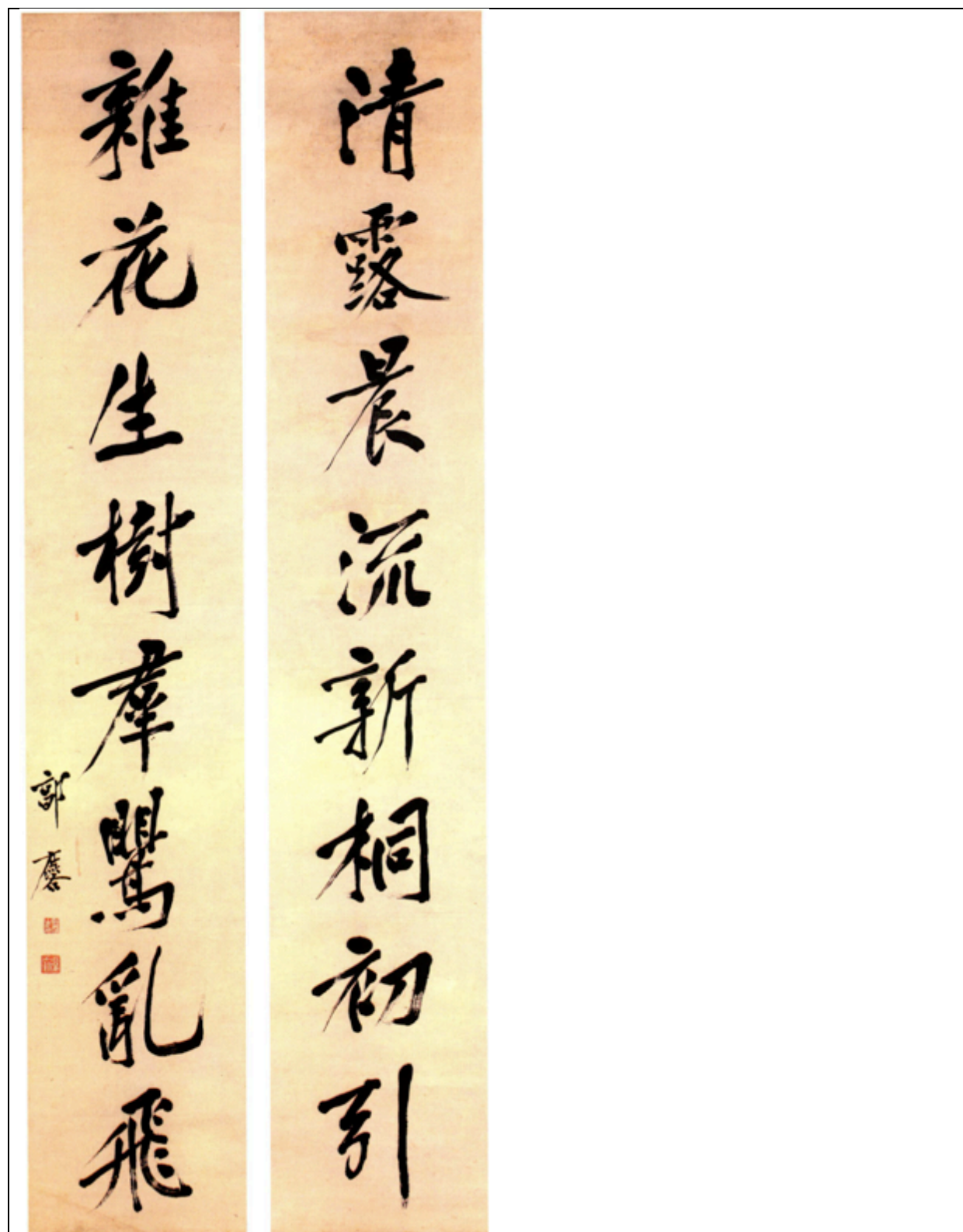


Fig. 13 Guo Lin, Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c., 121.0 X 21.5 cm, Xiling Seal Carvers' Society (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Qingdai jinshijia shuhua jicui*, 98).



Fig. 14 Chen Hongshou, Four-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 129.5 X 31.5 cm, Private Collection (From *Qingdai jinshijia shuhua jicui*. 99).



Fig. 15 Xi Gang, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running Script, a pair of hanging scroll, ink on painted paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 130.0 X 31.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 40).

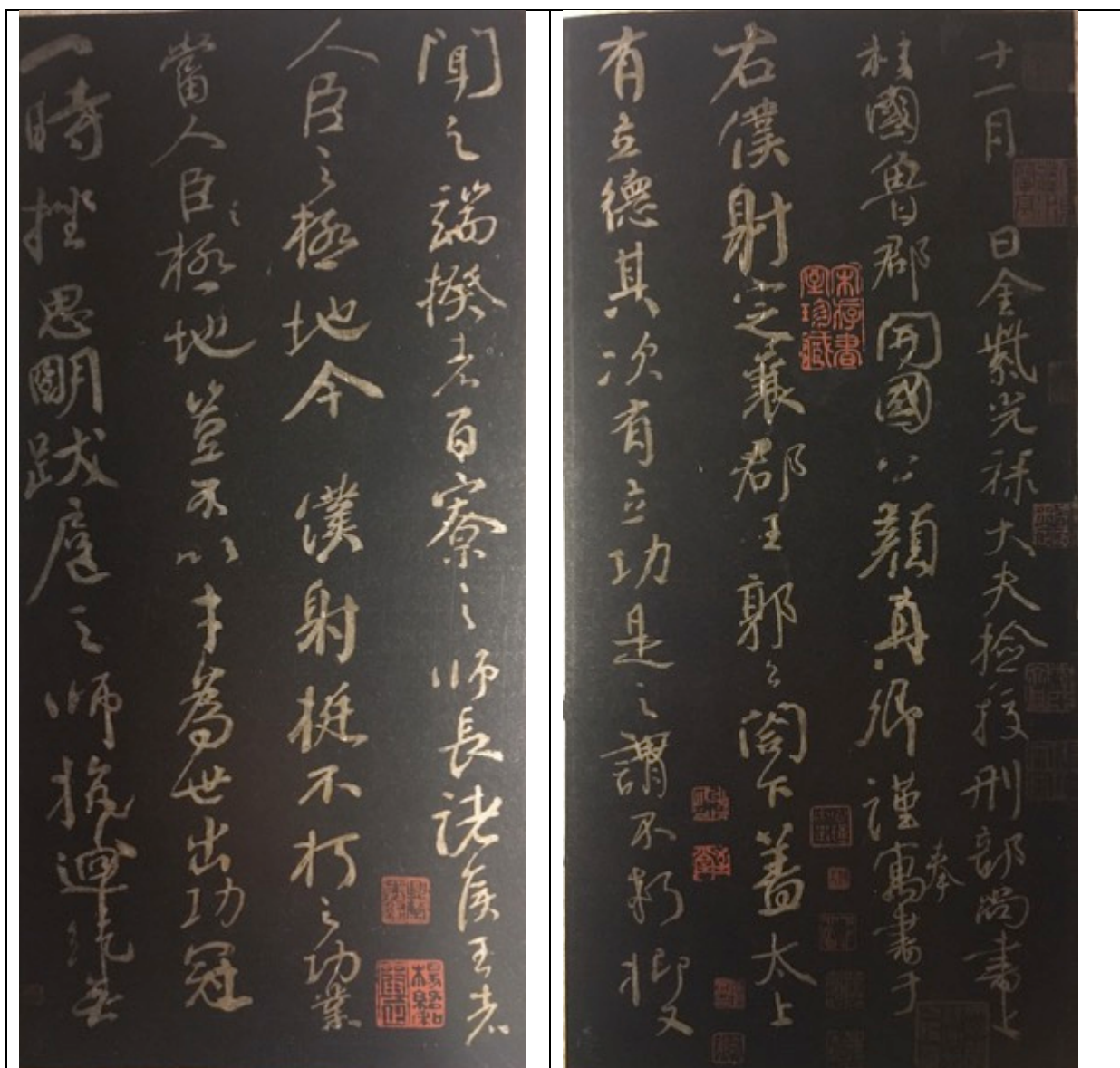


Fig. 16 Yan Zhenqing, *Letter on the Controversy over Seating Protocol*, album leaf, 764, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Yang, Renkai 楊仁愷, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian*, Sui Tang Wudai shufa, pl. 65).



Fig. 17 Chen Hongshou, Seven-character Line Couplet in Running-Cursive Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 133.5 X 30.7 cm (From Hayashida Hōen, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pl. 13).

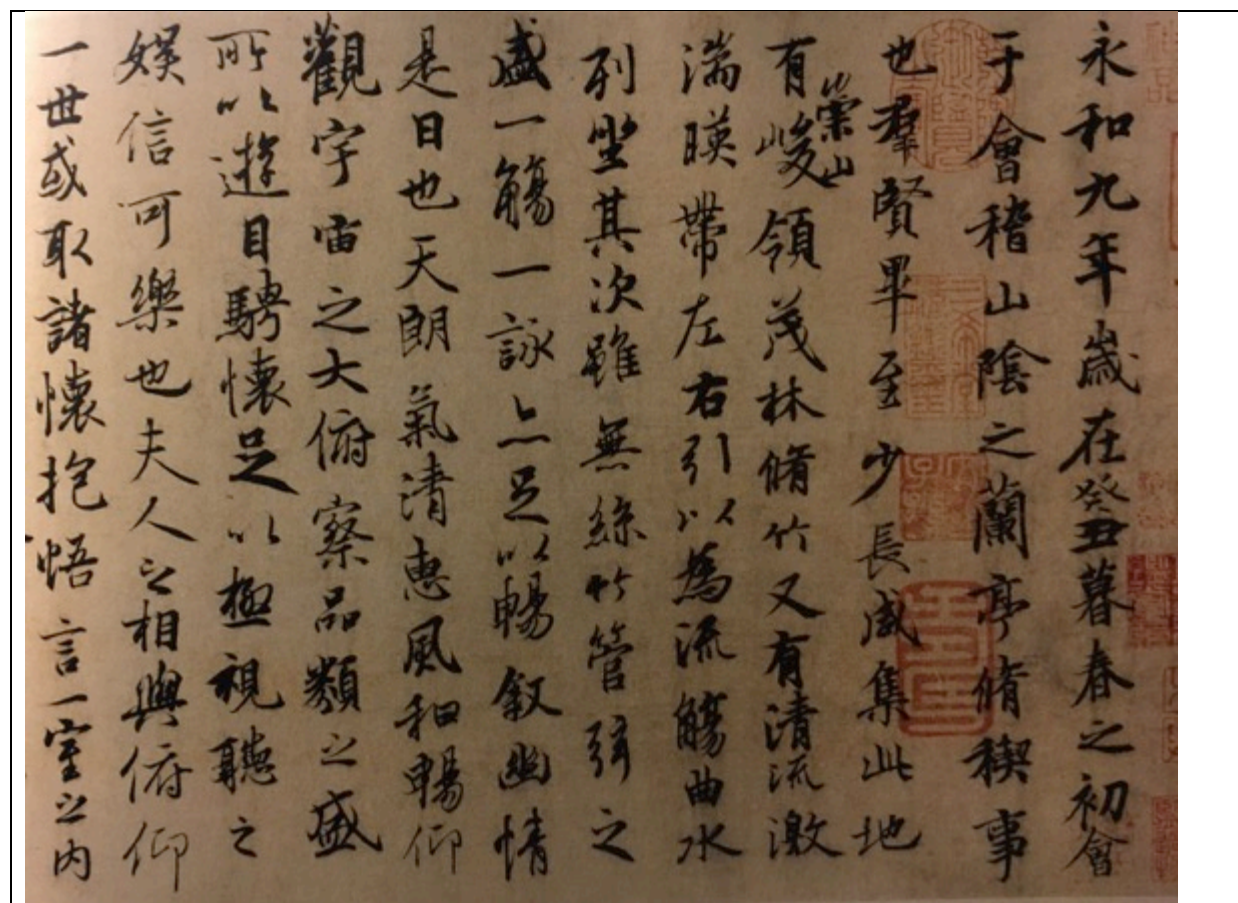


Fig. 18 Wang Xizhi, Detail of the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion*, Shenlong version, Tang dynasty (Original work dated 353), 24.5 X 69.9 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Ouyang Zhongshi, et al., *Chinese Calligraphy*, Fig. 3.23).

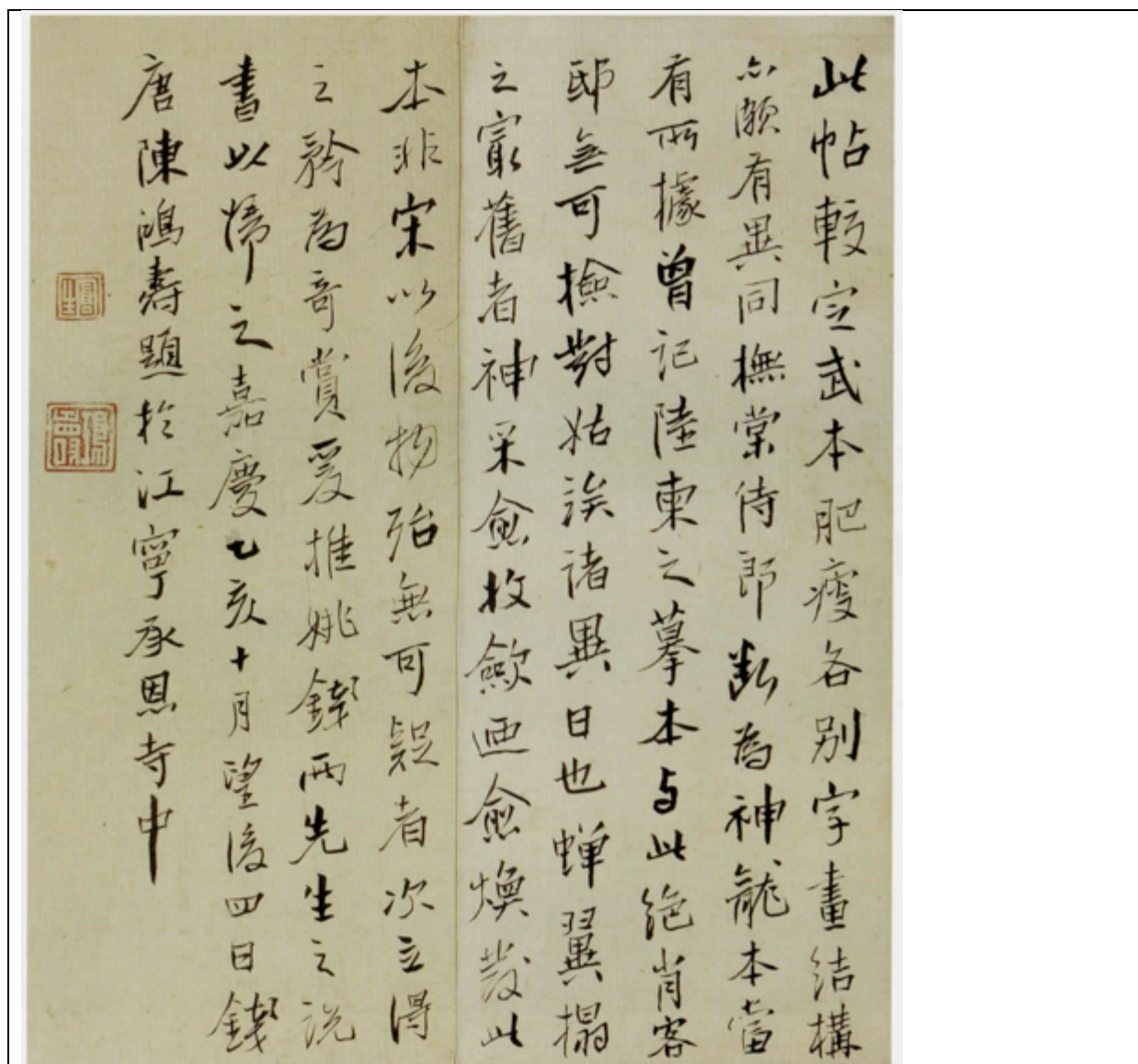


Fig. 19 Chen Hongshou, Colophon to the *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion*, album leaf, ink on paper, 1815, 26.0 X 10.3 cm, Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, C26).

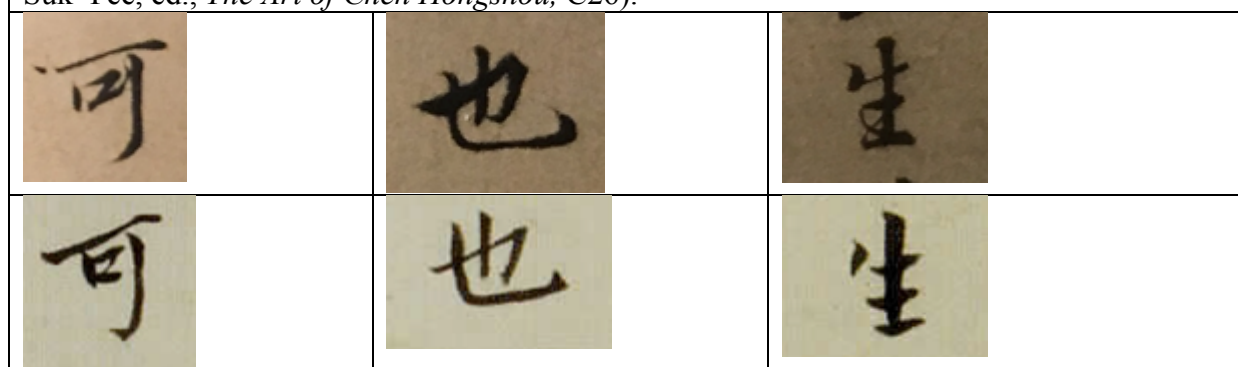


Fig. 20 (Upper) Details of Fig. 18; (Lower) Details of Fig. 19.





Fig. 21 Rubbing of the *Stone Inscription of the Opening of the Baoxie Road* (63 CE), album, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Qi Gong, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Shang Zhou zhi Qin Han shufa*, 91).



Fig. 22 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1811, 120.0 X 29.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 51).



Fig. 23 Rubbing of the Head of the *Stele of Heng Fang* (168 CE), ink on paper (From Ho Pik Ki, "Qingdai lishu yu Yi Bingshou," pl. 5-17a).

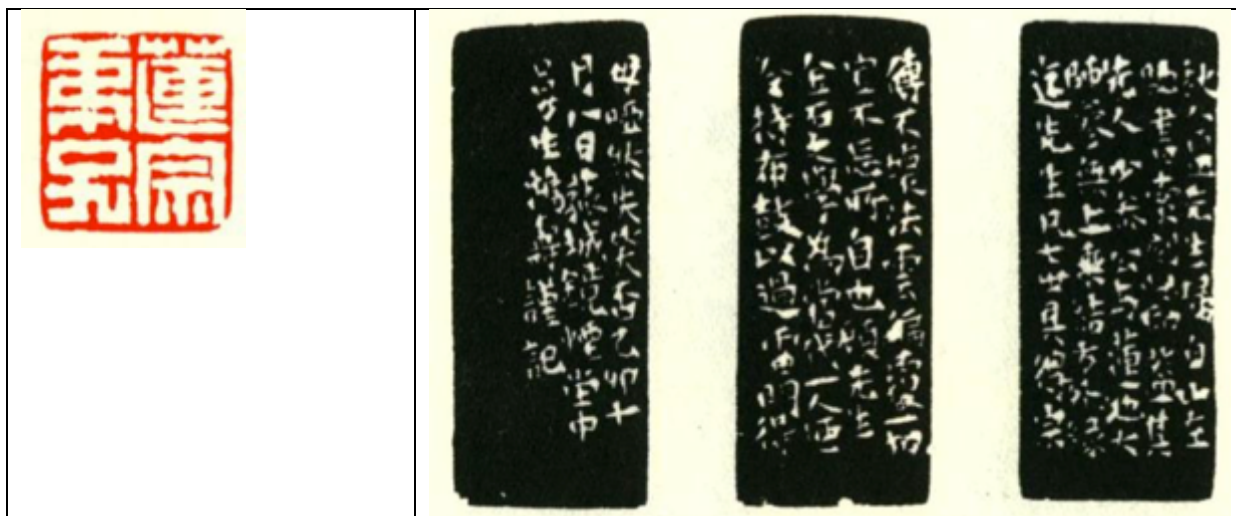


Fig. 24 Chen Hongshou, *Lian zong dizi* 蓮宗弟子 (disciple of the Pure Land sect), 1795 (From Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, *Ming Qing zhuanke xuan*, 71).

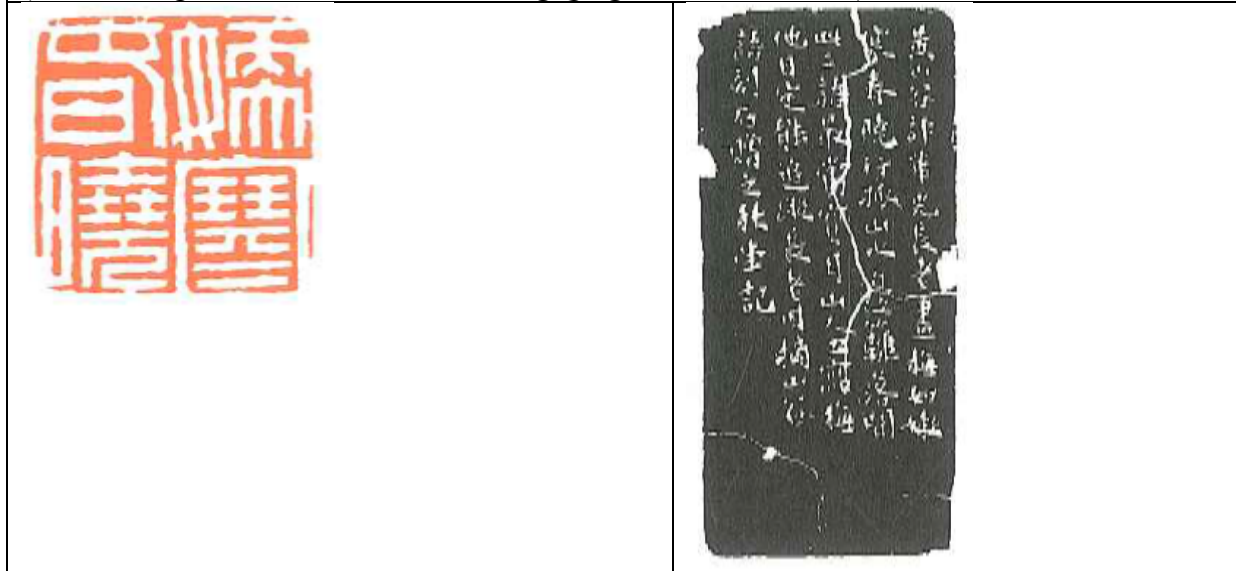


Fig. 25 Chen Yuzhong, *nenhan chun xiao* 嫩寒春曉 (light chill at dawn of a spring), late 18<sup>th</sup> c (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 32).



Fig. 1.1 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Wu Yin, Guo Bingnan, Ying Meng, and Qiao Yajun, *Ming Qing mingjia yinglian shufa jicui*, 133).



Fig. 1.2 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Wan Qingli, *The Century Was Not Declining in Art*, 98).

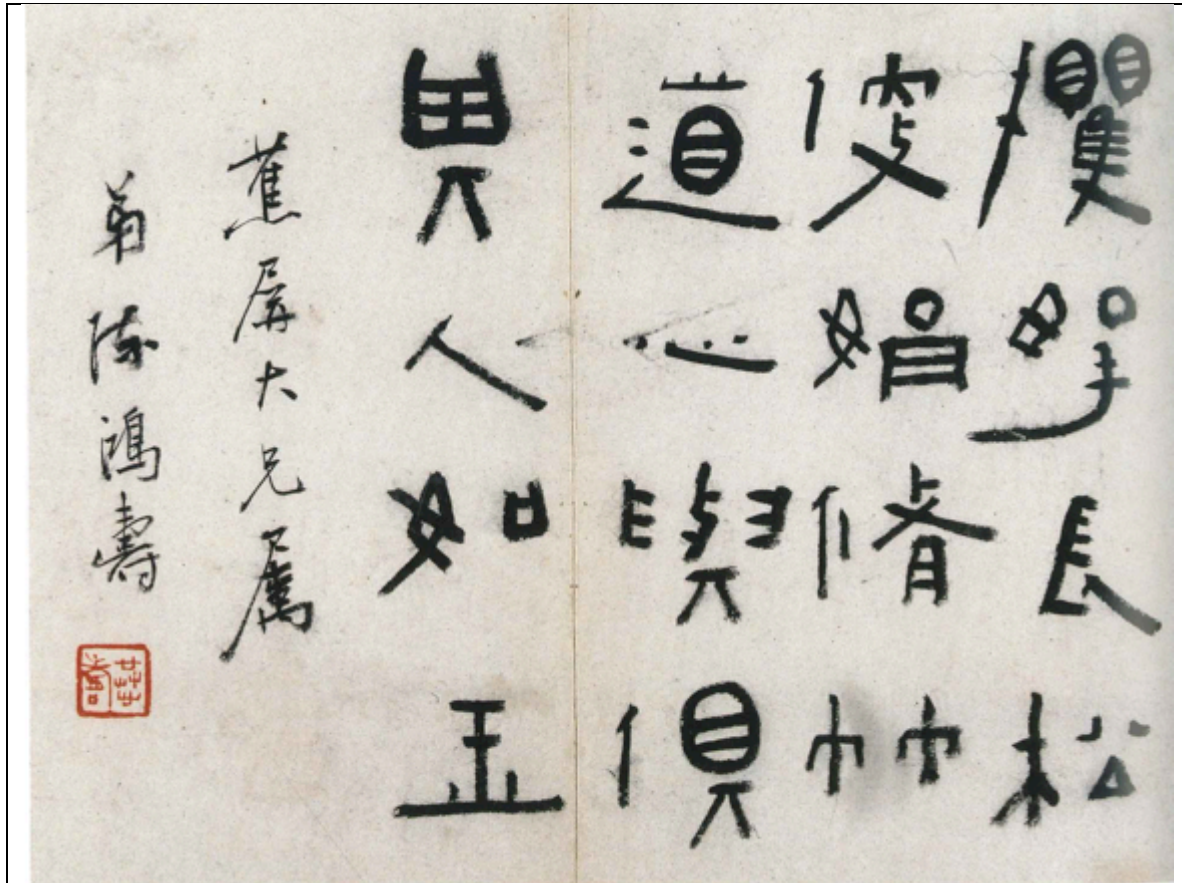


Fig. 1.3 Chen Hongshou, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, album leaves, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, Tang Yun Museum (From Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 62).



Fig. 1.4 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1816 (From Fujiwara Sosui, *Zukai shodōshi*, vol. 5, 257).



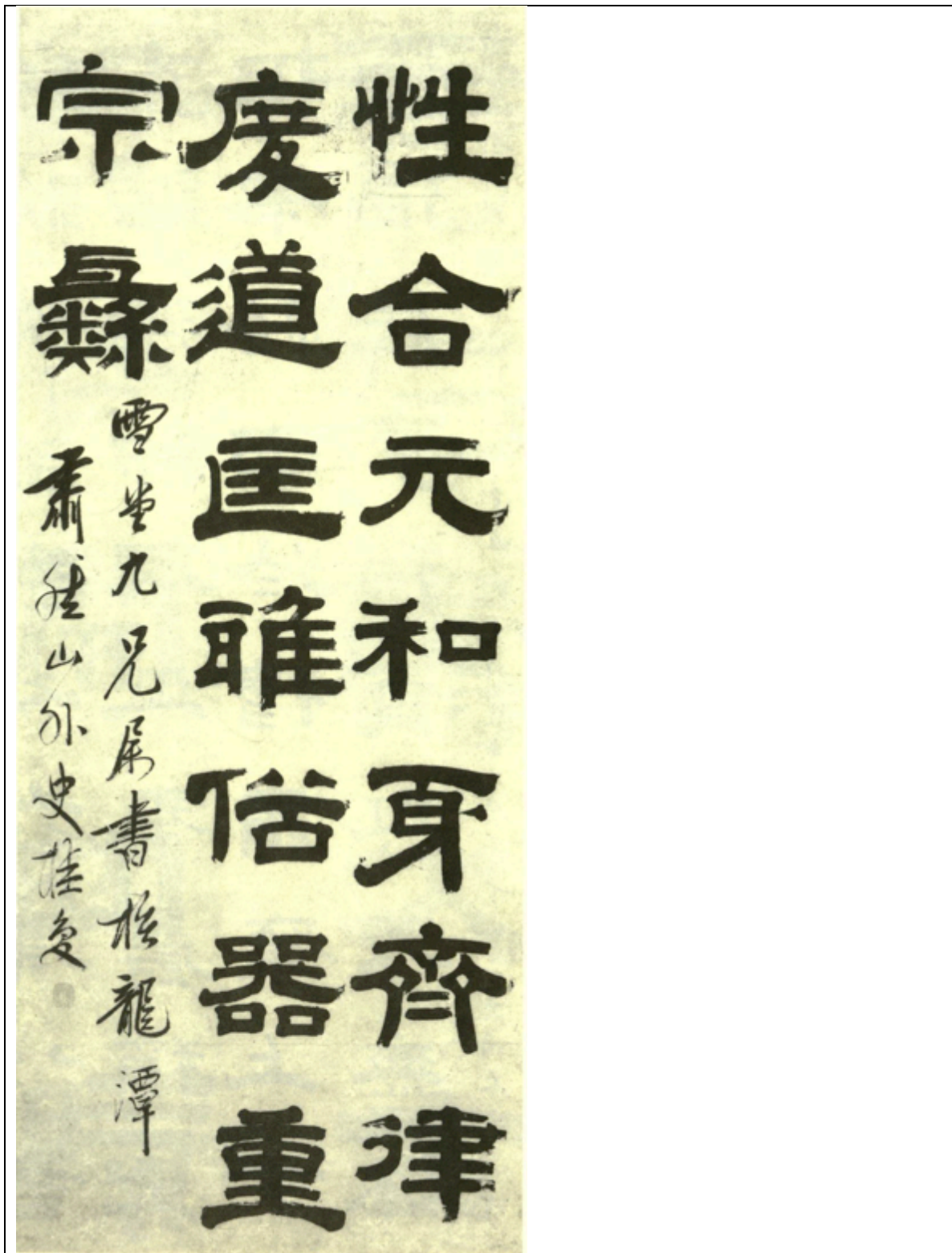


Fig. 1.5 Gui Fu, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, hanging scroll, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Tokuami Shuntō, et al., *I Heiju Kei Fu*, 33).



Fig. 1.6 Yi Bingshou, Calligraphy in Clerical Script, tablet, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Yi Bingshou, *Yi Bingshou shuhua ji*, unpaginated).



Fig. 1.7 Chen Hongshou, Four-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1817, 132.0 X 29.0 cm, Xiling Seal Carvers' Society (From Xiling yinshe, *Xiling yinshe cangpinji*, 75).



Fig. 1.8 Rubbing of an Inkstone Made from a Han Dynasty Brick (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 38 b).



Fig. 1.9 Chen Hongshou, Copy of a Brick Inscription, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 162.0 X 33.0 cm, private collection (From Xiao Jianmin, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 109).

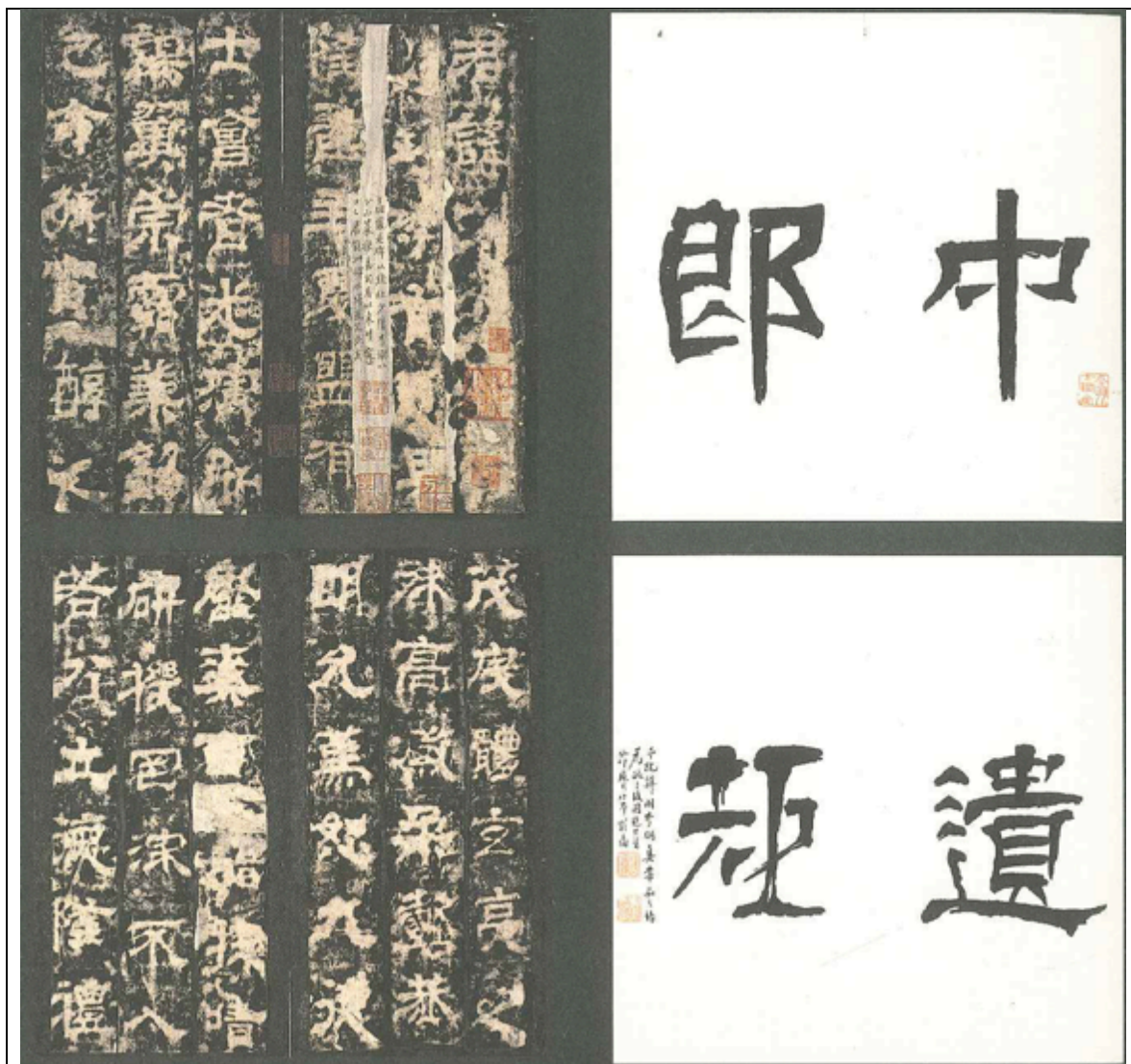


Fig. 1.10 Huang Yi, Part of the Rubbings of the *Stele of Fan Shi*, album of 15 leaves (11.5 rubbings, 13.5 colophons), ink on paper, Song dynasty, 34.0 X 17.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Penglai suyue*, 111).

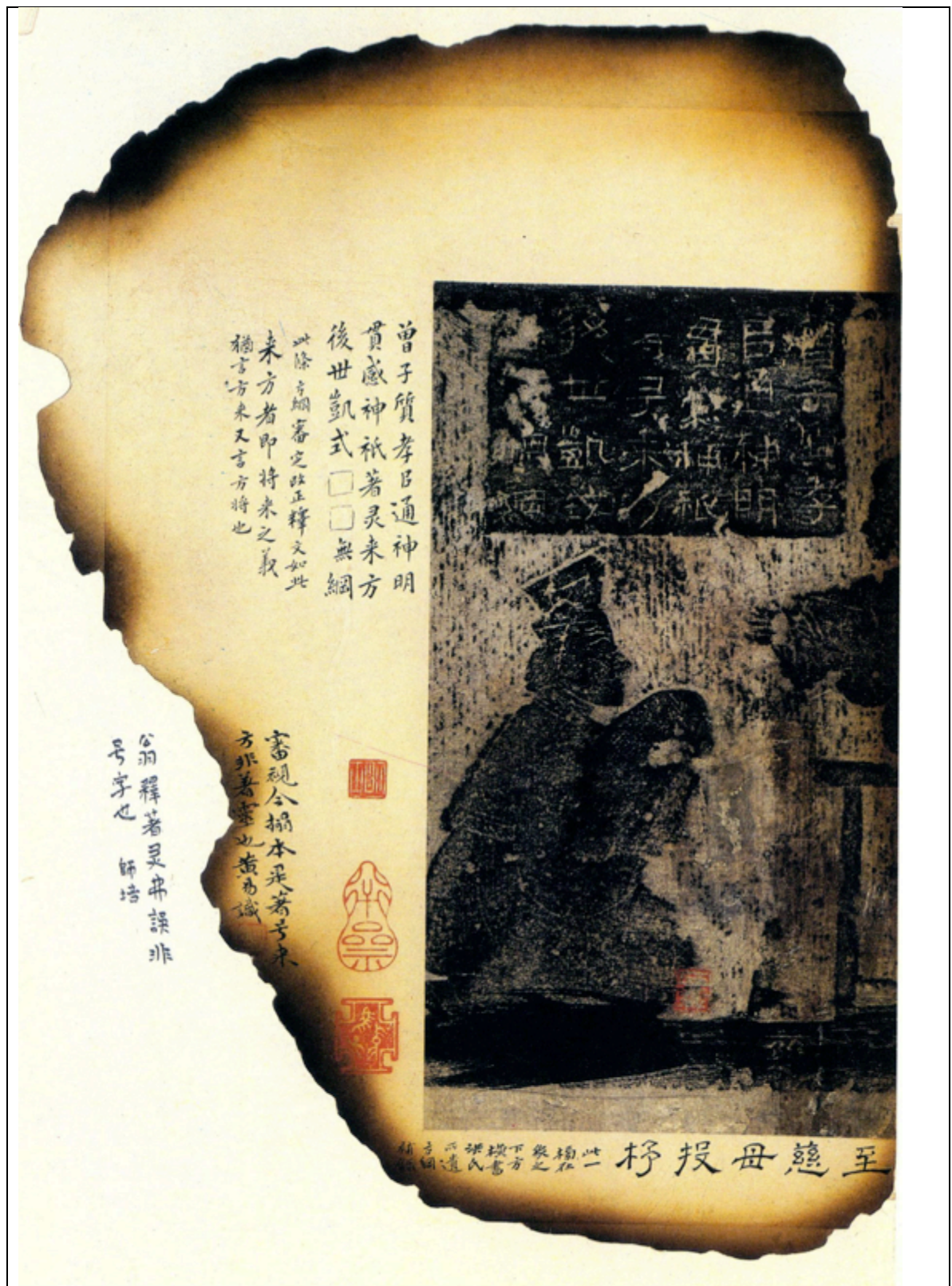


Fig. 1.11 “Zengzi” in an Album of Rubbings from the Wu Liang Shrine, album leaves, ink on paper, Song dynasty, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Qi Gong, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Shang Zhou zhi Qin Han shufa*, 111).



Fig. 1.12 Huang Yi, Tracing Copy of the Song Dynasty Rubbing of the Zengzi Carving (From Huang Yi, "Wu Liang ci huaxiang Tang taben," in *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 6, 14).

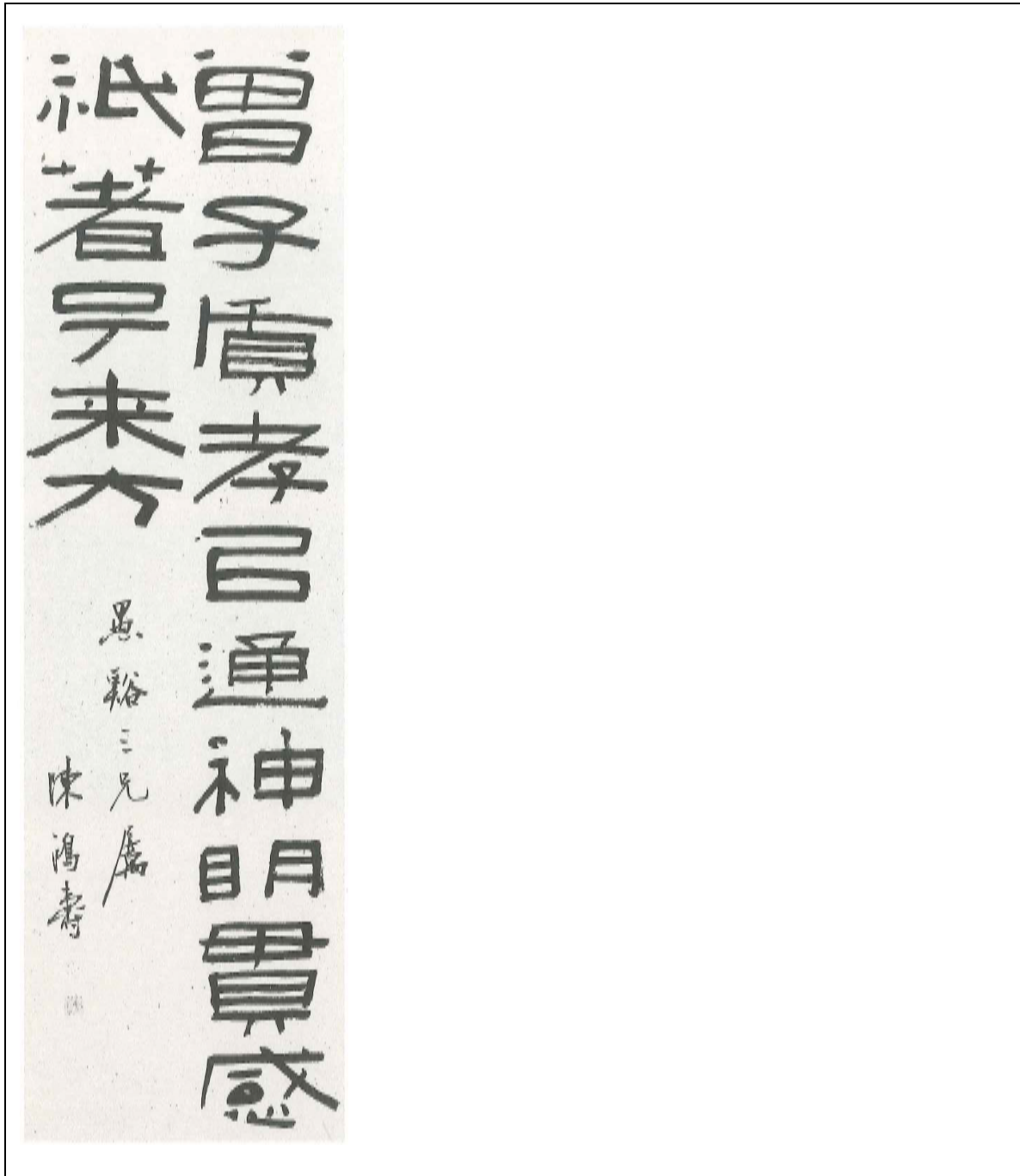


Fig. 1.13 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the Inscription on the Pictorial Carving of Zengzi in the Wu Liang Shrine, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Jin Dan, *Yi Bingshou Chen Hongshou*, pl. 23).





Fig. 1.14 (Upper) Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min* (From Huang Yi, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 7, 9b).  
 (Lower) Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min* (From Huang Yi, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 7, 2b, 11a).

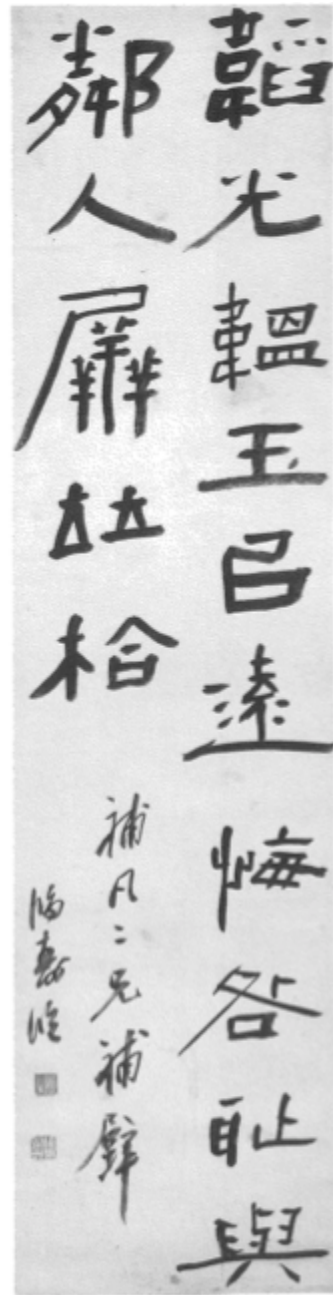


Fig. 1.15 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Qiao Min*, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 123.3 X 32.2 cm (From Hayashida Hōen, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pl. 60).

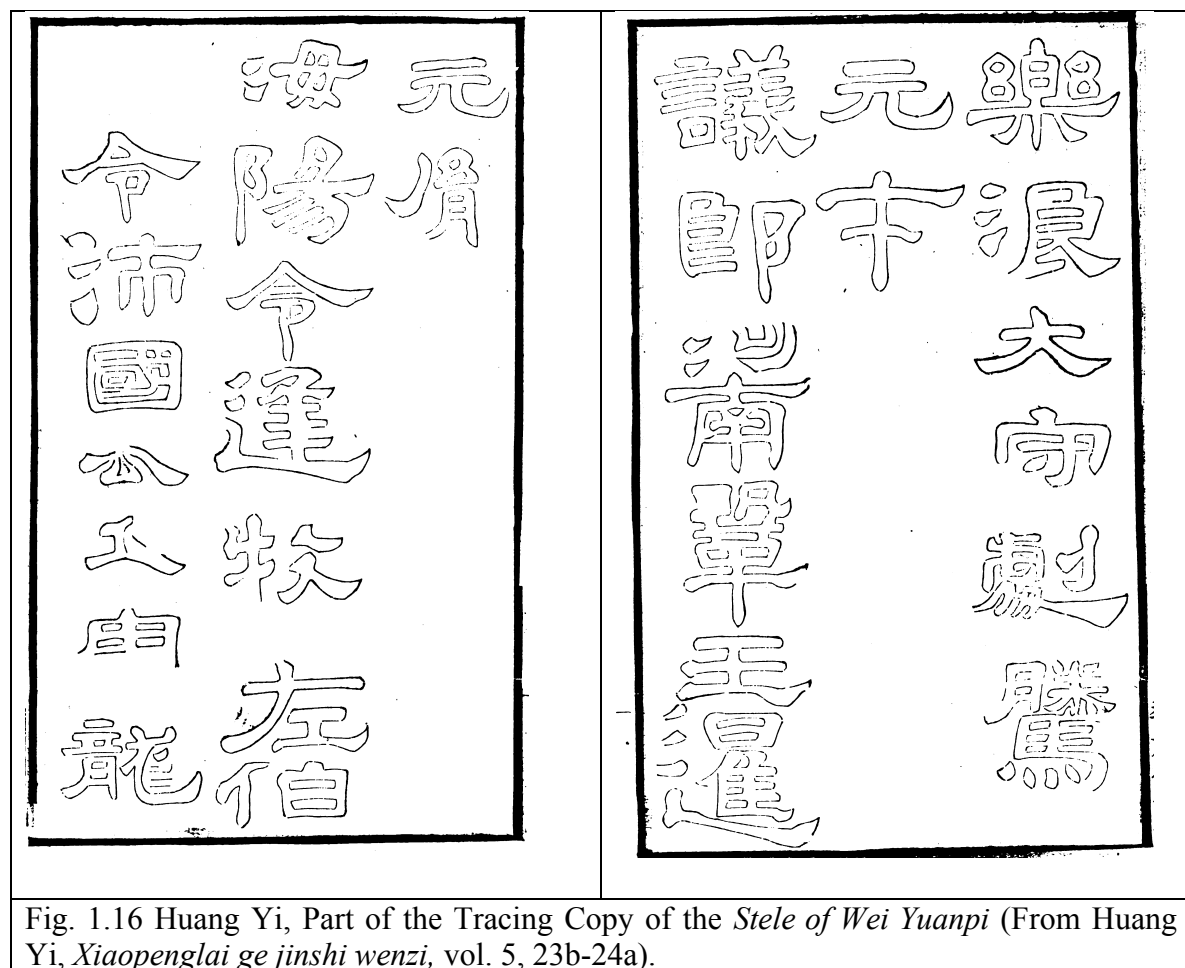


Fig. 1.16 Huang Yi, Part of the Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (From Huang Yi, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 5, 23b-24a).

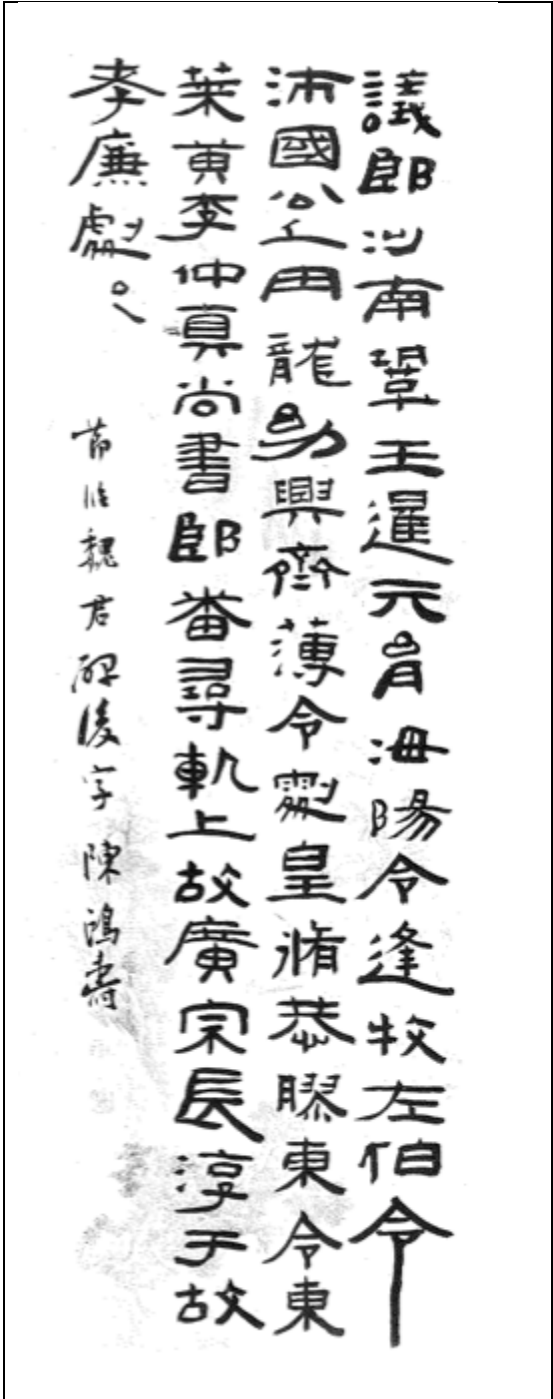


Fig. 1.17 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*, hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.8 X 29.8 cm (From Hayashida Hōen, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pl. 1).



Fig. 1.18 Parts of Chen Hongshou's Calligraphy for the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*, album of thirty leaves, 1816 (From Chen Hongshou, *Chen Mansheng shu Xu dafu muzhi zhenji*, unpaginated).

	<p>亦如仲中之 互用好變以 見奇也</p>		<p>女</p>
<p>說文姿態也碑義當如易乾 卦萬物資始釋文鄭云資取 也之資而通用姿也釋名釋 姿容姿資也資取也形貌之 稟取為資本也義同故通用</p>	<p>魏封孔羨碑—大聖之才</p>	<p>曹全 碑大 —桃 斐等</p>	
	<p>石經魯詩殘碑三歲宦— 爾女 之女經典亦作汝 <small>孝經釋宗明義 汝知之乎釋文 出女云音汝本或作汝凡本女 字皆放此汝水名音同義別</small></p>	<p>曹全 碑陰 楊休 當—</p>	
<p>孔宙碑天—醇 嘏 天姿它碑 作天資資謂材 質漢書董仲舒 資傳又有能致 之資師古曰亦 資材質也 資取之義碑作</p>	<p>華山廟碑汝南—陽人 隸釋云以 女陽為汝陽隸辨云漢書地理志作 女陽師古曰讀曰汝棠是碑汝南之 下更書女陽猶敬恭之上先書肅共</p>	<p>華山廟碑汝南—陽人 隸釋云以 女陽為汝陽隸辨云漢書地理志作 女陽師古曰讀曰汝棠是碑汝南之 下更書女陽猶敬恭之上先書肅共</p>	

Fig. 1.19 Zhai Yunsheng, "nǚ," in *Book of Clerical Script*, 1835 (From Zhai Yunsheng, *Lipian*, di 12, 18a).

本編入案侯下一字舊釋爲虎今諦審之尚有偏旁剝蝕  
 難辨姑闕之是紀侯名也已紀古通用鐘字作反文此鐘  
 壽光縣人得之於紀侯臺下左隱元年傳紀人伐夷杜注  
 紀國在東莞劇縣齊乘云壽光南三十里春秋之紀國卽  
 劇城也通志云紀本在嶺榆縣後遷劇亦稱紀城攷漢恩  
 澤侯表陳倉亦封紀侯此銘係古文非漢物也

楚公罇鐘

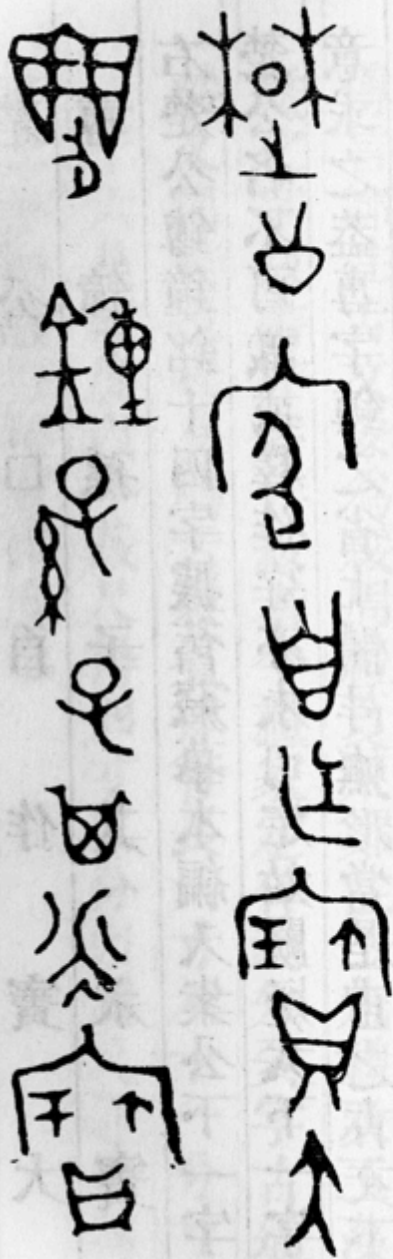


Fig. 1.20 Part of Engraved Writings and Patterns on Bronze Objects in the Studio of Erudition (From Ruan Yuan and Zhu Weibi, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*, 175).



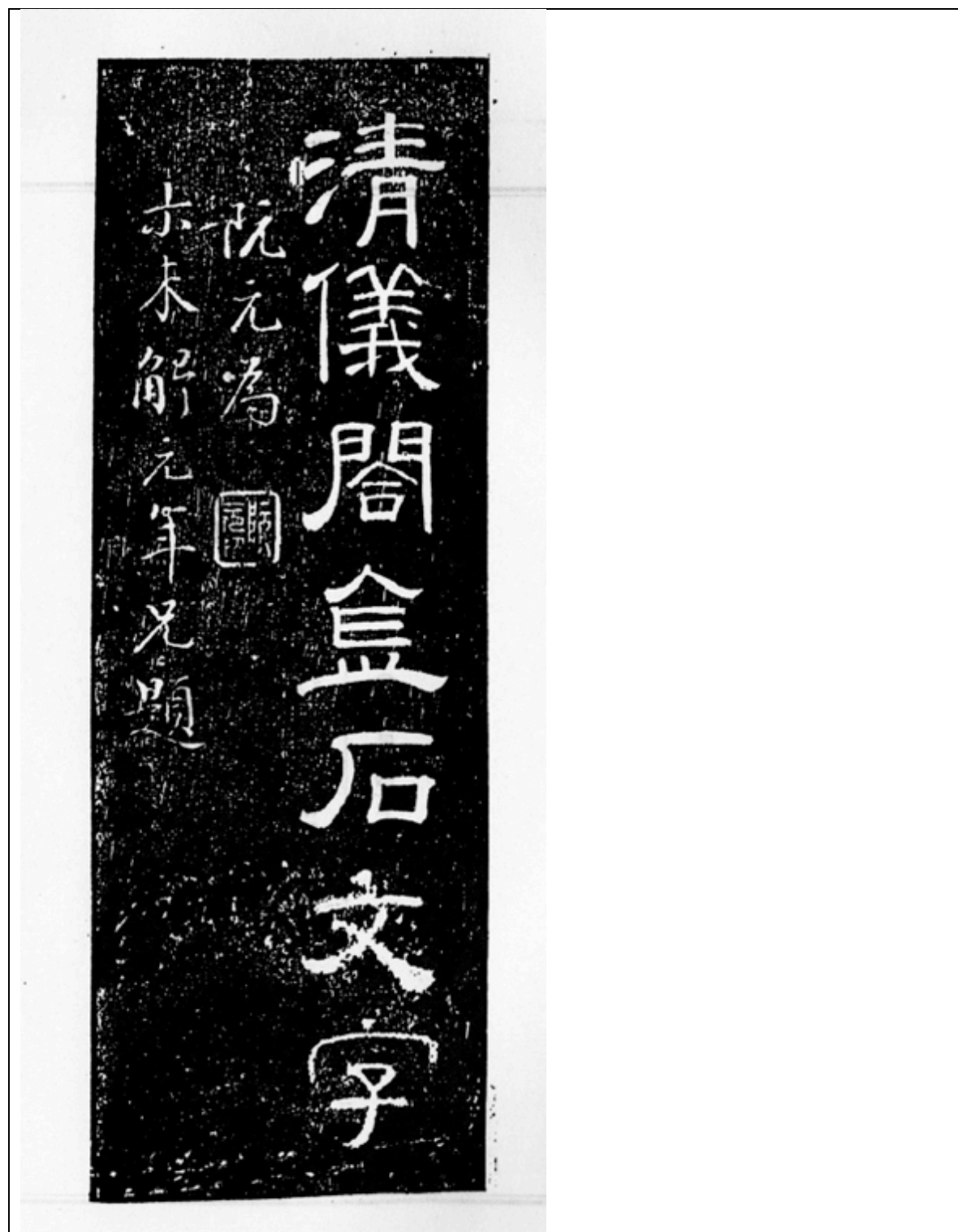


Fig. 1.22 Rubbing of a Carving of Ruan Yuan's Calligraphy for the Title of a Zhang Tingji's *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing* (From, Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige jinshi wenzi tapian*, 552).





Fig. 1.23 Rubbing of a Bronze *jue* from the Shang Dynasty in *Inscriptions on Ancient Bronzes in the Collection of the Pavilion of Moral Integrity of Mr. Zhang from Jiaxing* (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 1, 3a).

釋同前器

右師酉敦銘與元所藏者同據趙晉齋所藏搨本摹入晉齋云此西人秦伯崖所手搨者

仲駒父敦二器

象旁中駒

象旁仲駒

父作仲姜

父作仲姜

敦子孫永

敦子孫永

實用享孝

實用享孝

右仲駒父敦銘十八字據錢塘陳曼生鴻壽手搨本摹入

Fig. 1.24 Bronze Inscription Reproduced from a Rubbing Handmade by Chen Hongshou (From Yuan and Zhu Weibi, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*, 424).



Fig. 1.25 Rubbing of the *Inscription of the Shimen Tunnel* (509 CE), hanging scroll, ink on paper, early Qing, 118.0 X 55.0 cm, Art Museum, the Chinese University of Hong Kong (From Li Zhigang, ed., *Zhongguo gudai beitie taben*, pl. 42b).

魏故寧朔將軍固州鎮將鎮東將軍滌陽太守宜陽子司  
 馬允興墓誌銘  
 君諱紹字允興河內温人也晉河間王右衛將軍選駿  
 常侍中護軍使持節侍中太尉公贈車騎大將軍儀同三  
 司謚曰武王欽之玄孫晉河間侍中左衛將軍贈使持節  
 鎮西將軍荊州刺史謚曰景王曇之曾孫晉淮南王祕  
 書監遷使持節鎮北將軍徐兗二州刺史晉祚流移姚授  
 行軍將軍殿中尚書大魏蒙授安遠將軍丹陽侯贈平西  
 將軍雍州刺史謚曰簡公璠之孫寧朔將軍宜陽子驍  
 騎府從事中郎鎮西將軍略陽王府長史道壽之子君夙  
 稟明頽慕承徽烈洪業方隆生志未遂以魏太和十七年  
 歲次戊申七月庚辰朔十二日壬子薨於第以永平四年  
 歲次辛卯十月癸亥朔十一日癸酉遷塋在温城西北廿  
 里記之  
 遙哉遠藹緬矣鴻胥承符紹夏任賓於周貞明代襲奔世  
 宣流証生夫子刻慕徽猷崇基方構嘉業始脩蘭摧始夏  
 桂折未秋感慈景行式述遺休

此石乾隆二  
 十年出土當  
 時即為韓姓  
 所買轉入孫  
 姓縣人欲贖  
 歸不得乃重  
 募入石見此  
 今世所通見  
 者皆摹本  
 也恐石今不  
 知存否此必  
 初出土時拓  
 本今石已上  
 欽之下主字  
 白石懸避  
 廟諱故未  
 刻聖字誤作  
 茲至於華  
 迹神理則全  
 夫矣聽名補  
 是碑書遠度  
 碑勒於南  
 朝可敵王僧  
 虔瞻此益信  
 光緒十年  
 六月廿  
 出同年屬  
 題時將名都  
 尚書書此  
 陶澐宣

Fig. 1.26 Rubbing of Epitaph of Sima Shao (511 CE), ink on paper, Qianlong period, 58.0 X 48.0 cm, Art Museum, the Chinese University of Hong Kong (From Li Zhigang, ed., *Zhongguo gudai beitie taben*, pl. 43).

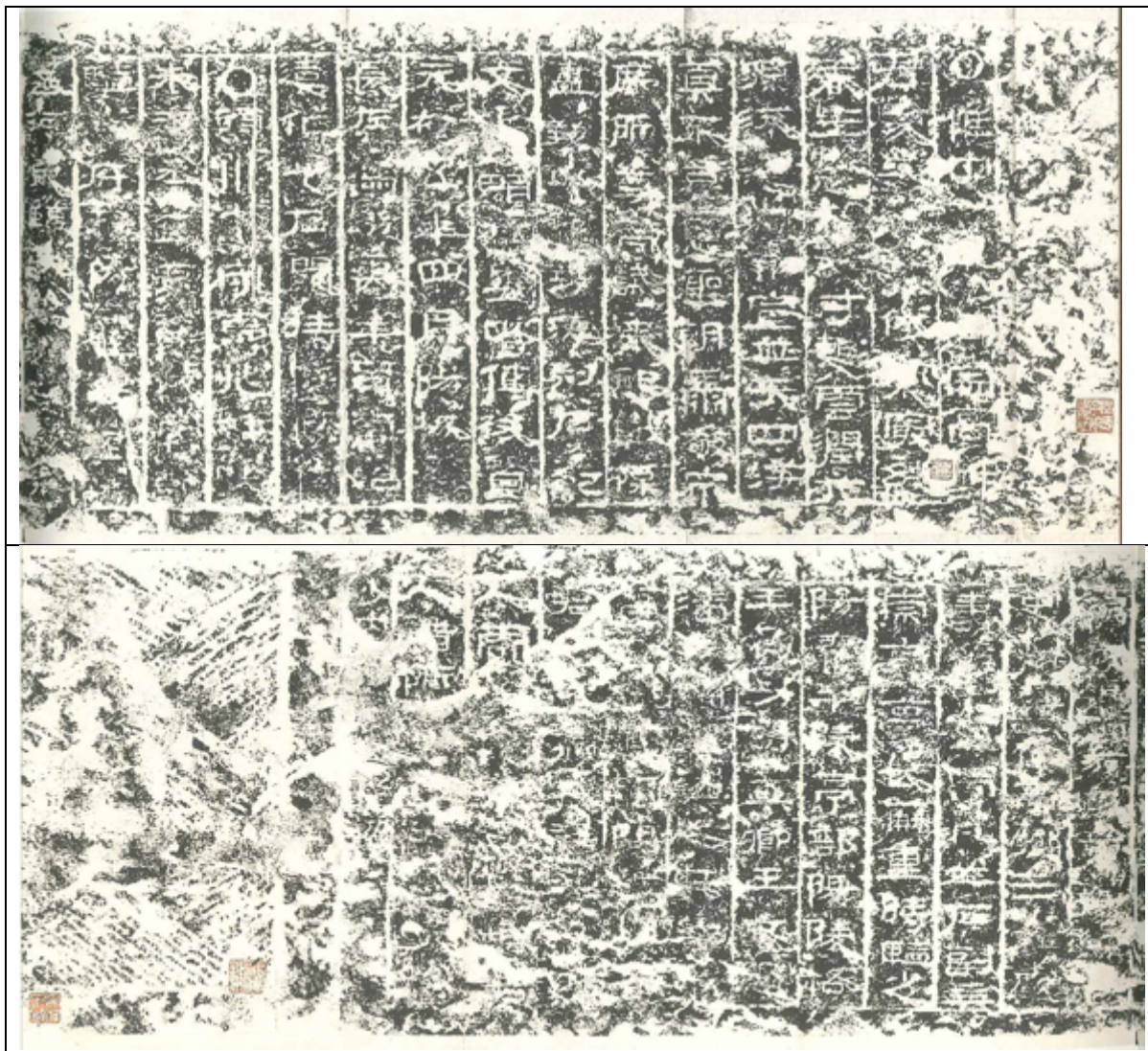


Fig. 1.27 Huang Yi, Rubbing of the *Taishi Watch Towers on Mount Song* (118 CE), handscroll, ink on paper, Qianlong period, 33.0 X 141.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Penglai suyue*, 40-41).



Fig. 1.28 (Upper) Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 114.0 X 32.0 cm, private collection (Author's photograph); (Lower) Details of the Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script.



Fig. 1.29 Yi Bingshou, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1815 (From Tokuami Shuntō, et al., *I Heiju Kei Fu*, 7).



Fig. 1.30 (Left) Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1806, 158.5 X 34.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan; (Right) Details of the characters *su*, *wei*, and *xiang* in the Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script (From Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, ed., *Double Beauty*, pl. 72).



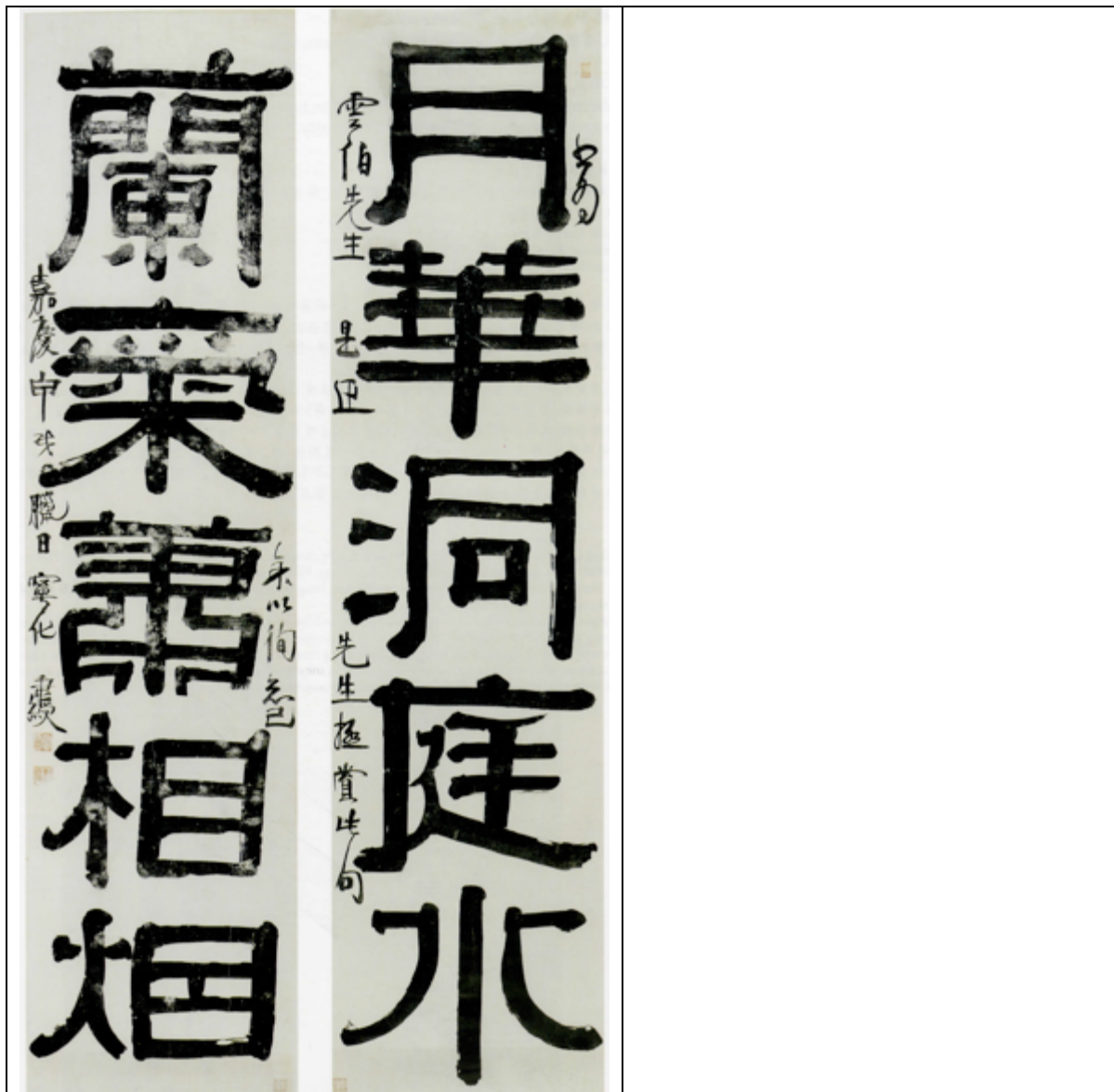


Fig. 1.31 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1806, 198.0 X 48.5 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 52).



Fig. 1.32 Ink Dabbers (From Kenneth Starr, *Black Tigers*, 54).



Fig. 1.33 Qian Daxin, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked wood-block printed paper, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 120.0 X 17.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 24).



Fig. 1.34 Qian Daxin, Seven-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked waxed paper, latter half of 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 131.6 X 31.2 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, ed., *Double Beauty*, pl. 44).



Fig. 1.35 Huang Yi, Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.5 X 21.0 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Harold Mok, ed., *Double Beauty II*, pl. 38).



Fig. 1.36 Yi Bingshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1815, 132.5 X 25 cm, Xiaomangcangcangzhai (From Chen Lie, ed., *Xiaomangcangcangzhai cang Qingdai xuezhe fashu xuanji*, pl. 89).



Fig. 1.37 Huang Yi, Rubbing of the *Stele of Wu Rong* (167 CE), album leaf, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 29.0 X 14.0 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Penglai suyue*, 104).



Fig. 1.38 Chen Hongshou, Calligraphy, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 122.9 X 11.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Accession No.: 1973.556) (From Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accessed May 15, 2018, <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/calligraphy-30144>).



Fig. 1.39 Huang Yi, Twenty-Two-Character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1801, 136.0 X 12.7 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, ed., *Double Beauty*, pl. 62).





Fig. 1.40 (Left) Parts of Chen Hongshou's Calligraphy (Fig. 1.38).  
 (Right) Details of Chen Hongshou's Clerical Script (From Ge Siming, *Canghai yisu*, 111; Joseph Chang, *Brushing the Past*, 70; and Hayashida Hōen, ed., *Chin Kōju no shohō*, 126).



Fig. 1.41 (Left) Huang Yi, Rubbings Taken from the Wu Family Shrines, album, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, 29.3 X 15.7 cm, Shanghai Library (From Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie*, 17). (Right) (Fig. 1.39)

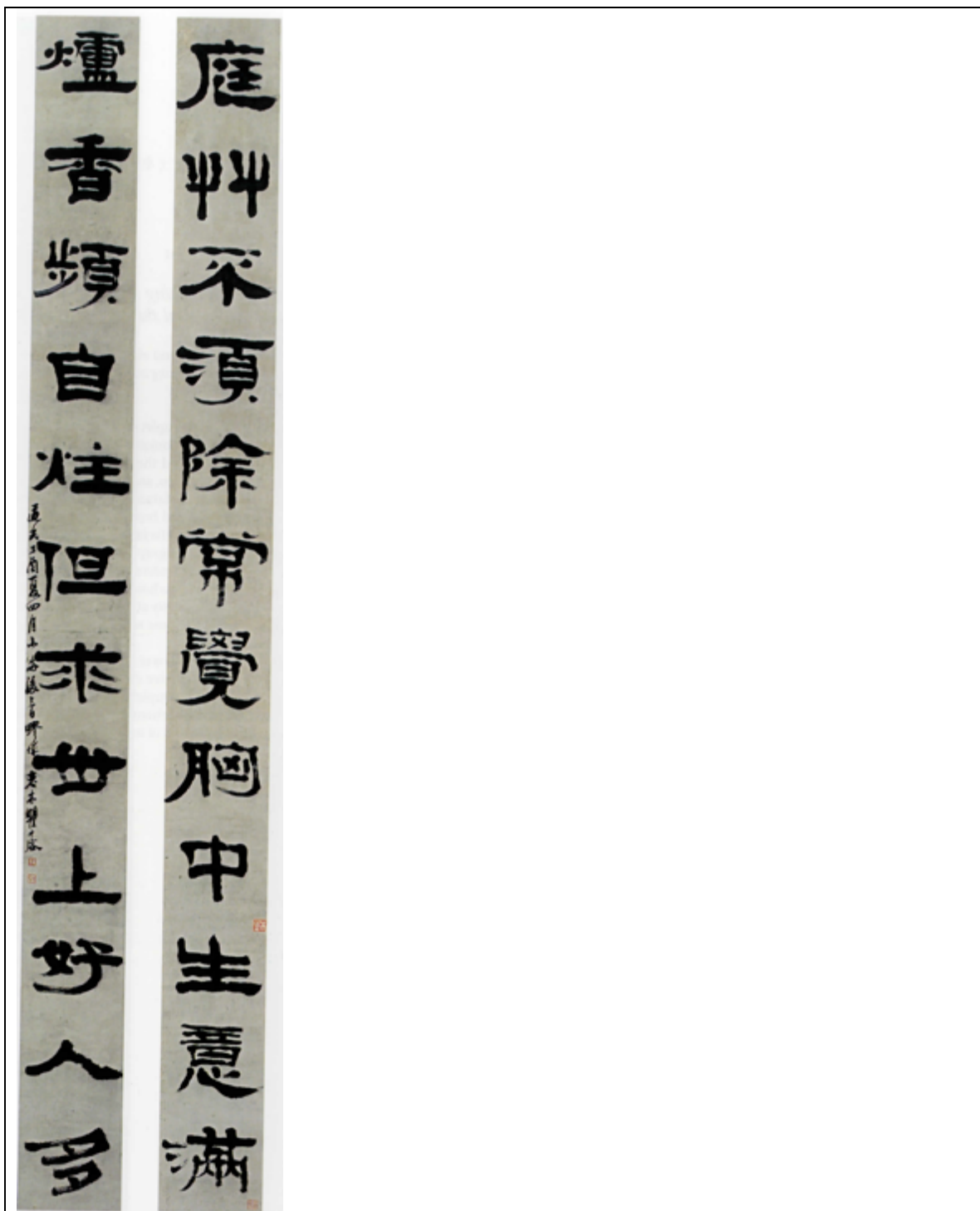


Fig. 1.42 Qu Zhongrong, Twelve-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 1837, 146.7 X 12.5 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, ed., *Double Beauty*, pl. 93).



Fig. 1.43 Chen Hongshou, Eight-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scroll, 1816, 173.0 X 30.0 cm, private collection (From Ge Siming, ed., *Canghai yisu*, pl. 20).



Fig. 1.44 Rubbing of the *Xiping Stone Classics* (175-183 CE), ink on paper, Palace Museum Beijing (From Qi Gong, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Shang Zhou zhi Qin Han shufa*, 161).

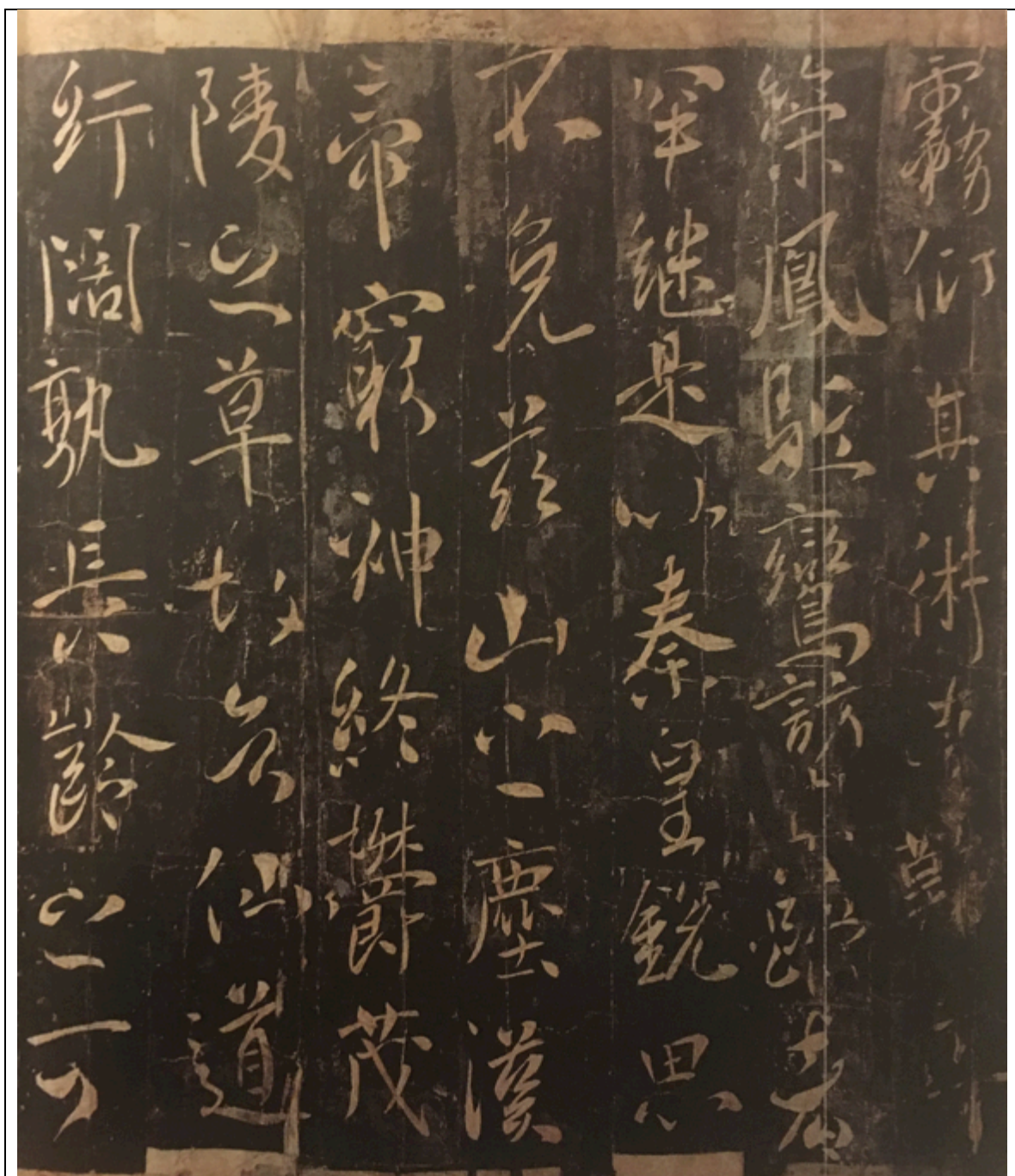


Fig. 1.45 Rubbing of the *Inscription of the Hot Spring* (Calligraphy by Li Shimin, 628), ink on paper, Tang dynasty, La Bibliothèque Nationale de France (From Yang Renkai, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Sui Tang Wudai shufa*, pl. 34).

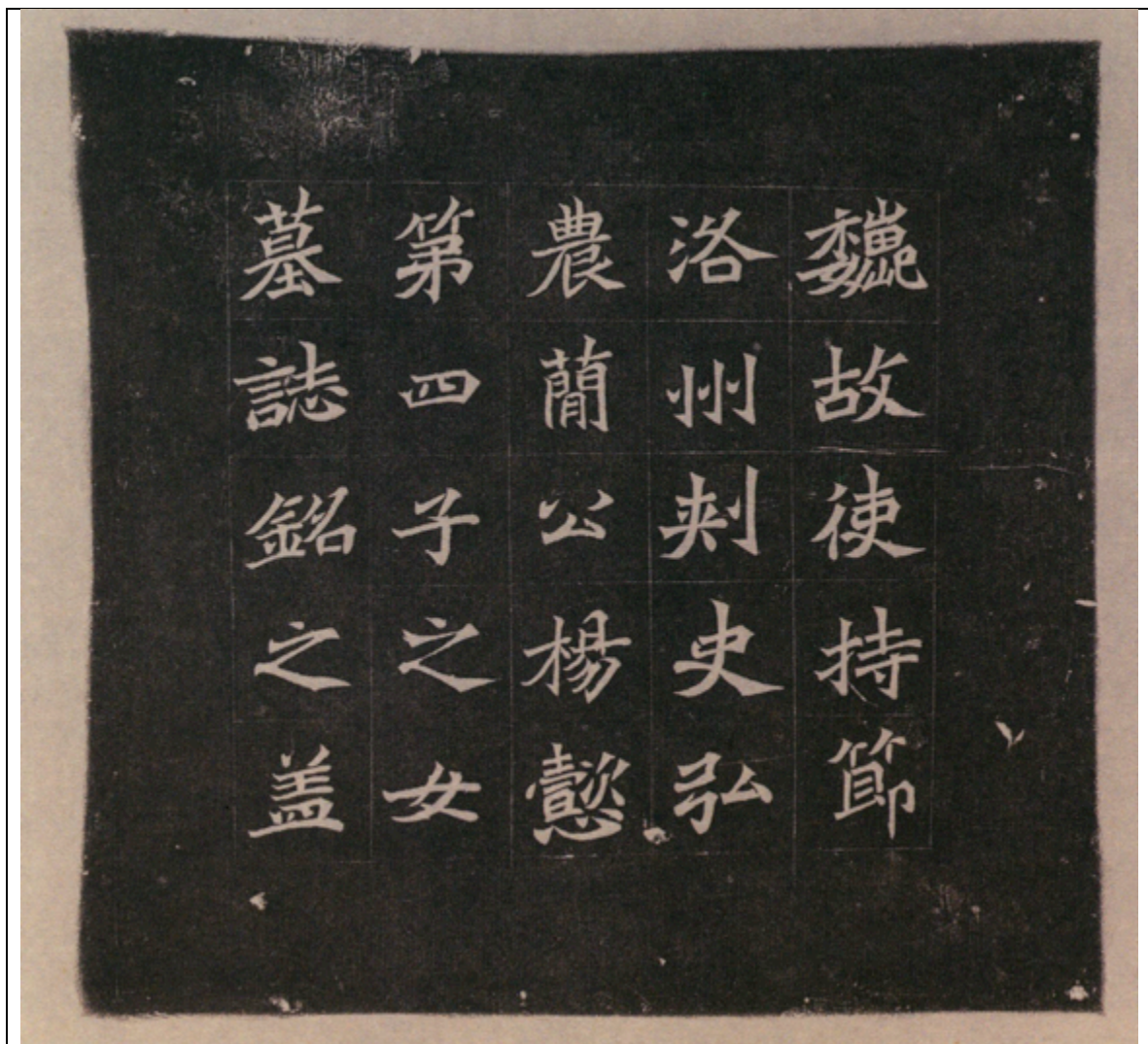


Fig. 1.46 Rubbing of the Cover of the *Tombstone of Yang Wuchou* (518 CE), ink on paper, 24.0 X 25.0 cm, Bei Shan Tang (From Ho Pik Ki, ed., *Beishan jigu*, 378).



Fig. 1.47 Chen Hongshou, Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 130.8 X 30.8 cm, Hunan Museum (From Jin Dan, *Yi Bingshou Chen Hongshou*, pl. 24).

Fig. 1.48 (Left) Details of Chen Hongshou's Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (Fig. 1.47); (Right) Details of Huang Yi's Tracing Copy of the *Stele of Wei Yuanpi* (From Huang Yi, *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi*, vol. 5, 10a-10b).



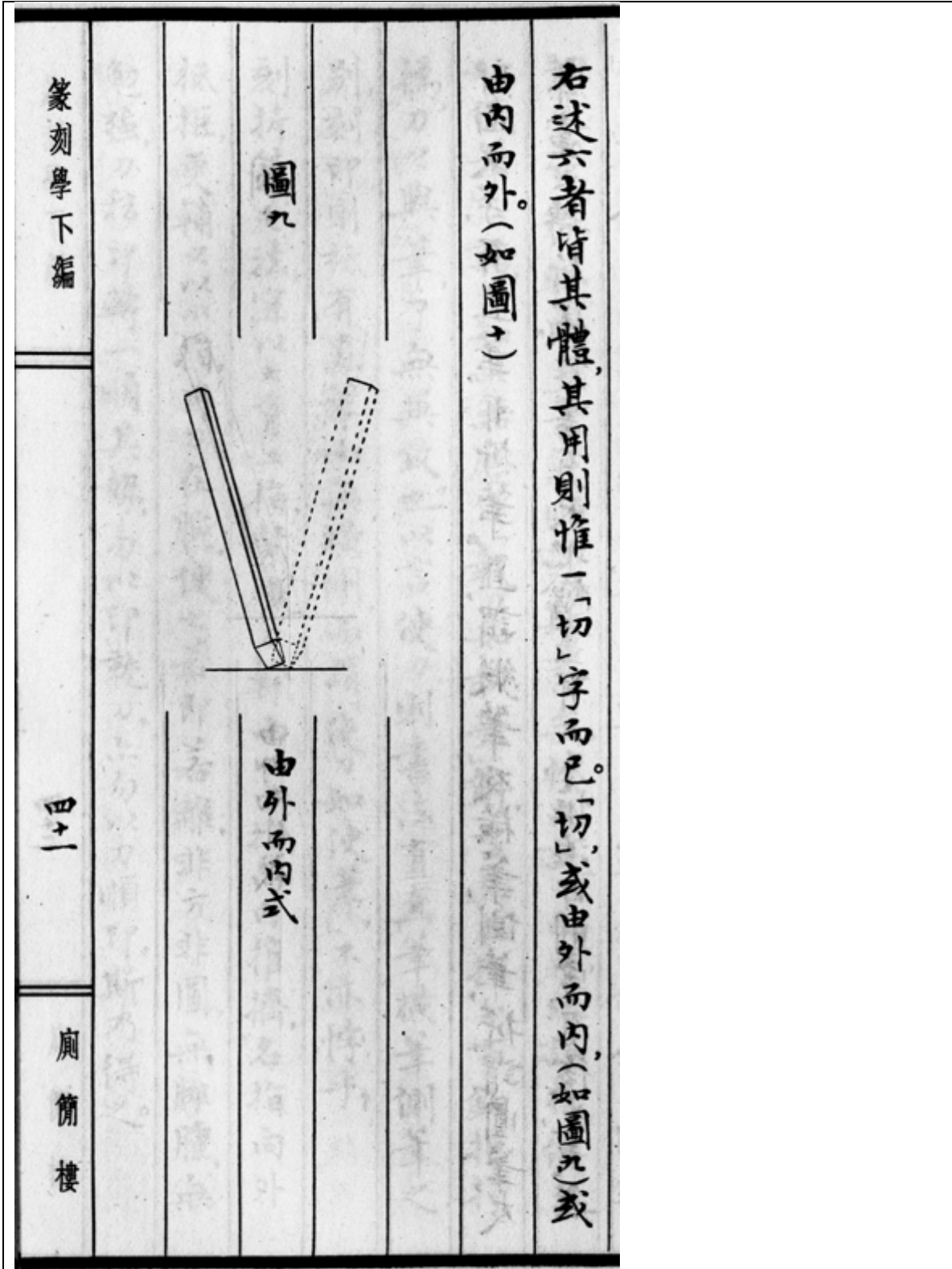


Fig. 1.49 Illustration of a Chopping Knife Method (From Deng Sanmu, *Zhuanke xue, xia*, 41a).



Fig. 1.50 Chen Hongshou, *Yiqiu shi* 憶秋室 (Chamber of Recalling the Autumn), 1805, 2.3 X 2.3 X 3.4 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, S16).

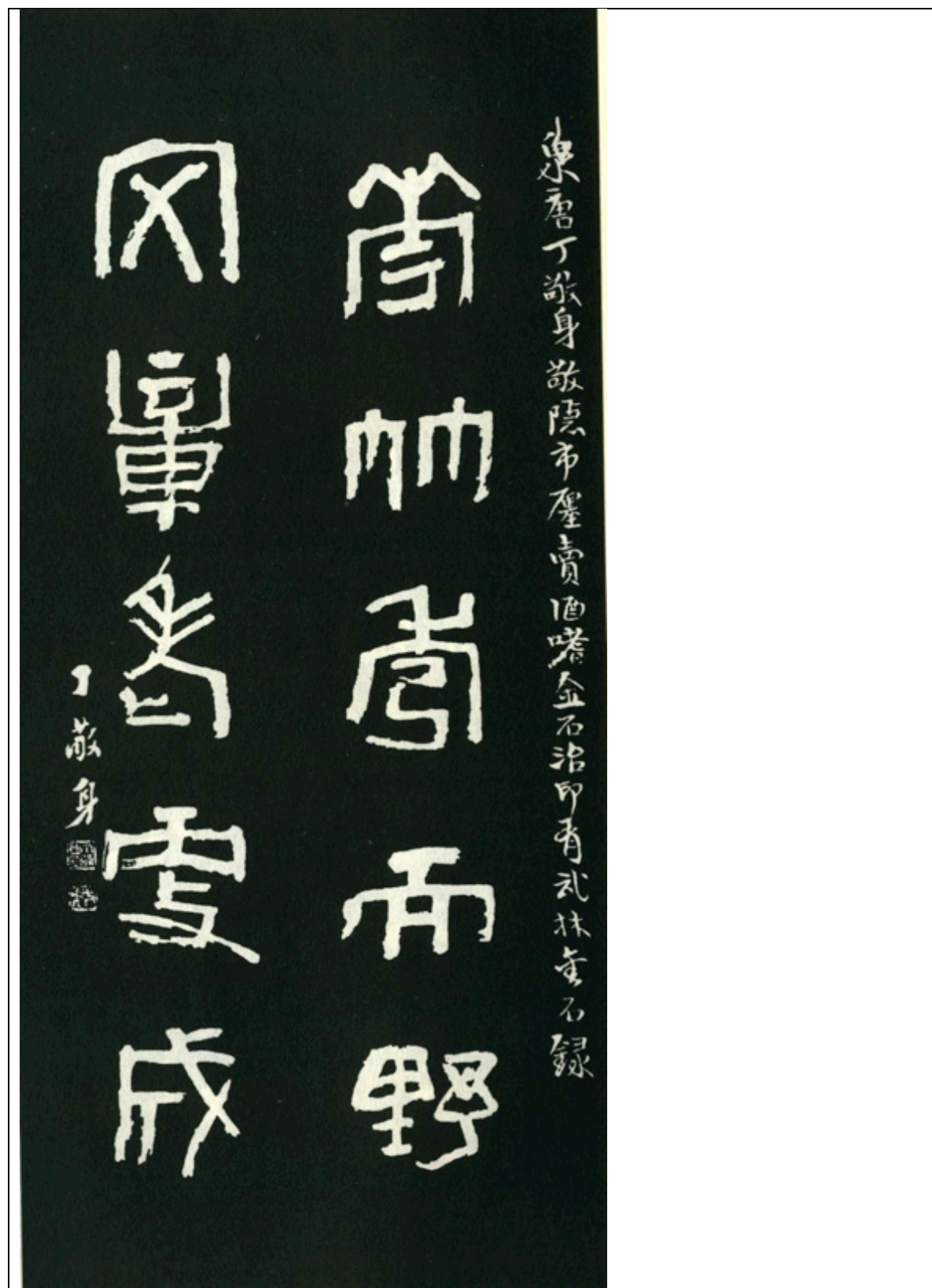


Fig. 1.51 Ding Jing, Five-character Line Couplet in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, first half of 18<sup>th</sup> c (From Wu Yin, *Ming Qing mingjia yinglian jicui*, 121).

長沙西南有金牛岩漢末時有田父牽一牛  
 告漁人欲渡江漁人云船小豈勝得牛田  
 父曰但相容不重君船于是人牛俱上及羊  
 江牛糞于船田父曰自此相贈既渡漁人怒  
 其汚船召燒糞于水欲盡方知是金詫其  
 神異乃躡之但見人牛人類隨至而掘之莫  
 能及也今漁人掘處尚存  
 乙丑夏五奉  
 袁翁先生清鑑古杭金農書

Fig. 1.52 Jin Nong, Calligraphy in Regular-clerical Script, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 1745, 119.0 X 48.0 cm, Dashizhai (Liu Zhengcheng, ed., *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 65, 112).



Fig. 1.53 (Left) Yang Fa, Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 110.5 X 28.0 cm, private collection (From Ge Siming, ed., *Canghai yisu* 26); (Right) Detail of the character *de* in the Five-character Line Couplet in Clerical Script.



Fig. 1.54 Chen Hongshou, Five-character Line Verse in Clerical Script, a pair of hanging scroll, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c, 97.0 X 25.5 cm, private collection (From Ge Siming, ed., *Canghai yisu*, pl. 17).

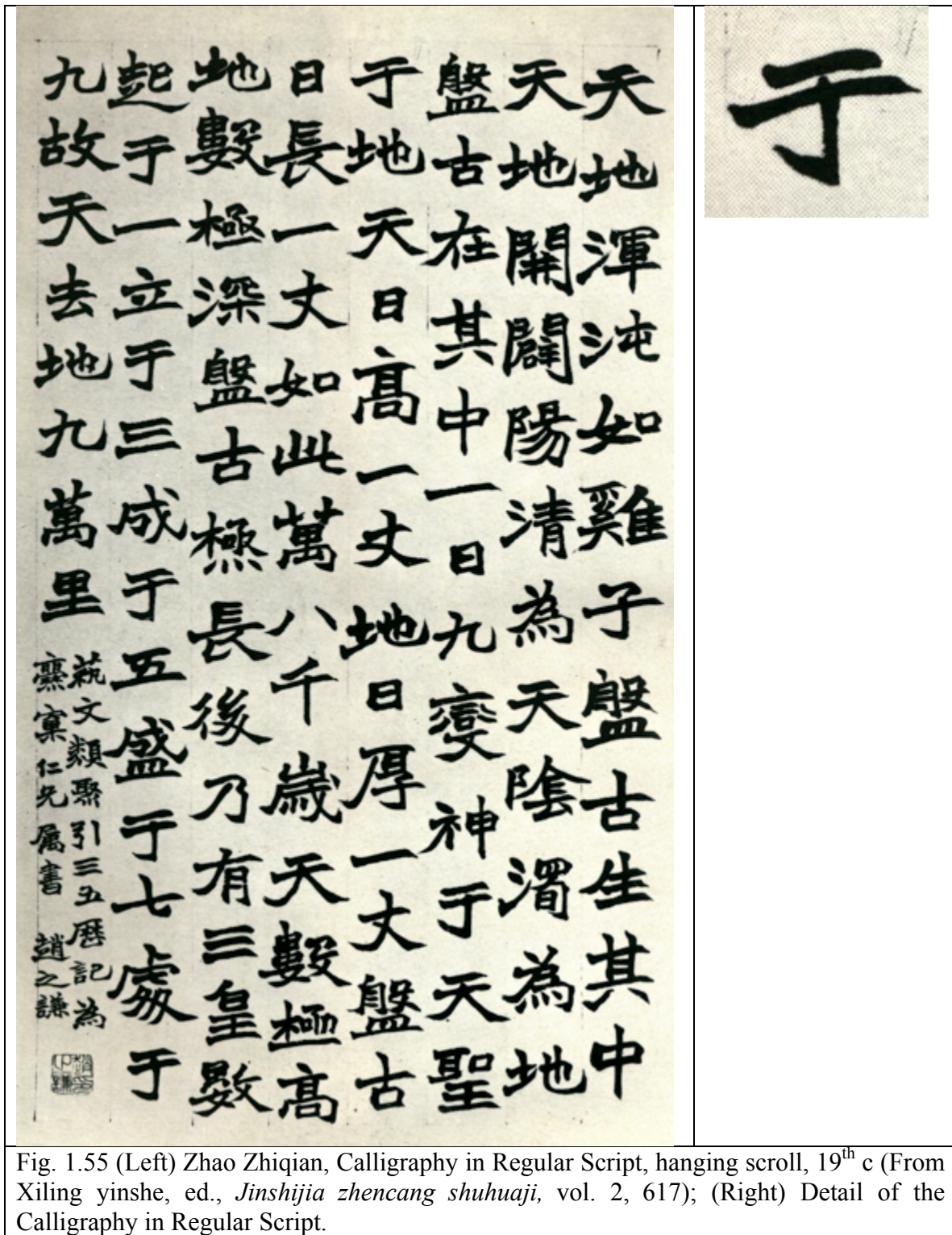


Fig. 1.55 (Left) Zhao Zhiqian, Calligraphy in Regular Script, hanging scroll, 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Jinshijia zhencang shuhuaji*, vol. 2, 617); (Right) Detail of the Calligraphy in Regular Script.



Fig. 1.56 Tao Junxuan, Eight-character Line Verse in Regular Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> c, 34.5 X17.2 cm, Anhui Museum (From Gu Tinglong, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Qingdai shufa*, pl. 200).



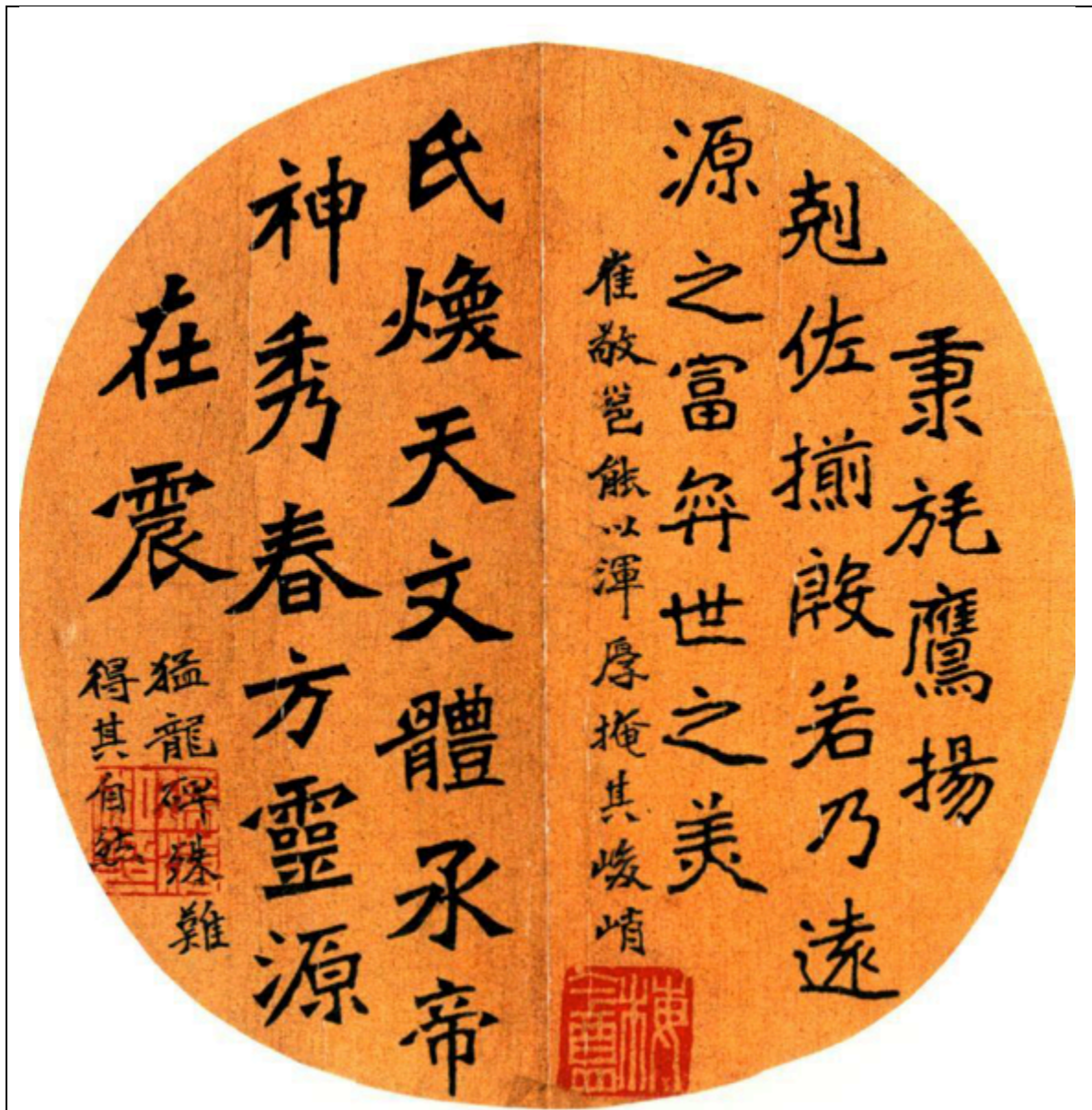


Fig. 1.57 Li Ruiqing, Calligraphy on a Fan, fan leaf, 1907, 24.0 X 6.0 cm, private collection (From Ba Tong and Hsu Tien-fu, ed., *Zhang Diqian de laoshi*, 89).

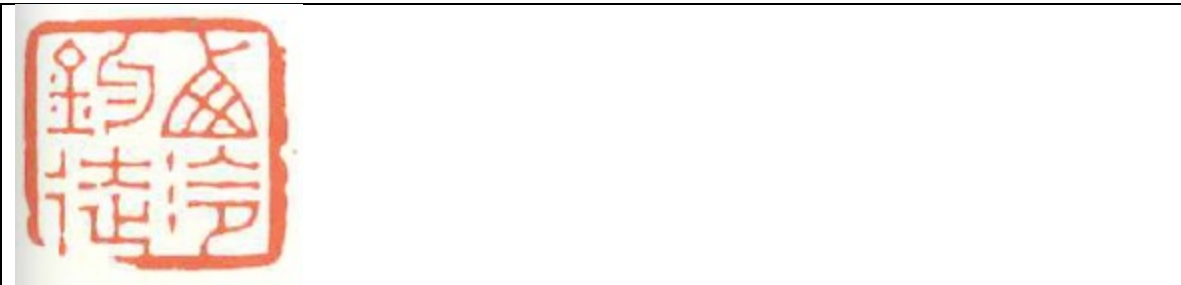


Fig. 2.1 Chen Hongshou, *Xiling diao tu* 西泠釣徒 (fishing cohorts of Xiling), 1807 (From Fang Quji, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 161).



Fig. 2.2 Zhu Jian, *Feng Mengzheng yin* 馮夢禎印 (seal of Feng Mengzheng), late 16<sup>th</sup> - early 17<sup>th</sup> c (From Fang Quji, ed., *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu*, 23).

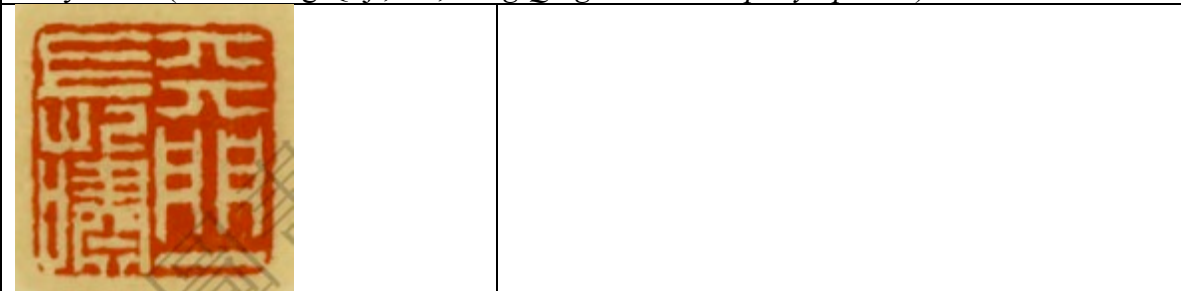


Fig. 2.3 Chen Hongshou, *tianmen yi chang xiao* 天門一長嘯 (At Heaven's Gate, I give a long whistle), 1794 (From Chen Hongshou, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, vol. 8, 15a).

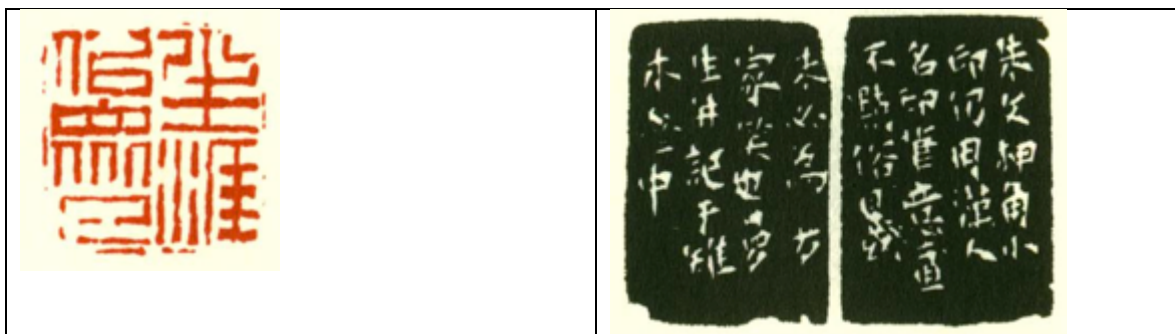


Fig. 2.4 Chen Hongshou, *shengya si zhongren* 生涯似眾人 (My career is like that of anyone), late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 101).

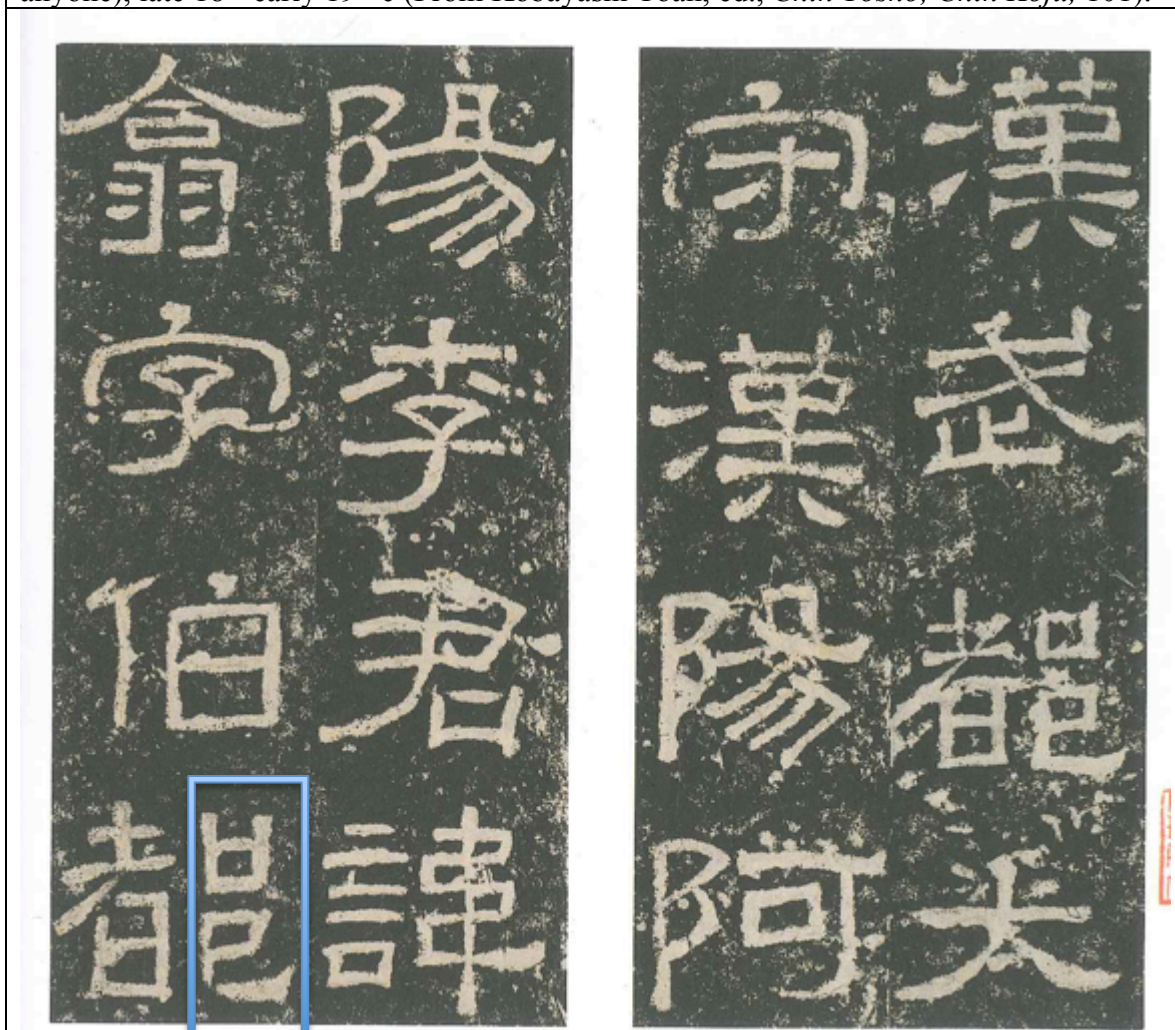


Fig. 2.5 Rubbings of the *Cliff Inscription with a Eulogy on the Reconstruction of the Roads in the Western Gorge* by Li Xi (171 CE), Ming dynasty (From Shi Anchang, ed., *Mingbei shanben*, 64).



Fig. 2.6 Sun Xingyan, Seven-character Line Verse in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, ink on gold-flecked paper, 1793, 132.0 X 29.7 cm, Lechangzai xuan (From Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, ed., *Double Beauty*, pl. 71).

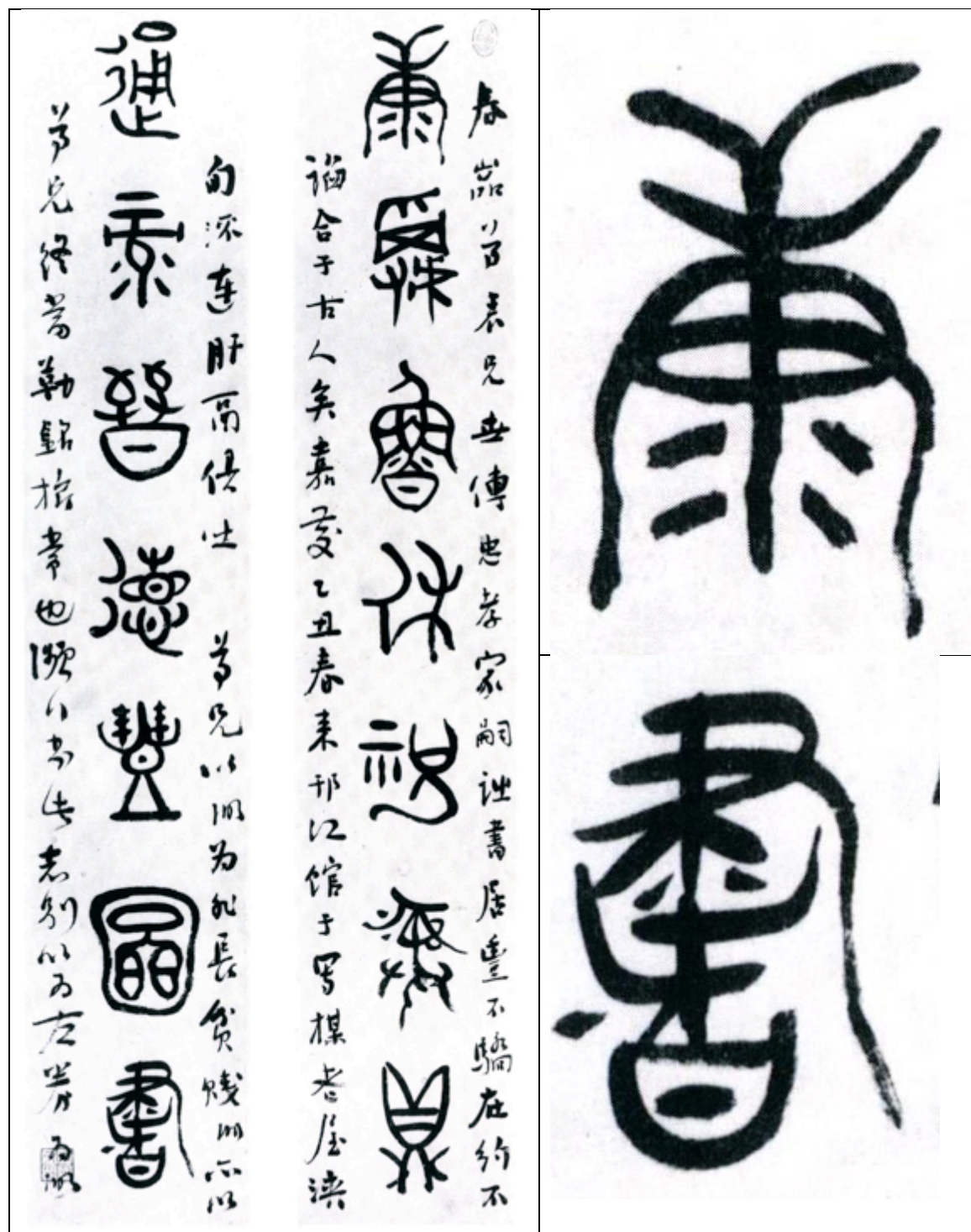


Fig. 2.7 (Left) Zhu Weibi, Seven-character Line Couplet in Seal Script, a pair of hanging scrolls, 1805 (From Kenshin Shodōkai, ed., *Seirei hakka no shoga tenkoku*, 158); (Right) Details of the Seven-character Line Couplet in Seal Script.



Fig. 2.8 *jun zhi xinxi* 君之信璽 (seal of the lord), jade, Warring States Period (From Han Tianheng and Sun Weizu, ed., *Gu yuyin jicun*, 1).

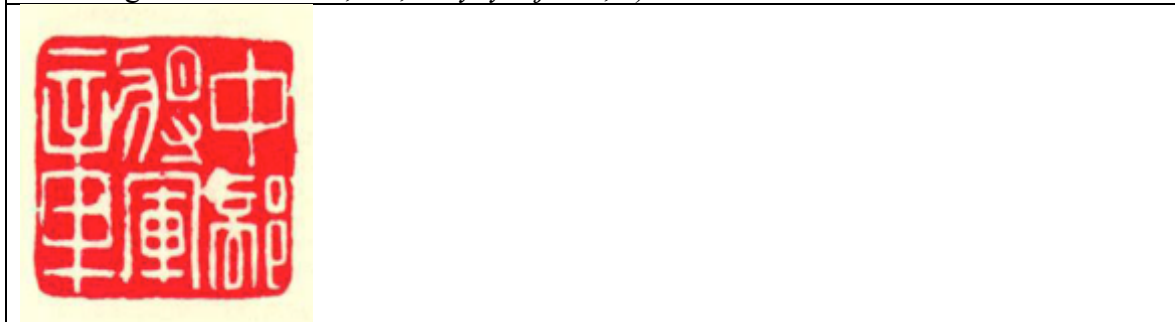


Fig. 2.9 *zhongbu jiangjun zhang* 中部將軍章 (seal of the general of the center), bronze, Western Han dynasty (From Luo Fuyi, ed., *Qin Han Nan Beichao guanyin zhengcun*, 20).

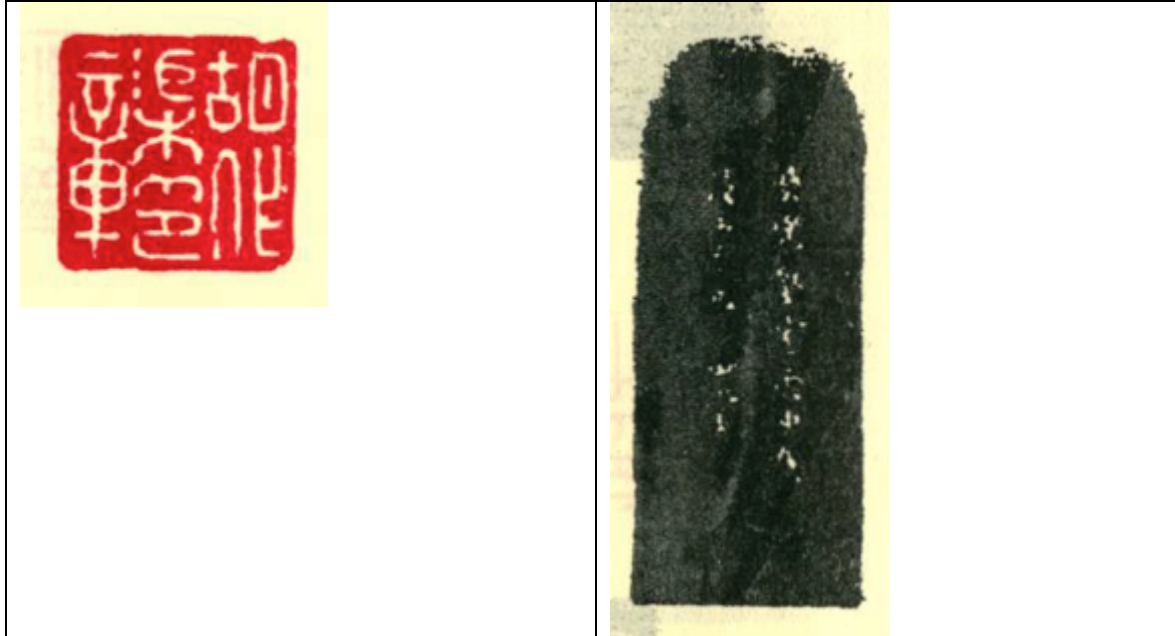


Fig. 2.10 Jiang Ren, *Hu Zuoqu yin* 胡作渠印章 (seal of Hu Zuoqu), 1785 (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Xiling sijia yinpu*, 64).

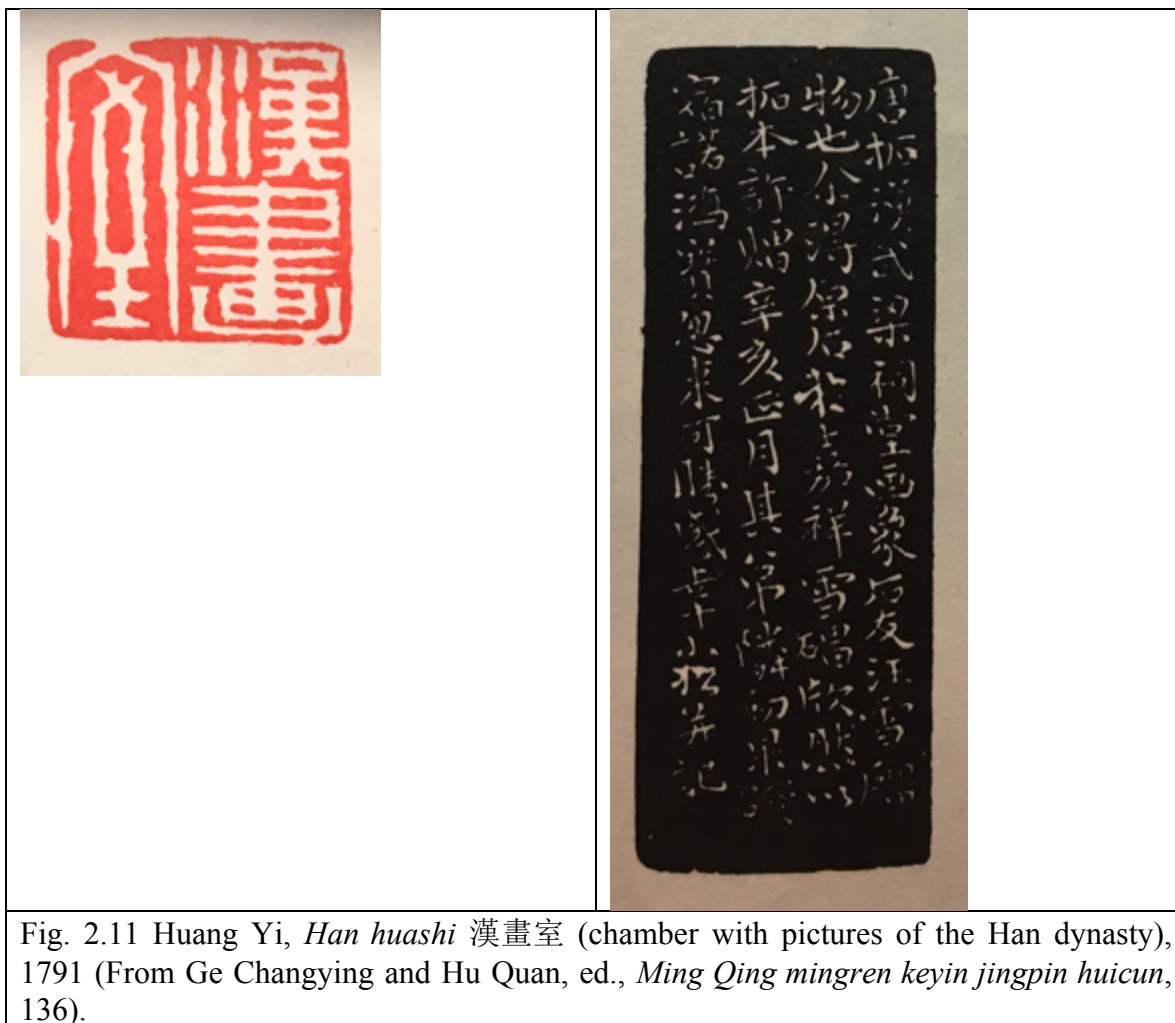


Fig. 2.11 Huang Yi, *Han huashi* 漢畫室 (chamber with pictures of the Han dynasty), 1791 (From Ge Changying and Hu Quan, ed., *Ming Qing mingren keyin jingpin huicun*, 136).



Fig. 2.12 (Left) Made under Huang Yi's supervision, Rubbings of Part of Inscriptions in the Wu Liang Shrine, ca. 1796 (From Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie*, 19); (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.11.



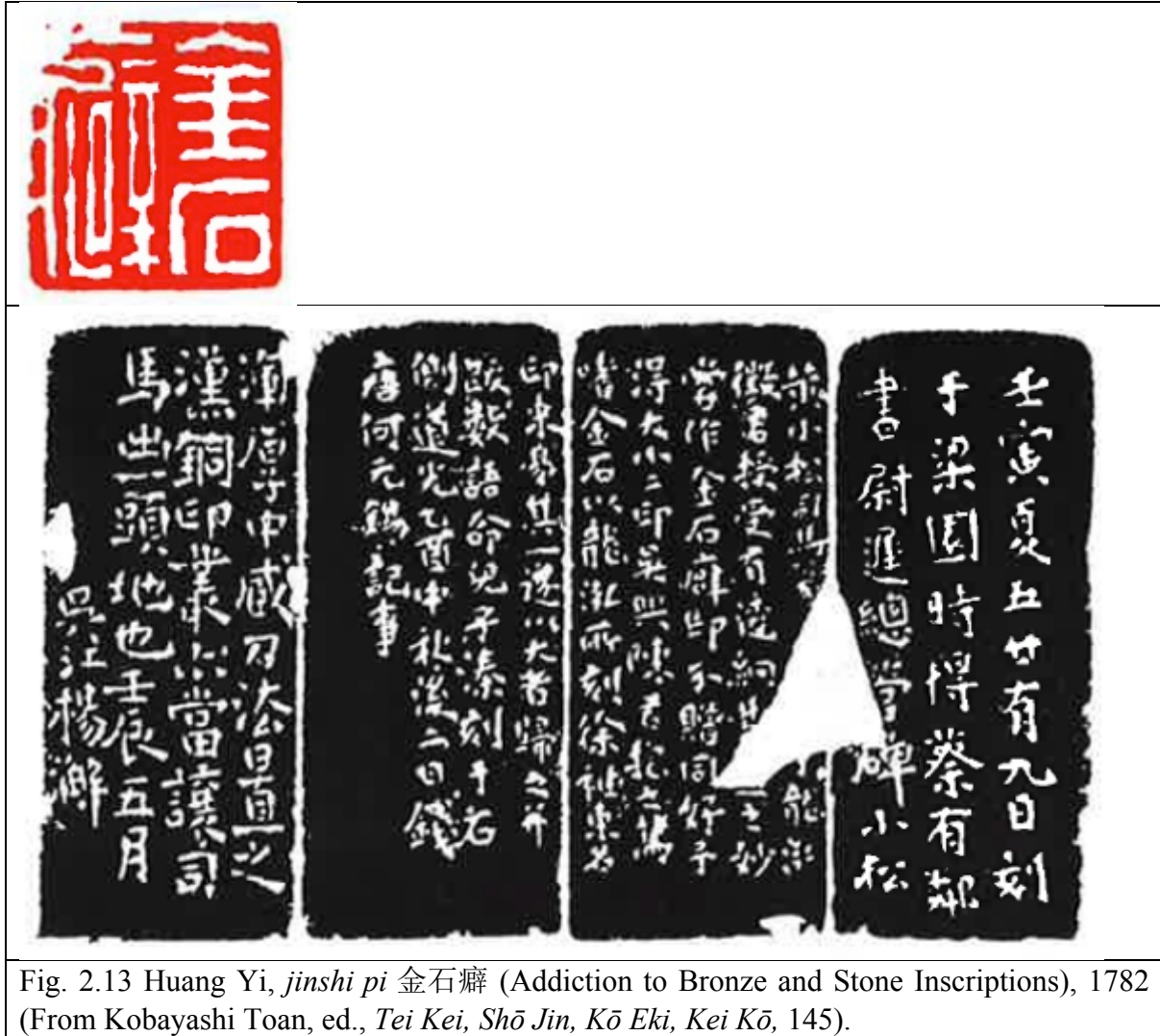


Fig. 2.13 Huang Yi, *jinshi pi* 金石癖 (Addiction to Bronze and Stone Inscriptions), 1782 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 145).



Fig. 2.14 (Above) Rubbing of the *Stele for the Shrine of Yuchi Jiong* (Stele: Cai Youlin (calligraphy of the stele), 738 CE) (From <http://www.9610.com/suitang/caiyoulin.htm>, accessed May 9, 2018); (Below) Detail of Fig. 2.13.





Fig. 2.17 *dushu tandao, zuyi zile, bu yuanshi ye* 讀書談道，足以自樂，不願仕也 (Reading books and discussing the way is enough to enjoy myself with. I do not wish to be an official) (From Zhang Hao, ed., *Xueshantang yinpu*, 180).



Fig. 2.18 *congren mi yanse, zi shi ruo naner* 從人覓顏色，自是弱男兒 ([Those who] follow other people and watch their facial expressions are naturally weak men) (From Zhang Hao, ed., *Xueshantang yinpu*, 189).

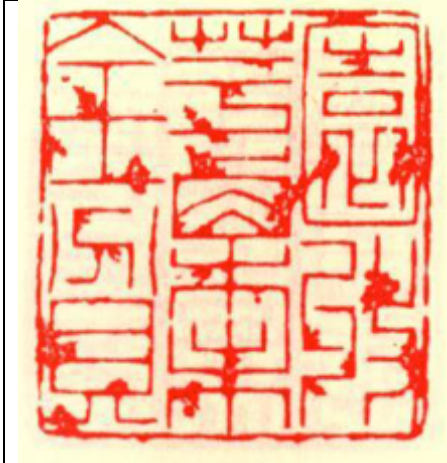


Fig. 2.19 *yuan shou yu li wei quan pin* 園收芋栗未全貧 ([If] your garden harvests taros and chestnuts, then you are not yet completely poor) (From Zhang Hao, ed., *Xueshantang yinpu*, 202).



Fig. 2.20 Gao Fenghan, *shiqing fuyu dongliushui* 世情付與東流水 (The ways of the world are like things thrown into the eastward flowing stream that are wasted and hopeless), first half of 18<sup>th</sup> c (From Wang Qishu, ed., *Feihongtang yinpu*, 5 ji, 3 juan, 20a).



Fig. 2.21 Ding Jing, *Wang Pengshou Jingfu yin* 汪彭壽靜甫印 (seal of Wang Pengshou [with the style name] Jingfu), 1758 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 36).

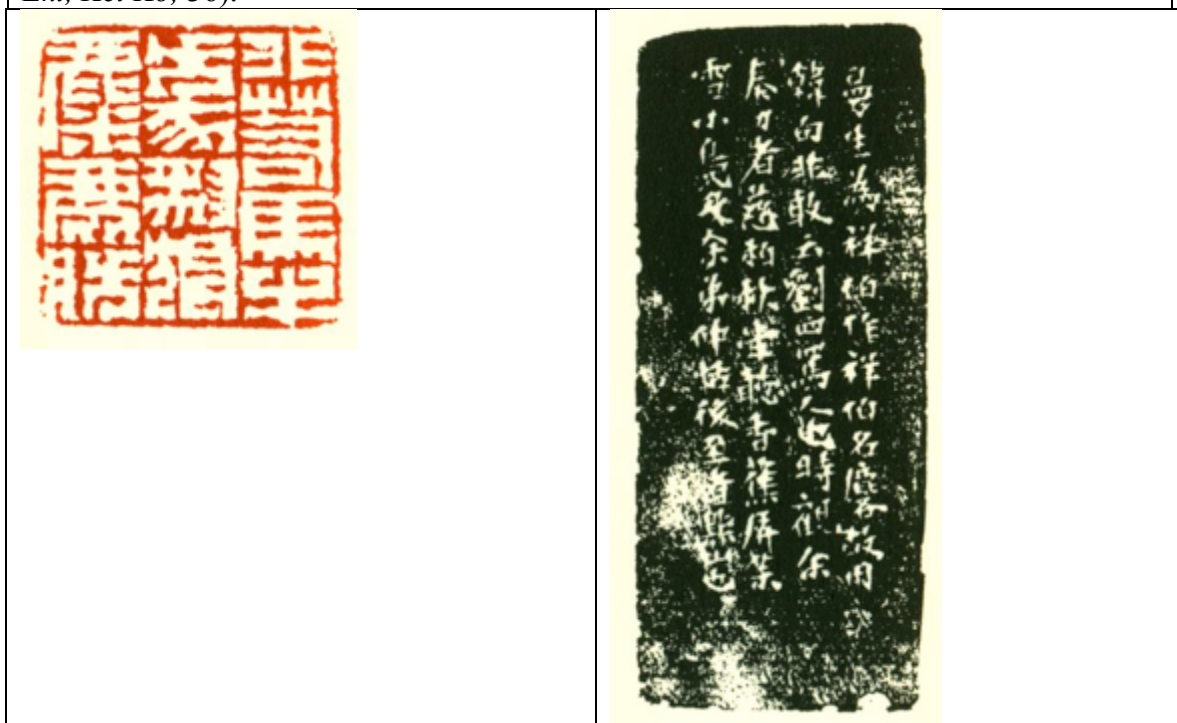


Fig. 2.22 Chen Hongshou, *feiruo ma niu quan shi bao lang milu ran* 非若馬牛犬豕豹狼麋鹿然 (Do not be like beasts), 1803 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 163).



Fig. 2.23 Chen Hongshou, *Xiaohu* 小湖, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Chen Hongshou, *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu*, vol. 3, 16a).



Fig. 2.24 *Jianwei jiangjun zhang* 建威將軍章 (seal of the general of Jianwei), bronze, Han dynasty (From Xu Dundu, ed. *Xiling yinshe gu tongyin xuan*, 25).



Fig. 2.25 Zhao Zhichen, *Leping lai shi* 樂朋來室 (Chamber Where Joyful Friends Come), 1843 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka*, 123).

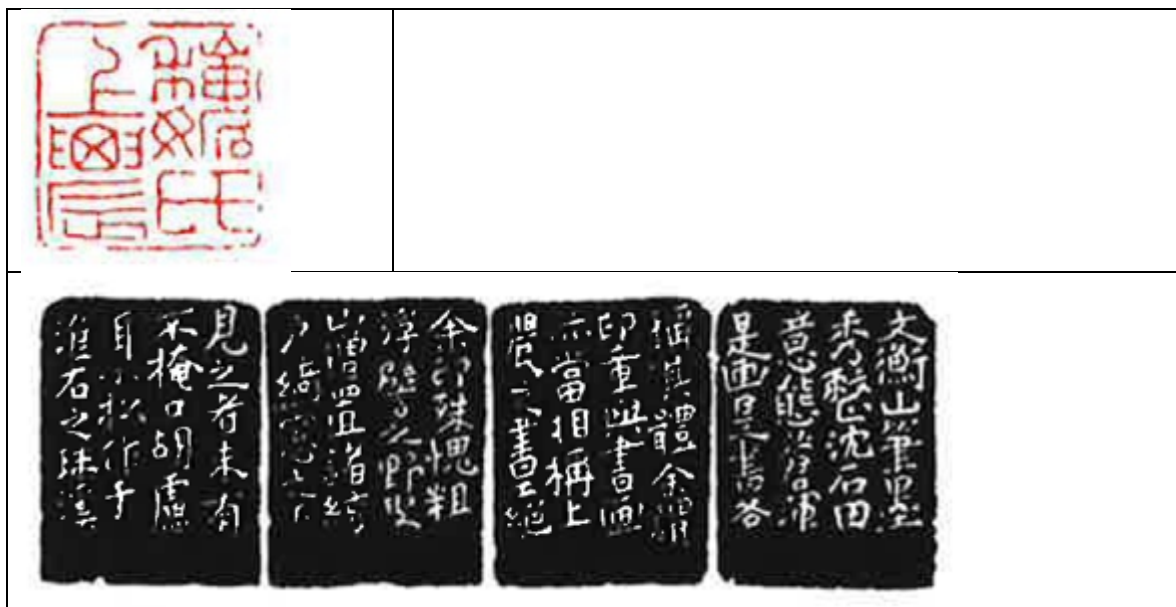


Fig. 2.26 Huang Yi, *Wei shi Shangnong* 魏氏上農 (Mr. Wei [with the name of] Shangnong), late 18<sup>th</sup> c (From Kobayashi Toan, ed. *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 126).

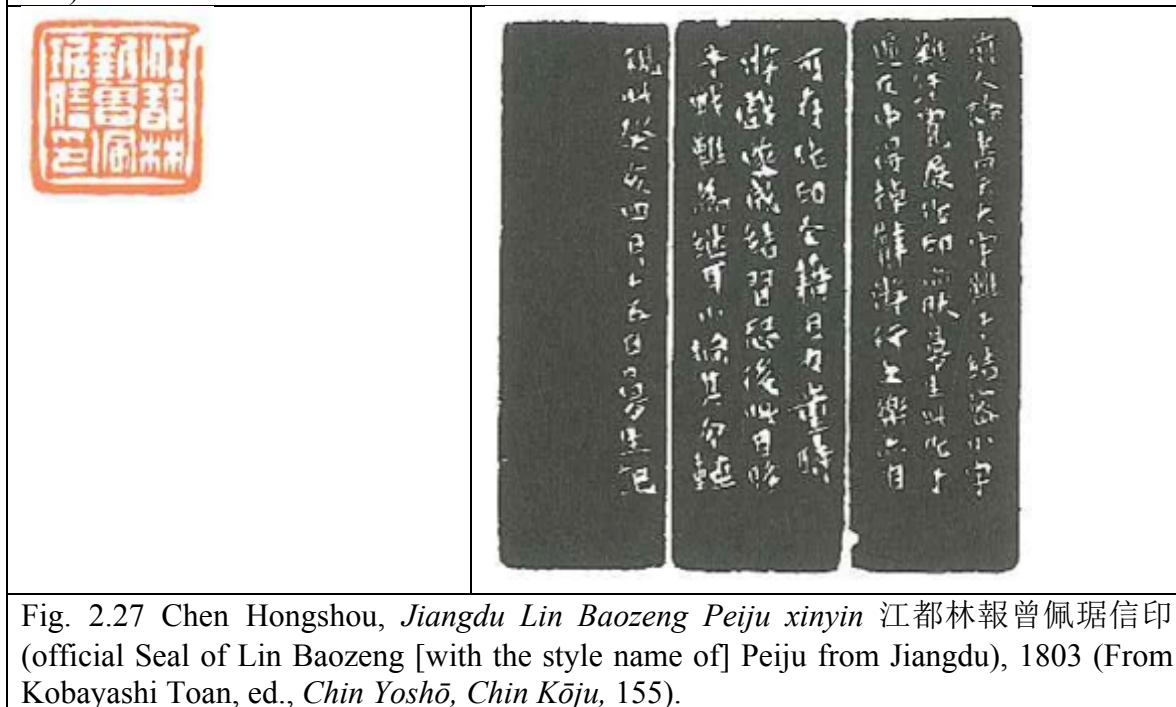


Fig. 2.27 Chen Hongshou, *Jiangdu Lin Baozeng Peiju xinyin* 江都林報曾佩琚信印 (official Seal of Lin Baozeng [with the style name of] Peiju from Jiangdu), 1803 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 155).



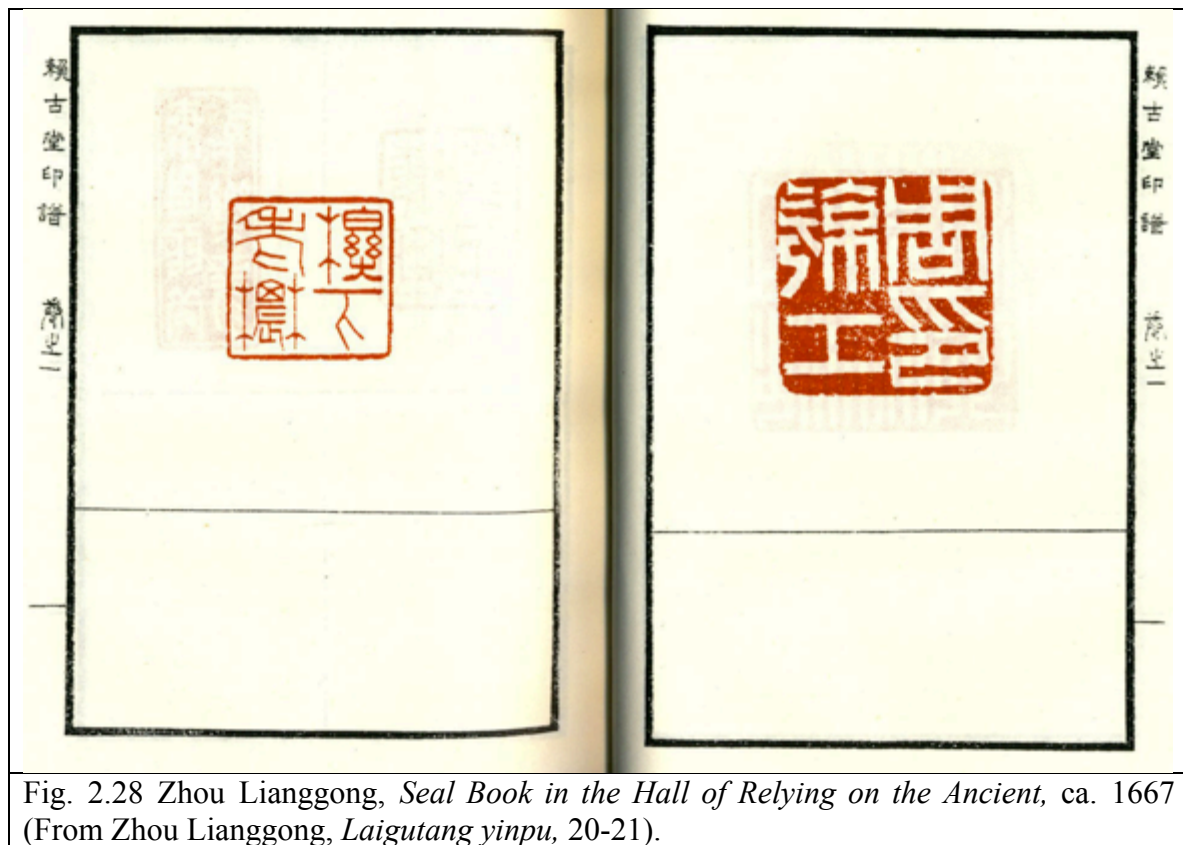


Fig. 2.28 Zhou Liangong, *Seal Book in the Hall of Relying on the Ancient*, ca. 1667 (From Zhou Liangong, *Laigutang yinpu*, 20-21).

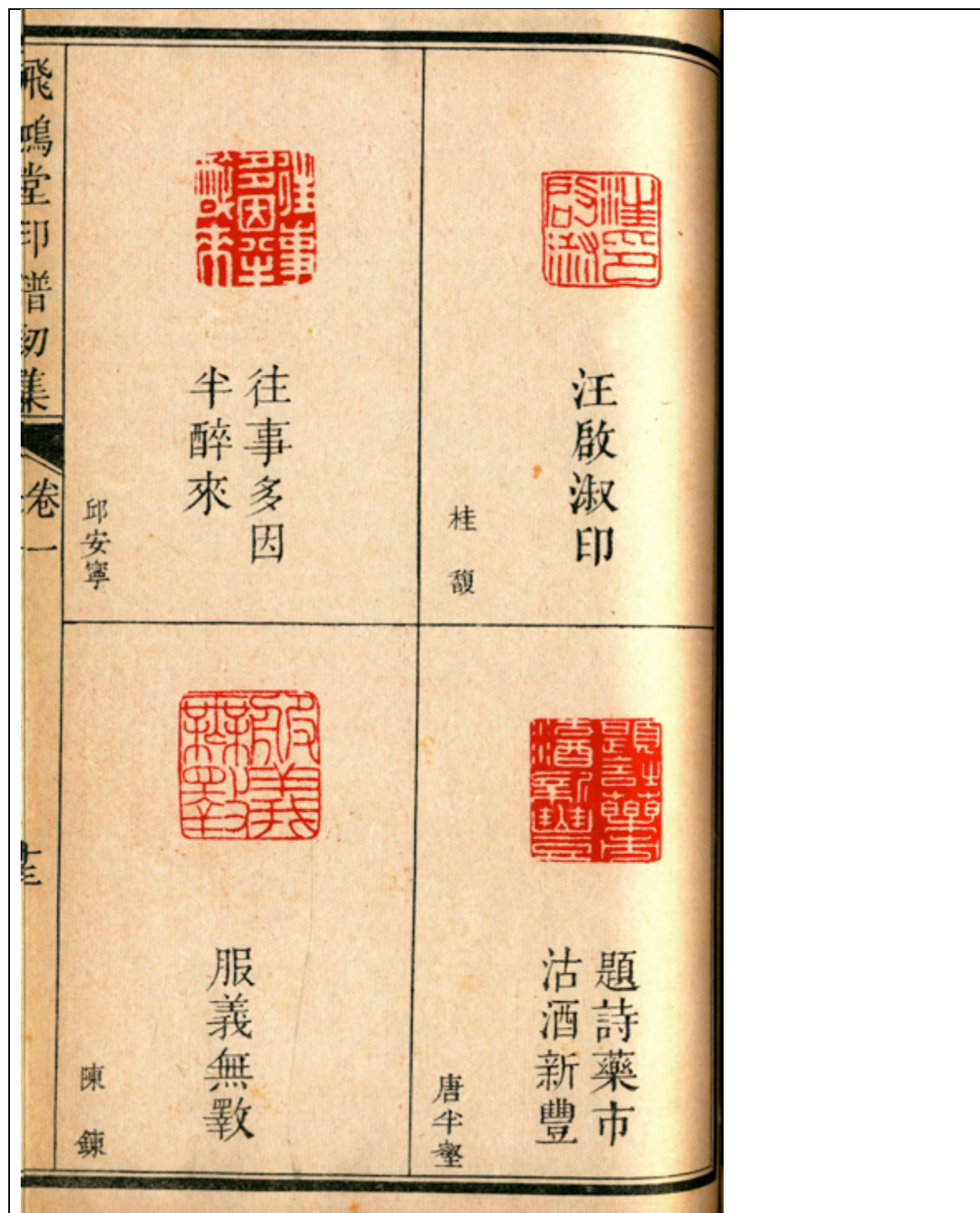


Fig. 2.29 Wang Qishu, *Seal Book in the Hall of Flying Swans*, mid-18<sup>th</sup> c (From Wang Qishu, ed. *Feihongtang yinpu, chuji*, juan 1, 13a).

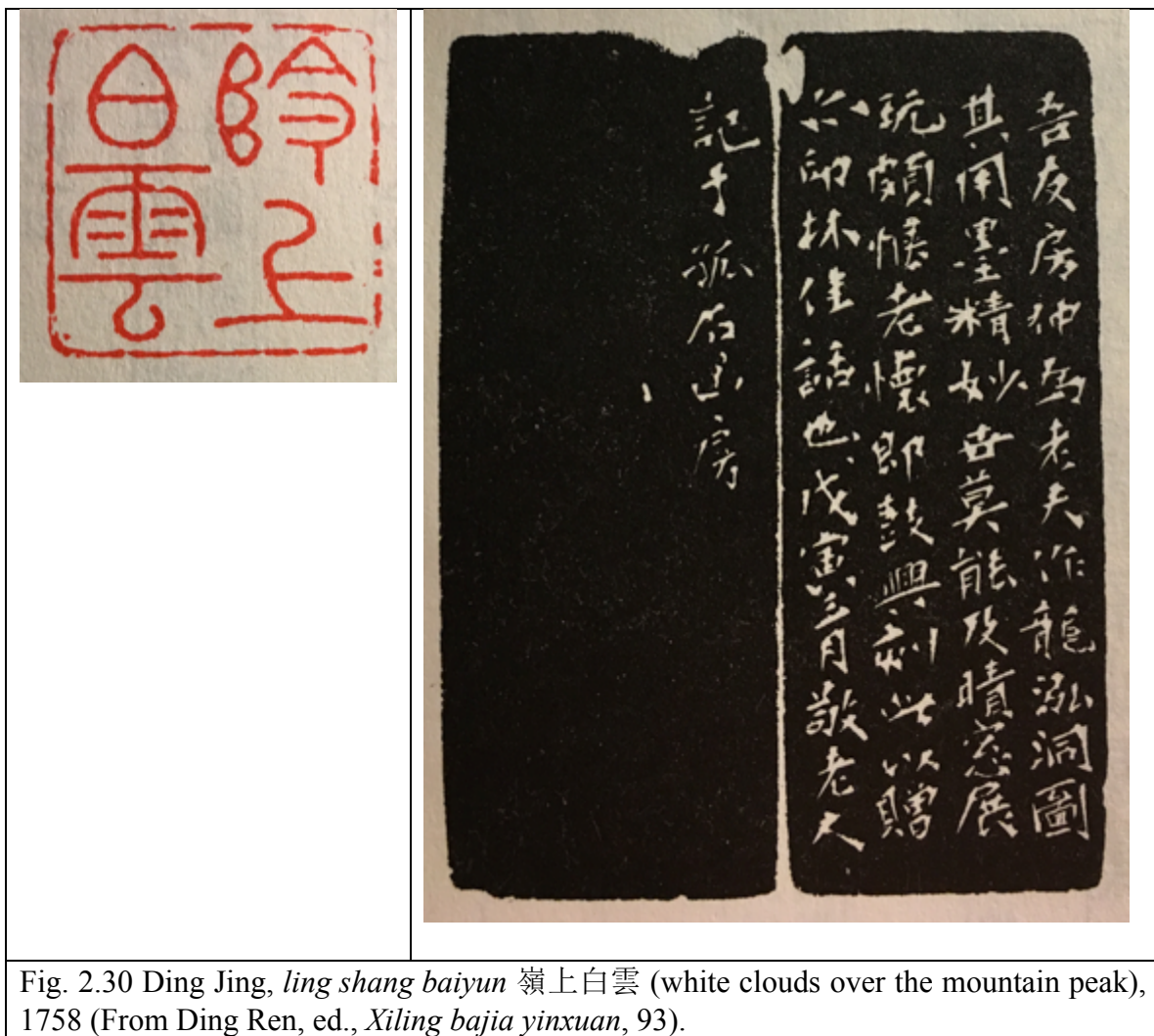


Fig. 2.30 Ding Jing, *ling shang baiyun* 嶺上白雲 (white clouds over the mountain peak), 1758 (From Ding Ren, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan*, 93).



Fig. 2.31 Huang Yi, *Shizhu zhai ji* 師竹齋記 (record in the Studio of Learning from Bamboo), 1770 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō*, 114).

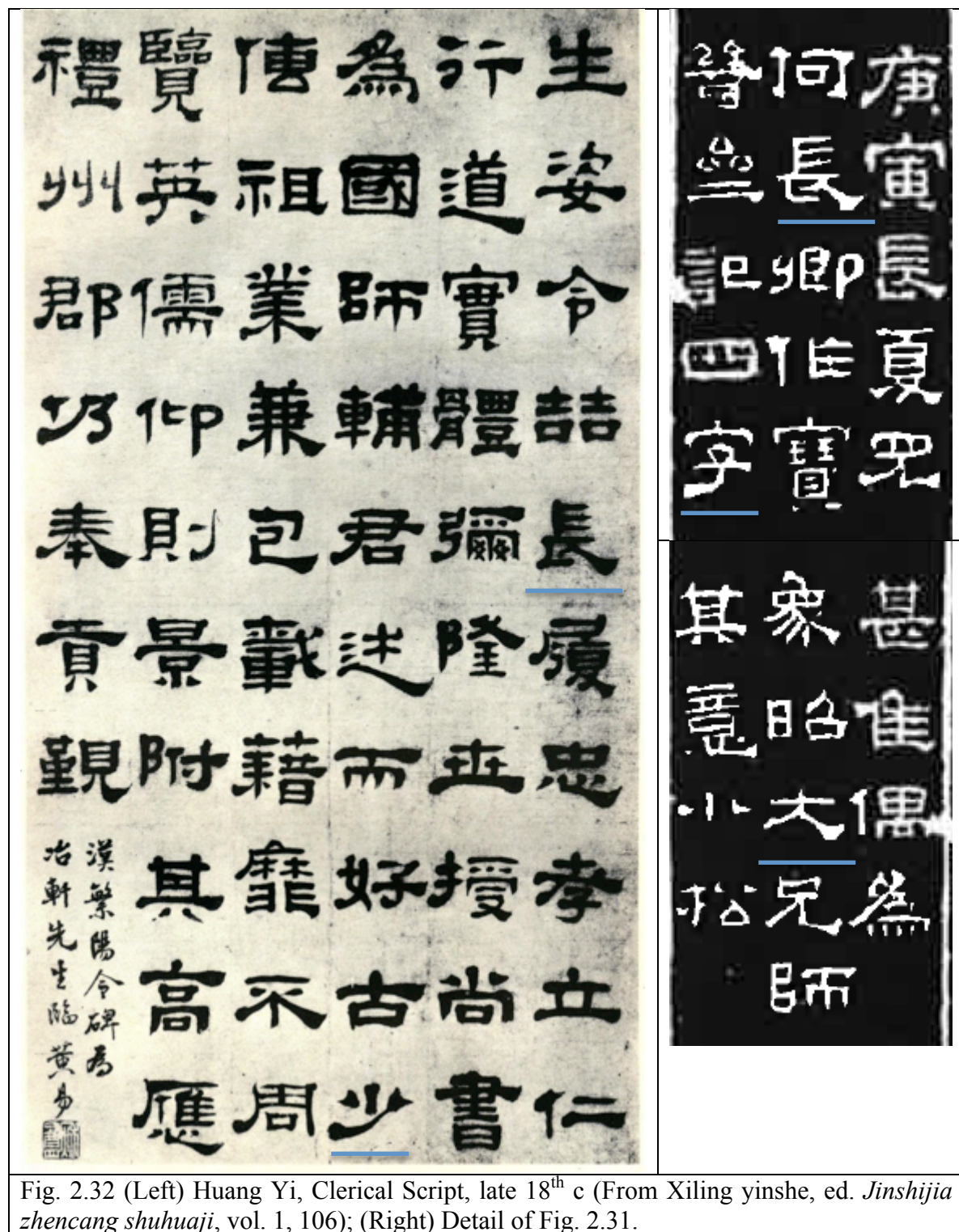


Fig. 2.32 (Left) Huang Yi, Clerical Script, late 18<sup>th</sup> c (From Xiling yinshe, ed. *Jinshijia zhencang shuhuaqi*, vol. 1, 106); (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.31.



Fig. 2.33 Chen Hongshou, *shi nian zhongmu zhang fengyan* 十年種木長風煙 (Trees planted for ten years enhance the landscape), ca. 1798 (From Kobayashi Toan, ed., *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju*, 131).



Fig. 2.34 (Left) Detail of the *Tombstone of Grand Master Xu*; (Right) Detail of Fig. 2.33.

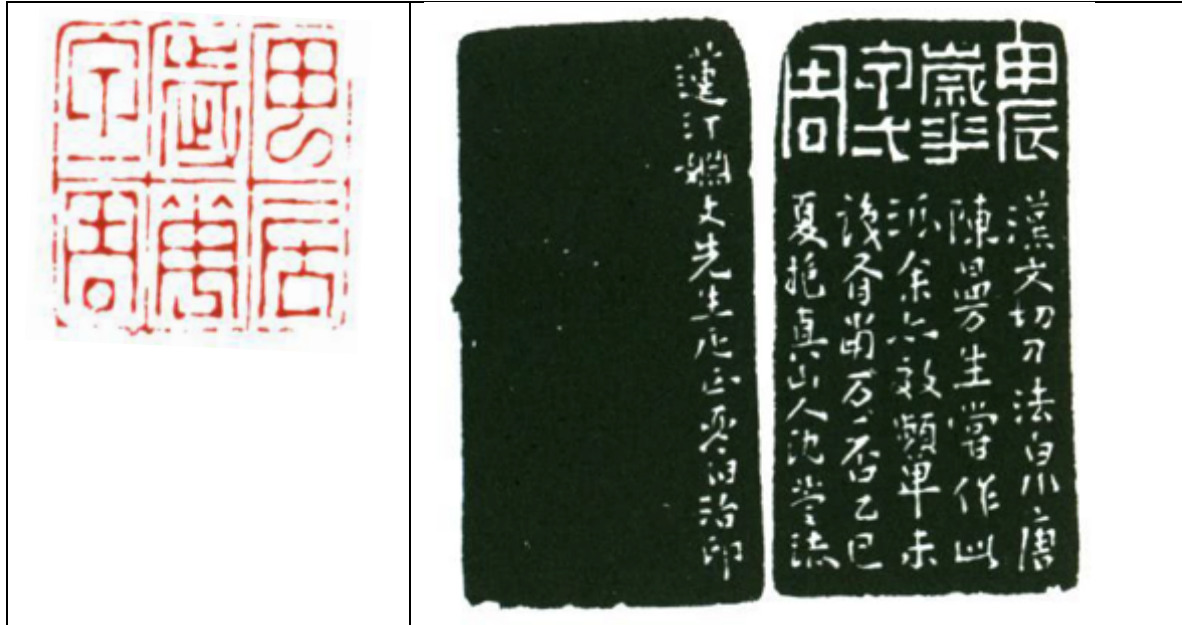


Fig. 2.35 Shen Aixuan, *jiachen sui huajia yi zhou* 甲辰歲華甲一周 (In the year of *jiachen*, a cycle of sixty years made one circuit), first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Ge Changying and Ge Changfen, ed., *Chuanputang cangyin*, 120).



Fig. 3.1 (Left) Chen Hongshou, Engravings of Plum Blossoms, an Inscription, and a Seal Mark, frames of a folding fan, bamboo, 31.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 301); (Right) Detail of the Engravings of Plum Blossoms.



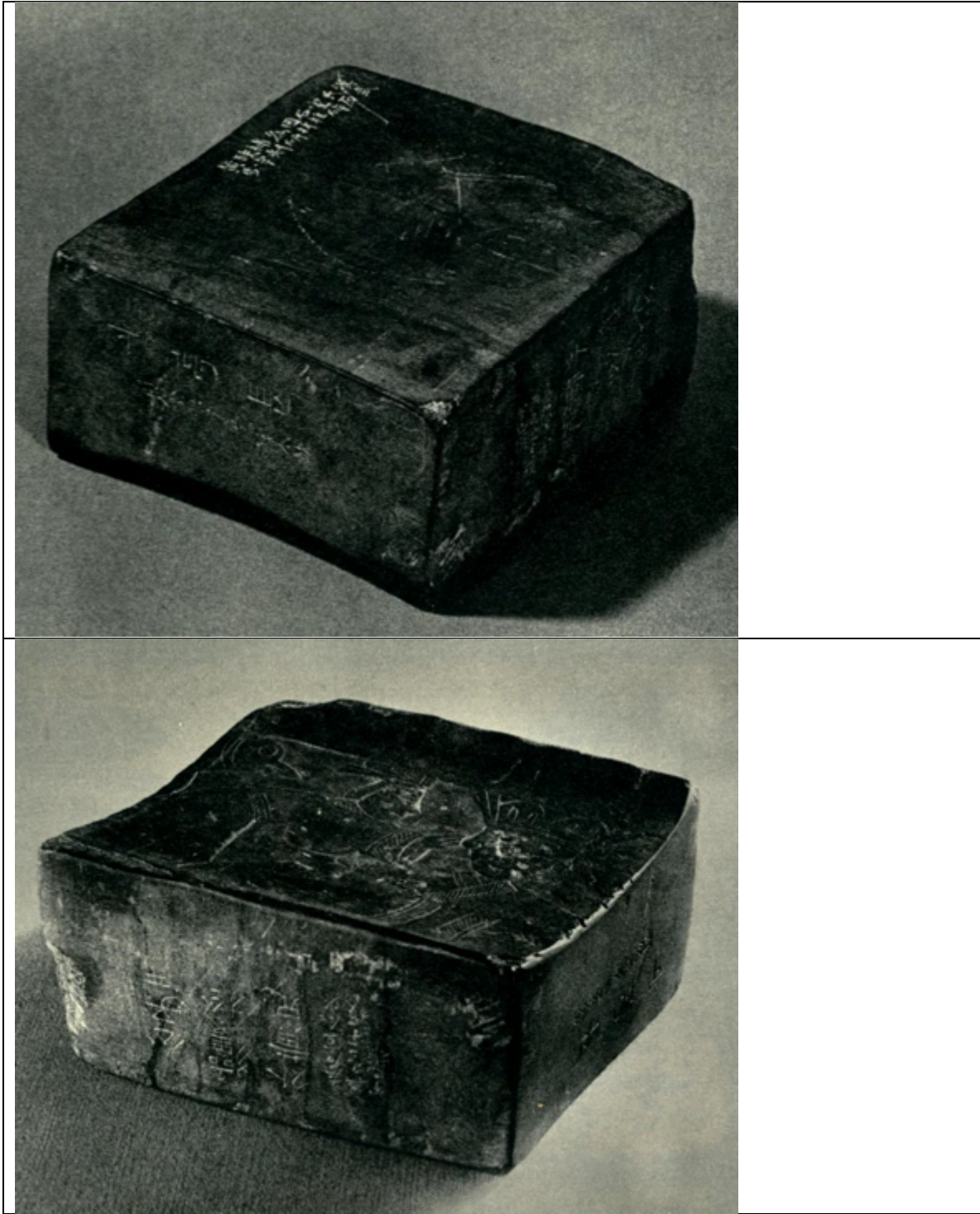


Fig. 3.2 Inkstone made with a Broken Pillar from the Wu Family Shrines, after 1786, 11.9 X 13.5 X 6.4 cm, Tianjin Museum (Inscriptions: Huang Yi, after 1786) (From Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan, ed., *Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan cang yan*, pl. 107).



Fig. 3.3 Duan Inkstone, stone from the Water Pit, 1802, 13.2 X 13.1 X 2.3 cm (Inscriptions: Yi Bingshou, Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, Ji Yun, Huang Yue, Wang Ze, Wu Liang, Ye Menglong, and Wu Rongguang (their composition and calligraphy), 1802-early 19<sup>th</sup> c) (From Guo Ruoyu, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 59, 61).



Fig. 3.4 Zhang Tingji, Copy of Weng Fanggang's Inscription on Zhang Yuan's Inkstone Made of a Brick from the Second Year of the Xianhe Period, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 17b-19a).



Fig. 3.5 Rubbing of an Inkstone Made of a Brick from the Xianhe Period, early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Weng Fanggang (composition), late 18<sup>th</sup> c-before 1809; and Weng Shupe (calligraphy), 1809) (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 16b-17a).

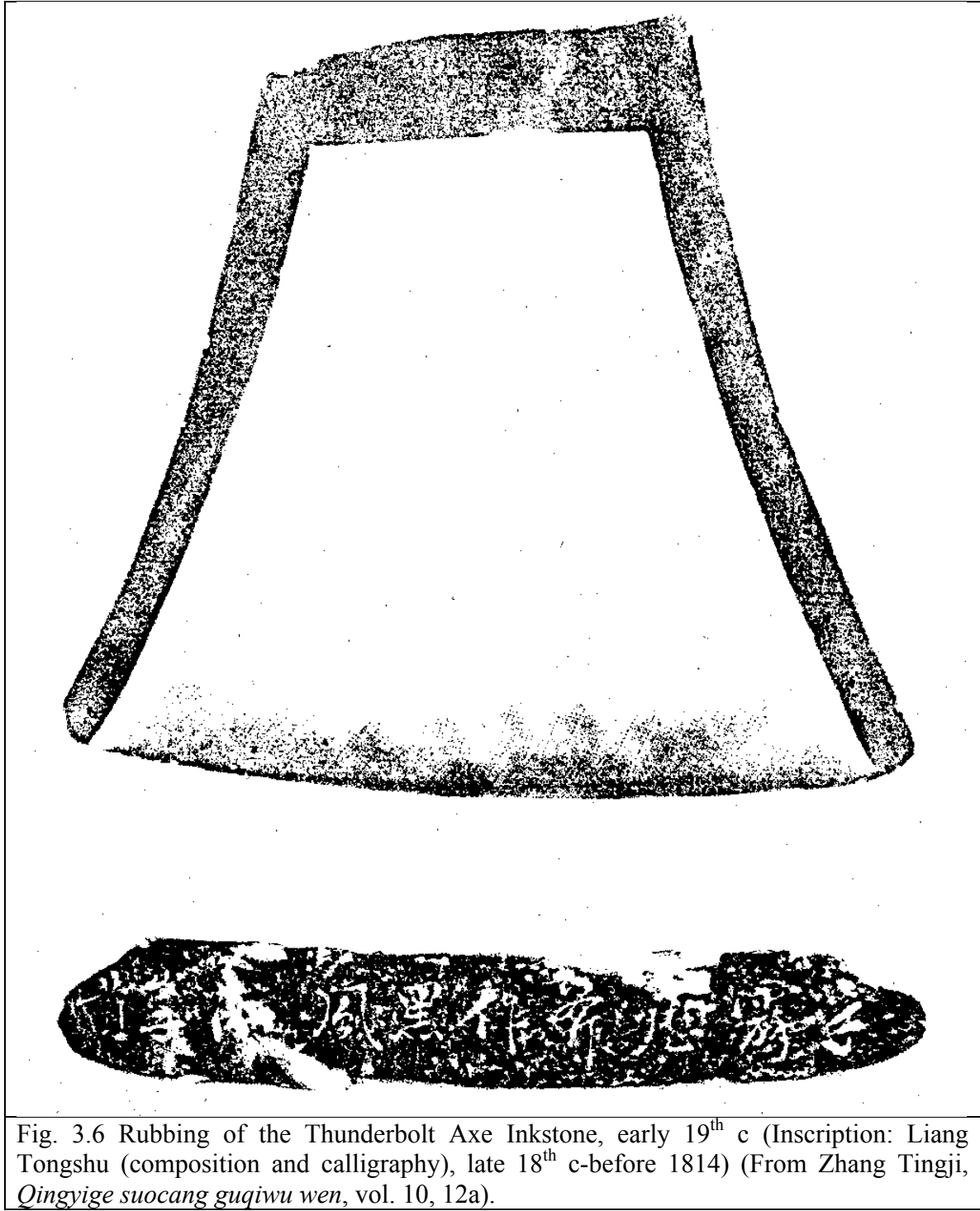


Fig. 3.6 Rubbing of the Thunderbolt Axe Inkstone, early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Liang Tongshu (composition and calligraphy), late 18<sup>th</sup> c-before 1814) (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 12a).



Fig. 3.7 Duan Inkstone, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 28.6 X 19.3 X 6.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (Inscriptions: (Left) Qian Yong, 1844; (Right) Mo Youzhi 莫友芝 (1811-1870), mid-19<sup>th</sup> c) (From Zhang Shufen, ed. *Wenfang sibao: zhiyan*, pl. 114).



Fig. 3.8 Inkstone, Duan stone, Ming dynasty, 18.0 X 10.2 X 5.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (Inscriptions: Ji Nan (composition and calligraphy) and Li Pin (carving), 1811) (From Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyan zuotian*, 60-61).



Fig. 3.9 Rubbing of an Inkstone, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Zhu Kuntian (composition, calligraphy, and perhaps carving), second half of 17<sup>th</sup> c) (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 10, 8a).





Fig. 3.10 Rubbing of an Inkstone (Inscription: Xi Gang, 1791) (From Zou An, *Guangcang yanlu*, vol. 2, "Qing yan," unpaginated).

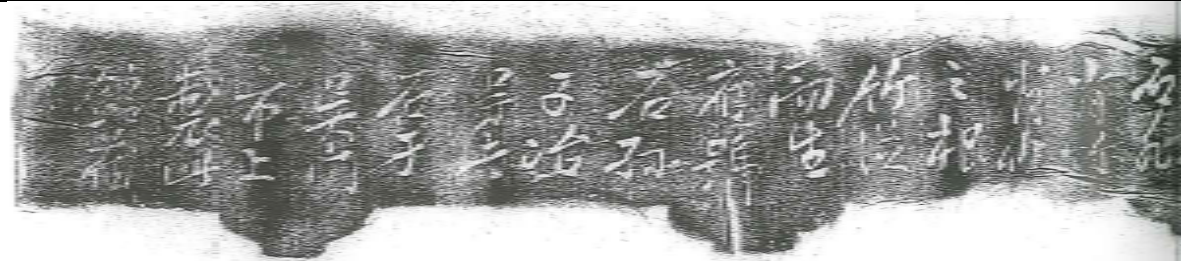
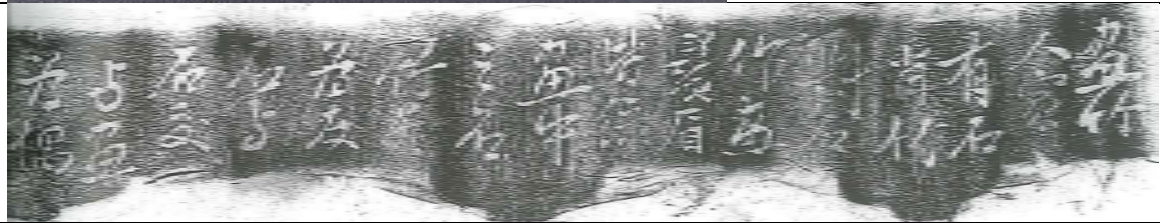


Fig. 3.11 Stand for a Rock, mahogany, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inscription: Qu Yingshao, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c) (From Shu Kong Soong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 42).

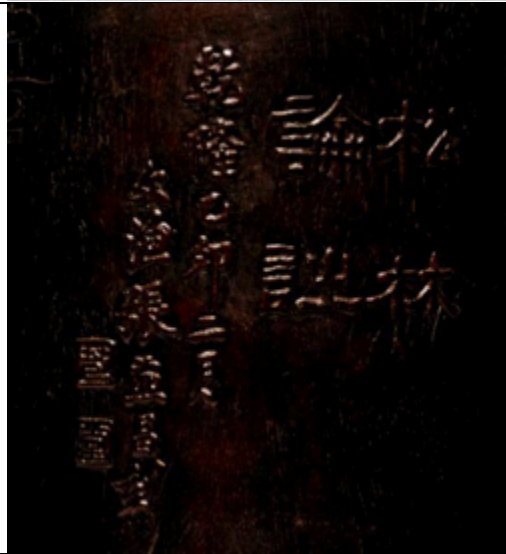


Fig. 3.12 Brush Holder, red sanders, late 18<sup>th</sup> c, H. 14.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (Carvings: Zhang Yanchang, 1795) (From Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji*, vol. 3, pl. 73).





Fig. 3.14 Zhang Xin (carving of the inkstone) and Zhang Tingji (composition and calligraphy of the inscription on the underside of the inkstone), Inkstone, Duan stone, 15.5 X 8.9 X 3.1 cm, 1846 (From Guo Ruoyu, *Zhikan pinyan lu*, 68, 70).

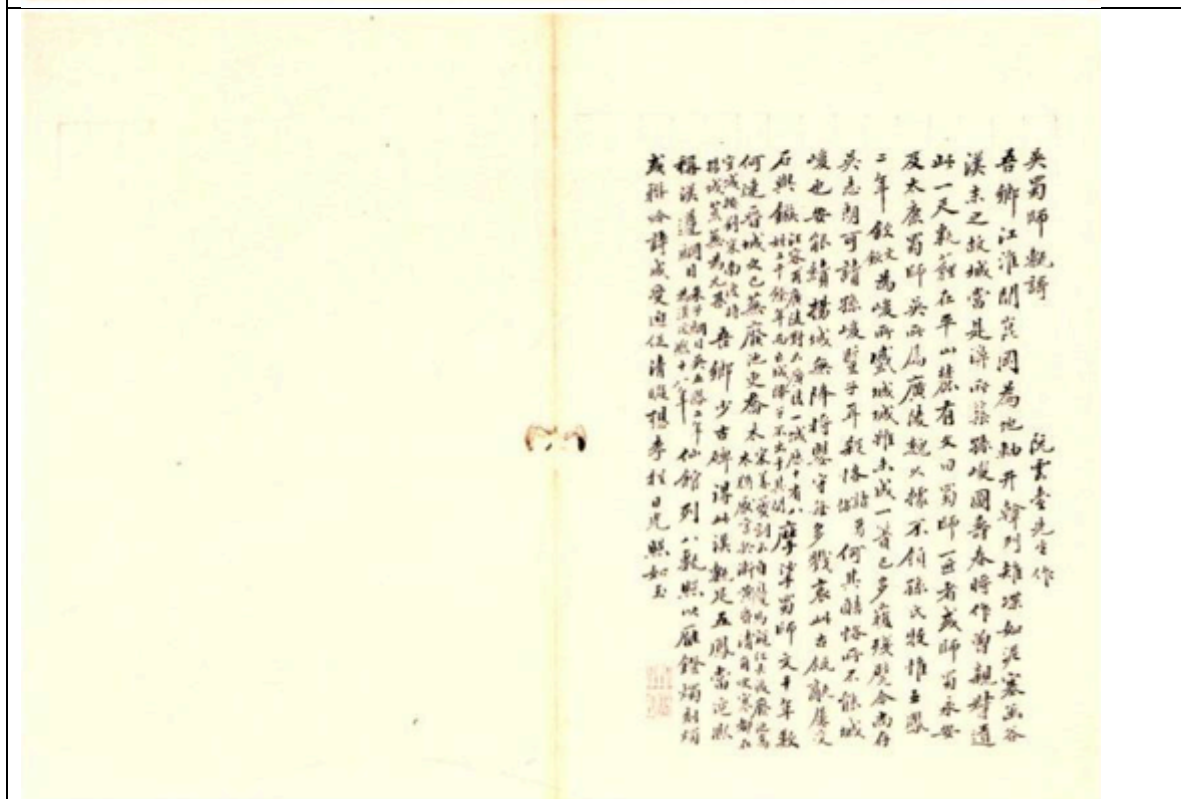
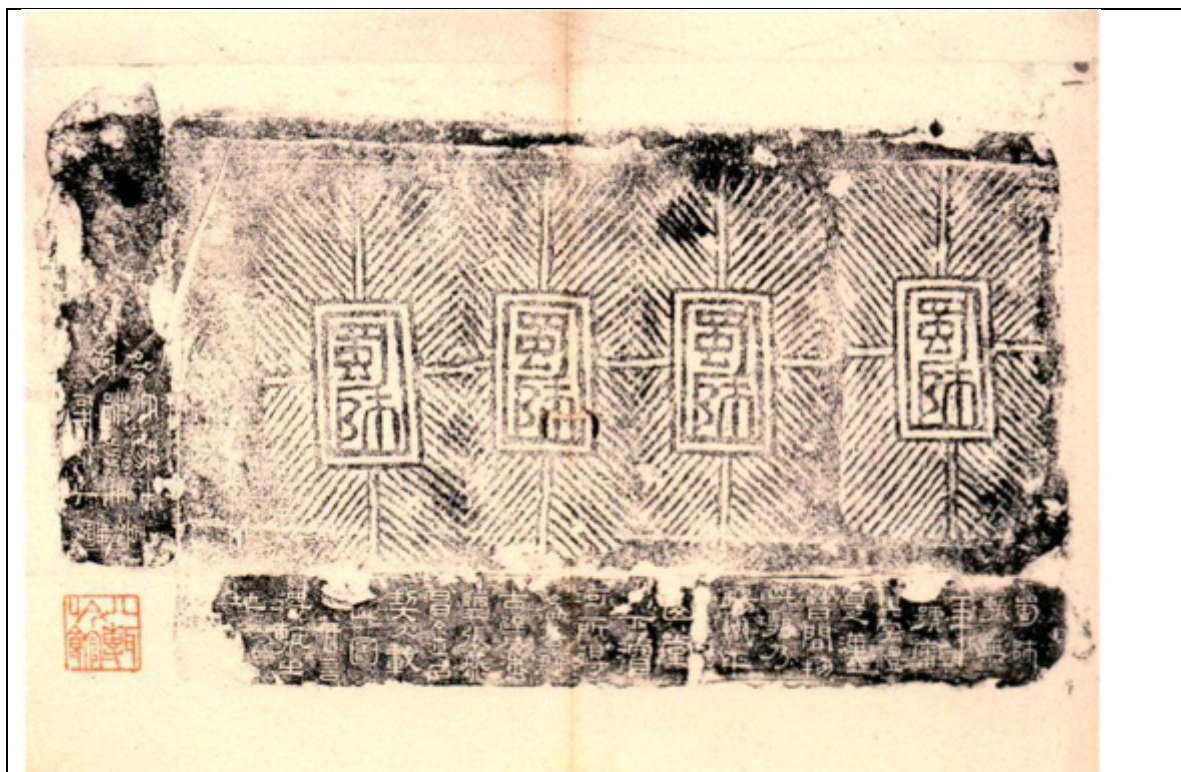


Fig. 3.15 Rubbing of a Shu Shi Brick, album leaf, ink on paper, ca. 1824 (Inscription: Ruan Yuan (composition), before 1824) (From Tong Yanfang, *Jinshi qishou*, 214-215).



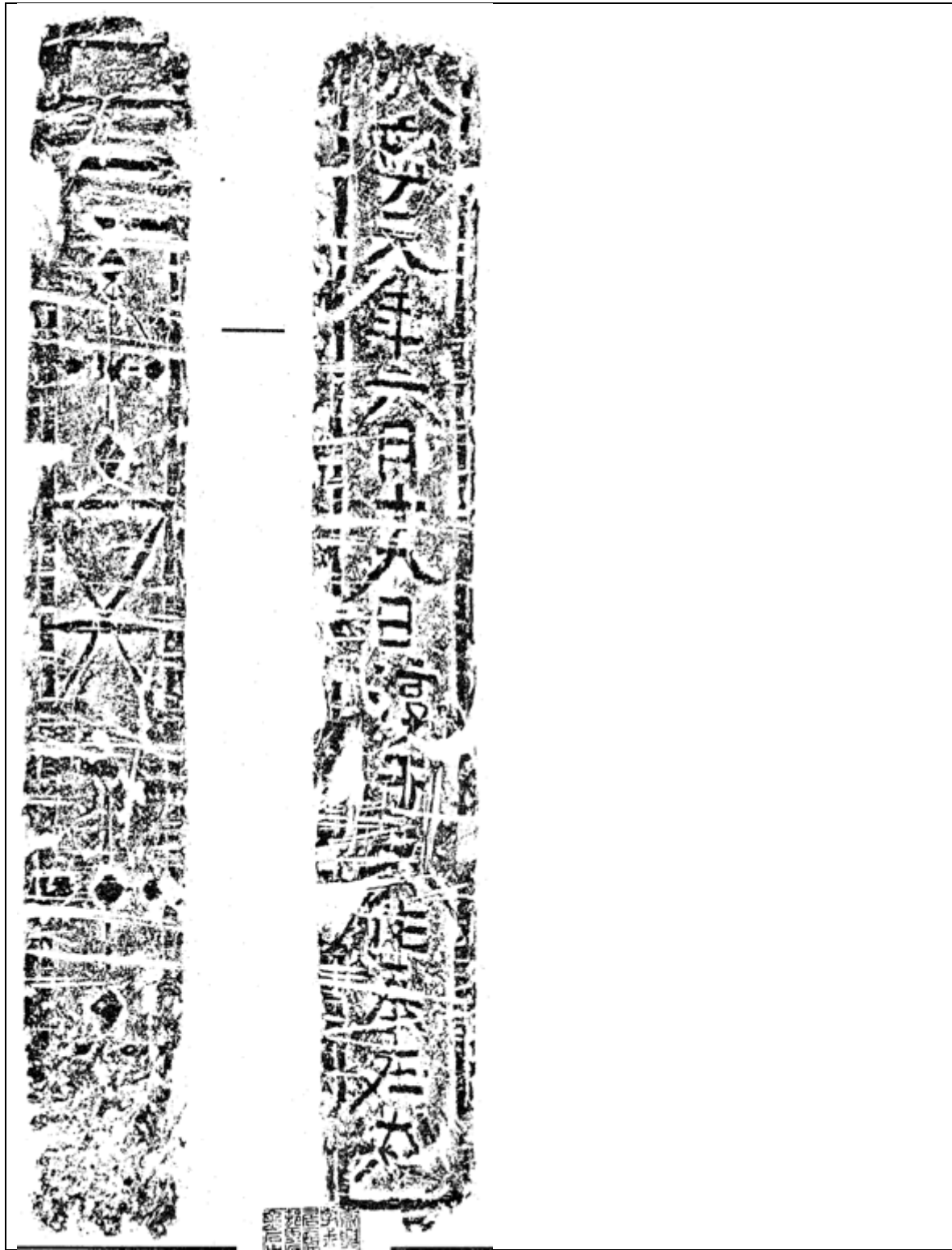


Fig. 3.17 Brick from the First Year of the Yongning Period (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 5, 1a).





Fig. 3.18 Monk Dashou (rubblings) and others (paintings), Flowers in Ancient Bricks, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 1835, 25.0 X 141.0 cm, Zhejiang Museum (From Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Liuzhou*, 44-46).



斷圭

刻此者是海鹽陸雲中時在庚午六月  
 梁學士此銘載頻羅庵集第七卷為諸銘之冠  
 得河南新鄭縣唐天寶七載修子產廟碑  
 道光四年甲申二月一日林未張廷濟  
 殘石因琢為研

石黑質而黃章光潤異常不發墨  
 存此為研中逸品





Fig. 3.19 Rubbing of the “Broken Gui” Inkstone Made with a Piece of Stone from the Stele for the Repair of the Shrine of Zichan in the Seventh Year of the Tianbao Period of the Tang Dynasty, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (Inkstone: Lu Yunzhong, 1810) (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 7, 2a-2b).

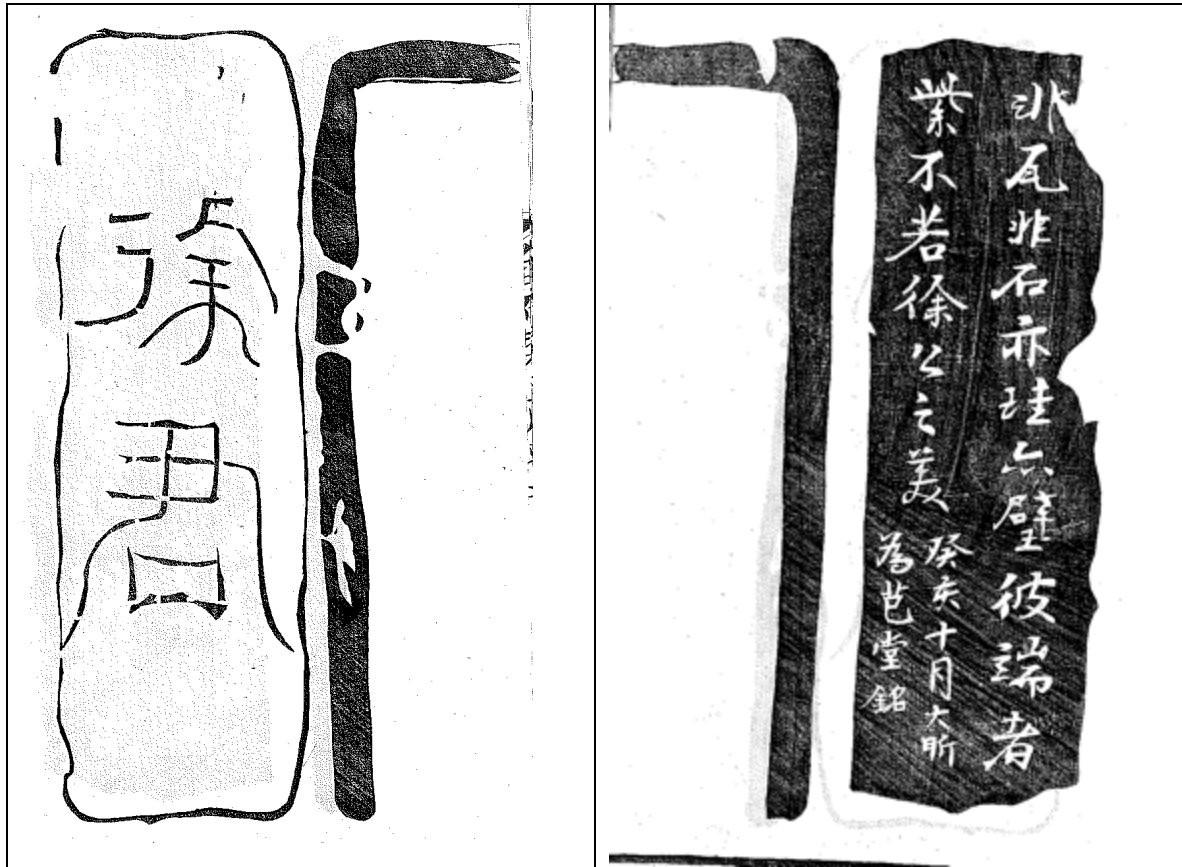


Fig. 3.20 Zhang Yanchang, Copy of Inscriptions on the Inkstone Made of the “Mr. Xu” Brick, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Zhang Yanchang, *Chongjing Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, *yu* 73a-73b).

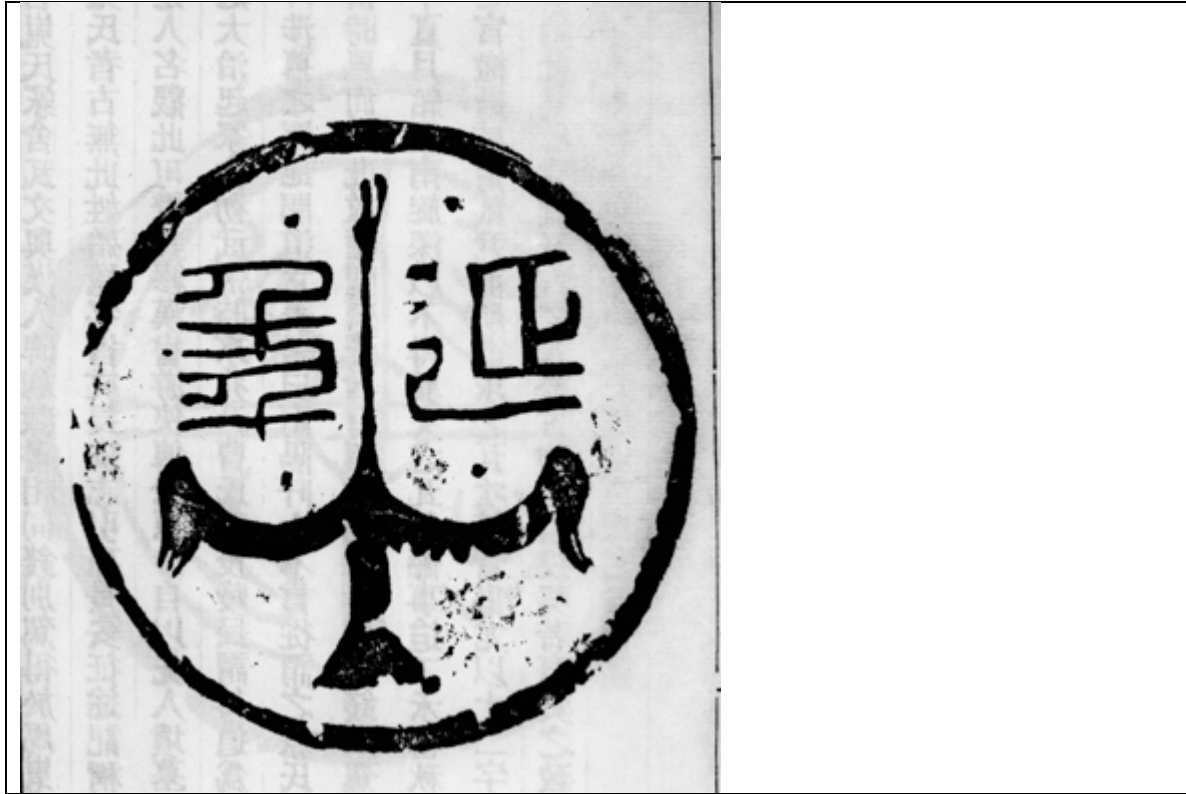


Fig. 3.21 Rubbing of a Tile Inscribed “Yannian” from Qin Dynasty (From Cheng Dun, *Inscriptions on Eaves Tiles from Qin and Han Dynasties*, unpaginated).





Fig. 3.22 Huang Yi, Rubbings of the Four Sides of the Inkstone Made with a Broken Stone from a Pillar in the Wu Family Shrine (Fig. 3.2), album leaves, ca. 1794, Palace Museum, Beijing (From <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/impres/231835.html>, accessed July 3, 2018).

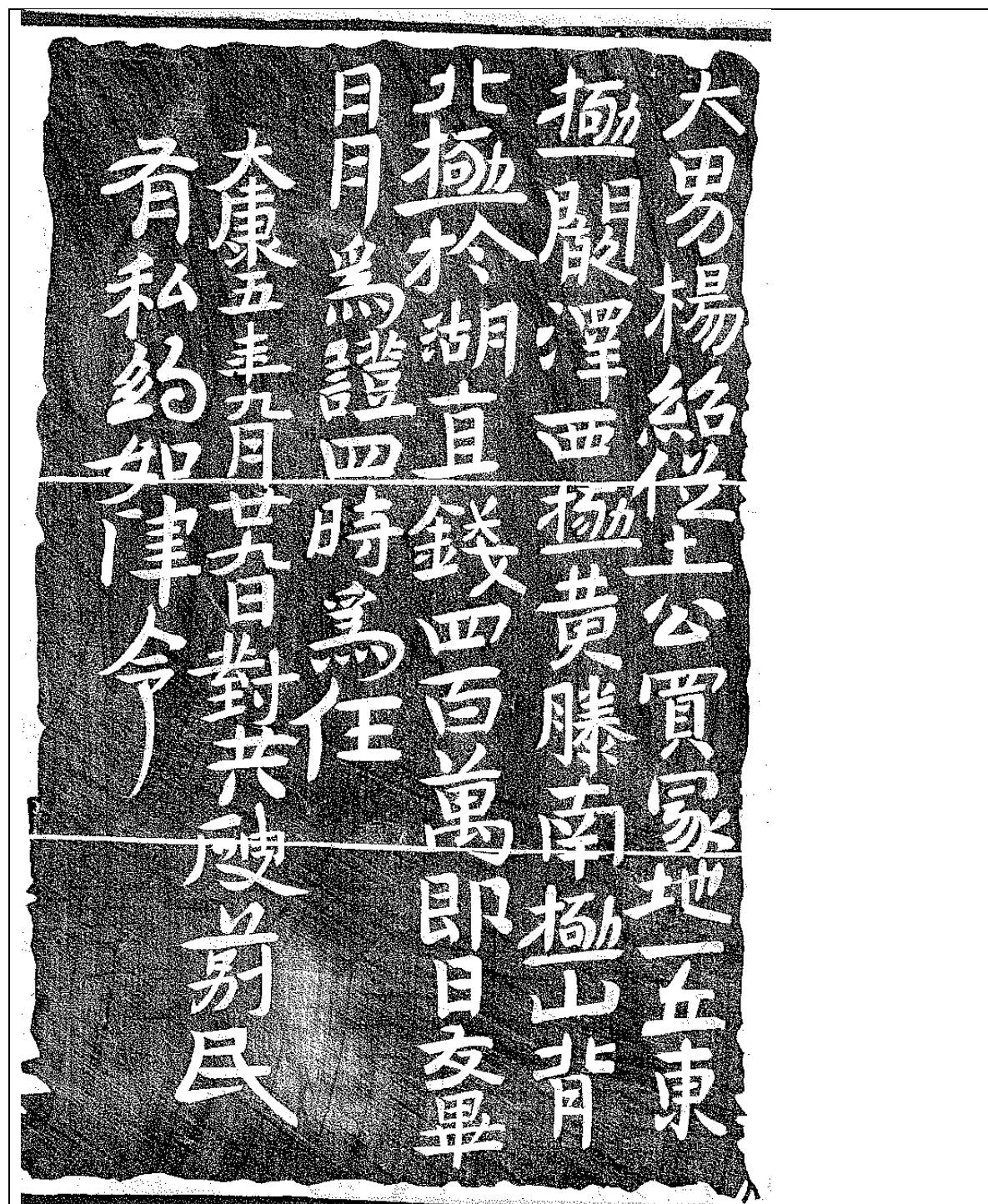


Fig. 3.23 Zhang Yanchang, Copy of the Inscription on the Land Deeds from the Western Jin, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Zhang Yanchang, *Chongjing Jinshiqi*, vol. 4, yu 62a).



大男楊紹從上公買家地一丘東  
極一巖潭西極黃騰南極山背  
北極於湖直錢四百萬即日交畢  
日月為證四時為任  
大康五年九月廿六日對共破前民  
有私約如律令

辛酉秋七月既望嘉禾張英昌依原器摹

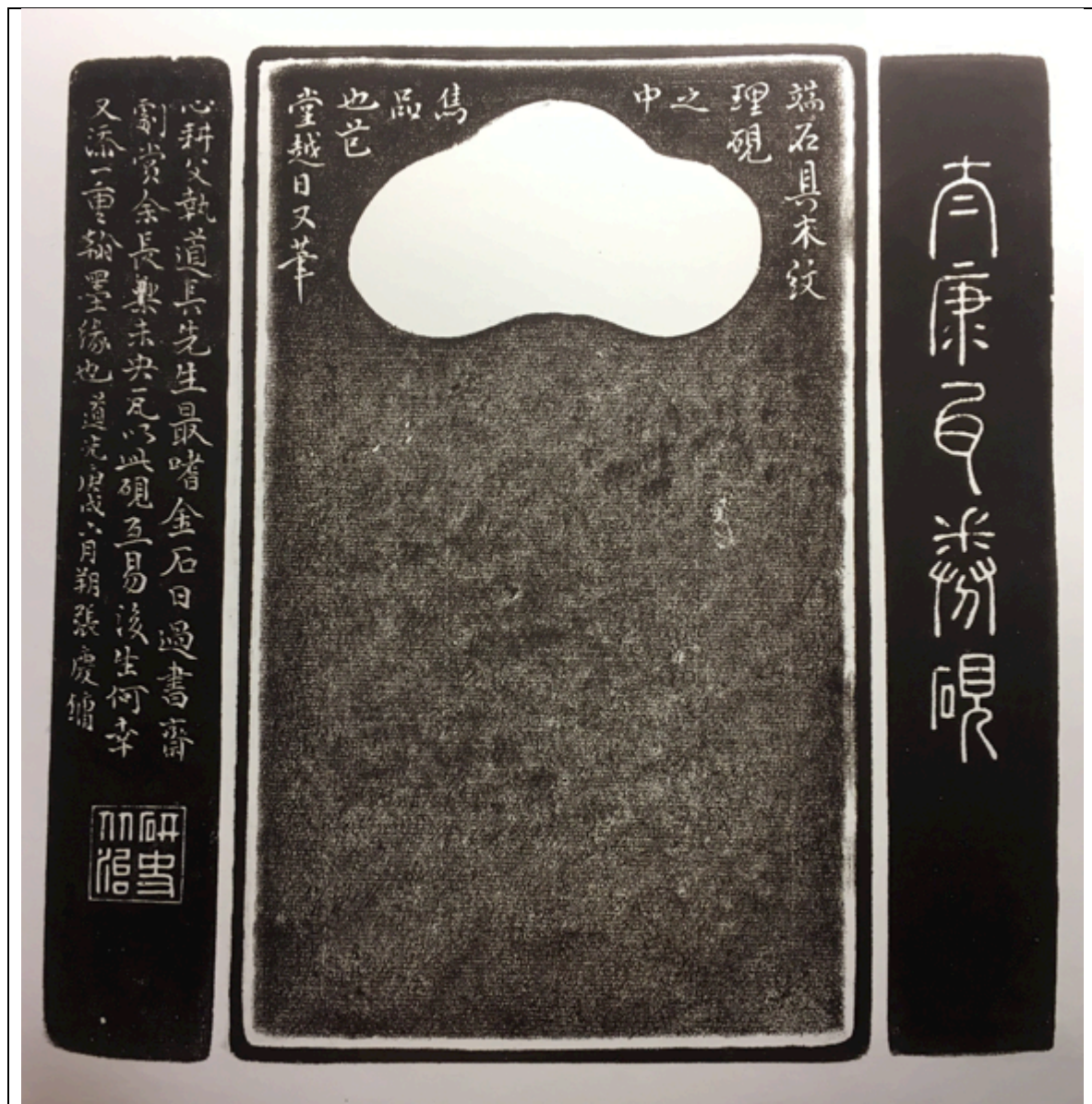


Fig. 3.24 Inkstone in Imitation of a Land Purchase Certificate, Duan stone, ca. 1801, 18.5 X 11.4 X 3.2 cm, Shanghai Museum (Inscription: Zhang Yanchang (tracing-copy and carving), 1801) (From Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Weiyang zuotian*, 128).

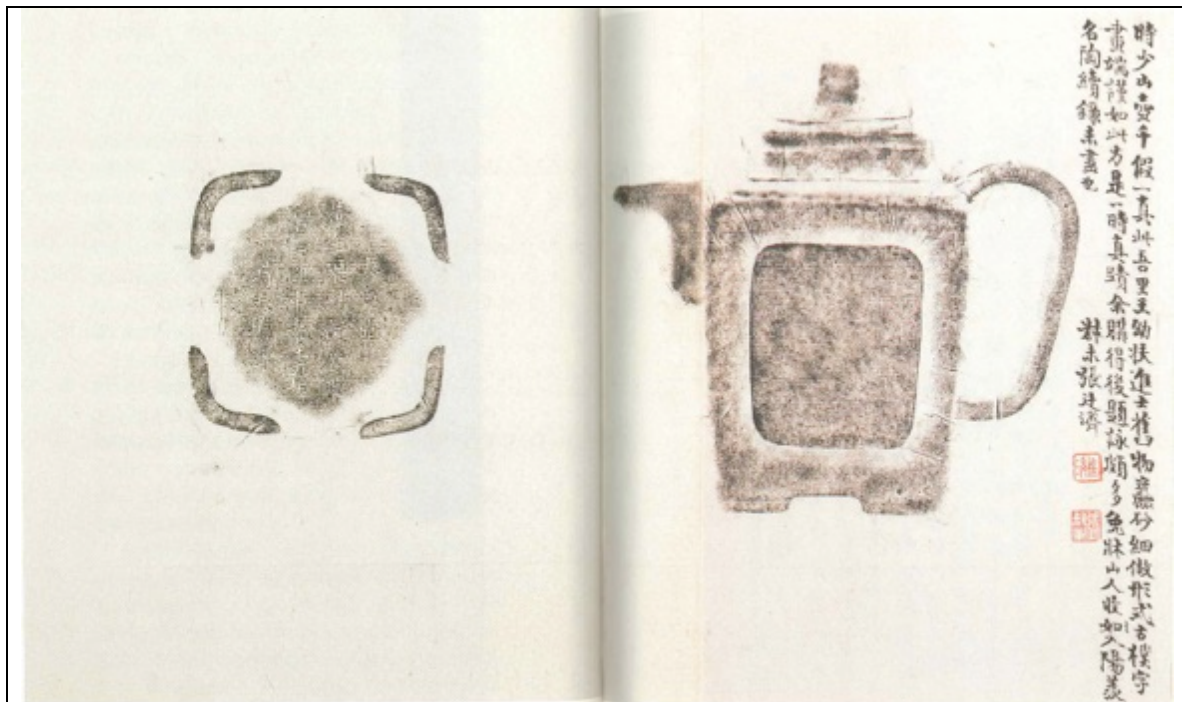


Fig. 4.1 Rubbings of Shi Dabin's Teapot, in Zhang Tingji, *Qianzai yishi*, album leaves, ink on paper, around 1805, 25.0 X 15.5 cm (From Chen Shenghong, *Qianzai yishi*, 8-9).

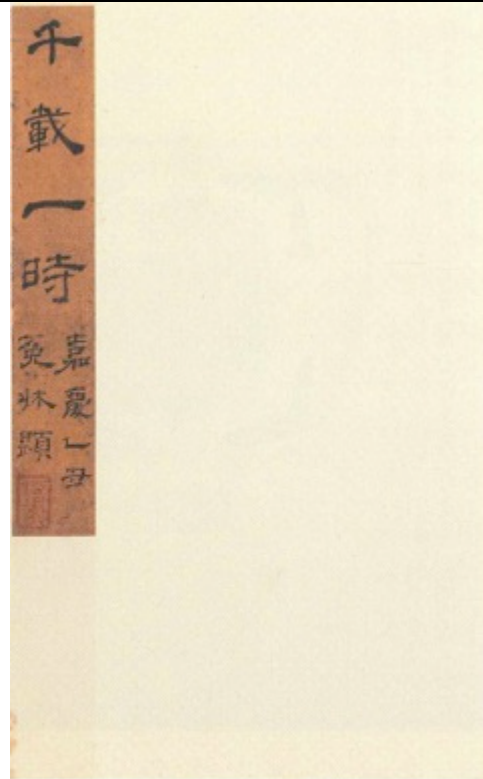


Fig. 4.2 Wu Qian, Title Slip, in Zhang Tingji, *Qianzai yishi*, 1805 (From Chen Shenghong, *Qianzai yishi*, 7).



Fig. 4.3 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Xu Mao (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of an Upturned Rice Measure, stoneware, late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Li Jingkang and Zhang Hong, *Yangxian shahu tukao, xia*, 135).

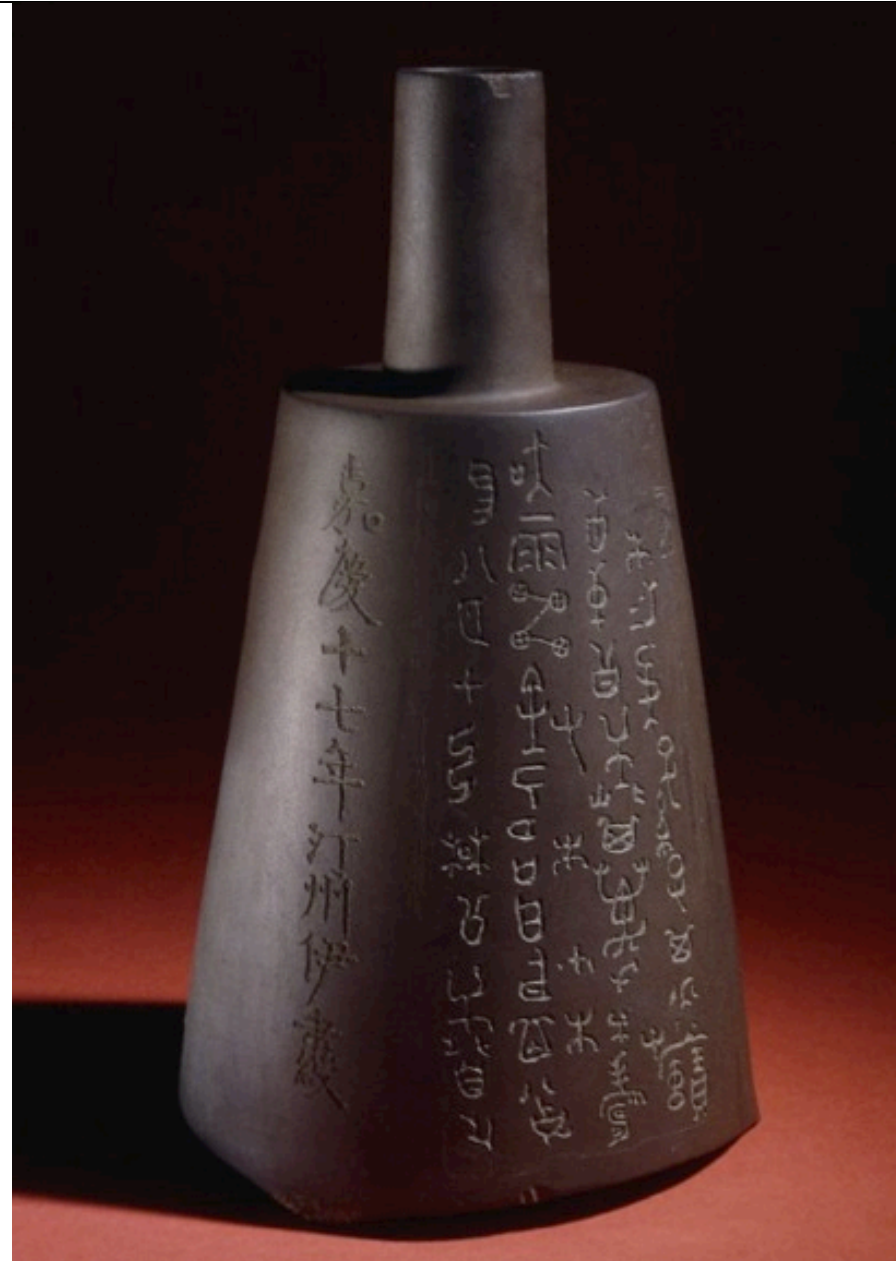


Fig. 4.4 Yi Bingshou (inscription), Vase in the Shape of a Bell, stoneware, 1812, H 33.78 cm, British Museum (Accession No. 1910,0615.1) (From [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=229518&partId=1&searchText=yi+bingshou&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=229518&partId=1&searchText=yi+bingshou&page=1), accessed March 8, 2018).



Fig. 4.5 (Left) Inscription on the Bell Shaped Vessel (Fig. 4.4); (Middle) Detail of Yi Bingshou's Signature in his Calligraphy (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Yi Bingshou lishu zitie*, 41.); and (Right) Detail of Yi Bingshou's Signature in his Calligraphy (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Yi Bingshou lishu zitie*, 23).



Fig. 4.6 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot), Qu Yingshao (engraving), and Qiao Zhongxi (?), Teapot in a Conical Shape, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 6.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Gu Jingzhou, Xu Xiutang, and Li Changhong, ed., *Yixing zisha zhenshang*, 118).



Fig. 4.7 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot and inscription), Teapot with an Inscription from a Han Dynasty Coin, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 12 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (From Xia Junwei and Han Qilou, ed., *Zhongguo zisha minghu zhenshang*, 106).

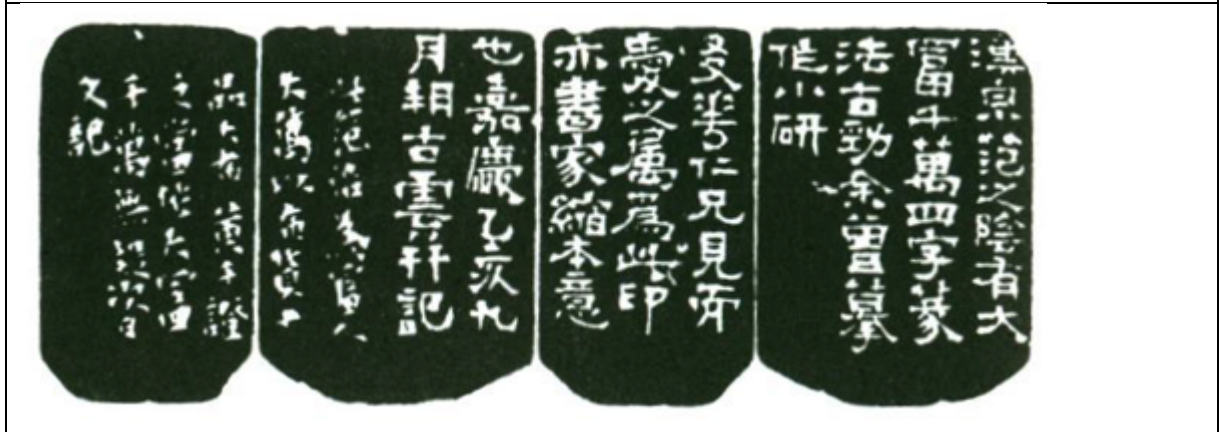


Fig. 4.8 Sun Jun, *dafu qianwan* 大富千萬 (May great wealth last forever), 1815 (From Ge Changying and Ge Changfen, ed., *Chuanputang cangyin jinhua*, 61).



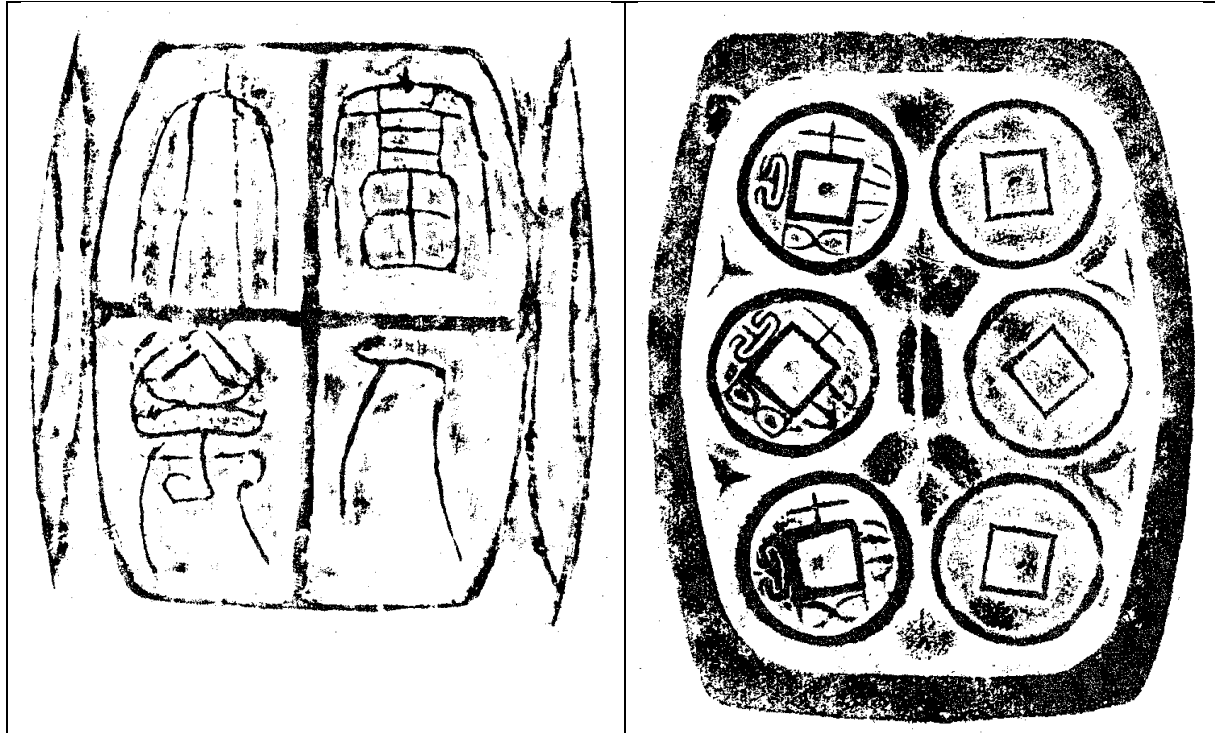


Fig. 4.9 Rubbings of a Mold for Casting Coins from the Han Dynasty (From Zhang Tingji, *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen*, vol. 3, 12b-13a).



Fig. 4.10 Rubbing of Yang Pengnian's Teapot in a Conical Shape (Teapot: stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c) (From Pang Yuanji, *Xuzhai mingtao tulu*, unpaginated).

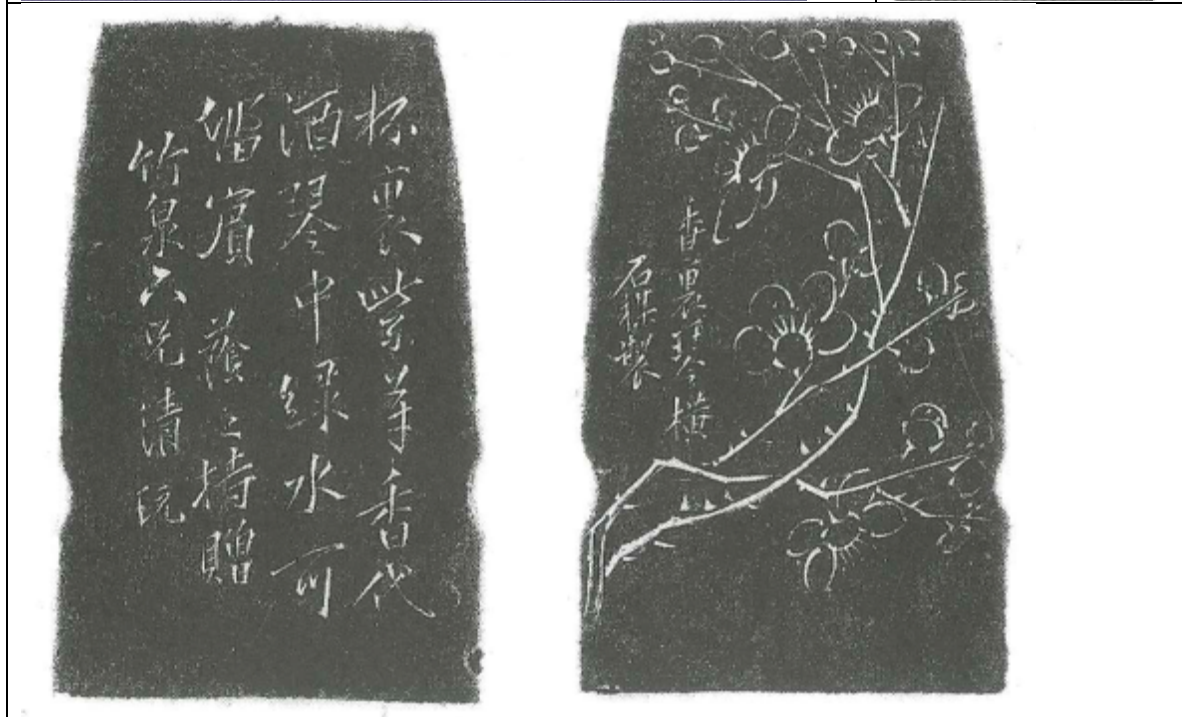


Fig. 4.11 (Upper Left) Zhu Jian, Stoneware Teapot Encased in Pewter Modeled after a *Qin* Zither, stoneware (inner body); pewter (outer body); porcelain (spout); bronze (knob); Chinese redwood and silver (handle), first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 11.0 cm (From Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 44); (Upper Right) Detail of Inlay in the Handle of Fig. 4.11 (Upper Left); (Lower) Rubbing of Engravings on Fig. 4.11 (Upper Left).



Fig. 4.12 Zhu Jian, Water Container Modeled after the Tang Dynasty Well in Liyang, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 3.8 cm, Tang Yun Museum (From Gu Jingzhou, Xu Xiutang, and Li Changhong, ed., *Yixing zisha zhenshang*, 114).



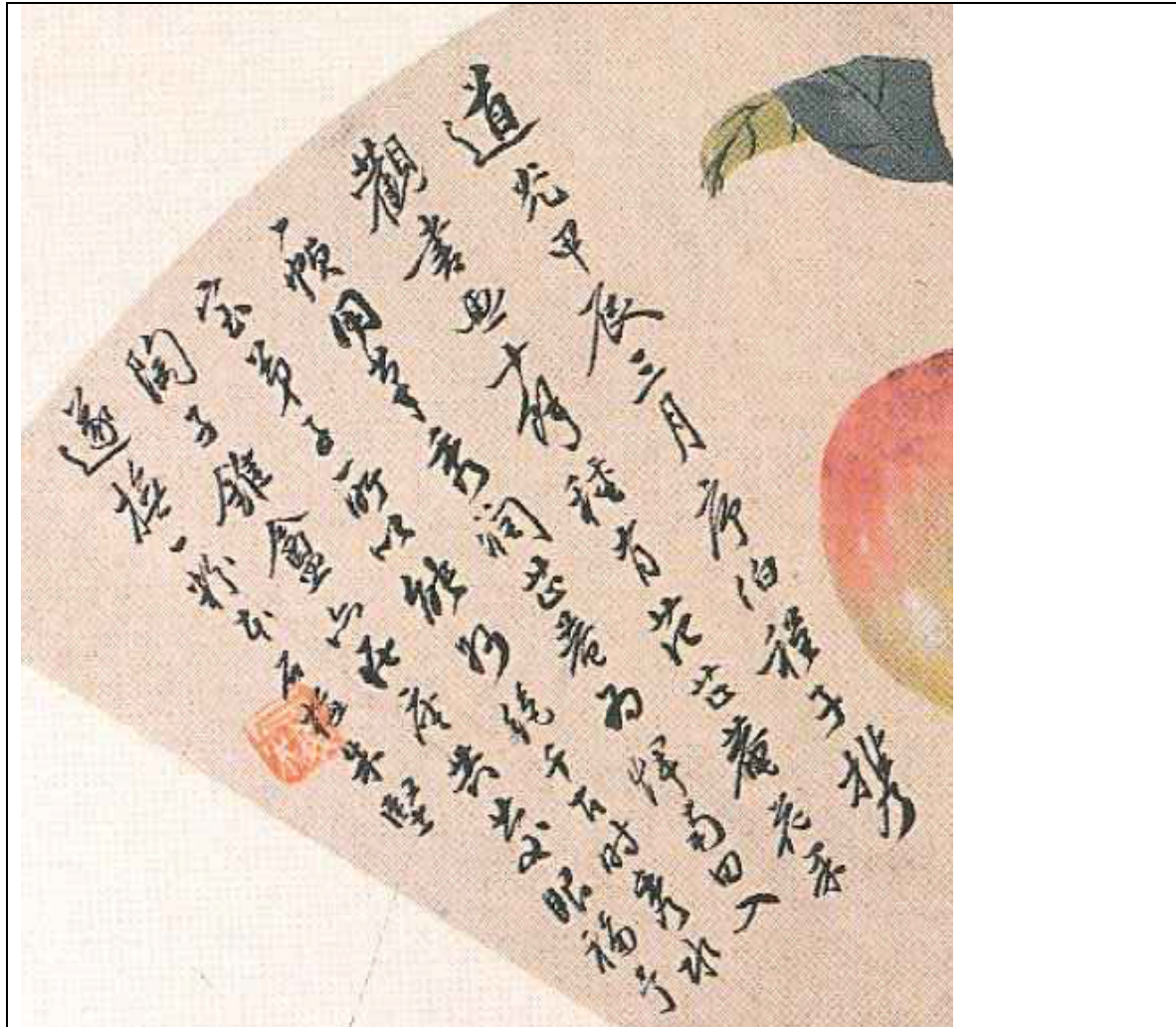


Fig. 4.13 (Upper) Zhu Jian, Fruits, fan painting, ink and color on paper, 1844, 20.0 X 54.5 cm (From Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 58); (Lower) Detail of Fig. 4.13 (Upper).



Fig. 4.14 Zhu Jian, Prunus, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 1849, 94.0 X 19.5 cm (From Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 57).

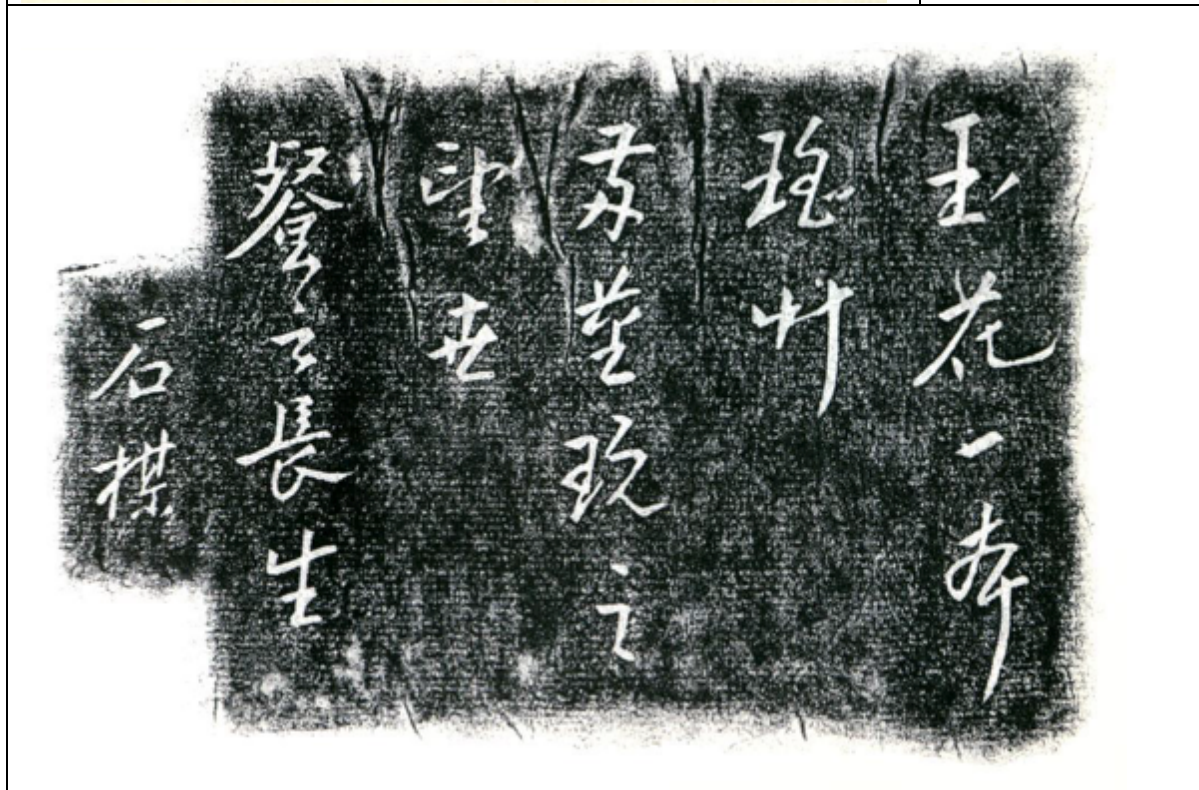
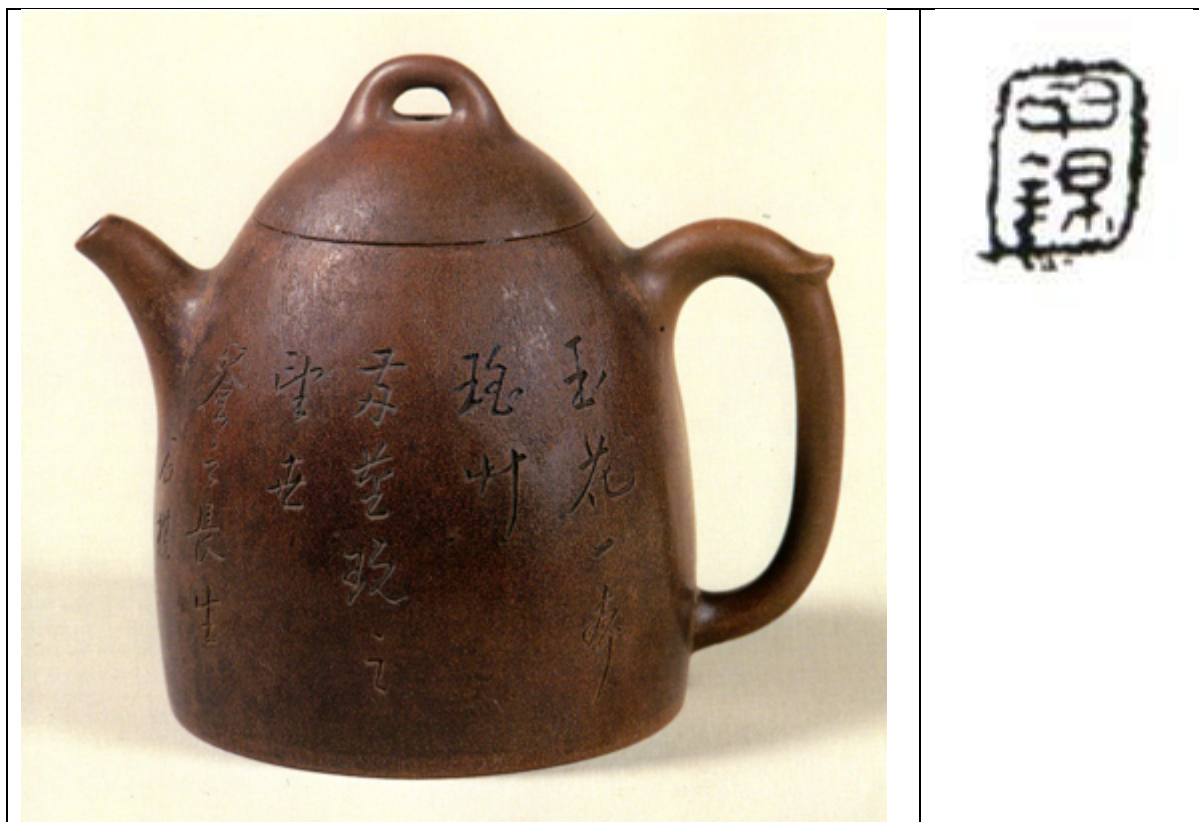


Fig. 4.15 Shen Xi (body of the teapot) and Zhu Jian (inscription), Teapot, stoneware, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 12.5 cm, Nanjing Museum (From Liang Baiquan, *Yixing zisha*, 175).



Fig. 4.16 Fang Jie, Wrist Rest, bamboo, 1826, 27.2 X 5 cm (From Wang Shixiang. *Bamboo Carving of China*, 39).

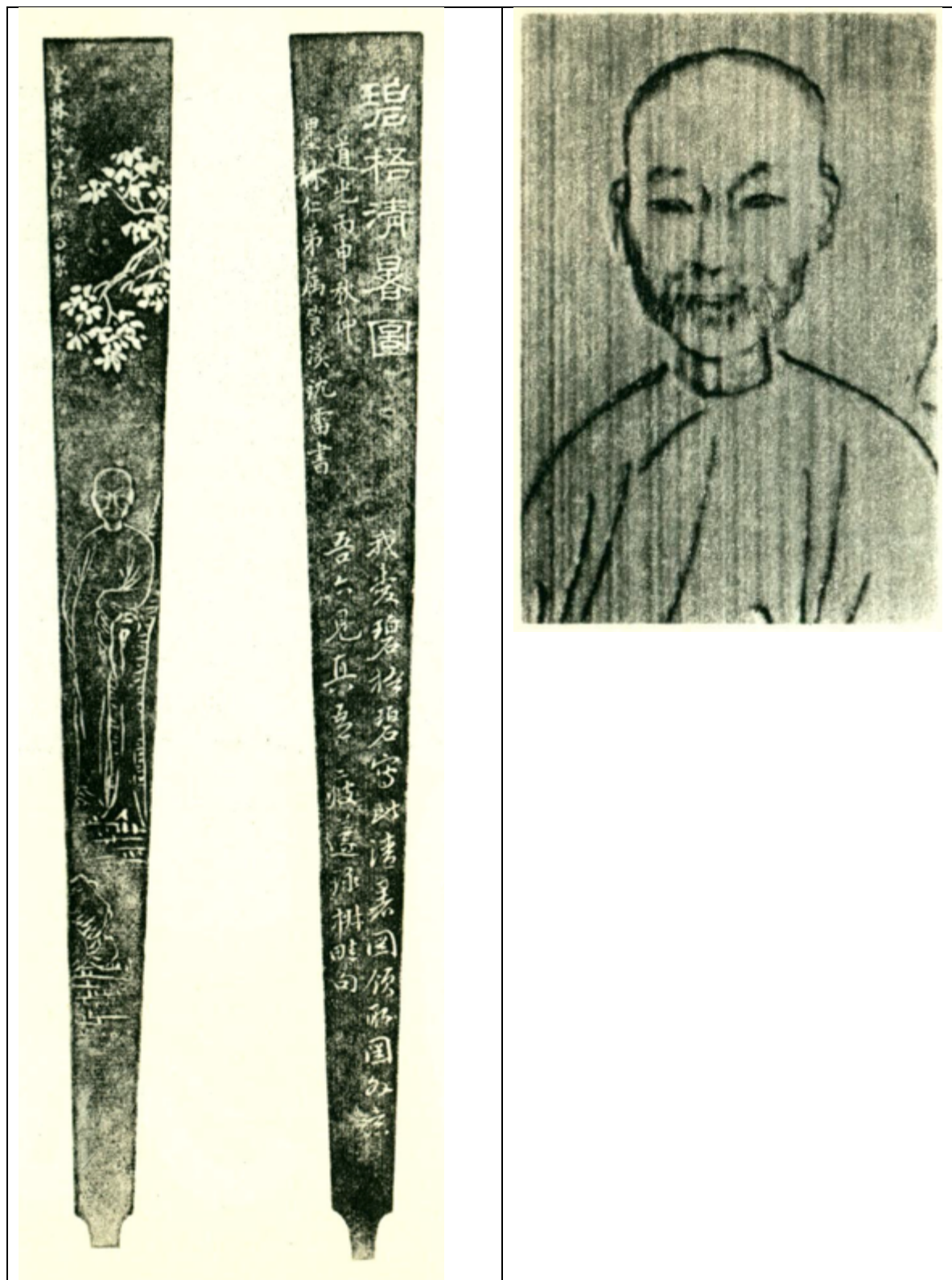


Fig. 4.17 (Left) Fang Jie, a Pair of Backbones of a Folding Fan with a Portrait of Master Molin, bamboo, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Jin Shaofang and Wang Shixiang, *Zhuke yishu*, pl. 24); (Right) Detail of Fig. 4.17 (Left).





Fig. 4.18 Fang Jie, Wrist Rest with an Image of Su Wu, bamboo, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, 27.3 X 6.5 cm, Wenzhou Museum (From Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji*, vol. 1, pl. 120).



Fig. 4.19 Fang Jie, Landscape, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c (From Xiling yinshe, ed., *Jinshijia zhencang shuhuai*, vol.1, 177).



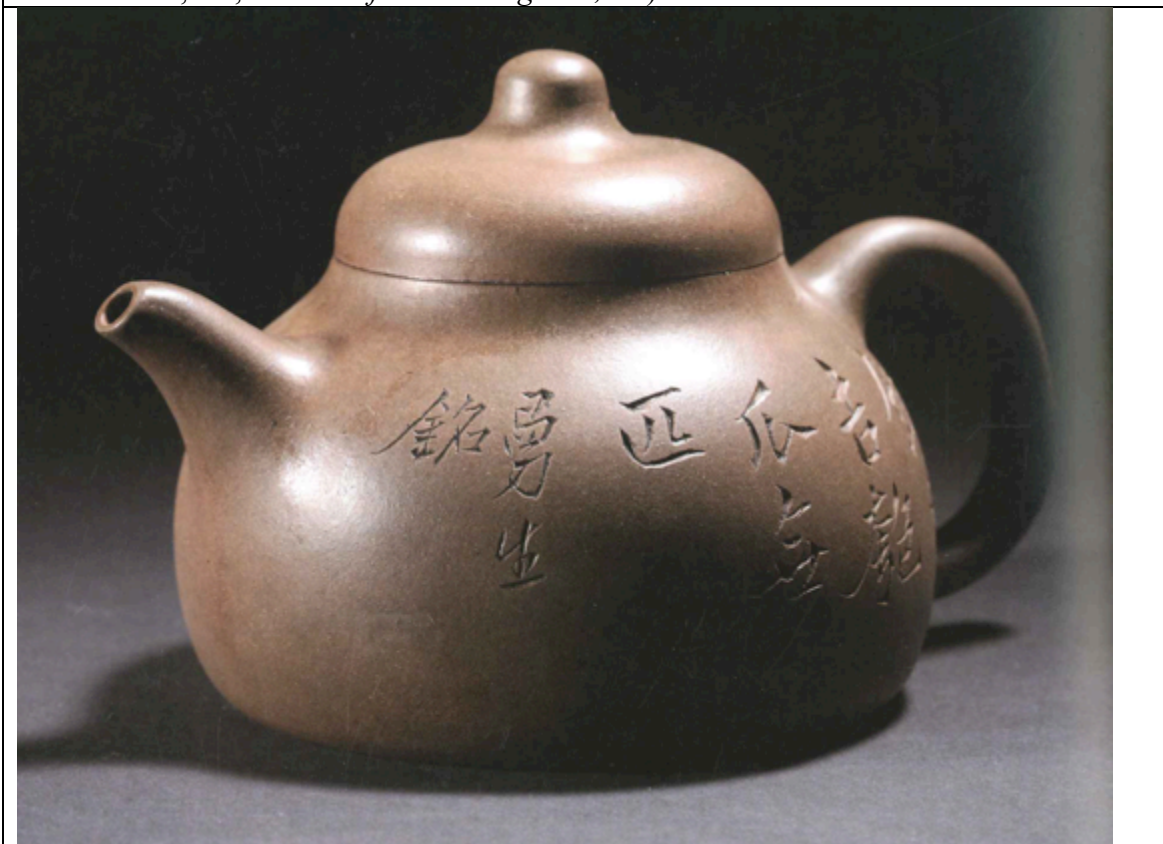
Fig. 4.20 Gao Rijun (inscription), Water Container in the Shape of the Tang Dynasty Well in Liyang, stoneware, 1816, H 5.3 cm, Private collection (From Soong Shu Kong, Guo Ruoyu, and Anita Wong, *Tea, Wine and Poetry*, pl. 17).



Fig. 4.21 Inscribed Well Parapet, 811, Liyang, Jiangsu Province (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, 178).



Fig. 4.22 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Flying Swan Longevity Teapot, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 8.9 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, T8).



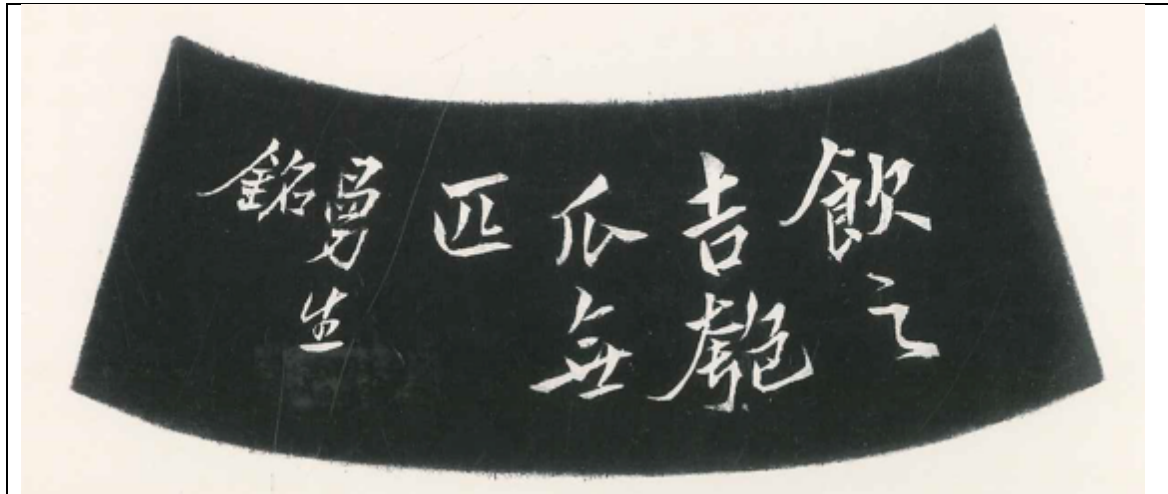


Fig. 4.23 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Teapot in the Shape of a Gourd, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 9.0 cm, Tang Yun Museum (From Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 26-31).

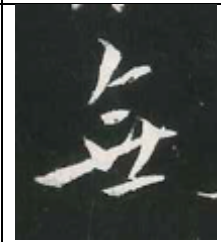
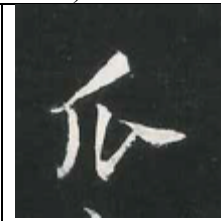
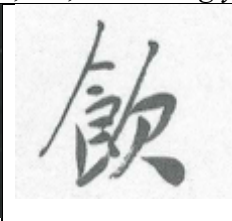
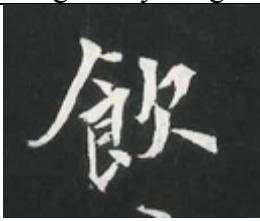


Fig. 4.24 (Left) Characters on the Teapot in the Shape of a Gourd (Fig. 4.23); (Right) Matching Characters in Chen Hongshou's calligraphy on paper (From Hayashida Hōen, *Chin Kōju no shohō*, pls. 2, 3, 41, and 65).

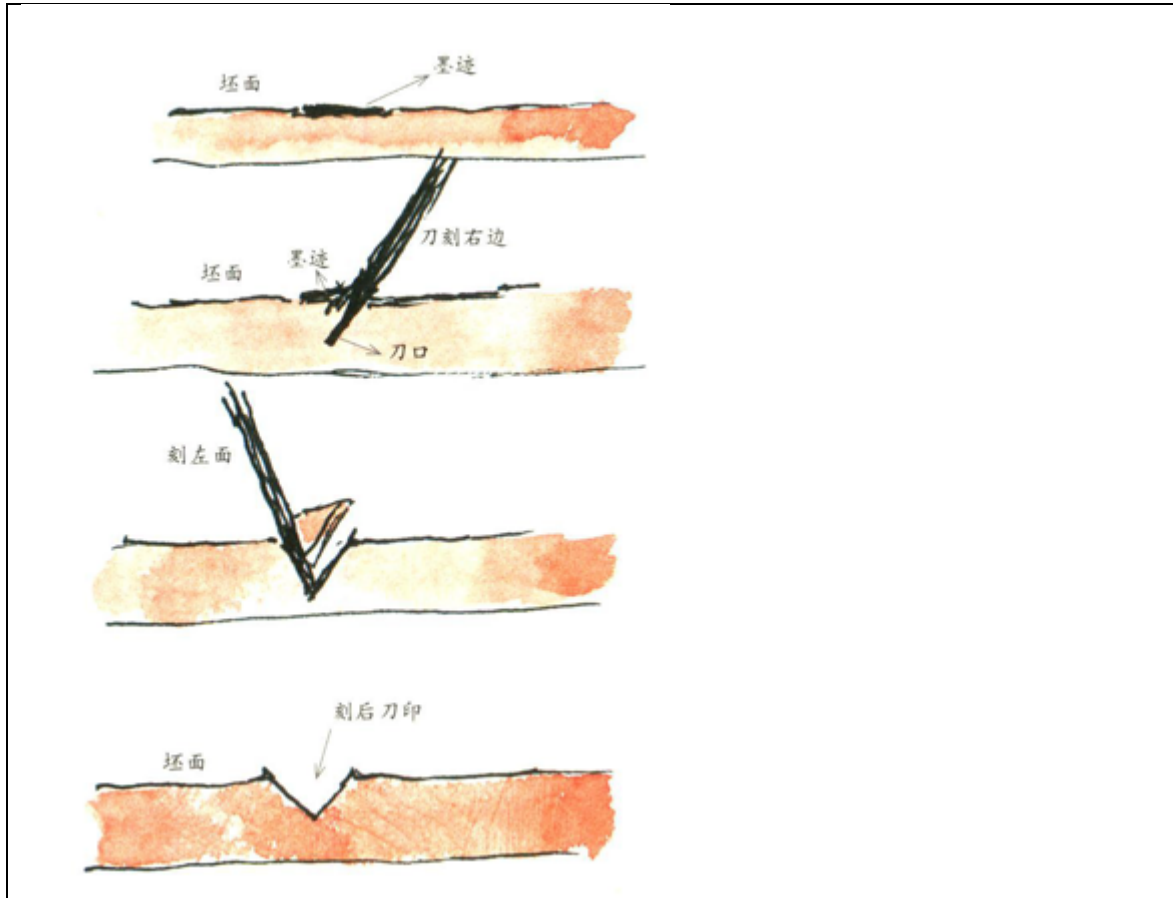


Fig. 4.25 Inscription on Yixing Teapots with a V-shaped Cross-Section (From Xu Xiutang, *Yixing zisha chuantong gongyi*, 99).

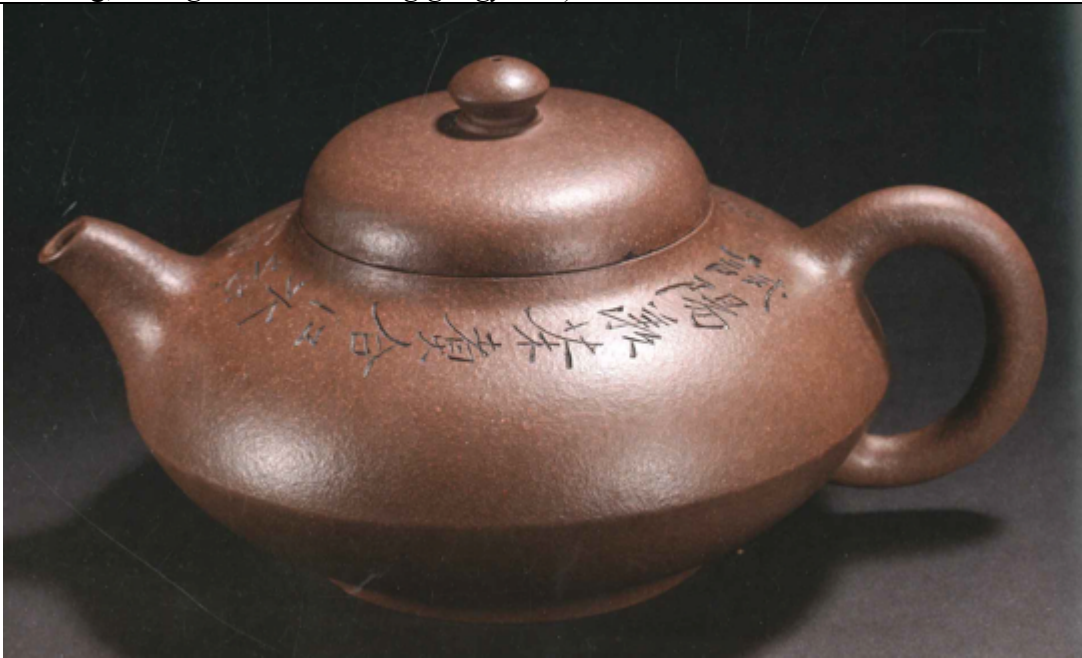




Fig. 4.26 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Chen Hongshou (inscription), Happy Together Teapot, stoneware, early 19<sup>th</sup> c, H 8.4 cm, Tang Yun Museum (From Tang Yun yishuguan, ed., *Mansheng yiyun*, 2, 4).



Fig. 4.27 Chen Hongshou, Chrysanthemum and Teapot, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 1812, 31.1 X 38.6 cm, Shanghai Museum (From Lai Suk-Yee, ed., *The Art of Chen Hongshou*, P4).



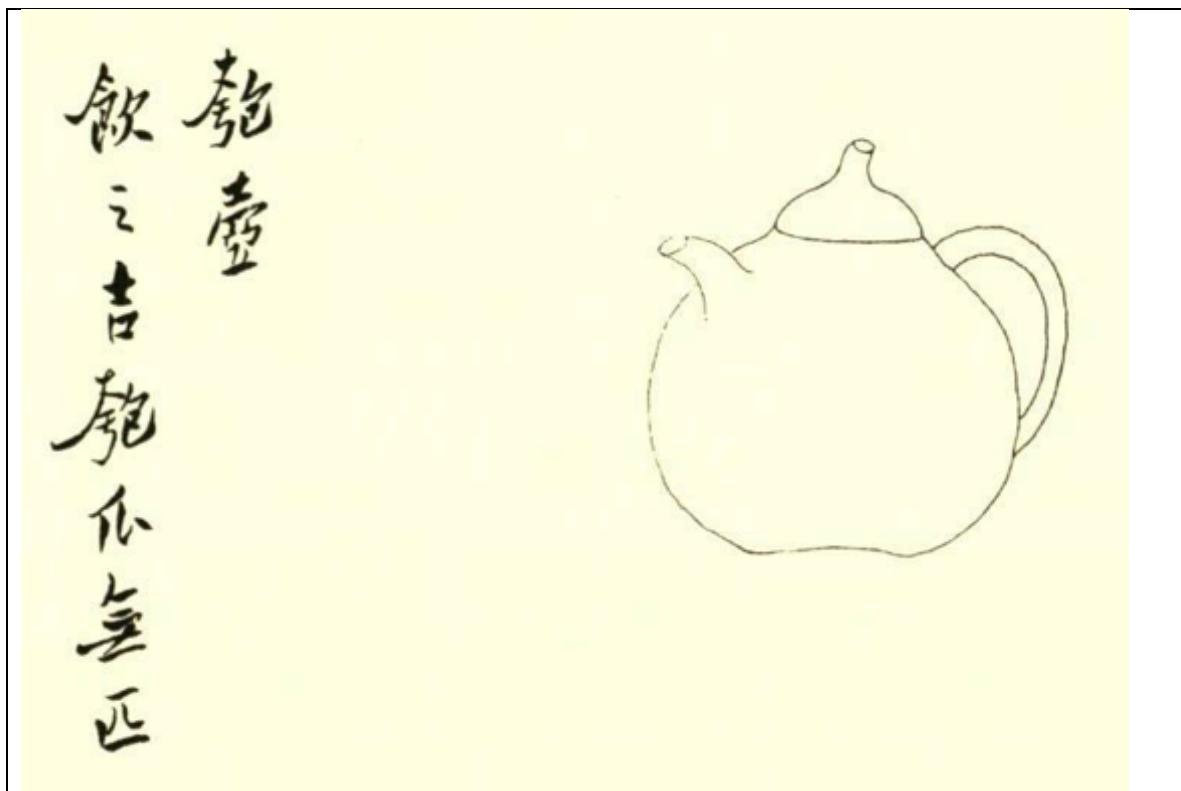


Fig. 4.28 Zhu Jian, Copy of “Melon-shaped Teapot,” in *Nourishing One’s Mind and Soul* (From Xiao Jianmin, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 148).



Fig. 4.29 Zhu Jian, Copy of “Stone Diao” Teapot, in *Nourishing One’s Mind and Soul*, by Wang Hong (drawing), Guo Lin (inscription), and Chen Hongshou (inscription) in 1813 (From Xiao Jianmin, *Chen Mansheng yanjiu*, 145).



Fig. 4.30 Yang Pengnian (body of the teapot) and Qian Du (calligraphy of the inscription and drawing), Chilly Jade Teapot, stoneware, 1816, H 8.5cm, Tianjin Municipal Art Museum (From Xia Junwei and Han Qilou, ed., *Zhongguo zisha minghu zhenshang*, 103).

## Bibliography

- Anhuisheng bowuguan 安徽省博物館, ed. *Wenfang zhenpin* 文房珍品. Hong Kong: Liangmu chubanshe, 1995.
- Ba Tong 巴東 and Hsu Tien-fu 徐天福, ed. *Zhang Diqian de laoshi: Zeng Xi, Li Ruiqing shuhua tezhan* 張大千的老師：曾熙、李瑞清書畫特展. Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 2010.
- Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, “The Artistic and Intellectual Dimensions of Chinese Calligraphy Rubbings: Some Examples from the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.” *Orientalism* 30:3 (March 1999): 82-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Fu Shan's World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China: The Case of Wu Dacheng and His Friends.” In *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, edited by Wu Hung, 291–319. Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, Dept. of Art History, University of Chicago, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Antiquarianism in a Time of Crisis: On the Collecting Practices of Late-Qing Government Officials, 1861–1911.” In *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Alain Schnapp, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray, 386–403. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Wu Dacheng he tade tagong* 吳大澂和他的拓工. Beijing: Haituo chubanshe, 2013.
- Bao Changxi 鮑昌熙. *Jinshi xie* 金石屑. In *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 2, vol. 6, 4593-4776. Reprint, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1979.

- Bao Shichen 包世臣. *Yizhou shuangji* 藝舟雙楫. In *Lidai shufa lunwen xuan* 歷代書法論文選, vol. 2, 639-680. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1979.
- Bao Yanli 包燕麗. “Shilun Qingdai qianqi zhuke dui diaoqi de yingxiang” 詩論清代前期竹刻對雕漆的影響. In *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, edited by Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, 432-443. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014.
- Barnard, Noel. *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China*. 14 of Monumenta Serica Monograph. Canberra: Australian National University, 1961.
- Bartholomew, Terese Tse. “A Study on the Shapes and Decorations of Yixing Teapots.” In *Yixing taoyi* 宜興陶藝, edited by Gerard Tsang, 13-33. Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1981.
- Bi Yuan 畢沅. *Qin Han wadang tu* 秦漢瓦當圖. *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 4, vol. 10, 695-710. Reprint, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 2006.
- Brown, Claudia and Ju-his Chou. *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796-1911*. Phoenix, Ariz.: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992.
- Brown, Shana J. *Pastimes: From Art and Antiquarianism to Modern Chinese Historiography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Cai Hongru 蔡鴻茹. “Gu zhuanwa yan” 古甗瓦硯, *Shupu* 書譜 84 (1988): 76-78.
- Cai Yundi 蔡雲娣. *Chengni shidiao* 澄泥石雕. Vol. 4 of *Baigong lu: Zhongguo gongyi meishu jilu congshu* 百工錄: 中國工藝美術記錄叢書, edited by Wang Jianliang 王建良. Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 2015.
- Cao Zhao 曹昭. *Xinzeng gegu yaolun* 新增格古要論. *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成. Daoguang period. Reprint, Taipei; Yiwen chubanshe, 1967.

- Chang Chung-li. *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955.
- Chang, Joseph. *Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth*. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2000.
- Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽. *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu* 種榆仙館印譜. China: Guo Zongtai, 1821.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhongyu xianguan shi chao* 種榆仙館詩鈔. Vol. 488 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編, 219-280. 1915. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chen Mansheng huihua ce* 陳曼生繪畫冊. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chen Mansheng shu Xu dafu muzhi zhenji* 陳曼生書許大夫墓誌真蹟. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1923.
- Chen Jieqi 陳介祺. “Zhuangu bielu” 傳古別錄. In *Wenfang sipu* 文房四譜, edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, 333-346. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968.
- Chen Keshu 陳克恕. *Zhuanke zhendu* 篆刻鍼度. Reprint, China: n.p., 1931.
- Chen Lie 陳烈, ed. *Xiaomangcangcangzhai cang Qingdai xuezhe fashu xuanji* 小莽蒼蒼齋藏清代學者法書選集. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999.
- Chen Shenghong 陳聖泓. *Qianzai yishi: Shi Dabin Han fanghu taben tiyong ce kao* 千載一時: 時大彬漢方壺拓本題咏冊考. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.
- Chen Shin-Liang 陳信良. “Deng Shiru zhuanke chuansheng xitan” 鄧石如篆刻傳承析探, *Zaoxing yishu xuekan* 造型藝術學刊 (2003): 251-274.
- Chen Wenshu 陳文述. *Shulin xinyong* 畫林新咏. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1915.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yidao tang shixuan; Yidao tang shi waiji; Yidao tang shiwen chao* 頤道堂詩選；頤道堂詩外集；頤道堂詩文鈔. Xuxiu Siku quanshu 續修四庫全書. 1817. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- Chen Zhan 陳鱣. Preface to *Yugu wencun* 愚谷文存, by Wu Qian 吳騫. Baijing lou congshu 拜經樓叢書, 1a-2a. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen, 1968.
- Chen Zhenlian 陳振濂. “Duli: zhuanke benwei de guannian queli (shang)” 獨立：篆刻本位的觀念確立（上）, *Zhongguo zhuanke* 中國篆刻 1 (August 1994): 2-6
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhuanke xingshi meixue de zhankai* 篆刻形式美學的展開. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Zhongguo yinpushi yanjiu daolun” 中國印譜史研究導論. In *Zhongguo yinpushi tudian* 中國印譜史圖典, vol. 1. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011.
- Cheng Dun 程敦. *Qin Han wadang wenzi* 秦漢瓦當文字. Reprint, Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2013.
- Chu Deyi 褚德彝. *Zhuren xulu* 竹人續錄. 1930. Reprint, Hangzhou: Hangzhou gujiu shudian fuyin, 1983.
- Cui Shuqiang 崔樹強. *Zhongguo yishu piping tongshi: Qingdai juan* 中國藝術批評通史：清代卷. Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015.
- Dan Guoqiang 單國強, ed. *Qingdai shufa* 清代書法. Vol. 22 of *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin quanji* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品全集. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2001.
- Deng Sanmu 鄧散木 (1898-1963). *Zhuanke xue* 篆刻學. 1979. Reprint, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985.

- Deng Shi 鄧實. *Ming Qing ge mingjia shahu quanxing jita* 明清各名家沙壺全形集拓. In *The Art of Chen Hongshou: Painting, Calligraphy, Seal-carving and Teapot-design*, ed. Lai, Suk-Yee, 219-222. Hong Kong: Shanghai Museum, Nanjing Museum and Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005.
- Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠. *Gudong suoji* 骨董瑣記. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991.
- Ding Ren 丁仁, et al. *Dingchou jieyu yincun* 丁丑劫餘印存. 1939. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西泠八家印選. 1925-26. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991.
- Dou Zhen 寶鎮. *Guochao shuhua jia bilu* 國朝書畫家筆錄. 1911. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1971.
- Durand, John D. "The Population Statistics of China, AD. 2-1953." *Population Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3 (March 1960): 209-256.
- Ellsworth, Robert Hatfield. *Later Chinese painting and calligraphy, 1800-1950*. New York: Random House, 1987.
- Elman, Benjamin. "The Social Roles of Literati from Early to Mid-Ch'ing." In *The Cambridge History of China*, volume 10, part 1, edited by John King Fairbank and Denis Crispin Twitchett, 360-427. London: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, 1990.
- Falkenhausen, Lothar von. "Antiquarianism in East Asia: A Preliminary Overview." In *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Alain

- Schnapp, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray, 45–50. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013.
- Fang Quji 方去疾, ed. *Ming Qing zhuanke liupai yinpu* 明清篆刻流派印譜. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1980.
- Fang Ruo 方若 and Wang Zhuanghong 王壯弘. *Zengbu jiaobei suibi* 增補校碑隨筆. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1981.
- Fang Shuo 方朔. *Zhenjingtang jinshi tiba* 枕經堂金石題跋. Reprint, Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1977.
- Fang Xiaoyang 方曉陽, Wang Wei 王偉, and Wu Dantong 吳丹彤. *Zhiyan zhimo* 制硯制墨. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2015.
- Fujiwara Sosui. *Zukai shodōshi* 圖解書道史. Tōkyō : Seishin Shobō, 1971-75.
- Gan Yang 甘暘. *Yinzhang jishuo* 印章集說. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 85-100. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰. *Yanshi jianshi* 硯史箋釋. Edited by Tian Tao 田濤 and Cui Shichi 崔士篴. Beijing: Beijing shenghuo dushu xinzhì sanlian shudian, 2011.
- Gao Yingzi 高英姿, ed. *Zisha mingtao dianji* 紫砂名陶典籍. Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000.
- Ge Changying 葛昌楹 and Hu Quan 胡淦, ed. *Ming Qing mingren keyin jingpin huicun* 明清名人刻印精品彙存. 1944. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991.
- Ge Changying 葛昌楹 and Ge Changfen 葛昌粉, ed. *Chuanputang cangyin jinhua* 傳樸堂藏印菁華. 1925. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1999.



- Ge Siming 戈思明, ed. *Canghai yisu: gujin shuhua shisui* 滄海一粟：古今書畫拾穗. Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 2008.
- Gettens, Rutherford John. *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. 2. No. 7 of *Oriental Studies*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1969.
- Gu Jingzhou 顧景舟, Xu Xiutang 徐秀棠, and Li Changhong 李昌鴻, ed. *Yixing zisha zhenshang* 宜興紫砂珍賞. Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1992.
- Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Qingdai shufa* 中國美術全集：書畫篆刻編, 清代書法, vol. 6. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989.
- Gui Fu 桂馥. *Mouzhuan fenyun* 繆篆分韻. Reprint, Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1985.
- Gulik, Robert Hans van, trans. *Mi Fu on Inkstones*. Peking: Henri Vetch, 1938.
- Guangdongsheng bowuguan 廣東省博物館, and The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學文物館, ed. *Zishi ningying: lidai duanyan yishu* 紫石凝英：歷代端硯藝術. Hong Kong: The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1991.
- Guo Lin 郭麐. *Jinshi libu* 金石例補. In *Jinshi yaoli ji qita erzong* 金石要例及其他二種, Congshu jicheng jianbian 叢書集成簡編. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lingfenguan shi chuji; Lingfenguan erji; Lingfenguan shi sanji; Lingfenguan shi siji; Lingfenguan shi xuji; Lingfenguan zazhu; Lingfenguan zazhu xubian; Lingfenguan zazhu sanbian* 靈芬館詩初集; 靈芬館詩二集; 靈芬館詩三集; 靈芬館詩四集; 靈芬館詩續集; 靈芬館雜著; 靈芬館雜著續編; 靈芬館雜著三編. Vol. 485 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編. 1796-1850. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.

- Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚. *Zhikan pinyan lu* 智龕品硯錄. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhikan pinhu lu* 智龕品壺錄. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008.
- Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, ed. *Gugong guyan xuancui* 故宮古硯選萃. Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lanqian shanguan mingyan mulu* 蘭千山館名硯目錄. Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1987.
- Han Qilou 韓其樓, ed. *Zisha guji jinyi* 紫砂古籍今譯. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2011.
- Han Tianheng 韓天衡. *Zhongguo zhuanke yishu* 中國篆刻藝術. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Ming Qing daoshuo” 明清刀說. *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 1 (1996): 68-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhongguo zhuanke dacidian* 中國篆刻大辭典. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2003.
- Han Tianheng and Sun Weizu 孫慰祖, ed., *Gu yuyin jicun* 古玉印集存. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2002.
- Hatch, Michael J. “Qian Du (1763-1844) and the Senses in Early Nineteenth-Century Chinese Literati Painting.” PhD Diss. Princeton University, 2015.
- Hay, Jonathan. *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.
- Hayashida Hōen 林田芳園, ed. *Chin Kōju no shohō* 陳鴻壽の書法. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1997.
- He Shaoji 何紹基. *Dongzhou caotang shiji* 東洲草堂詩集. *Zhongguo jindai wenxue congshu* 中國近代文學叢書. 1867. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006.

- Ho Pik Ki 何碧琪. "Qingdai lishu yu Yi Bingshou" 清代隸書與伊秉綬. MA Thesis, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jinshi yinyuan zhongdijie: Zhejiang shujia, Huang Yi yu Qingdai lishu" 金石因緣重締結: 浙江書家、黃易與清代隸書. In *Huang Yi yu jinshixue lunji* 黃易與金石學論集, edited by Qin Ming 秦明, 228-246. Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Beishan jigu: beitie mingke taben* 北山汲古 : 碑帖銘刻拓本. Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 2015.
- Hong Gua 洪适. *Lishi* 隸釋. In vol. 9 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編, 6747-7042. Reprint, Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lixu* 隸續. In vol. 10 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編, 7087-7202. Reprint, Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977.
- Hong Kong Museum of Art, ed. *Nanjing guibao: Nanjing bowuguan, Nanjingshi bowuguan zisha chaju jinxuan* 南京瑰寶: 南京博物館·南京市博物館紫砂茶具精選. Hong Kong: Kangle ji wenhua shiwushu, 2014.
- Hsü, Ginger Cheng-chi. *Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-century Yangchow*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Hu Changchun 胡長春. *Zhongguo shufa yu guwenzi yanjiu* 中國書法與古文字研究. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2015.
- Huang Changming 黃嘗銘. *Zhuanke nianli*, 1051-1911 篆刻年歷, 1051 - 1911. <http://sealbank.net/mainBody.asp?LM=2&L1=0&L2=0&L3=0>.
- Huang Dun 黃惇. "Guanyu Ming Qing Huiji yinren de liupai wenti" 關於徽籍印人的流派問題. *Shufa* 書法 64 (1989): 2-5.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Zhongguo gudai yinlun shi* 中國古代印論史. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Jin Nong shufa pingzhuan” 金農書法評傳. In *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集, vol. 65, edited by Liu Zhengcheng 劉正成, Huang Dun, and Zhou Jiyin 周積寅, 1-23. Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Two Schools of Calligraphy Join Hands: *Tiepai* and *Beipai* in the Qing Dynasty.” In *Chinese Calligraphy*, translated and edited by Wang Youfen, 339-377. New Haven: Yale University Press; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2008.

Huang Shijin 黃世錦. “Qingdai jinshixue dui shufa de yingxiang” 清代金石學對書法的影響. PhD. Diss., National Taiwan University, 2010.

Huang Yi 黃易. *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi wenzi* 小蓬萊閣金石文字. China: Shimo xuan, 1834.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Xiaopenglai ge jinshi mu* 小蓬萊閣金石目. In *Penglai suyue: Gugong cang Huang Yi Han Wei beike teji* 蓬萊宿約: 故宮藏黃易漢魏碑刻特集, edited by Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院, 194-205. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Wushi ci huaxiang tizi” 武氏祠畫像題字. In *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie* 上海圖書館藏善本碑帖, edited by Shanghai tushuguan, 13-24. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Qin Han wawen* 秦漢瓦文. In *Penglai suyue: Gugong cang Huang Yi Han Wei beike teji* 蓬萊宿約: 故宮藏黃易漢魏碑刻特集, edited by Gugong bowuyuan, 66-69. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010.

Huang Yue 黃鉞. *Huayou lu* 畫友錄. In *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書, vol. 4, edited by Yu Haiyan 于海晏, 2001-2126. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974.

- Huang Zhenhui 黃振輝. *Mansheng yu Mansheng hu* 曼生與曼生壺. Taibei: Yishujia chuban, 2006.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1985.
- Hummel, Arthur W, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. Folkestone, Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2010.
- Ip Yee 葉義, and Laurence C.S. Tam 譚志成. *Chinese Bamboo Carving: Zhongguo zhuke yishu* 中國竹刻藝術. Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1978.
- Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕. *Ming Qing zhuke yishu* 明清竹刻藝術. Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Qing qianqi neiting de Jiading zhuren” 清前期內廷的嘉定竹人. In *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, edited by Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, 1-21. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014.
- Ji Yun 紀昀. *Yuewei caotang yanpu* 閱微草堂硯譜. Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban gongsi, 1990.
- Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡. *Molin jinhua* 墨林今話. China: Zhonghua shuju, preface 1852.
- Jin Dan 金丹. *Yi Bingshou Chen Hongshou* 伊秉綬陳鴻壽. Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006.
- Jin Nong 金農. *Dongxinzhai yanming* 冬心齋硯銘. In *Shuo yan* 說硯, edited by Sang Xingzhi 桑行之, 411-418. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai keji jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994.
- Jin Shaofang 金紹坊. “Kezhu xiaoyan” 刻竹小言. In *Zhuke yishu* 竹刻藝術, by Jin Shaofang and Wang Shixiang 王世襄, 3-68. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980.

- Jin Yuanyu 金元鈺. *Zhuren lu* 竹人錄. In *Zhuanke xue* 篆刻學, edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, 171-242. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966.
- Kanka bunka iigyō kofun yūgen kōshi 漢華文化事業股份有限公司, ed. *Chūgoku rekidai hōsho meiseki zenshū* 中國歷代法書名蹟全集, vols. 9-10. Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1979.
- Kao Mingyi 高明一. “Ruan Yuan (1765-1849) dui jinshixue de tuidong yu xiangguan yingxiang” 阮元(1765-1849)對金石學的推動與相關影響. PhD Diss., National Taiwan University, 2010.
- Kawai Naoko 川合尚子. “Chō Teisai to Seigigaku, Taiheiji— genchi chōsa karano kōsatsu” 張廷濟と清儀閣, 太平寺—現地調査からの考察. *Kyōto gobun* 京都語文 17 (2011): 248-265.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Chō Teisai to kosen no en” 張廷濟と古甄の縁, *Kyōto gobun* 京都語文 20 (2013): 293-311.
- Kenshin Shodōkai 謙慎書道会, ed. *Seirei hakka no shoga tenkoku* 西泠八家の書画篆刻. Tōkyō; Nigensha, 1996.
- Kerr, Rose and Nigel Wood. *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, part XII: Ceramic Technology. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Ko, Dorothy Y. *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- Kobayashi Toan 小林斗盦, ed. *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō, hoka* 陳豫鐘、陳鴻壽、趙之琛、錢松、他. Vol. 5 of *Tenkoku zenshū* 篆刻全集. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 2001.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tei Kei, Shō Jin, Kō Eki, Kei Kō* 丁敬 · 蔣仁 · 黃易 · 奚岡. Tenkoku zenshū, vol. 4: Chūgoku, Shin 篆刻全集 4: 中國, 清. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju, Chō Shichin, Sen Shō hoka* 陳豫鍾 · 陳鴻壽 · 趙之琛 · 錢松他. Tenkoku zenshū, vol. 5: Chūgoku, Shin 篆刻全集 5: 中國, 清. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hikoudō inpu shō* 飛鴻堂印譜鈔. Chūgoku tenkoku sōkan, vol. 12: Shin vol. 6 中國篆刻叢刊 12: 清 6. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chin Yoshō, Chin Kōju* 陳豫鍾 · 陳鴻壽. Chūgoku tenkoku sōkan, vol. 16: Shin, vol. 10 中國篆刻叢刊 16: 清 10. Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1984.
- Kuo, Jason C. and Peter C. Sturman, ed. *Double Beauty: Qing Dynasty Couplets from the Lechangzai Xuan Collection*. Hong Kong: Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2003.
- Kwan Simon 關善明. *Xuxin aojie: Ming Qing zhuke shihua* 虛心傲節: 明清竹刻史話. Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong, 2000.
- Lai Suk-Yee 黎淑儀, ed. *The Art of Chen Hongshou: Painting, Calligraphy, Seal-carving and Teapot-design* 書畫印壺: 陳鴻壽的藝術. Hong Kong: Shanghai Museum, Nanjing Museum and Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Zisha er Chen: Chen Mingyuan he Chen Mansheng zisha taoyi chengjiu zongshu” 紫砂二陳: 陳鳴遠和陳曼生紫砂陶藝成就綜述. In *2007 nian guoji zisha yantaohui*

- lunwenji* 2007 年國際紫砂研討會論文集, edited by Palace Museum, Beijing, 161-176. Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Terese Tse Bartholomew. *Beishan jigū: Yixing zisha* 北山汲古: 宜興紫砂. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Art Museum, 2015.
- Lau, Chak Kwong. "Ding Jing (1695-1765) and the Foundation of the Xiling Identity in Hangzhou." PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006.
- Ledderose, Lothar. *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing-Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Chinesischen Schriftkunst*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Approach to Chinese Calligraphy." *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. 7, issue 1 (March/April 1972): 1-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aesthetic appropriation of Ancient calligraphy in Modern China." In *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions*, edited by Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith, 212-245. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Li Fang 李放. *Huang Qing shushi* 皇清書史. Vols. 83-84 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊. 1933? Reprint, Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- Li Jingkang 李景康 and Zhang Hong 張虹. *Yangxian shahu tukao* 陽羨砂壺圖考. In *Zisha guji jinyi* 紫砂古籍今譯. Translated by Han Qilou 韓其樓, 189-452. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2011.



- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yangxian shahu tukao* 陽羨砂壺圖考, *xia* 下. In *Yixing taoqi tupu* 宜興陶器圖譜, edited by Zhan Xuhua 詹勳華 and Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥, 97-162. Taipei: Jiu huguan xiezhu chuban, 1982.
- Li Juanya 李狷厓. *Zhongguo yishujia zhenglüe* 中國藝術家徵略. Reprint, Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1968.
- Li Junzhi 李濬之. *Qing huajia shishi* 清畫家詩史. 1930, Reprint, Beijing: Beijing shi zhongguo shudian, 1983.
- Li Qinpu 李勤璞. “Ganyu shiqi de Chen Hongshou” 贛榆時期的陳鴻壽. *Meishu xuebao* 美術學報 3 (2014): 11-20.
- Li Tiemin 李鐵民. *Yandiao yishu yu zhizuo* 硯雕藝術與製作. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2004.
- Li Wancai 李萬才. “Yi Bingshou zai Yangzhou” 伊秉綬在揚州. *Shupu* 書譜 51 (1983): 17-20.
- Li Yixing 李義興. *Lidai mingbei fengge shangping* 歷代名碑風格賞評. Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishuyuan chubanshe, 1999.
- Li Yufen 李玉棻. *Ouboluo shi shuhua guomu kao* 甌鉢羅室書畫過目攷. Reprint, Shanghai: Chaoji shuzhuang, 1921.
- Li Yung-ti. *The Anyang Bronze Foundries: Archaeological Remains, Casting Technology, and Production Organization*. Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 2003.
- Li Yusun 李遇孫. *Jinshi xuelu* 金石學錄. 1824. Reprint, Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1914.
- Li Zhigang 李志綱, ed. *Zhongguo gudai beitie taben* 中國古代碑帖拓本. Beijing: Beijing daxue tushuguan; Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwu guan, 2001.
- Liang Baiquan 梁白泉. *Yixing zisha* 宜興紫砂. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990.

- Liang Tongshu 梁同書. *Guyaoqi kao* 古窯器考. In *Taoci bulu* 陶瓷譜錄, vol. 1, edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, 135-164. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968.
- Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅. *Tui'an suibi* 退菴隨筆. Vol. 1197 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 173-466. Daoguang period. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ji'an shi shulu: Qingdai mingren shuhua jia cidian* 吉安室書錄: 清代名人書畫家辭典, Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 2003.
- Liu, Cary Y., et al. *Recarving China's Past: Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of the "Wu Family Shrines."* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Rethinking Recarving: Ideals, Practices, and Problems of the "Wu Family Shrines" and Han China.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Art Museum, 2008.
- Liu Dongqin 劉東芹. "Wen Peng wannian shufa zhanke huodong ji liangjing xingji kaoshu" 文彭晚年書法篆刻活動及兩京行跡考述. *Shuhua yishu xuekan* 書畫藝術學刊 3 (2007): 431-448.
- Liu Heng 劉恆. *Zhongguo shufashi: Qingdai juan* 中國書法史: 清代卷. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999.
- Liu Shuoshi 劉碩識. *Zhuke yishu* 竹刻藝術. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1996.
- Liu Zhengcheng 劉正成. *Zhongguo shufa jianshang dacidian* 中國書法鑒賞大辭典. Beijing: Dadi chubanshe, 1989.
- Liu Zhengcheng, Huang Dun 黃惇, and Cao Jun 曹軍, ed. *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集, vol. 54. Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1995.
- Liu Zhengcheng, Huang Dun 黃惇, and Zhou Jiyin 周積寅, ed. *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集, vol. 65. Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1997.

- Lu Huiwen 盧慧紋. “Han bei tuhuachu wenzhang—cong Jining zhouxue de Han bei tan shiba shiji houqi de fangbei huodong” 漢碑圖畫出文章—從濟寧州學的漢碑談十八世紀後期的訪碑活動. *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立台灣大學美術史研究集刊 26 (2009:3): 37-92.
- Lü Shunxiang 呂舜祥. “Jiading de zhuke” 嘉定的竹刻. In *Zhuke* 竹刻, edited by Wang Shixiang 王世襄, 88-123. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991.
- Luo Fuyi 羅福頤, ed. *Qin Han Nan Beichao guanyin zhengcun* 秦漢南北朝官印征存. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987.
- Luo Shuzi 羅叔子. “Shilun “Xiling sijia” de zhuanke yishu” 試論西泠四家的篆刻藝術. *Xiling yicong* 西泠藝叢 2 (April 1980): 6-8.
- Luo Yanqing 駱彥卿 and Shuai Ciping 帥茨平. *Zhongguo zisha tulu* 中國紫砂圖錄. Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 2000.
- Ma Guoquan 馬國權. “Mouzhuhan ji qi xingti chutan” 繆篆及其形體初探. *Shupu* 書譜 36 (1980): 3-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Yi Moqing xiansheng nianbiao” 伊墨卿先生年表. *Shupu* 書譜 51 (1983): 38-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Zhuanke jifa zhong de zhuanfa wenti” 篆刻技法中的篆法問題. *Shupu* 書譜 64 (1985): 56-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Qingdai zhuan shu gailun” 清代篆書概論. *Shupu* 書譜 80 (1988): 62-69.
- Ma Ziyun 馬子雲. “Tan Wu Liang ci huaxiang de Song ta yu Huang Yi taben” 談武梁祠畫象的宋拓與黃易拓本. *Gugong bowuyuan kan* 故宮博物院刊 2 (1960): 170-177.

- Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍. *Shulin zaojian* 書林藻鑑. 1935. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Shulin zaojian Qingdai pian* 書林藻鑑清代篇. In vol. 86 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊, 1-278. 193. Reprint, Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- Mao Ziliang 茅子良, ed. *Zhongguo lidai yishu: shufa zhuanke bian* 中國歷代藝術：書法篆刻編. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994.
- Matsui Joryū 松井如流. “Chin Mansei” 陳曼生. *Shohin* 書品 11 (November-December 1950): 5.
- McNair, Amy. “Engraved Calligraphy in China: Recension and Reception.” *Art Bulletin* 77:1 (March 1995): 106-14.
- Mi Fu 米芾. “Yan shi” 硯史. In *Yan shi (ji qita sizhong)* 硯史（及其他四種）, 1-8. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
- Miles, Steven B. *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity In Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.
- Min Erchang 閔爾昌. *Beizhuanji bu* 碑傳集補. In *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊, vols. 120-123. Reprint, Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- Mok, Harold, ed. *Double Beauty II: Qing Dynasty Couplets from the Lechangzai Xuan Collection* 合璧聯珠二：樂常在軒藏清代楹聯, Hong Kong: Art Museum, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007.
- Monk Dashou 釋達受. *Xiaolutian an shichao* 小綠天盒詩鈔. In *Liuzhou: Yiwei jinshiseng de yishu shijie* 六舟：一位金石僧的藝術世界, edited by Zhejiangsheng bowuguan 浙江省博物館, 277-289. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2014.

- Mote, Frederick W. “The Intellectual Climate in Eighteenth-century China: Glimpses of Beijing, Suzhou and Yangzhou in the Qianlong Period.” *Phoebus* 6:1 (Tempe, 1988): 17-55.
- Nie Chongzheng 聶崇正. “Qing chu liujia ji qi huihua yishu” 清初六家及其繪畫藝術. In *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian* 中國美術全集：繪畫編, vol. 10, 1-12. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989.
- Oku Genpō 奧玄寶. *Meitsuboi zuroku* 茗壺圖錄. In *Zisha guji jinyi* 紫砂古籍今譯. Translated by Han Qilou 韓其樓, 59-130. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2011.
- Onoe Hachirō 尾上八郎 and Shimonaka Kunihiko 下中邦彥. *Shodō zenshū* 書法全集, vol. 24. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, ??.
- Ouyang Zhongshi, et al. *Chinese Calligraphy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Pang Yuanji 龐元濟. *Xuzhai mingtao tulu* 虛齋名陶圖錄. China, 1910s.
- Peng Yuncan 彭蘊燦. *Lidai huashi huizhuan* 歷代畫史彙傳. Reprint, Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1956.
- Qi Gong 啓功. “Cong Henan beike tan gudai shike shufa yishu” 從河南碑刻談古代石刻書法藝術. In *Qi Gong congkao* 啓功叢稿, 113-123. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Shang Zhou zhi Qin Han shufa* 中國美術全集：書畫篆刻編，商周至秦漢書法, vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Zhongguo shufa dacheng: Zhongguo lidai moji, Qing* 中國書法大成：中國歷代墨跡, 清, vol. 8. Zhongguo shudian chubanshe, 1991.
- Qi Yuan 齊淵. *Deng Shiru shufa biannian mulu* 鄧石如書法編年圖目. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010.

- Qian Chaoding 錢朝鼎. *Shuikeng shi ji* 水坑石記. In vol. 38 of *Guojia tushuguan cang guji yishu leibian* 國家圖書館藏古籍藝術類編, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀, 357-362. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004.
- Qian Dian 錢坫. *Shiliu changletang guqi kuanshi kao* 十六長樂堂古器款識考. In vol. 5 of *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀, 573-758. 1796. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004.
- Qian Dingyi 錢定一. *Zhongguo minjian meishu yiren zhi* 中國民間美術藝人志. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987.
- Qian Lin 錢林. *Yushan caotang xuji* 玉山草堂續集. Yueya tang congshu 粵雅堂叢書. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen, 1965.
- Qian Yong 錢泳. *Lüyuan conghua* 履園叢話. Vols. 813-814 of *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xuji* 近代中國史料叢刊續輯. Yonghe: Wenhai chubanshe, 1981.
- Qin Cuangong 秦爨公. *Yinzhi* 印指. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 197-200. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Qin Ming 秦明. “Huang Yi jingyan taben heji · Wu shi shishi shizhu yanming 黃易鏡研拓本合輯·武氏石室石柱研銘,” Palace Museum in Beijing, accessed November 25, 2017, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/impres/231835.html>.
- Qin Zuyong 秦祖永. *Tongyin lunhua* 桐陰論畫. 1925. Reprint, Taipei: Wenguang tushu gongsi, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qijia yinba* 七家印跋. In *Zhuanke xue* 篆刻學, edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, 139-256. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966.

Qiu Xuemin 邱學敏. *Baishi'er jia molu tici* 百十二家墨錄題詞. Siku weishou shu jikan 四庫未收書輯刊, 535-580. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2002.

Rong Geng 容庚. *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考. Beijing: Havard-Yenching Institute, 1941.

Ruan Yuan 阮元. *Xiaocanglang bitan* 小滄浪筆談. Yangzhou; Ruan shi, 1842.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dingxiangting bitan* 定香亭筆談. Hangzhou: Zhejiang shuju, 1899.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Yanjing shi san ji* 掣經室三集, Wenxuan lou congshu 文選樓叢書. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bazhuan yinguan kezhu ji* 八甄吟館刻燭集, Baibu congshu jicheng 百部叢書集成. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Liang Zhe youxuan lu* 兩浙輶軒錄. China: Renhe Zhu shi, 1801.

Ruan Yuan and Zhu Weibi 朱為弼. *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識. Vol. 21 of Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀. Qing Dynasty. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004.

Sha Menghai 沙孟海. “Yinxue xingcheng de jige jieduan” 印學形成的幾個階段. *Xiling yicong* 西泠藝叢 3 (March 1981): 7.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Bei yu tie” 碑與帖. In *Sha Menghai lunshu congshu* 沙孟海論書叢書, 161-171. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1987.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Jin sanbainian de shuxue” 近三百年的書學. In *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: lishi wenmai pian* 二十世紀書法研究叢書：歷史文脈篇, edited by Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 1-27. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Shufashi shang de ruogan wenti” 書法史上的若干問題. In *Sha Menghai quanji* 沙孟海全集, vol. 5, 83-88. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Yinxue shi” 印學史. In *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 6, 3-156. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Liang Jin Nanbeichao shuji de shuti yu keti” 兩晉南北朝書跡的書體與刻體. In *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 5, 108-111.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Mantan beitie keshou wenti” 漫談碑帖刻手問題. In *Sha Menghai quanji*, vol. 5, 122-124.
- Shang Chengzuo 商承祚. “Lun Dong Jin de shufa fengge bingji Lantingxu” 論東晉的書法並及蘭亭序. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao: zhexue shehui kexue ban* 中山大學學報：哲學社會科學版 1 (1996): 25-39.
- Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, ed. *Weiyang zuotian: Shanghai bowuguan cang yan jingcui* 惟硯作田：上海博物館藏硯精粹. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2015.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ming Qing zhuanke xuan* 明清篆刻選. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1984.
- Shao Xiping 邵喜平. “Shu Shi zhuan kao” 蜀師磚考, *Yinxue yanjiu* 印學研究 12 (2018): 102-106.
- Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, ed. *Mingren yinglian moji* 名人楹聯墨跡. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000.



- Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館, ed. *Shanghai tushuguan cang shanben beitie* 上海圖書館藏善本碑帖. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005.
- Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍, ed. *Ming Qing mingren chidu mobao* 明清名人尺牘墨寶. Reprint, Taibei: Yonghai chubanshe, 1975.
- Sheng Shuqing 盛叔清. *Qingdai huashi zengbian* 清代畫史增編. Vol. 78 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊. Reprint, Taibei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- Shi Anchang 施安昌, ed. *Mingbei shanben* 名碑善本. *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin daxi* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品大系. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2008.
- Shi Bing 史炳, Li Jingyi 李景嶧, and others. *Liyang xianzhi* 溧陽縣志. Vol. 470 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書. 1896. Reprint, Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983.
- Soong Shu Kong 宋緒康, Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, and Anita Wong 黃燕芳. *Tea, Wine and Poetry: Qing Dynasty Literati and their Drinking Vessels* 詩酒茶情：清代製壺名家遺珍. Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong, 2006.
- Shoudu bowuguan 首都博物館, ed. *Shoudu bowuguan cang mingyan* 首都博物館藏名硯. Beijing: Beijing gongyi meishu chubanshe, 1997.
- Starr, Kenneth. *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Stuart, Jan. "Beyond Paper: Chinese Calligraphy on Objects." *Antiques* 148, no. 4 (October 1995): 502-513.
- Sun Weizu 孫慰祖. *Sun Weizu lun yin wengao* 孫慰祖論印文稿. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chen Hongshou zhuanke* 陳鴻壽篆刻. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2007.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Qingdai zhuyin santi” 清代竹印三題. In *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會論文集, edited by Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, 155-170. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014.
- Sun Xinyang 孫星衍. “Gujing jinshe timing beiji” 詒經精舍題名碑記. In *Pingjinguang wengao* 平津館文稿, vol. 2, 20a-27a. Suzhou: Zhu shi jiashu jiaokan, 1886.
- Sun Xun 孫洵. *Qingdai Qian Jia xuepai yu shufa* 清代乾嘉學派與書法. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2005.
- Takei Shiho 武井志步. “Chin Kōju reisho ni okeru gasenben kara no juyō ni tsuite” 陳鴻壽隸書における瓦磚文からの受容について. *Calligraphy Art Studies* 書藝術研究 4 (2011): 33-40.
- Tang Yun 唐雲 and Zheng Zhong 鄭重. *Zishahu jianshang* 紫砂壺鑑賞. Hong Kong: Wanli jigou, Wanli shudian chuban, 1993.
- Tang Yun yishuguan 唐云藝術館, ed. *Mansheng yiyun: Chen Hongshou de shahu, shuhua, zhuanke yishu* 曼生遺韻：陳鴻壽的紫砂壺，書畫，篆刻藝術. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010.
- Tang Zhongmian 唐仲冕 and Duan Qi 段琦, et al. *Jiaqing xinxiu Jingxi xianzhi* 嘉慶新修荊溪縣志. In *Wuxi wenku* 無錫文庫, *di 1 ji*, 143-258. 1797. Reprint, Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2011.
- Tao Jiming 陶繼明. “Lun wenren yashi yu zhuke de guanxi” 論文人雅士與竹刻的關係. In *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, edited by Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, 386-397. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014.

- Tianjin bowuguan 天津博物館, ed. *Tianjin bowuguan cang yan* 天津博物館藏硯. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012.
- Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan 天津市藝術博物館, ed. *Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan cang yan* 天津市藝術博物館藏硯. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979.
- Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe 天津人民美術出版社, ed. *Zhongguo lidai lishu zhenji* 中國歷代隸書珍跡. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2002.
- Tokuami Shuntō 德綱春濤, et al. *I Heiju Kei Fu* 伊秉綬 桂馥. Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1987.
- Tong Yanfang 童衍方. *Jinshi qishou: jinshijia shuhua mingke tezhan tulu* 金石齊壽：金石家書畫銘刻特展圖錄. Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian chubanshe, 2016.
- Tsao Jung Ying. *Chinese Paintings of the Middle Qing Dynasty*. San Francisco: San Francisco Graphic Society, 1987.
- Tsien Tsuen-hsuei. *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, part 1: Paper and Printing. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Tu Long 屠隆. *Kaopan yushi* 考盤餘事, *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編. Taipei: Taipei Shanwu yinshuguan, 1966.
- Tu Zhuo 屠倬. *Shicheng tang ji* 是程堂集. Vol. 1517 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 263-394. 1814. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Shicheng tang erji* 是程堂二集. Vol. 1517 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 395-446. 1821. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- Wan Qingli 萬青力. *The Century Was Not Declining in Art: A History of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Painting* 並非衰落的百年：十九世紀中國繪畫史. Taibie: Xiongshi tushu gongsi, 2005.

- Wang Beiyue 王北岳. *Zhuanke yishu: ji wenzi, bimo, diaoke yishu yu fangcun* 篆刻藝術: 集文字、筆墨、雕刻藝術於方寸. Taipei: Hanguang wenhua shiye gufen gongsi, 1985.
- Wang Chang 王昶. *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編. 1871-1872. Reprint, Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Huhai shi zhuan* 湖海詩傳. Taipei: Taipei Shangwu yinshuguan, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Puhe shanfang shihua* 蒲褐山房詩話. *Gujin shihua xubian* 古今詩話續編. 1850. Reprint, Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1973.
- Wang Chichen 王際真. *Reproductions of Chinese Rubbings: Taken from Inscriptions Cut in Stone, Wood and Also from Bronzes, Monuments and Other Bas-reliefs*. New York: Huxley House, 1938.
- Wang Daiwen 王代文 and Cai Hongru 蔡鴻茹, ed. *Zhonghua guyan* 中華古硯. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998.
- Wang Dongling 王冬齡. “Jin Dongxin de shufa yishu” 金冬心的書法藝術. *Shupu* 書譜 35 (1980): 32-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Beixue jubo Deng Shiru” 碑學巨擘鄧石如. *Shupu* 書譜 39 (1981): 28-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Chen Mansheng de shufa zhuanke yishu” 陳曼生的書法篆刻藝術. *Shupu* 書譜 58 (March 1984): 66-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Zhuanke yu beixue” 篆刻與碑學. In *Yinxue luncong* 印學論叢, edited by Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, 265-271. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1987.
- Wang Hanqing 王漢卿. ““Suzhou pian” de fuyuan yanjiu” “蘇州片”的復原研究, *Zhongguo kejishi zazhi* 中國科技史雜誌 37: 2 (2015): 203-212.

- Wang Hong 汪鴻, Guo Lin, and Chen Hongshou. *Taoye xingling* 陶冶性靈. In *Tea, Wine and Poetry: Qing Dynasty Literati and their Drinking Vessels* 詩酒茶情：清代製壺名家遺珍, by Soong Shu Kong 宋緒康, Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, and Anita Wong 黃燕芳, 185-199. Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Taoye xingling* 陶冶性靈. In *Chen Mansheng yanjiu* 陳曼生研究, by Xiao, Jianmin 蕭建民, 145-151. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011.
- Wang Jianhua 王健華, ed. *Gugong bowuyuan cang Yixing zisha* 故宮博物院藏宜興紫砂. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2007.
- Wang Jingxian 王靖憲, ed. *Zhongguo beike quanji: Han Sanguo Jin Shiliuguo* 中國碑刻全集：漢三國晉十六國, vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2010.
- Wang Qiangang 王潛剛. *Qing ren shuping* 清人書評. Shanghai: Xiushui xuehui, 1936.
- Wang Qishu 汪啓淑. *Xu yinren zhuan* 續印人傳. In *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, 79-204. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Feihongtang yinpu* 飛鴻堂印譜. Reprint, China: Lingshi shanfang, 1912-1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xu yinren zhuan* 續印人傳. In *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, edited by Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al., 79-204. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Han tongyin cong* 漢銅印叢. Prefaced 1752. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Wang Shixiang 王世襄. *Bamboo Carving of China*. New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America, 1983.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Zhuke zonglun” 竹刻總論. In *Zhu, mu, ya, jiao qi* 竹木牙角器. Vol. 11 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji: gongyi meishu bian* 中國美術全集：工藝美術編, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui* 中國美術全集編輯委員會, 1-15. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Cijun jingyan lu” 此君經眼錄. In *Zhuke*, edited by Wang Shixiang, 124-139. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991.
- Wang Shuyu 王舒羽. “Laotao fangbi kuang: Chen Hongshou huaguo ceye shangxi” 老饕放筆狂：陳鴻壽花果冊頁賞析. *Shoucangjia* 收藏家 10 (2014) : 58-61.
- Wang Weimin 王衛民. “Huaiyuan miaobei mantan” 淮源廟碑漫談. In *Huaiyuan miao bei* 淮源廟碑, edited by Liu Canzhang 劉燦章, 1-2. Zhengzhou: Henan meishu chubanshe, 2010.
- Wang Yongni 王詠霓 and Chen Zhongying 陳鍾英, et al. *Huangyan xianzhi: Zhejiang sheng* 黃巖縣志：浙江省. Vol. 211 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書. 1877. Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975.
- Watt, James C. Y. “The Literati Environment.” In *The Chinese Scholar’s Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period: An Exhibition from the Shanghai Museum*, edited by Chu-Tsing Li and James C.Y. Watt, 1-13. New York: Asia Society Galleries in association with Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Wei, Betty Peh-T’i. *Ruan Yuan, 1764-1849: The Life and Work of a Major Scholar-official in Nineteenth-Century China Before the Opium War*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006.
- Wei Xizeng 魏錫曾. *Jiyutang tiba* 續語堂題跋. In vol. 2 of *Wei Jiasun quanji* 魏稼孫全集. 1883. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 19??.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Shu Laigutang canpu hou” 書賴古堂殘譜后. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 621-625. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Wu Rangzhi yinpu ba” 吳讓之印譜跋. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 706-707. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Wen Zhenheng 文震亨. *Zhangwu zhi jiaozhu* 長物志校注, annotated by Chen Zhi 陳植. Nanjing: Jiangsusheng Xinhua shudian, 1984.
- Weng Fanggang 翁方綱. “Liyun kaozheng” 隸韻考證. In Liu Qiu 劉球 (fl. 1175), *Liyun* 隸韻, vol. 6. China; Jiangdu Qin Enfu mokan Song shike taben, 1809.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Fuchu zhai wenji* 復初齋文集. Vol. 421 of *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊. 1877. Reprint, Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969.
- Wu Hao 吳顥 and Wu Zhenyu 吳振棫. *Guochao Hangjun shiji* 國朝杭郡詩輯. 1874. Reprint, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1988.
- Wu Hung. *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “On Rubbings: Their Materiality and Historicity.” In *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, edited by Patrick Hanan, Judith T. Zeitlin et al., 29-72. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2003.
- Wu Jingqiang 吳景牆, et al. *Yixing Jingxi xianzhi* 宜興荊谿縣志. Vol. 156 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書. 1882. Reprint, Taipei, Chengwen chubanshe, 1974.
- Wu Qian 吳騫, ed. *Lunyin jueju* 論印絕句. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 974-1006. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yangxian mingtao lu* 陽羨名陶錄. In *Zisha mingtao dianji* 紫砂名陶典籍, edited by Gao Yingzi 高英姿, 24-48. Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yangxian mingtao xulu* 陽羨名陶續錄. In *Zisha mingtao dianji* 紫砂名陶典籍, edited by Gao Yingzi 高英姿, 49-55. Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yangxian moya jilu* 陽羨摩厓紀錄. In *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 3, vol. 7, 47-54. Reprint, Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Guoshan bei kao* 國山碑考, Baibu congshu jicheng 百部叢書集成. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968.
- Wu Tingkang 吳廷康. *Mutaoxuan guzhuang tulu* 慕陶軒古甌圖錄. China: n. p., 1851?.
- Wu Wenfu 吳文溥. *Nanyetang biji* 南野堂筆記. Shanghai: Zhonghua guocui shushe, 1912.
- Wu Xiang 無相. “Lun Wen Peng zai zhuanke shi shang de diwei he gongxian” 論文彭在篆刻史上的地位和貢獻, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 122 (2005): 78-96.
- Wu Xiu 吳修. *Zhaodai mingren chidu xiaozhuan* 昭代名人尺牘小傳. 1908. Reprint, Taizhong: Lide chubanshe, 1967.
- Wu Yangxian 吳仰賢 and Xu Yaoguang 許瑤光, et al. *Jiaying fuzhi* 嘉興府志. Vol. 53 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書. 1879. Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970.
- Wu Yin 吳隱, carved in reduced scales; Guo Bingnan 郭並南, Ying Meng 應萌, and Qiao Yajun 喬雅俊, wrote commentaries. *Ming Qing mingjia yinglian shufa jicui* 明清名家楹聯書法集粹. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004.



- Wu Zhenyu 吳振棫. *Guochao Hangjun shi xuji* 國朝杭郡詩續輯. 1876. Reprint, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1988.
- Wu Zhihe 吳智和. “Ming ren chashu yincha shenghuo wenhua” 明人茶書飲茶生活文化. *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 25:1 (1996): 161-188.
- Xia Junwei 夏俊偉 and Han Qilou 韓其樓, ed. *Zhongguo zisha minghu zhenshang* 中國紫砂茗壺珍賞. Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001.
- Xia Yiju 夏一駒. *Guyin kaolue* 古印考略. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 322-324. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Xiao Jianmin 蕭建民. *Chen Mansheng yanjiu* 陳曼生研究. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011.
- Xiao Yanyi 肖燕翼. “Xu” 序. In *Yangzhou huapai shuhua quanji: Jin Nong* 揚州畫派書畫全集 : 金農, 1-15. Tianjin: Tianjing meishu chubanshe, 2011.
- Xie Yumei 謝玉梅. “Tianjin bowuguan cang zhudiao shangxi” 天津博物館藏竹雕賞析. In *Zhuke guoji xueshu yantaohui* 竹刻國際學術研討會, edited by Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, 334-342. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2014.
- Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, ed. *Yi Bingshou lishu zitie* 伊秉綬隸書字帖. Xiling yinshe fatie congbian 西泠印社法帖叢編. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling bajia yinpu* 西泠八家印譜. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling sijia yinpu* 西泠四家印譜. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jinshijia zhencang shuhuaqi* 金石家珍藏書畫集. Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling housijia yinpu* 西泠后四家印譜. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1998.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling yinshe cangpinji* 西泠印社藏品集. Bainian Xiling 百年西泠. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Xiling bajia yinpu* 西泠八家印譜. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qingdai jinshijia shuhua jicui* 清代金石家書畫集粹. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2013.
- Xu Cishu 許次紓. *Cha shu* 茶疏. In *Zhongguo lidai chashu huibian jiaozhuben* 中國歷代茶書匯編校注本, edited by Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱 and Zhu zizhen 朱自振, 267-277. Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan youxian gongsi, 2007.
- Xu Dedun 徐德敦, ed. *Xiling yinshe gu tongyin xuan* 西泠印社古銅印選. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chuban, 1999.
- Xu Kang 徐康. *Qianchen mengying lu* 前塵夢影錄. Lingjian ge congshu 靈鷲閣叢書. Reprint, Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966.
- Xu Ke 徐珂. *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1986.
- Xu Mao 徐懋. Preface to *Zhongyu xianguan yinpu* 種榆仙館印譜, by Chen Hongshou 陳鴻壽, unpagged. China, 1821.
- Xu Shangda 徐上達. *Yinfa cantong* 印法參同. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 120-155. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Xu Shichang 徐世昌. *Guiyunlou yanpu* 歸雲樓硯譜. Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 1999.
- Xu Xiutang 徐秀棠. *Yixing zisha chuantong gongyi* 宜興紫砂傳統工藝. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2010.

- Xue Longchun 薛龍春. “Lun Qingdai beixue yi zhenxing” 論清代碑學以振興漢隸為起點. In *Zhongguo shufashi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中國書法史學國際學術研討會論文集, 298-304. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2000.
- Xue Yongnian 薛永年. “Qingdai zhuanke chulun” 清代篆刻芻論. *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 89 (September 2000): 19-21.
- Yang Fan 楊帆. “Chen Hongshou lishu fengge ji qi shifa chutan” 陳鴻壽隸書風格及其師法初探. 158-163.
- Yang Guodong 楊國棟. “Huang Yi huodong nianbiao jianbian” 黃易活動年表簡編. In *Huang Yi yu jinshixue lunji* 黃易與金石學論集, edited by Qin Ming 秦明, 372-397. Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2012.
- Yang Han 楊涵, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian* 中國美術全集：繪畫編, vol. 11. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988.
- Yang Shoujing 楊守敬. *Yang Shoujing ji* 楊守敬集, edited by Xie Chengren 謝承仁. Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Xueshu erylun” 學書邇言. In *Lidai shufa lunwenxuan xubian* 歷代書法論文選續編, edited by Cui Erping 崔爾平, 711-743. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993.
- Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, ed. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: shuhua zhuanke bian, Sui Tang Wudai shufa* 中國美術全集：書畫篆刻編, 隋唐五代書法. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989.
- Yang Wentao 楊文濤, ed. *Gui Fu lishu zashu ce* 桂馥隸書雜書冊. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2003.

- Ye Ming 葉銘. *Zaixu yinren xiaozhuan* 再續印人小傳. In *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al., 205-334. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Guang yinren zhuan* 廣印人傳. In *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, 335-444. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Guochao huajiashu xiaozhuan* 國朝畫家書小傳. In vol. 81 of *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊. Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- Ye Yanlang 葉衍蘭, Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽, and Chen Zuwu 陳祖武, ed. *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan jiaobu* 清代學者象傳校補. Reprint, Beijing, Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017.
- Ye Yiwei 葉一葦. *Zhuanke congtan* 篆刻叢談. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Chonglun Zhepai” 重論浙派. In *Qingdai Zhepai yinfeng* 清代浙派印風, edited by Huang Dun 黃惇 and Yu Zheng 余正, 1-19. Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhongguo zhuanke shi* 中國篆刻史. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chuban faxing, 2000.
- Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬. *Liuchun caotang shichao* 留春草堂詩鈔. Guangzhou: Qiushui yuan, 1815.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yi Bingshou shuhua ji* 伊秉綬書畫集. Aomen: Haiwai tushu chubanshe, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yi Bingshou lishu moji xuan* 伊秉綬隸書墨跡選. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1985.
- Ying Chenyi 應成一. “Beixue yu tiexue” 碑學與帖學. In *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: kaoshi bianyi pian* 二十世紀書法研究叢書：考識辨異篇, edited by Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 130-153. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2000.
- Yu Minzhong 于敏中 and others, ed. *Xiqing yanpu: Qinding Siku quanshu* 西清硯譜：欽定四庫全書. 1933. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010.

- Yu Zheng 余正. “Chulun Ding Jing (xia)” 初論丁敬 (下), *Zhuanke* 篆刻 4 (2005): 13-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhepai zhuanke shangxi* 浙派篆刻賞析. Hangzhou, Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2016.
- Yue Jun 樂鈞. *Qingzhi shanguan shiji; Qingzhi shanguan pianti wenji; Duanshui ci* 青芝山館詩集; 青芝山館駢體文集; 斷水詞. In vol. 481 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編, 69-346. 1817. Reprint; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- Zhai Tunjian 翟屯建. *Huipai zhuanke* 徽派篆刻. Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 2005.
- Zhai Yunsheng 翟雲升. *Lipian* 隸篇. 1837-1838. Reprint; Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970.
- Zhang Dai 張岱. *Tao'an mengyi* 陶菴夢憶. *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tao'an mengyi, Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶, 西湖夢尋. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982.
- Zhang Di 張迪. “Gui Fu de jiaoyou、zhushu he lishu chuangzao yanjiu” 桂馥的交游、著述和隸書創造研究. MA thesis, Nanjing University, 2016.
- Zhang Hao 張灝, ed. *Xueshantang yinpu* 學山堂印譜. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Zhang Jian 張鑑, et al. *Ruan Yuan nianpu* 阮元年譜. Beijing; Zhonghua shuju, 1995.
- Zhang Shufen 張淑芬, ed. *Wenfang sibao: zhiyan* 文房四寶: 紙硯. Vol. 48 of *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin quanji* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品全集. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005.
- Zhang, Tingji 張廷濟. *Qingyige suocang guqiwu wen* 清儀閣所藏古器物文. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Liuquan shibu taben shiji* 六泉什布拓本什記. China: publisher unidentified, 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhang Shuwei jieyuan suocang jinshi wenzi* 張叔未解元所藏金石文字. Sihui: Yanshi Heyuanzhai, 1884.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qingyige jinshi wenzi tapian* 清儀閣金石文字拓片. Vol. 5 of *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀, 553-572. Rpt., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qingyige zayong* 清儀閣雜詠. In vol. 1 of *Ming Qing ren tiba* 明清人題跋, edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, 579-616. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Guixintang ji* 桂馨堂集. In vol. 490 of *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編, 325-482. 1821-1850. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qingyige tiba* 清儀閣題跋. Suzhou: Suzhou zhenxin shushe, 1893.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qingyi laoren yimo* 清儀老人遺墨. 1918. Reprint; Shanghai: Tianzhen yinshuju, undated.
- Zhang Tingji et al. *Qianzai yishi* 千載一時. In *Qianzai yishi: Shi Dabin Han fanghu taben tiyong ce kao* 千載一時: 時大彬漢方壺拓本題咏冊考, by Chen Shenghong, 7-41. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.
- Zhang Yanchang 張燕昌. *Chongding Jinshiqi* 重定金石契. China: Liu Congshi, 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yangxian tao shuo* 陽羨陶說, 35-36. Quoted in Wu Qian 吳騫, *Yangxian mingtao lu* 陽羨名陶錄. In *Zish mingtao dianji* 紫砂名陶典籍, edited by Gao Yingzi 高英姿, 24-48. Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yushan pu* 羽扇譜. In vol. 1111 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, edited by Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍, 673-680. 1849. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jinsu jian shuo* 金粟箋說. In vol. 3 of *Yuyuan congkan shizhong* 娛園叢刻十種, edited by Xu Zhen 許增. Reprint, Hangzhou: Hangzhou guji shudian fuyin, 1982.
- Zhang Yao 張耀, ed. *Zhongguo lidai lishu zhenji* 中國歷代隸書珍跡, vols. 1-3. Tianjin: Tianjin meishu chubanshe, 2002.
- Zhang Yuanqing 張元慶. *Gudai shiren yu yan zhi yanjiu* 古代士人與硯之研究. Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2005.
- Zhang Yuming 張郁明. “Sifeng pai yu Xiling sijia” 四鳳派與西泠四家. *Xiling yicong* 西泠藝叢 25 (1990): 6-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Lun Huizong zhi goucheng ji qi yishu fengge zhi shanbian” 論徽宗之構成及其藝術風格之嬗變. In *Qingdai Huizong yinfeng (shang)* 清代徽宗印風 (上), edited by Huang Dun 黃惇 and Zhang Yuming, 1-55. Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2011.
- Zhang Zaixin 張在辛. “Zhuanyin xinfa” 篆印心法. *Shufa* 書法 3 (1984): 38-40.
- Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫. “Yinshi xu” 印史序. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 502-503. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠. *Jinshi lu* 金石錄. In vol. 12 of *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編, 8799-8984. Reprint, Taipei; Xinwenfeng chuban, 1977.
- Zhao Yu 趙羽. *Huaixiu yawu: Suzhou zheshan* 懷袖雅物：蘇州摺扇. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2010.

- Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙. “Shu Yangzhou Wu Rangzhi yingao” 書揚州吳讓之印稿. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, edited by Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 707-709. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.
- Zhejiangsheng bowuguan 浙江省博物館, ed. *Liuzhou: Yiwei jinshiseng de yishu shijie* 六舟：一位金石僧的藝術世界. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2014.
- Zhi Kan 智龕. “Pan Xifeng de zhugen yin” 潘西鳳的竹根印. In *Yilin conglu* 藝林叢錄, vol. 8, 331-334. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.
- Zhong Jingwei 鍾經緯. “Yi wei xuezhexing de shufajia de yishu shijie” 一位學者型的書法家的藝術世界：淺析桂馥的書法篆刻藝術, *Lishi wenwu* 歷史文物 153 (2006): 38-46.
- Zhong Wei 仲威 and Shen Zhuanfeng 沈傳鳳. *Gumo xinyan—Chunhua getie zongheng tan* 古墨新硯—淳化閣帖縱橫談. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003.
- Zhongguo gudai huihua jianding zu 中國古代繪畫鑑定組, ed. *Zhongguo huihua quanqi* 中國繪畫全集, vols. 25, 30. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001.
- Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 中國古代書畫鑑定組, ed. *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vols. 5, 11, 16. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986.
- Zhongguo Jiade guoji paimai youxian gongsi 中國嘉德國際拍賣有限公司, ed. *Zhongyao siren zhencang 1: Renmiaoxuan cang Zhongguo shufa jizhen: Zhongguo Jiade 2014 chunji paimaihui* 重要四人珍藏(一):仁妙軒藏中國書法集珍:中國嘉德 2014 春季拍賣會. Beijing: Zhongguo Jiade guoji paimai youxian gongsi, 2014.



- Zhongguo wenfang sibao quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國文房四寶全集編輯委員會, ed. *Zhongguo wenfang sibao quanji 2: yan* 中國文房四寶全集 2: 硯. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2007.
- Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國竹木牙角器全集編輯委員會, ed. *Zhongguo zhumu yajiao qi quanji* 中國竹木牙角器全集, vols. 1, 3. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009.
- Zhou Bogao 周伯高. *Yangxian minghu xi* 陽羨茗壺系. In *Zisha guji jinyi* 紫砂古籍今譯. Translated by Han Qilou 韓其樓, 1-20. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2011.
- Zhou Lianggong 周亮工. *Yinren zhuan* 印人傳. In *Ming Qing yinren zhuan jicheng* 明清印人傳集成, Zhou Liyuan 周櫟園, et al., 1-78. Reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Laigutang yinpu* 賴古堂印譜. Vol. 17 of *Zhou Lianggong quanji* 周亮工全集, edited by Zhu Tianshu 朱天曙. Reprint, Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2008.
- Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良. *Zhou Shaoliang xumo xiaoyan* 周紹良蓄墨小言. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2009.
- Zhou Wufang 周無方. “Zhuke jingyan tan” 竹刻經驗談. In *Zhuke*, edited by Wang Shixiang, 66-87. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991.
- Zhou Zhen 周振. “Wenren zhuanke daofaguan” 文人篆刻刀法觀. *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 131 (2006): 113-122.
- Zhu Jiajin 朱家潛, and Wang Shixiang, ed. *Zhumu yajiaoqi* 竹木牙角器. Vol. 11 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji: gongyi meishubian* 中國美術全集: 工藝美術編. Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1987.

Zhu Jian 朱簡. *Yin jing* 印經, in *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, ed. Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 160-167. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Yin zhang yaolun* 印章要論. In *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, ed. Han Tianheng 韓天衡, 167-171. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1985.

Zhu Peier 朱培爾. “Shilun Qingdai zhongye zhuanke yishu jueqi de biao zhi (xia)” 試論清代中葉篆刻藝術崛起的標誌（下）. *Zhongguo zhuanke* 中國篆刻 11 (1997): 25-29.

Zhu Suizhi 祝遂之. “Qingdai zhuan shu yishu shixi” 清代篆書藝術試析歷史文脈編. In *Ershi shiji shufa yanjiu congshu: lishi wenmai pian*, 364-380.

Zhu Weibi 朱為弼. *Jiguzhai zhongding kuanzhi gaoben* 積古齋鍾鼎款識稿本. Reprint, China: publisher unidentified, 1906.

Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊. *Shuo yan* 說硯. In vol. 38 of *Guojia tushuguan cang guji yishu leibian* 國家圖書館藏古籍藝術類編, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀, 349-356. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004.

Zou An 鄒安. *Guangcang yanlu* 廣倉研錄. Dongjingshi: Dongjing tang, 1981.