

Chen Yiwei

A Research on *Xu Hua Pin's Editions*

Abstract: *Xu Hua Pin* (《续画品》, *A Sequel to Appraisals of Ancient Paintings*), written by Yao Zui in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, is the second art appraisal book after Xie He's *Gu Hua Pin Lu* (《古画品录》). It is of prime importance in Chinese art literature. However, for a long time, the book *Xu Hua Pin* has been overshadowed by the Six Laws which were proposed by Xie He for evaluating paintings, and few scholars have conducted detailed textual criticism and research on it, resulting in the scarcity of satisfactory verified editions. Besides, without the sufficient understanding of the editions and sources of *Xu Hua Pin*, many scholars have mistakenly chosen inferior editions for their research, which leads to many errors. Therefore, by collecting and collating the existing editions of *Xu Hua Pin*, the author has clarified their relationship and finally verified the source of the edition of *Xu Hua Pin* published in Jiajing Period of the Ming Dynasty.

Keywords: Yao Zui; *Xu Hua Pin*; Editions

Xu Hua Pin, written by Yao Zui in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, is the second masterpiece on appraising famous painters after Xie He's *Gu Hua Pin Lu*. It has conducted evaluation on painters of the Song, Qi and Liang Dynasties, playing an indispensable role in the art history, the development of painting methodology and artistic evaluation terms in this period.

The scholars of various ages have focused on the Six Laws summarized in *Gu Hua Pin Lu*, causing the ignorance of *Xu Hua Pin* by Yao Zui for a long time. Before the compilation of *Siku Quanshu Zongmu* (《四库全书总目》) (Yong Rong, 1965: 952-953) in the Qing Dynasty (which includes a complete version of *Xu Hua Pin*), *Xu Hua Pin* was only mentioned occasionally in some calligraphy and painting description books. At the beginning of the 20th century, the studies on modern and traditional art history have sprung up. scholars such as Fu Zengxiang (Fu Zengxiang, 2009: 617), Yu Jiayi (Yu Jiayi, 1980: 775-776), Zhou Zhongfu (Zhou Zhongfu, 2009: 760) have conducted related researches on *Xu Hua Pin* through documentary survey and edition identification, finding that the earliest existing edition of *Xu Hua Pin* which was published in Jiajing Period of the Ming Dynasty has a long history. In addition, the years of Yao Zui's birth and death have gradually come to light.

During this period, Japanese scholars have conducted further research on *Xu Hua Pin*. Kinsha Shingo (Kinsha Shingo, 1924: 376-479.) made a binary comparison between Yao Zui and Xie He from the perspective of “the inner view (内观)” along with “the outer view (外观)” and that of “the spirit (精神)” along with “the form (形式).” He even made the following conclusion: Xie He’s “objectivism and realism (客观主义乃至写实主义)” and Yao Zui’s “subjectivism and bone-like method (主观主义乃至骨法主义, a way of using the brush and an important standard to judge a painter)” have led to the opposition between the Court Painting and the South Painting in later ages. However, the author believes that although Kinsha Shingo based his research on the literature documents, he failed to carefully investigate into the historical materials of the Six Dynasties in terms of the historical backgrounds. On the contrary, he examined the early art documents from a preconceived observational perspective like “valuing likeness and spirit (重形似与重精神)” and “Court Painting and Literati Painting (院画与文人画),” which have constituted the mainstream of the research on *Xu Hua Pin* for a long time and influenced a large number of Chinese and Japanese scholars, such as Shio Sakanishi (Shio Sakanishi, 1939: 58-65.), Wang Yachen (Wang Yachen, 1932: 169-176), Liu Haisu¹, etc. Even today, some scholars are still stuck in Kinsha Shingo’s view.

Selected Paintings of the Six Dynasties and Tang Dynasty by American scholar William Acker’s² represents the highest level of research on *Xu Hua Pin* among Western scholars. William Acker used *Wang’s Huayuan* (《王氏画苑》) as the base book (a book based on which other books are textual criticized), and *Jindai Mishu* (《津逮秘书》) and *Shuo Fu* (《说郛》) as the checked books to collate the full text of *Xu Hua Pin*, including its translations, amendments and notes. In his commentary on the collated text, he has skillfully explained some difficult words in *Xu Hua Pin* by quoting from various Chinese classics, such as *Book of Han* (《汉书》), *The Analects of Confucius* (《论语》), *Zhuangzi* (《庄子》), *Book of Jin* (《晋书》), *Huai Nan Zi* (《淮南子》) and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (《左传》). These explanations not only benefit the Western readers, but also provide important references for scholars who study art literature. However, it is unfortunate that William Acker did not use the edition of Jiajing Period for his collation.

¹ Liu Haisu, *The Six Laws of Chinese Painting*, Zhonghua Book Company, in the 20th Anniversary of the Republic of China (1931); reprinted by Shanghai People’s Fine Arts Publishing House in August, 1957.

² Dr. William R. B. Acker, *Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954 and 1974.

However, according to the author's research, since Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin* has been overshadowed by Xie He's "Six Laws" for a long time, few scholars have carried out detailed research on it. As a result, there has not been a satisfactory collated edition of *Xu Hua Pin* yet, let alone the study on the text of the book. The true value of *Xu Hua Pin* has not yet been recognized and explored. In addition, because many scholars lack the knowledge of the editions and the source system of *Xu Hua Pin*, they have mistakenly chosen inferior editions for their research and thus made many mistakes, which is pitiful for their research is based on the wrong texts.

For example, in the book *Guhua Ping Sanchong Kaoding* (《古画评三种考订》)¹ written by Shi Yan in 1941, the author did not clarify the relationship as well as the advantages and disadvantages among various editions of *Xu Hua Pin* in his collation, giving rise to his mistakenly change of "Xie and Lu (谢、陆)" into "Xie Yun (谢云)" in the sentence "Xie and Lu enjoy an unrealistic reputation (谢陆声过于实)." He also pointed out in his notes that "it is a grave error that *Shuo Fu*, *Wang's Huayuan* and *Jindai Mishu* recorded 'Xie Yun' as 'Xie and Lu'". However, except for *Shuo Fu*, *Wang's Painting Collection and Jindai Mishu* which are the block-printed books of late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, the other checked books like *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (《古今图书集成》), *Peiwenzhai Shuhua Pu* (《佩文斋书画谱》) and *Meishu Congshu* (《美术丛书》) are all from the middle and late Qing Dynasty and even from the Republic of China. It is a mistake to change the earlier text according to late one. Another example is Yu Jianhua's collated edition of *Xu Hua Pin*. Although his collation was mainly based on *Wang's Huayuan*, he also referred to some inferior editions. As a result, he omitted "always believe (始信)" in the sentence "always believe that songs of a highbrow type will find very few people to join in the chorus (始信曲高和寡)" and mistakenly change "show (有)" into "place (所)" in the sentence "so (the painters) show different degrees of their feelings (in the paintings) (斯乃情有抑扬)". He did not give any explanatory notes to these changes, and no one knows what editions he based his revisions on.

Therefore, it is particularly important to clarify the relationship among various editions of *Xu Hua Pin* and study their sources.

After the investigation, it is found that there are altogether 13 existing editions of *Xu Hua Pin*, including 11 block-printed editions and 2 manuscript

¹ Shi Yan, *Three Historic Works on the Criticism of Ancient Chinese Paintings*, Nanjing Meifengxiang Publisher, in the 35th years of the Republic of China (1946).

editions of the Qing Dynasty, among which the earliest one is the block-printed edition in Jiajing Period in the Ming Dynasty (hereinafter referred as “the Jiajing edition”). After collation and comparison, this paper has found that all later editions are originated in the Jiajing edition directly or indirectly. Thus, the Jiajing edition is considered as the earliest edition of the book in this research. However, due to the limited number of its existing copies, which is no more than ten globally according to statistics, it has always been ignored by scholars.

In the Jiajing edition, some entries are followed by double-lined notes. According to the official revision of *Siku Quanshu Zongmu*,¹ they are added by later generations instead of by Yao Zui himself:

Xu Hua Pin has categorized some painters together for appraisal, for example, Ji Baojun and Nie Song, Shi Sengzhen and Shi Sengjue, and Sakyamuni Buddha, Jidiju, and Moro Bodhi. Altogether there are 16 categories, with notes under the names occasionally. For instance, “Xiangdong Highness” is followed with the note of “He was conferred as the king of Xiangdong and once drew the paintings of *The Hibiscus* and *The Tripod*,” and “Mao Ling” with “A nephew of Hui Xiu.” All these notes seemed to be the original ones added by Yao Zui, but the note of “Zhang Sengyao,” i.e. “Wuxing native in the Liang of the Five Dynasties,” was definitely not from Yao Zui but from later generations (中嵇宝钧、聂松合一论，释僧珍、僧觉合一论，释迦佛陀、吉底俱、摩罗菩提合一论，凡为论十六则。名下间有附注，如“湘东殿下”条注曰：“梁元帝初封湘东王，尝画《芙蓉图》《醺鼎图》。”“毛稜”条下注曰：“惠秀姪。”似尚是最之本文。至“张僧繇”下注曰：“五代梁时吴兴人。”则决不出最手，盖皆后人所益也)。

The author firmly agrees with the argument that the note for “Zhang Senyao” was not from Yao Zui because of the wrong reference to “the Five Dynasties.” However, the officials composing *Siku Quanshu Zongmu* and later scholars did not conduct any further discussion of this note, nor mentioned the reason why they had decided that the Southern Liang Dynasty as one of the Five Dynasties (907-960).

After further research, the author has found that the general reference to the Northern and Southern Dynasties as “the Five Dynasties” began from the Tang Dynasty. In the 3rd year of Zhenguan Period (629), Emperor Tang Taizong ordered the revision of the history books of the previous six dynasties.

¹ Yong Rong and others of the Qing Dynasty, *Siku Quanshu Zongmu*, Zhonghua Book Company, 1965, pp. 952-953.

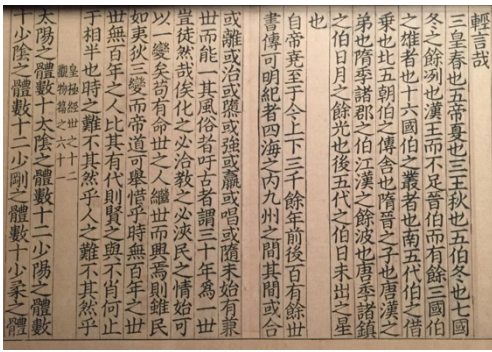


Fig.1: Collected by Shanghai Library, Shao Yong of the Song Dynasty, Shaozi Guanwu Pian (《邵子观物篇》), the block-printed edition published in the Song Dynasty, a version made of long folded rolls (经折装)

Since *Book of Wei* had already finished revising, the officials only needed to revise the history books of the five dynasties of Liang, Chen, Northern Qi, Northern Zhou and Sui. Emperor Tang Taizong ordered Yao Silian to compile *Book of Liang* and *Book of Chen*, Li Baiyao to compile *Book of Northern Qi*, Linghu Defen and Cen Wenben to compile *Book of Zhou*, and Wei Zheng, Yan Shigu and Kong Yingda to compile *Book of Sui*. By the 10th year of the Zhenguan Period, the five revised history books had been completed, which were referred by Emperor Tang Taizong as “the history books of the five dynasties.” Therefore, the Tang people began to call the history of Southern Liang, Southern Chen, Northern Qi, Northern Zhou and Sui as “the history of the five dynasties,” and this name had been used from the Tang Dynasty to the Song Dynasty since then.

In the Northern Song Dynasty, the name of “the Five Dynasties” was not only limited to Liang, Chen, Qi, Zhou, and Sui, but also included the entire Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589).¹ For example, the edition of *Shaozi Guanwu Pian* (《邵子观物篇》) published in the Song Dynasty, which is kept in Shanghai Library, is a masterpiece of Shao Yong, a Neo-Confucianism scholar of the Northern Song Dynasty.² In the 60th chapter of this edition, he called the Southern Dynasty as “the Southern Five Dynasties,” the Northern Dynasty as “the Northern Five Dynasties,” and the five dynasties of Liang, Tang, Jin, Han and Zhou (common names by later generations) as “the Later Five Dynasties.” This example shows that during the Northern Song Dynasty, the name of “the Five Dynasties” covered the entire Southern and Northern Dynasties.

There are more examples of “the Five Dynasties” in the Jiajing edition of Xie He's *Gu Hua Pin Lu*, such as the note of “a Wu native working for Emperor Songming during the period of the Five Dynasties (事五代宋明帝吴人)” for “Lu Tanwei (陆探微),” “a Wuxing native working for Sun Quan of the Wu Kingdom during the period of the Five Dynasties (五代吴时事孙权吴兴人)” for “Cao Buxing (曹不兴),” and “a person in the Jin Dynasty during the period of the Five Dynasties (五代晋时)” for “Wei Xie (卫协).”³ It can be inferred that among the base books consulted by the Jiajing edition, *Gu Hua Pin Lu* and *Xu Hua Pin* circulated as a whole, with the notes coming from the

¹ As for the detailed causes of the name “the history of the five dynasties” and the related examples from the Tang Dynasty to the early Song Dynasty, see Cang Xiuliang’s *The History of the Five Dynasties before Tang and the Historical Records of the Five Dynasties, Knowledge of Literature and History*, 1995, Volume 12.

² Shao Yong of the Northern Song Dynasty, *Shao's View on the World*, the 60th chapter, kept in the Shanghai Library, the block-printed edition published in the Northern Song Dynasty, a version made of long folded rolls.

³ Xie He, *Gu Hua Pin Lu*, the block-printed edition published in the Jiajing Period of the Ming Dynasty, p.1b.

same people. In addition, according to the notes referring to “the Five Dynasties” in these two books, it can be seen that “the Five Dynasties” refers to the period of “Southern and Northern Dynasties,” which had become increasingly unknown after *The History of the Five Dynasties* (Liang, Tang, Jin, Han, Zhou) written by Ouyang Xiu in the Song Dynasty, yet proposed again by some scholars during the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods in the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, it can be roughly determined that the earliest existing Jiajing edition originated from the manuscript copies from the Tang Dynasty to the Northern Song Dynasty, which have a long history.

In addition to the 13 versions of *Xu Hua Pin*, there are mainly five kinds of books that have quoted from *Xu Hua Pin* directly or indirectly, which are *Lidai Minghua Ji* (《历代名画记》), *Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation* (《太平御览》), *Lei Shuo* (《类说》), *Huishi Weiyan* (《绘事微言》), and *A Brief History of Painting* (《画史会要》). Among them, the block-printed edition of *Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation* published in the Southern Song Dynasty is of great reference value, for some of its quoted entries of *Xu Hua Pin* are different from those of the Jiajing edition. The earliest existing edition of *Lidai Minghua Ji* is also the Jiajing edition. The Taipei “National” Library has collected No. 06753 and No. 06754, while the Taipei Palace Museum has kept No. M52. The relationship among these three versions is complex yet will not be discussed in this paper,¹ for the differences and relationship between the quoted entries in *Lidai Minghua Ji* and the original entries of *Xu Hua Pin* have already been analyzed and translated in details in William Acker’s *Selected Paintings of the Six Dynasties and Tang Dynasty*.² Meanwhile, the quoted entries in *Lei Shuo* are quite different from the original entries in *Xu Hua Pin*, which can provide references and supplements to the research on it. Although the literature on its quoted entries is not of great help to clarify the relationship among various editions, it does give a glimpse of other possible editions and sources of the book. For example, the edition quoted in Zeng Zao’s *Lei Shuo* has no connection with other common editions which exist today.

In the next chapter, the author will make a comparative analysis of the 13 existing editions of *Xu Hua Pin* and also discuss the editions of the books which have quoted from it, thus clarifying the system of *Xu Hua Pin* editions.

Xu Hua Pin was written in the years between 550 and 552, before Emperor Liang Yuandi of the Southern Dynasties ascended the throne. Since

¹ Bi Fei, *An Essay on the Lidai Minghua Ji*, China Academy of Art Press, 2008.

² Dr. William R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954 and 1974.

then, the book had been circulating to the Tang Dynasty in the form of manuscripts. The earliest existing literature which records the book is *Lidai Minghua Ji* written in the middle of the 9th century,¹ whose earliest edition is the block-printed one came out in the Jiajing Period of the Ming Dynasty². In this Jiajing edition, Zhang Yanyuan quoted Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin* in a large amount, and the quotations are basically the same as the contents of the existing Jiajing edition, yet with many discrepancies between the words. According to Bi Fei's *An Essay on Lidai Minghua Ji*³ Zhang Yanyuan's quotations was not directly from the original *Xu Hua Pin*, but a retelling based on his memory. Therefore, the quotations in *Lidai Minghua Ji* are quite different from those in the Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin*.

Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation, which was written in the 8th year of Taiping Xingguo Period (976-984) of the Northern Song Dynasty, quoted altogether 39 items from *Lidai Minghua Ji* from Volume 751 to 752, many of which were originated in *Xu Hua Pin*. The block-printed Southern Song edition of *Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation*, which was the earliest book that contained the contents of *Xu Hua Pin*, was copied and included in the *Sibu Congkan Sanbian* (《四部丛刊三编》). After a comparative study with the Jiajing edition of *Lidai Minghua Ji*, one can find that there are many differences between them, which shows that these two editions are not of the same source. However, the Southern Song edition of *Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation* can help to clarify some words and sentences which are unclear in the Jiajing edition. For example, in *Xu Hua Pin*, Yao Zui describes Xie He as “being able to adjust his portrait-drawing methods for the world, and creating many subtle changes in drawing paintings (直眉曲鬓，与世事新，别体细微，多自赫始),” in which the meaning of the phrase “for the world (与世事新)” is unclear. In the Jiajing edition of *Lidai Minghua Ji*, this phrase is quoted as “by competing with the times(与时竞新),” which is quite different from the original one. And in the block-printed Song edition of *Tai Ping Imperial Appreciation*, the phrase was quoted as “for the new needs of the world (与世争新),” which is coherent in words and obviously the closest to Yao Zui's original meaning.

Zeng Zao in the Southern Song Dynasty also quoted three items of *Xu*

¹ Bi Fei, *An Essay on Lidai Minghua Ji*, China Academy of Art Press, 2008.

² The Taipei “National” Library had collected three block-printed Jiajing editions of *Lidai Minghua Ji*, which were numbered 06753, 06754 and 06755. The former two are still kept in the Taipei “National” Library while No. 06755 has been transferred to the library of Taipei Palace Museum and renumbered as M52. According to Bi Fei's research, No. 06754 is likely a Ming's copy of the Song edition, and No. 06755 is a reproduction of the Ming's copy. For details, please refer to Bi Fei's *An Essay on Lidai Minghua Ji*, *ibid*.

³ *Ibid*.

Hua Pin in his *Lei Shuo* (Zeng Zao, 1955:11-20)¹ in the 6th years of Shaoxing Period (1136), the earliest edition of which is the block-printed one published in the Tianqi Period of the Ming Dynasty. The book is based on hundreds of short stories since the Han Dynasty, collecting some true stories and compiling them into a collection. *Siku Quanshu Zongmu* mentions that “the book is a collection of extracts, yet it has not changed any words in the original stories according to the comparative studies on the existing editions(每书虽经节录, 其存于今者以原本相校, 未尝改窜一词).”² After the investigation of some extracts of *Xu Hua Pin* in *Lei Shuo*, such as the record of “Yuan Zhi(袁质)”:

His elegant demeanour had added his family’s reputation. Since the beginning of learning, he had shown a great interest in drawing. His brushwork was vigorous, which was different from his father’s painting(风力俊美, 不坠家声, 始于志学之年, 便有清癖, 昔见其笔势遒劲, 与父画不殊).

It can be seen that the extracts of *Xu Hua Pin* in *Lei Shuo* are quite different from those in the Jiajing edition, which shows that the two editions are not of the same source. Therefore, *Lei Shuo* has no relationship with other existing editions of *Xu Hua Pin* and it is significant to do a textual criticism.

Compiled with other seven books in the same time into one volume, the block-printed Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin* has many copies. Among them, the No.M52 which is kept in Taipei Palace Museum (formerly as No. 06755 in the Taipei “National” Library) and the ones collected by Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy and Shanghai Library are recorded as the block-printed edition of “*Gu Hua Pin Lu: A Volume of Eight Books*” published in the Wanli Period of the Ming Dynasty (Number: line 406589). This volume is often compiled with other painting books of the same time and recorded as *Wang’s Huayuan* by some other libraries, such as *Wang’s Painting Collection: The Remnant Nine out of the Original Fifteen Books* by Peking University Library (Number: LSB8544. It is the old collection of Li Shengduo, which was recorded as the Ming edition by Muxixuan Mu), *Wang’s Painting Collection: Thirty-seven Volumes* by China National Library (Number: 3253), and “*Wang’s Huayuan: The Remnant Thirty-three Volumes of the Thirteen Books out of the Original Thirty-seven Volumes of the Fifteen Books*” by Tianjin Library (Call

¹ Zeng Zao of the Song Dynasty, *Lei Shuo*, Volume 5, Literary Ancient Books Publishing House, 1955, pp. 19-20.

² The Official Revision of *Siku Quanshu*, Volume 135, Category of the ancient philosophers, No. 45, Class 1, Zhonghua Book Company, 1997, p. 1781.

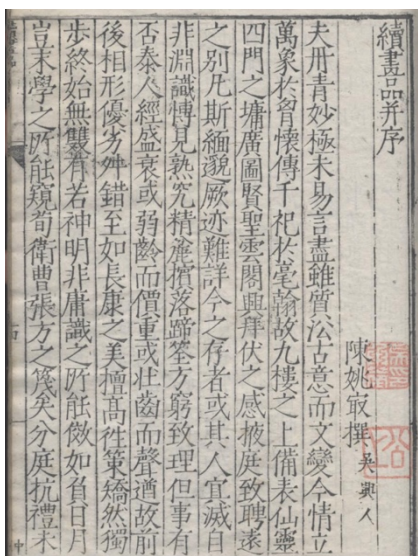


Fig.2: A photocopy of the Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin* in the Ming Dynasty

number: S1388). The so-called (*Wang's Painting Collection*) refers to the painting collection which was block-printed by Wang Shizhen (王世贞) in Yuyang (郟阳), and this edition disappeared immediately after its completion. So far there is no clear evidence to prove that it has a direct relationship with the Jiajing edition of Xu Hua Pin. Therefore, this argument will not be accepted by this paper. All of the above are different copies of the same edition, and the subsequent editions of *Xu Hua Pin* are all from this source. Only the block-printed *Baichuan Xuehai* (《百川学海》) of the late Ming collected Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin* titled as *Hou Hua Pin Lu* and was found no double-lines of small characters in the text. Through the analysis of textual criticism, the author believes that this edition also originated from the Jiajing edition, and the changes were caused by the common practices of the booksellers in the late Ming, who often tended to be unconventional and even tampered with the books like changing the titles and deleting the notes.

In the Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface*, each page has two vertical halves with 11 lines of 20 characters respectively. It also has a white book mouth (refers to the part of the book bound in the way of backpacking or thread binding which can be open like a mouth) and a black fish tail (refers to the graphic in the middle of the two vertical halves which is shaped like a fish tail and used to mark the folding suture). On the page heart (refers to the middle column between the two vertical halves, which is like the heart of the page), the title of the book is block-printed in the upper part, the number of the page in the middle part, and the name of the printer in the lower part found in three pages. And there is a printed character “Wan” in the fish tail. The No. M52 kept in Taipei Palace Museum was originally originally belonged to Ye Dehui's collection which was named *Collection of Block-printed Paintings of the Tang and Song Dynasties: A Volume of Nine Books*. It is true that Ye Dehui believes this collection shares similar style with the block-printed books of the Jiajing Period. He has also made a proper deduction when he concludes that *Shengchao Minghua Ping* (《圣朝名画评》), one of the nine books) is a Ming's copy of the Song edition for he had found that there were three parts in the book which avoided to offend the Song Dynasty by not mentioning the character “Song.” However, it is quite open to a discussion that whether it is appropriate to deduce No. M52 as a Ming's copy of the Song edition just because of the avoidance of the character “Song.” The format of *Shengchao Minghua Ping* is not exactly the same as the other eight books. For example, the title of the book is printed under the fish tail, while those of the other eight

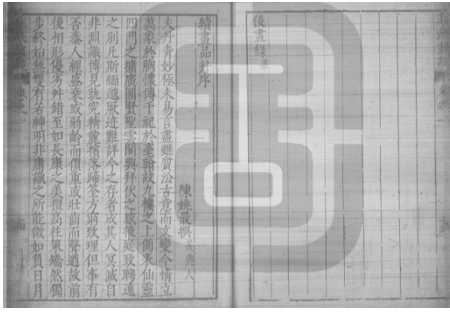


Fig.3: A photocopy of *Xu Hua Pin* included in *Wang's Huayuan* which was published in the 18th year of Wanli Period of the Ming Dynasty

books are printed in the upper part of the page heart. Therefore, it is also possible that these nine books were compiled into a volume by later generation.

The relationship between the Jiajing block-printed edition of *Xu Hua Pin* and the “*Hua Yuan* (画苑)” compiled by Wang Shizhen in the 2nd year of Wanli Period is still unclear, and it is hard to determine whether the common edition of *Wang's Huayuan* has a huge difference from the Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin*, because the so-called *Wang's Huayuan* is not the *Painting Collection* compiled by Wang Shizhen, but by Wang of Jinling. Wang Shizhen was from a prominent family in Taicang, and as Miu Quansun(繆荃孙) pointed out, Wang from Jinling “refers to Wang Mengqi instead of Yanzhou (the literary name of Wang Shizhen) (指王孟起，非弇州也).” Therefore, Wang from Jinling should be the bookseller named Wang Yuanzhen (王元贞，another name of Wang Mengqi). In the 10th volume of *Wang's Huayuan* which is titled “*Mi Haiyue's Review of Chinese Paintings* (《米海岳画史》),” there is a note of “reprinted by Wang’s Huainan Academy in May of the Geng Yin Year of the Wanli Period (1590) (万历庚寅岁夏五月王氏淮南书院重刊),” from which one can see that *Wang's Huayuan* was printed in the 18th year of Wanli Period. The reason why Wang Mengqi printed *Wang's Huayuan* has been clearly illustrated in Zhan Jingfeng’s(詹景凤) “Records on Publication.”¹ The books collected by Wang Yuanzhen were not all from his *Painting Collection*, because there were still other books on calligraphy and painting at that time. After a comparative study with the Jiajing edition, this paper finds that some words of *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* collected in *Wang's Huayuan* were collated according to the context meaning, and it is likely that reasoning was used in the collation of the edition. Therefore, *Wang's Huayuan* should originate from the Jiajing edition. In the Qing Dynasty, there appeared the reprinted copies of *Wang's Huayuan*, which were not collated and had a great number of mistakes with bad quality. Then in the period of the Republic of China, the reprinted copies of the block-printed Qing edition has been spread widely.

In the Ming Dynasty, Mao Jin from Yushan pressed *Jindai Mishu* in the Chongzhen Period. The 7th volume of this book includes a total of 11 painting articles from the Southern Qi Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty. These articles were all collated, but it was not clear which base books and checked books were chosen. The 7th volume is named *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* and its plate

¹ For details, please refer to Zhan Jingfeng, “Supplement Inscription for the Calligraphy Collection”, *Supplement of Wang's Calligraphy Collection*, the block-printed edition published in the 19th year of the Wanli Period of the Ming Dynasty.

frame is 18.8 cm high and 13.7 cm wide. It has 8 lines on each page with 19 characters in each line, with double-lined small characters respectively on both its left and right halves with white book mouths and no fish tails. The preface page is printed with the title *Xu Hua Pin: Preface* (《续画品并序》) while the text with the title *Xu Hua Pin*. On the page heart, the page number is printed in the middle section and the name of the printer “Jigu Ge (汲古阁)” is printed in the lower section. There are 12 squares under the second line on the front page of the volume, printed with “Chen Yaozui Zhuan (陈姚最撰)” and followed by “Ming Maojin Ding (明毛晋订).” Through comparison, it is speculated that *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* is from the Jiajing edition. There are traces of collation in the book, but it is unclear whether *Wang’s Huayuan* was used for the collation. *Wang’s Huayuan* is different from the Jiajing edition of *Xu Hua Pin*, while all copies printed by Jigu Ge were based on the Jiajing edition. The unknown checked books used by the Jigu Ge make this *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* significant in its collation.

The first issue of *Huishi Weiyuan* came out in the 7th year of Tianqi Period of the Ming Dynasty (1627), and its second volume included extracts of *Xu Hua Pin*. Tang Zhiqi marked those extracts as “Abridged Version of Yao Zui’s *Xu Hua Pin* (删陈姚最续画品)” in the catalogue. Meanwhile, *Huishi Weiyuan* abridged Xie He’s *Gu Hua Pin Lu* to only half of a page, followed by another half page of review on it, and at the end of the page there is a comment:

Xie He ranked paintings into three grades, but Yao Zui did not follow this appraising standard. Yao evaluated paintings without personal ranking in order to help people understand the paintings of the Six Dynasties in an all-round way (谢赫评画有三品，要皆不出姚最中。岂姚最祖述之耶。人名不录).

In the re-edited edition of *Baichuan Xuehai*, which was published in late Ming Dynasty, the “Geng Set (庚集)” has included a volume of *Hou Hua Pin Lu* by Yao Zui. Although it is different from the name *Xu Hua Pin* and there are no double-lined small characters in the text, based on the collation conducted by the author of this paper, it definitely originated from the Jiajing edition. After a detailed comparison with the Wanwei Shantang edition of *Shuo Fu* and the 10th volume of *Wuchao Xiaoshuo* (《五朝小说》), that is, *Critics of Novels in the Wei and Jin Novels* (《魏晋小说品藻家》), both are confirmed to include a volume of Yao Zui’s *Hou Hua Pin Lu*, it can be found that the

editions of *Hou Hua Pin Lu* included in these three books are the same,¹ but the order of them is vague and needs to be distinguished.

For *Baichuan Xuehai* which was compiled by Zuogui in the 9th year of Xianchun period of the Song dynasty, there were many block-printed copies in the late Ming Dynasty and the re-edited edition was completed between the late Wanli Period and the early Tianqi Period. There were 30 places of revisions and additions in the re-edited edition of *Baichuan Xuehai* compared with the original one, and Yao Zui's *Hou Hua Pin Lu* is one of them.

The publication of *Wuchao Xiaoshuo* was later than the re-edited *Baichuan Xuehai*. It adopted the abridged version and deleted the reviewers, comments, and punctuations. Besides, there is no "preface" in *Hou Hua Pin Lu*. According to the prefaces of *Songren Baijia Xiaoshuo* (《宋人百家小说》) and *Huangming Baijia Xiaoshuo* (《皇明百家小说》), *Wuchao Xiaoshuo* was written between the 5th year (1632) and the 7th year (1634) of the Chongzhen Period, later than re-edited *Baichuan Xuehai*.

Among the book series, *Shuo Fu* has far more complicated editions. The existing *Shuo Fu* has two systems: of 100 volumes and of 120 volumes. In the late Ming and early Qing, Tao Ting re-edited *Shuo Fu* and increased the 100 volumes to 120. In terms of content, Tao Ting's *Shuo Fu* has little connection with the 100-volume edition. In the 1st year of Tianqi Period in the Ming, the original edition of Tao Ting's *Shuo Fu* was destroyed in the fire. During the 3rd and 4th year of Shunzhi Period in the Qing, Li Jiqi proofread and published *Shuo Fu* based on Tao Ting's edition which was collected by Sun from Huarong. The existing Wanwei Shantang edition of *Shuo Fu* which has 120 volumes, is from this source, but the original edition of Tao Ting's re-edited *Shuo Fu* is no longer available. After investigation, it can be found that today *Hou Hua Pin Lu* by Yao Zui is only included in the 120-volume edition of *Shuo Fu* and not in the 100-volume edition, so *Xu Hua Pin* was added by Tao Ting when he re-edited *Shuo Fu*. Therefore, re-edited *Baichuan Xuehai* was pressed, followed by *Wuchao Xiaoshuo*, and the 120-volume *Shuo Fu* came out last.

In addition, there were also some scholars in the Ming Dynasty who quoted the extracts of *Xu Hua Pin*. In the 4th year of Chongzhen Period (1631), Zhu Mouyin (朱谋堃) wrote *Huashi Huiyao* (《画史会要》) of 5-volume based on his imitation of *Records of Book History* by Tao Zongyi (陶宗仪). In the catalogue "the quotations of other books" at the front of the book, *Xu Hua Pin*

¹ On the issue of the editions of these books in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, see "Opinions on *Shuo Fu*" by Kurata Yusuke, and "Textual Research on *Shuo Fu*" by Kozo Watanabe, from *Tao Zongyi's Research Papers*, Zhejiang People's Publishing House, 2006.

cannot be found. However, it has quoted 19 items of 21 painters from *Xu Hua Pin*. Some collation and comparison confirm that these quotations are from the *Xu Hua Pin* published by Jigu Ge.

Siku Quanshu was completed in the 46th years of Qianlong (1781) period, and the 118th Category of Art: "On Calligraphy and Painting," which is in the sub-section of Zi (a special section recording various schools of thought and art), included a volume of Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* (hereinafter referred to "the *Siku* edition (四库本)"). Comparison shows that the *Siku* edition is based on *Wang's Huayuan* with little collation, and checked with the edition published by Jigu Ge, but its other checked books remain unknown.¹

Yao Peiqian (姚培谦) compiled *Yanbei Ouchao* (《砚北偶钞》) in the 27th year of the Qianlong Period(1762), which was engrave-printed by the Caocao Chao(草草巢), into a total of six books. The sixth book takes in *Hou Hua Pin: Preface* and a volume of *Hou Hua Pin Lu*. The plate frame is 9.1 cm high and 6.9 cm wide. It has a left half and a right one with 6 lines on each page and 15 characters in each line. The small characters are arranged in double lines and there is a white book mouth and double fish tails on each page. The preface is titled with "The Preface to Hou Hua Pin." The first page is inscribed with "*Hou Hua Pin Lu*". The number of volumes can be found in the heart of the page above the page number. There are 5 squares under the second line on the front page of the text which are printed with "Written by Yaozui of the Chen Dynasty(陈姚最撰)," followed with "Examined by Zhang Jingxing (alias Xipu) and Yao Peiqian (alias Shuzhai) in Yunjian(云间 张景星西圃 姚培谦述斋阅)." After investigation, the author comes to the conclusion that *Hou Hua Pin* in *Yanbei Ouchao* was copied from *Baichuan Xuehai*.

In the 47th year of Kangxi Period in the Qing Dynasty (1708), the Imperial Household Department published *Peiwenzhai Shuhua Pu* (《佩文斋书画谱》) of 100 volumes which was compiled by Sun Yueban, Song Junye, Wang Yuanqi, Wu Hao, etc. In this book, the 17th volume, the 7th section of *Lunhua* (论画) included a volume of *Xu Hua Pin* by Yaozui of the Chen Dynasty. In the front of the book, there was a preface written by the Emperor Kangxi in the February of the 44th year of his period (1705), followed by an explanation of the style of the book and the catalogue. In the front of the text there is the contents of the books included and the contents of paintings and

¹ For example, the character "gui" in "wu ming zhi gui" was "shi" in *Wang's Painting Collection*, while remained as "gui" in the edition collected by *Pavilion of Ancient Collection* as well as in the *Siku* edition; and the character "hui" in "shou bu hui bi" was "ting" in *Wang's Painting Collection* and remained as "hui" in the edition collected by *Pavilion of Ancient Collection* and also in the *Siku* edition.

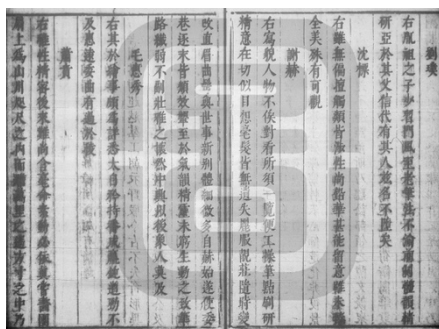


Fig.4: A photocopy of *Xu Hua Pin* included in the re-edited *Baichuan Xuehai*

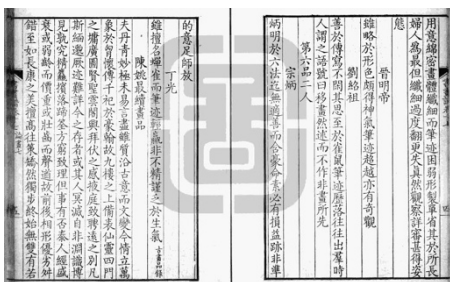


Fig.5: A photocopy of *Xu Hua Pin* included in *Peiwenzhai Shuhua Pu*

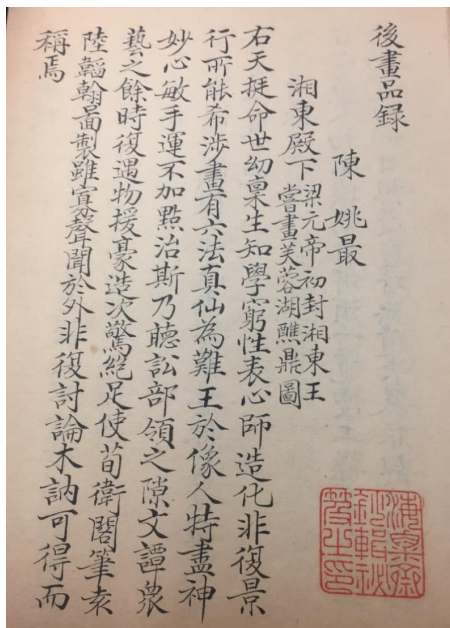


Fig.6: A photocopy of *Xu Hua Pin* included in *Yiyuan Congchao* (《艺苑丛钞》)

calligraphy. The plate frame is 16.8 cm high and 11.7 cm wide, and has 11 lines of 22 characters respectively on both its left and right halves with a white book mouth and double black fish tails. On the page heart, the volume number is printed in the middle section and the page number is printed in the lower section. This edition of *Xu Hua Pin* was published on the basis of *Wang's Hua Yuan* (《王氏画苑》) with some double-lined small characters being omitted, which is of little collating value.

On the basis of Chen Menglei's (陈梦雷) extensive work, Jiang Tingxi (蒋廷锡) completed his *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (《古今图书集成》) of 10,000 volumes in the 3rd year of the Yongzheng Period (1725), which is the largest reference book in ancient China. This book is printed with movable-type printing and on each page, there are 9 lines of 20 characters respectively on both the left and right halves with a white book mouth. In this book, the 749th volume titled *Reviews on the Collection of Paintings II* (《画部汇考二》) takes in parts of the “preface (叙)” and the “contents (目)” of *Hou Hua Pin Lu Written by Yao Zui of the Chen Dynasty* (《陈姚最后画品录》). As for the “preface,” only the following sentences are copied:

My book is of two volumes including both my writing and some quotations from Xie He which I found reasonable. The books of reviews, no matter the ancient ones or the current ones, always rank the paintings with personal judgements. In my book, there are a few comments on the paintings which can be back-up references for the scholars, and the painters being reviewed are in a small number without any classification, so readers can decide the merits and demerits on their own (今之所载, 并谢赫所遗。犹若文章, 止于两卷。其中道有可采, 使成一家之集。且古今书评, 高下必途。解画无多, 是故备取。人数既少, 不复区别, 其优劣可以意求也)。

Therefore, the source of this edition is impossible to be verified.

Yan Kejun (严可均, 1762-1843), a bibliophile and scholar in the Qing Dynasty, compiled *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qinhan Sanguo Liuchao Wen* (《全上古三代秦汉三国六朝文》), hereinafter referred to as “*Quan Shanggu* 全上古”), which had not been published until the time when Zhang Zhidong (张之洞) became the governor of Guangdong. After the collation by Wang Yuzao (王毓藻), it was first published in Guangzhou in the 18th year of the Guangxu Period (1893). *Quan Shanggu: Quan Chen Wen* (《全上古·全陈文》) includes a volume of *Xu Hua Pin* under the entry of “Yao Zui,” and there are two lines of small characters under the title of the book saying “this book is a sequel to

Xie He's *Gu Hua Pin Lu*. According to the reference of Emperor Liang Yuandi (梁元帝) as 'Xiangdong Highness (湘东殿下)', it can be concluded that this book was written in the period of Emperor Liang Wudi (案此续谢赫《古画品》也。文称‘湘东殿下’，盖梁武时所撰.)” Through investigation, the author has found that the edition of *Xu Hua Pin* in *Quan Shanggu* is based on *Wang's Painting Collection* without any collation. Due to its relatively young age, it has little value in the collation.

In addition to the above editions, there were another two manuscript books including Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin* in the Qing Dynasty. Zou Zhongling (邹钟灵, 1807-1860) in Daoguang Period in the Qing Dynasty edited *Huishi Zuibian* (《绘事碎编》) of 30 volumes in the Yiyanghu Lushan Pavilion (依样壶庐山馆), with only six volumes currently existing. In the front of the book, there are prefaces written by Cheng Zongguang, Kang Faxiang and Zhu Baoshan in the 29th year (1849) of the Daoguang Period. The plate frame is 18.2 cm high and 12.2 cm wide, with the catalogue being printed in the columns of blue lines. The book has double lines on the margins, black mouths and double fish tails. There is no page heart in the text, and the characters of "Yiyanghu Lushan Pavilion" are printed at the bottom of each page. On each page there is no page number but 9 lines of 20 characters respectively on both its left and right halves. After textual compansion, it is found that the copied volume of *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* copied the *Xu Hua Pin* in *Siku Quanshu Zongmu*. This edition is of no collating value for it copied all the mistakes in the *Siku* edition. *Huishi Zuibian* was once collected in Li's Muxi Pavilion (木犀轩) and now is kept in the Library of Peking University (No. LSB/8544).

The Library of Hubei Province has kept another manuscript of *Yiyuan Congchao* (《艺苑丛钞》) in the Qing Dynasty, totaling 10 books of 88 volumes. The whole manuscript is of no plate frame, no edition heart, no page number, but with excellent handwriting, which is better than that of ordinary copyists. Yao Zui's *Hou Hua Pin Lu* is included in the 9th volume of the 5th book. Due to the examination of the content, this edition should originate from *Baichuan Xuehai*, and has little collating value.

By the time of the Republic of China, the typographic and photocopied versions of Yao Zui's *Xu Hua Pin* began to appear. Wang Yunwu's (王云五) *Congshu Jicheng Chubian* (《丛书集成初编》) was published by the Commercial Press in 1937, totaling of 4000 volumes of 4107 categories. *Xu Hua Pin: Attached Preface* by Yao Zui, which is photocopied on the basis of

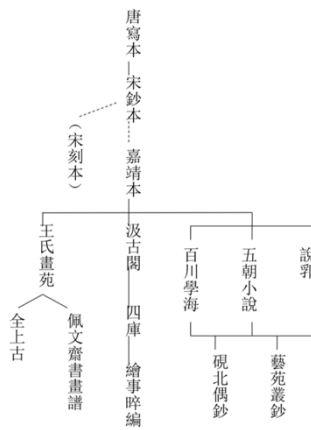


Fig.7: The Picture of the Source Research on Various Editions of *Xu Hua Pin*

the edition in *Jindai Mishu*, is included in this collection, but only with the original plate frame. The page heart is deleted to cater for the binding form of new-styled books, and the title and the page number are printed on the margin. In addition, *Meishu Congshu* (《美术丛书》), which was edited by Deng Shi (邓实) and Huang Binhong (黄宾虹) and published by Shanghai Shenzhou Guoguang Press (上海神州国光社) in 1913, also includes a volume of *Xu Hua Pin* by Yao Zui. Since then, *Xu Hua Pin* have been compiled and printed according to Meishu Congshu edition, however, there are some defects in the collation of all these editions.

The Manuscript Edition of the Tang Dynasty

The Manuscript Edition of the Song Dynasty

The Block-printed Edition of the Song Dynasty

The Edition of the Jiajing Period

Wang's Huayuan

Quan Shanggu Sandai Qinhan Sanguo Liuchao Wen

Peiwenzhai Shuhua Pu

Jigu Ge

Siku Quanshu

Huishi Zuibian

Baichuan Xuehai

Wuchao Xiaoshuo

Shuo Fu

Yanbei Ouchao

Yiyuan Congchao

Bibliography

Mo Youzhi of the Qing Dynasty (Composed), Fu Zengxiang (Revised and Supplied), Fu

Xinian (Organized), *Cangyuan Supplement of Lvting Version Bibliography*,

Zhonghua Book Company, 2009, p. 617.

Kinsha Shingo, *Study on the Chinese Ancient Paintings*, published by Yanbo Book

store, 1924, pp. 376-479.

Shio Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush: Being the Outlook of Chinese Painters on Nature*.

From Eastern Chin to Five Dynasties, A. D. 317-960 (also titled *A Stroke of Genius*),

London: John Murray, 1939, pp. 58-65.

Wang Yachen, *The Purpose of Yao Zui's "Xu Hua Pin"*, in Yi Yuxiang (compiled), *Collected Papers on Chinese Paintings*, Rieter Bookstore, in the 21st year of the Republic of China (1932), pp. 169-176.

Yu Jiayi, *Summary and Dialectic of Siku Quanshu*, Zhonghua Book Company, 1980, pp. 775-776.

Yong Rong and others of the Qing Dynasty, *Siku Quanshu Zongmu*, Zhonghua Book Company, 1965, pp. 952-953.

Zhou Zhongfu, *Zheng Tang's Reading Notes*, Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, 2009, p. 760.

Author: Chen Yiwei, graduate student of China Academy of Art. Hangzhou, China. Email: