Images into Words: Ming Confucian Iconoclasm

Deborah A. Sommer, Gettysburg College

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IMAGES INTO WORDS: MING CONFUCIAN ICONOCLASM*

by

Deborah A. Sommer

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies
Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana USA

Abstract. In the late fifteenth century, the scholar and official Ch’iu Chün (1421–1495) sought to reform the sacrifices offered to the spirits of Confucian sages: he proposed eliminating the sculpted images used in those rites and suggested replacing them with spirit tablets. This proposal, which constitutes a significant departure from beliefs that had been current since at least the T’ang (618–907), was adopted in the 1530s and influenced practices at Confucian temples to modern times. This paper explores his arguments concerning the use of images in ritual sacrifices, places them within the context of his religious beliefs, and compares them with ideas held by other Confucian thinkers.

Iconoclasm has received considerable attention in the study of the history of Western religions, particularly concerning the iconoclastic debates of eighth-century Byzantium. In Western studies of the history of Chinese religion, however, controversies concerning the use of religious images are less well known. Important arguments on this subject were developed by the scholar-official Ch’iu Chün (1421–1495), who presented his views on images in his Supplement to the Extended Meaning of the Great Learning (Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu), an encyclopedic compilation conceived as a handbook for formulating and interpreting governmental policy. His proposal to reformulate the religious observances offered to the Confucian sages and worthies is one small part of this larger work, which encompasses nearly every aspect of political management, from horse husbandry to sacrificial offerings (chi ssu). Ch’iu advocated the elimination of sculpted images (su hsiang), or idols (ou jen), used in the imperial worship of the sages and proposed replacing them with spirit tablets. He asserted that in antiquity the worship of the luminaries of the Confucian (jiu) tradition was performed with spirit tablets, not images, as he believed that images were introduced by Buddhism and appropriated by the followers of Lao Tzu; he decried this practice and advocated a return to what he perceived to be the noniconic tradition of antiquity. Using three-dimensional images in the Confucian rites had become so widespread by Ming times, he believed, that the numinous way of spiritual beings (shen or kuei shen) had become obscured.

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Following the precedent of Ming T'ai-tsu's (r.1368–1398) promulgations concerning the destruction of images of city gods, Ch'iu asserted that the images of the sages in the Confucian temple at the Imperial Academy be destroyed, "whereby their clay (t'u) would be used to plaster the walls, which would then be painted (hui) with scenes of clouds and mountains."5

The term "iconoclasm," which is derived from the Greek terms eikōn (image, figure, or likeness) and klan (to break), can be defined as "the act of breaking or destroying images; especially, the destruction of objects of veneration, as pictures and images in churches."7 Although no single Chinese character or compound is equivalent to the English word "iconoclasm," Ch'iu's active espousal of the destruction of certain types of images fits this general definition, and hence I use the term here. He did not merely advocate the partial immolation or defacement of figural art by chipping or breaking off extremities: he sought to transform three-dimensional human figures into landscape paintings, a process that was to be accomplished by the total dissolution of the statues in water.

Ch'iu's iconoclasm is directed at figures he refers to as su hsiang, or "sculpted images." The character su means to sculpt in clay or sometimes wood; it contains both the flesh and earth radicals, suggesting that such images depict subjects of flesh and blood modeled in clay. All of the compounds for su listed in the Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien are associated with the creation of anthropomorphic, sculpted figural art. Oddly, the earliest locus classicus given there for su is very late: a passage in the Ch'eng Tzu yü-lei (The classified sayings of the Ch'engs) that states "Ming-tao [Ch'eng Hao, 1032–1085] sat like a sculpted clay figure" (su jen).9 The origins of the compound su hsiang are unclear. Purportedly the first occurrence is in the "Hsiung Nu" chapter of the Han shu (History of the Han Dynasty), but curiously the quotation that follows in the Tz'u-tien contains the expression fo hsiang, or Buddha image, rather than su hsiang. The Ch'ing dynasty Kai-yü ts'ung k'ao by Chao I7 insists that even though sculpted images (su hsiang) were found everywhere in China as the Buddha dharma (fo fa) thrived, the idea of modeling images actually began before Buddhism; Chao notes purported "hidden references" to the concept of sculpting images in pre-Han texts, yet none of these references contains the actual compound.9 Regardless of the original provenance of the term, su hsiang always refers to three dimensional images, while the term hsiang, or image, by itself (which may appear either with or without the radical for human being) is ambiguous and may refer to either two- or three-dimensional images. The presence of the verb hui, to depict with a brush, suggests a two-dimensional image, which might also be called a t'u, or picture, that might be painted directly on a wall.

Ch'iu's diatribe in the Supplement against the use of images in religious worship is one of the longest of such discourses by a Confucian thinker, but his
iconomachy, or hatred of images, was not entirely novel. He himself quotes passages from the writings of Sung and Yüan philosophers who had earlier voiced a certain distrust of images, although their views are not specifically iconoclastic and are concerned more with the notion of wanton sacrifice (yin ssu),\(^1\) the practice of presenting offerings to spirits with whom the sacrificer had no proper relationship (the notion of "proper" being informed by principles contained within pre-Han classics). Ch'iu notes how Chu Hsi, for example, had decried the "base rusticities" of common folk who did not follow the formulations of antiquity in their rites to the forces of nature but instead "bowed and prostrated themselves before idols (ou jen) of clay and wood, beseeching them for their sustenance."\(^12\) He stated that such popular customs constituted wanton sacrifices that contravened righteousness (i), principle (li), and ritual (li). According to classical texts, offering sacrifices to spirits with whom one had no proper relationship\(^13\) was considered wanton, and brought no blessings.\(^14\)

Ch'iu Chün also considers that Chang Shih (1133–1180), a contemporary of Chu Hsi, complained how the folk distorted ancient ritual practices by anthropomorphizing mountains and rivers, which were popularly conceived of as ducal lords. Sacrificial offerings (ch'i ssu) had been presented to mountains and rivers by the imperial court since ancient times, and numerous records in the classics attested to their antiquity. "When the ancients made sacrificial offerings to mountains and rivers," Chang stated, "they thought the mountains' and rivers' ethereal essence (ling) lay in the fact that their vital forces (ch'i) rose up and produced the clouds and rains that water all things. So they made altars for them, arranged for invocators and soothsayers, set forth sacrificial animals and silks, and thus expressed the genuineness of their prayers. Hence there was communication across the boundaries of the hidden and visible. Such integrity is there for all to see."\(^15\) Chang observed how that tradition of integrity had been long lost, "as in more recent times, even though there are still sacrifices to mountains and rivers, these latter have taken on human form, and they [their altars] have been covered over with buildings."\(^16\) Covering the altars cut the mountains and rivers off from the elements that were the very manifestations of their power, thus blocking off communication between the hidden and visible realms. Chang elsewhere noted that "It is the physical form for rivers to run and mountains to stand. Why turn them into human beings? As their material force flows and penetrates, they can come in contact. Why confine them in buildings?"\(^17\)

Ch'iu Chün furthermore pointed to how Ch'en Ch'un (1153–1217), too, derided the personification of mountains and took as an example an image held to represent Mount T'ai in Shantung province. In 1012 the emperor Chen-tsung (r. 997–1022) had bestowed upon each of the five sacred peaks the honorific title of "Lord" (ti) and proclaimed Mount T'ai the "Benevolent and Sagely Lord Equal to Heaven." Ch'en notes the ludicrous consequences of personifying this
solitary range of peaks, which reigned alone over a vast plain. "Now a temple has been built with an image resembling a human figure," he relates; "it sits dripping diadems, crowned with a ceremonial headdress, dressed in robes. A hall for an empress has been built behind the temple — but I don't know what mountain would make a proper spouse for him, to make of them man and wife!" As no other group of peaks stood near Mount T'ai, procuring him another mountain to serve as a spouse would be logically impossible. Ch'en implies that those persons who would depict mountains as human beings provided the very rope with which to hang themselves, for their reasoning, if taken to its ultimate conclusion, would create the nonsensical figure of an unmarried bachelor sovereign.

While insisting that mountains and rivers should not be conceived as human beings, Ch'en Ch'un nevertheless granted that images in general could be possessed of an ethereal essence (ling), or spiritual power. He describes several ways in which an image might become ling, but cautions that this ling has nothing to do with spiritual beings (kuei shen). At one temple, for example,

at the time of making [lit., sculpting, su] the image of the deity, a live ferocious bird like a hawk or a creature like a monkey or crow was brought and put in the stomach of the image. Because the creature was caught alive and died in this way, the heavenly and earthly components of its soul (hun p'o) do not disintegrate. As the masses daily burn incense and pray to it, it acquires a spiritual power (ling). The spiritual power is that of the creature and has nothing to do with spiritual beings.

It was also possible, he asserted, that an image might absorb this ethereal essence from the minds (hsin) of pious people who finely developed their own integrity (ch'eng) and reverence (ching), and were thus able to project their own energies (ching shen) into it. Such an image would naturally be responsive (kan ying) to questions of auspiciousness and misfortune. Ch'en understood this communication between image and human being in terms of the unity of principle (li) and vital force (ch'i) that obtained between them, and in terms of the efficacy of the focusing of virtue (te) that occurred in the pre-sacrificial vigils explained in the Book of Rites. Ch'en's understanding of the reverencing of sculpted images could thus be said to be grounded on an interpretation of Confucian and Neo-Confucian concepts.

Ch'iu Ch'un, on the other hand, was reluctant to grant that images had any power or life of their own and stated that at heart, even those who revere sculpted images know the figures are merely composites of earthly residues. "Suppose that someone has already taken up some clay and made an image," Ch'iu posited. "They treat it as if it were a sage or worthy, but as soon as it breaks they consider it just dust and dregs." In the performance of sacrificial
offerings, Ch'iu focused on internal moral qualities, not on physical objects. While conceding that such concrete objects as bronze vessels, silks, and sacrificial animals were necessary for the rites for communicating with spiritual beings, Ch'iu nevertheless asserted that these were primarily outward expressions of inner qualities of the mind. "The way (tao) of sacrificial offerings," he claimed, "is called humanity, filiality, integrity, and reverence, that is all."  

These statements by Chu Hsi, Chang Shih, and Ch'ên Ch'un, while generally concerned with the use of images in religious observances, were not specifically focused on images of the Confucian sages. In the early Ming dynasty, however, Sung Lien (1310–1381), a long-time advisor to the court of Ming T'ai-tsu, questioned some of the practices then in current use in the capital. In his 1371 memorial "On the Confucian Temple" (K'un Ch'tu miao-t'ang), Sung Lien argued that certain aspects of the sacrifices to Confucius were irreverent because they were not based on ancient precedents. In antiquity, he stated, sacrifices had been performed with wooden tablets as perches for the spirits, and only in 720 had images (hsiao hsiang) been used. Did this not gainsay the "spiritual and numinous," he asked? Sung sought to preserve the integrity of ancient precedents in the performance of rites to the sages, but in this memorial he expressed no concerns about an inherent invalidity of images in general. In fact, Sung's literary works include many encomiums (hsiang tsan) for images of bodhisattvas, Ch'ên masters, lohans, and immortals, he moreover believes these paintings or statues have didactic value, for he states in his "Encomium for a Painting of the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin," for example, that "this image could assist one to draw near to the Way." He seemed to perceive no inconsistency in praising Buddhist images while questioning the appropriateness of Confucian ones. Yet this is not to suggest duplicity on Sung's part; it does suggest, however, that he judged Buddhist and Confucian religious art by different historical and aesthetic criteria.

Perhaps Sung Lien's memorial effected certain changes, for the Ch'üeh-li chih records that in 1372 "from Confucius on down, sculpted images were removed and wooden tablets were set up in the Imperial University." The images may have been removed, but they seem not to have been destroyed; the Ming hui-tien states that in 1410 when the Confucian temple was renovated, the painting and sculpting of the costumes of the sages was ordered to conform to older formulations. The phrasing of the Hui-tien suggests that older images were repainted and reworked, not that new sculptures were created. In the 1470s, the debate over images was continued by Tsou Kan (fl. Ch'ên-hua era) and by Chou Hung-mu (1419–1491), a personal friend of Ch'iu Chüan. They attempted to resurrect the Hung-wu proscription against images in the Imperial University in Nanking and advocated applying it to the newer university in the northern capital, where people could not bear, they said, to rid themselves
completely of Yüan ways. The collected writings (wen-chi) of many Yüan scholars indicate that elaborately painted and sculpted images of the Confucian worthies were much admired during that period. Yet such images were not in fact Yüan innovations but were clearly recorded in T'ang texts. Apparently Chou and Tsou associated the elimination of images in the Confucian temple with the resinification of China proper.

So when Ch'iu was compiling the Supplement in the 1480s, the question of images in the Confucian temple, specifically of the temple in the Imperial University in Peking, had still not been resolved. Ch'iu's own ideas on images were obviously influenced by Chu Hsi, Chang Shih, and Ch'en Ch'un, for he quotes them directly in the Supplement. And while Ch'iu does not quote Sung Lien's name directly in this context, he surely must have been aware of his memorial on this subject, for his own arguments reflect some of Sung's own language and ideas. Sung had argued against the use of images based on historical precedent, but Ch'iu introduced new arguments based more strongly on a criticism of the inherent validity of sculpted images. To understand Ch'iu's iconoclasm, it is important first to understand his ideas of the spirit world. His distaste for images seems to stem from the premise that a superficial perspective on the material world inhibits a greater understanding of the invisible powers of virtue (te); hence, the physical form of a concrete figure impedes an effective apprehension of the spirit (and of its innate moral qualities) that it would attempt to represent. Ch'iu's vision of the spirit world was drawn squarely from such classical Confucian works as the Doctrine of the Mean, the Book of Odes, and the Tso Chuan and incorporated virtually nothing of popular devotional beliefs in the gods and goddesses of temples and shrines (miao shen). Spirits, in Ch'iu's view, are ethereal entities that abide in an invisible, hidden (yu) realm just beyond the periphery of ordinary understanding; their presence is not seen but is sensed when they are evoked to descend to the visible (ming) realm of rites and music. The hidden and visible realms are separated not by distance but by apprehension, as participants in a sacrifice may unexpectedly experience spirits floating just above their heads. Unlike folk temple deities, the spirits of Ch'iu's cosmology are formless and ineffable and are undetectable by the sense faculties; they are elusive, incorporeal entities, colorless, odorless, and soundless. They seem to inhabit a plane where ordinary notions of existence and nonexistence do not apply. Ch'iu writes, "The principles of ghosts and spirits are subtle and mysterious; they are difficult to put into words. One may think they are there (wei yu) — but one looks for them, and they are formless; one listens for them, and they give no sound." Spirits, as described in Ch'iu's writings, have no distinguishing signs comparable to the Buddha's long earlobes or the temple goddess's regalia. Their contours are circumscribed primarily with negatives: they are without form (wu hsing), without sound (wu sheng), and even without smell (wu hsiu); they are
subtle (*wei*) and mysterious (*miao*), and are neither there (*wei yu*) nor not there (*wei wu*). They are unfathomable (*pu k’o tu ssu*) and ineffable (*nan ming*). Although bodiless, they do have a kind of character, and their distinguishing marks, as the *Tso Chuan* states, are the invisible qualities of intelligence, moral uprightness, and consistency or oneness.\(^1\) Quoting from the *Odes* and the *Mean*, Ch’iu cautioned that spirits’ invisibility nevertheless belies their presence, for “one may think they are not there (*wei wu*) — and then ‘from the vastness, it is as if they are floating (*yang yang*) above one, as if they are on one’s left and right.”\(^3\) For, the ‘approaches of the spirits are unfathomable.’\(^3\) This unfathomable hierophany occurs during sacrificial offerings and is directly apprehended by some kind of religious experience on the part of the sacrificer. Rejecting the visual literalism of temple images popular in his time, Ch’iu expresses instead a more evocative understanding of spirits and spirituality suggested by the ancient writings of the scholarly tradition.

The very elusiveness of spirits suggests the mysterious workings of heaven, for a correlation is made between the intangible on the one hand and the moral imperative, or mandate (*ming*), on the other. As is noted in both the *Odes* and the *Mean*, spiritual beings are intangible, “soundless and imperceptible,”\(^3\) literally, “soundless and without smell” (*wu sheng wu hsiu*). This expression contains a hidden moral agenda, as it is taken from a passage that exhorts the ruler to model himself upon the sage kings of the past — and here, no doubt, is the message Ch’iu intended for his own readers. The “Decade of King Wen,” a narrative in the *Odes* traditionally attributed to the Duke of Chou, lauds the virtues of Wen and exhorts the king’s descendants and their officials to model themselves on him.

The mandate (*ming*) is not easily [ preserved ]
Do not cause your own extinction.
Display and make bright your righteousness and name,
And look at [ the fate of ] Yin in the light of heaven.
The doings of heaven on high
Have neither sound nor smell (*wu sheng wu hsiu*).
In your comportment, model yourself (*hsing*) after King Wen,
And the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.\(^3\)

Holding onto the mandate is a precarious enterprise, and heaven provides no visible guidelines for maintaining it. Countering the uncertainty of heaven’s ways, however, was the option of modeling oneself (*hsing*) inwardly after the virtuous King Wen. This internal iconography is expressed outwardly through comportment or demeanor (*yi*).

The expression “soundless and without smell” is also quoted in the concluding verse of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, where Confucius belittles the
superficiality of mere physical appearances and outward show, contrasting these with the subtlety of power, or virtue (te).

It is said in the *Book of Odes*, “I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances (se).”\textsuperscript{40} The Master said, “Among the appliances to transform the people, sounds and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, ‘His virtue (te) is as light as a hair’.\textsuperscript{41} Still a hair will admit of comparison [as to its size]. ‘The workings of heaven on high have neither sound nor smell’. --- That is perfect.”\textsuperscript{42}

Genuine values and transformative powers are found not in the sensible world but in the intangible quality of virtue, and a correlation is established between virtue and invisibility on the one hand and superficiality and appearance on the other. Here one senses the source of Ch’iu’s uneasiness with sculpted images: they profane the invisible realm, and hence they profane the efficacy of virtue, which is finer and subtler than a strand of hair. For Ch’iu it is the operations of heaven that are the source of all sacred power, and he contrasts its invisible, mysterious ways to the coarse visibility of crafted images of temple gods and goddesses. The worship of these images, he states, is “most certainly not the way of the ‘spiritual and numinous’ (shen erh ming chih) and the ‘soundless and imperceptible’.”\textsuperscript{43}

Ch’iu Chün presented his arguments against the use of three-dimensional images within the context of a discourse on the oblations (shih tien) to the “premier teachers” (hsien shih) of the scholarly tradition.\textsuperscript{44} Here he traced the history of the religious worship of Confucian worthies from Chou times until the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) of the Ming, and he employed the Chou material as evidence that the later Ming edition, in his view, had departed from ancient precedents and should be reformulated in the light of the usages of antiquity.\textsuperscript{45} His arguments in favor of iconoclasm are of several kinds, but he begins first with an argument based on historical precedent, claiming that “setting up sculpted images was unknown in antiquity, and began only with the coming of Buddhism to the Middle Kingdom.”\textsuperscript{46} According to Ch’iu’s interpretation of antiquity, tablets (chu), not images, were employed in sacrificial offerings in the Three Dynasties. This view is understandable, considering the textual sources Ch’iu accepted as authoritative descriptions of ancient usages: the *Rites, Odes, History, Changes, Tso Chuan*, and so on.\textsuperscript{47} The lack of clear references in these texts to the sacrificial use of sculpted images would lend evidence to his assertion.\textsuperscript{48} As for tablets, the exact appearance of the objects called *chu* in classical texts is, however, unknown. So Ch’iu’s first argument against the use of images is the argument from ancient precedent: the sages of antiquity, who were believed to have formulated ritual observances, were considered virtually
infallible, and since they never used images, neither should the people of the Ming.⁴⁹

By stating that images were a Buddhist import, Ch’iu also appealed to a xenophobic disdain of foreign customs and added disparagingly that “it is not surprising that the heterodox teachings (i chiao) use them.”⁵⁰ A major part of Ch’iu’s overall agenda was to reinstitute the “glorious rites of antiquity” and eradicate the “evil arts of heterodoxy” that he believed imperiled the realm.⁵¹ In his imagination these so-called evil arts encompassed a diverse and often very vaguely defined array of cultic practices and folkways that he believed had adhered themselves to this classical tradition and obscured it over the centuries: spirit writing, incantations, sculpted images, and even the burning of incense were all objectionable to him. He believed many of these practices had been promulgated by the followers of Shakyamuni (Shih shih) and then appropriated by the adherents of Lao Tzu (Lao shih). In his mind, these were charlatans who “exploit the spirits to wreak havoc”,⁵² they were people who with “vulgar comestibles and unholy flavorings” presented offerings to spirits they should not worship.⁵³

Even in the Northern Dynasties (ca. 301–581), Ch’iu insisted, figural art had not been incorporated into the rites to the Confucian sages, and he claimed that those who made figures of clay or metal were severely punished. By the T’ang, however, things had changed, for in 720, Vice Director of Education Li Yüan-kuan petitioned that an image of Yen Hui, Confucius’ favorite disciple, be shown respect by being allowed to sit. Li was concerned that Yen Hui’s image receive proper reverence, and he obviously did not perceive himself as engaging in any kind of idolatry. His primary concern was to establish new criteria of authority within the scholarly ju tradition, for he believed the spirits of the closest disciples of Confucius, the “Ten Savants” (shih che), should be given food sacrifices at least on a par with those already offered to the “Twenty-two Worthies,” who were mostly Han scholars of the classics. The images (hsiang) of the Ten Savants were set up in the temple hall, but they were forced to stand and had inadequate food offerings. Li successfully petitioned for change; some images were allowed to sit, and their food offerings were increased. Ch’iu cites Li’s memorial as clear evidence that images had become officially sanctioned in scholarly circles in the T’ang. He offers no reason for this development except to say that in later times no one considered making images wrong, and so customs changed.

Had he known of their existence, Ch’iu might also have noted the works of the Japanese monk Kukai (744–835) as evidence for Confucian images in the T’ang, for figures of both Confucius and the Duke of Chou are mentioned incidentally in the records of Kukai, who visited China at the beginning of the ninth century. Defending the Buddhist faith, Kukai in his Precious Key to the Secret Treasury, debates with a skeptical Chinese adversary who likens the
futility of worshipping the Buddhas to worshipping images of the Chinese sages. The Confucian skeptic asks of the Buddhist apologist, "If merit could be gained by reciting the scriptures and worshipping the Buddhas, I would recite the Five Classics and the Three Books of History and worship the images of the Duke of Chou and Confucius. What is the difference?" It is not clear from this statement, however, whether the futility lies in the ability to thus gain merit or in the efficacy of worshipping the images at all.

Ch'iu then turned to other kinds of arguments that are based on the premise that images must have some kind of relationship to their subject in order to be valid. One kind of relationship is that of resemblance. Images of the same spiritual being do not even resemble one another, he stated, for "from one place to another, none are the same. Their appearance (chuang) — whether they are tall or short, fat or thin, old or young, handsome or ugly — depends entirely upon the quality or lack thereof of the workmanship." If an image actually resembled a spiritual being, he implied, then all images of the same spirit would be precisely the same in appearance; the fact that they are not so simply indicates that they have no relationship with any spiritual being but are merely the arbitrarily shaped works of human hands. Ch'iu implied that an image must be lifelike, and even quality workmanship cannot substitute for a life force. For "even if they should be superbly done, how can they convey the sense of the fullness of life?"

Ch'iu's emphasis upon the resemblance of a sculpted image to a living being is probably derived from notions of ancestor worship and from the practice of creating ancestral portraits (ying, literally, shadows), and in fact he turned to Ch'eng I on this issue. Ch'eng I seemed somewhat ambivalent about the practice himself, for he stated that while wealthy families and gentry could establish portrait halls (ying t'ang), he nevertheless cautioned that "in sacrificing one may not use ancestral portraits." He nevertheless seemed to concede that they might be acceptable provided they were not even a hair's breadth off. "If there is even one whisker too much," Ch'eng I insisted, "then it is not that person." Ch'iu applied Ch'eng I's criteria for judging ancestral portraits to the case of sculpted images of the Confucian sages, stating that "if a likeness (mao) made by someone who has seen the subject in person does not resemble (hsiao) that person, and if it can thus not be considered to be that person if it is only a hair's breadth off, then how much more is this true for one made by an artisan whose handiwork relies only upon his own imagination?" Given this line of thinking, then, the possibility of creating valid likenesses of the Confucian sages disappears. If someone should attempt to model the sages, then "what are sculpted are only human shapes (jen hsing), that is all. How could these be the bequeathed likenesses (i mao) of the true sages and worthies?"

The origin and religious significance of portraits of the deceased is another issue. Spiro has discussed this subject in an aesthetic and social context for early
portraiture, but I will mention here only two kinds of "images" that are not portraits: impersonators of the dead and eidetic visions of the deceased perceived in the sacrifices of mourning. Descriptions of these funerary practices are described in classical ritual texts Ch’iu held to be canonical, and so they are relevant to a discussion of his views of sacrifice. Both Ch’eng I’s and Ch’iu Chün’s views on images of the deceased were probably ultimately influenced by the observance of having impersonators of the dead perform the role of the deceased in ancestral sacrifices. The necessity for having an impersonator at the sacrifice is intriguing, and it suggests the desire to have some kind of direct or indirect personal contact with the deceased. As the role of the personator was played by the grandson of the deceased, a genuine physical likeness, as well as a connection in terms of vital force (ch’i), would have existed between them.

It is perhaps this standard of both consanguinity and visual likeness that informs Ch’iu’s views of resemblance (hstao) concerning spiritual beings. Like the character su of su hstang, hstao contains the flesh radical, suggesting perhaps the importance of blood relationships in Chinese notions of similitude. Some questioned whether the practice of using anthropomorphic images was not in fact related to the custom of using impersonators of the dead. Wang Chün, who compiled the Pei-hsi tzu-i of his teacher Ch’en Ch’un, had wanted to ask Ch’en about this, but apparently Ch’en passed away before he could. Wang writes, “It is said that in the worship of heaven, earth, mountains, and rivers, an impersonator was put in place. The chief purpose was to have the material force gather in the impersonator. According to this theory, in the worship of mountains and rivers, I believe having them in human forms is the same idea as putting up an impersonator in ancient times. Unfortunately it was too late to ask the Teacher.”

It was the blood relationship between parent and child that allowed filial children to seem to “see” the image of their deceased parents in a kind of eidetic vision induced by vigils required prior to sacrificing. Preparations for this observance (which in other traditions might be called a “vision quest”) required thinking (ssu) for three days about the person for whom one was conducting the vigil, at which time one would actually seem to see (chien) and hear that person. The Book of Rites describes the experience of the sacrificer: “on the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where the spirit-tablet is)... He will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing.”

The sage rulers themselves experienced such visions. When King Wen sacrificed to his father and called him by his posthumous name, “it was as if he saw him directly (chien ch’in).” In explaining Chu Hsi’s usage of the expressions “seeing Emperor Yao in the soup” and “seeing Emperor Yao on the wall,” Wing-tsit Chan notes the Han belief that “Emperor Shun admired Yao so much
that for three years after Yao’s death, he saw Yao on the wall whenever he sat down and saw Yao in the soup whenever he ate.” Shun had no familial connection with Yao, but in other cases it was the blood relationship and connection of vital force between parent and child that determined what one perceived in a vision during sacrifice. Ch’en Ch’ün (1159–1223) records a story from the Han dynasty of a son from a well-off family who sacrificed to what he thought was his ancestor, only to see a butcher receive the offerings. The son later found out that he had been adopted from a butcher’s family; the connection of vital force between father and son operated independently of the son’s own thoughts and invoked the spirit of the biological parent. It is possible that the associations of consanguinity and eidetic vision informed Ch’iu’s insistence on the exact likeness of a sculpted image to its model—a similitude impossible to achieve in actual practice.

Ch’iu’s iconoclasm did not extend to every religious image indiscriminately. It was primarily directed at the images of the sages in the Imperial University and did not include the statues in the Confucian temples “in the commanderies and cities of the realm,” for he feared that to eliminate the images “would disturb the common people.” This statement may reflect a hidden political agenda, although a wider reading of his writings on sacrificial offerings in the Supplement indicates to me that his concern for the welfare of the people is genuine. He obviously held state-level rites to a different standard in sacrificial offerings where the emperor himself would officiate. In an unctuous treaty to the ruler, he professes concern that should the ruler bow before three-dimension-al images of Confucian sages at the temple in the Imperial University, the sovereign would then be doing obeisance to images of men who, no matter how worthy, were nevertheless merely commoners in their own time. The emperor’s bowing before the sage Confucius was acceptable to Ch’iu, but bowing before lesser luminaries was a breach of title and rank. Moreover, he feared, “the spirits of the sages and worthies in heaven, on their part, would also be somewhat uneasy about this.” One might question the sincerity of Ch’iu’s attempts to uphold the emperor’s dignity. Did he use the issue of iconoclasm to further some political ends, or on the other hand did he play upon the ruler’s vanity to support his own agenda of returning to the glorious rites of antiquity? Considering his views expressed elsewhere on sacrificial offerings, I favor the latter interpretation.

As precedent for his suggestion to remove the sculpted images of the Confucian sages from the temple in the Imperial University in Peking, Ch’iu turned to the edict by the emperor’s Sagely Ancestor, Ming T’ai-tsu, that ordered the images of the sages to be replaced by spirit tablets in the Confucian temple in Nanking. In Ch’iu’s opinion, T’ai-tsu “brilliantly saw through the mistakes that had been perpetuated for a thousand years. Under his rule, from Confucius on down, there were neither sculpted nor painted images, and spirit
tablets were used in sacrificing... Ah! Wonderful!” In addition, Ch’iu also cited T’ai-tsu’s edict on the destruction of images of city gods that ordered them ground into paste to plaster the walls of the temple corridors, which would then be painted over with landscape scenes. If this had been done to the city gods, then “how much more so should this be done [at the imperial University],” Ch’iu stated, “where the sculpted images are only of ordinary human beings?”

If even statues of city gods, who were associated with the natural forces of the land, could be destroyed without fear of heavenly retribution, then there was nothing to fear from destroying images of human beings, no matter how illustrious they might have been.

Ming T’ai-tsu’s edict had apparently been carried out in the Confucian temple at the Imperial University in Nanking, which was the capital in T’ai-tsu’s time, but the capital had been moved north to Peking in the early 1420s under Ch’eng-tsu (r. 1403–1424). Both academies must have been operating in some capacity in Ch’iu Ch’un’s day, although the temple in Peking would have been the most important. Ch’iu regretted that T’ai-tsu’s edict had not been implemented in the Peking temple, which was apparently still full of images. This practice Ch’iu attributed to the “old ways of the Yüan people,” as had his friend Chou Hung-mu. He believed, nevertheless, that had T’ai-tsu’s edicts been made known in the Cheng-t’ung era (1436–1449) when the temple and academy were being restored, they would have been followed. In conclusion, Ch’iu implores the emperor to “follow the Sagely Ancestor’s decree and reform the vulgar practices that have been perpetuated for a thousand years.”

Yüan sources indicate that sculpted and painted images of the Confucian sages were very much apart of the “old ways of the Yüan people.” For example, Wang Yün (1227–1304), in describing the renovation of the Confucian temple in T’ai-p’ing hsien in 1271, notes the “newly painted images (hsiao hsiang) of seventy masters on the wall.” Unlike Ch’iu Ch’un, Wang apparently perceived a didactic role for images of the sages, for elsewhere his descriptions of the elegant attire and composed demeanor of the subjects of these paintings are immediately followed by exhortations upon the importance of teaching people the ways of the Three Dynasties to prevent them from otherwise being lost to perdition.

Ch’iu Ch’un, by contrast, was completely unwilling to grant that a concrete image may have didactic, symbolic, or evocative resonances, or that it may be a physical manifestation of a higher reality.

To argue that Ch’iu’s iconoclasm is “merely political” is only to beg the question; few scholars of Christian church history, I would venture, would make such an assertion of Byzantine or Reformation iconoclastic controversies. Ch’iu’s views cannot be understood in primarily political terms but must be understood from within the larger context of the Chinese ritual tradition. From a moral standpoint, I believe he would assert, the worship of sculpted images circumvented the moral requisites of pure intent and true integrity necessary to
invoke the spirits. In the folk tradition, by contrast, the worship of temple spirits often consisted of placing cash or kind before the statue to beseech favors from the deity. One could surmise that Ch’iu would be appalled by pious common folk mistaking an image for the deity itself and making material offerings before it in the hopes of obtaining blessings. True blessings, Ch’iu would argue, are obtained by integrity rather than financial transactions.

At any rate, he opposes the use of images in places that have nothing in common politically with the Imperial University; for example, he would also eliminate scenes of hell in a Buddhist temple (its exact location is unspecified). His religious agenda for doing so, however, is consistent with that of his campaign against images of Confucian sages: concepts of hell contravene the spiritual cosmology of antiquity. Buddhists popularly held that the entrance to the underworld and all its hells was thought to lie near Mount T’ai, and it must be to a temple in this region (or to one of its subsidiary temples located elsewhere) that Ch’iu refers in the following passage, where he laments how the common people have been deceived by the Buddhists with thoughts of torture in the afterlife. Ch’iu writes, “They are misled by the accounts that the followers of Shakyamuni (shih) give of hell. They say that when people die, their anima souls (hun) must pass through a temple of hell and undergo torture. There [in the temple] you will find twenty-four altars full of images (hsiang). These accounts are not in the least bit canonical. I beg that the officials concerned get rid of them [the images], so that they do not delude the world and deceive the people.”76 Ch’iu completely rejects the multi-realmed Buddhist cosmology of heavens and hells, and he castigates the followers of the foreign-born Shakyamuni for deceiving the people with their visions of physical suffering and retribution. The Confucian cosmology, for its part, furnished no depiction of an afterlife, much less graphic scenes of carnal torment, and espoused self-cultivation rather than fear as a method of inner development. Ch’iu’s exhortation to remove the images, which must have been calculated to frighten pilgrims into pious repentance, reflects his concern for the undue suffering and mental torment the statues might instill in the unsophisticated observer.

Ch’iu would replace images with spirit tablets, wooden plaques that were inscribed only with the name and title of the spirit for whom they were to serve as a perch. Moreover, he would replace the fanciful posthumous titles and ennoblements that had been granted to Confucius and others over the centuries with simpler epithets that bespoke their actual accomplishments. He attributes the origin of this practice to the so-called usurper Wang Mang (r. A.D. 9–23), adding that “of course the spirit of the Sage [Confucius] in heaven did not accept this [title].”77 Ch’iu disagreed with the Yuan decision of 1307 to add the two characters “Great Completion” (ta ch’eng, or “great concert”) to Confucius’ list of honorifics, and in this Ch’iu even criticized Mencius, who first used the term to describe Confucius.78 For this was the language of rhetoric and
metaphor, he stated, and “in antiquity, when using posthumous names one had to use genuinely appropriate words, and metaphorical expressions were not employed.” He continues, “Mencius took the commencing and terminating of musical performances and placed them parallel to the perfection of sageliness and wisdom, and he used this as a metaphor (p’i yü) for Confucius’ sageliness. Now this is rhetorical language, not genuine accomplishment. Adding these two characters... adds nothing significant in terms of his sagely accomplishments.”

Ch’iu preferred the complete elimination of superficial honorifics in favor of a genuine return to the Way. How, then, would he address the Sage? He states that “it is said that after a million generations have passed, he is just called ‘the premier teacher, Confucius’ (hsien shih K’ung Tzu). This is because the reason a person is revered and worshipped for a thousand generations lies in the Way, not in noble rank or appellations.” The main principle underlying his views on both images and honorifics, it would seem, are that they are obstacles to a direct personal understanding of the subtleties of the Way.

Ch’iu’s proposals for the elimination of both sculpted images and florid posthumous names were not implemented in his own day. They surfaced again, and were adopted, following a memorial of 1530 by grand secretary Chang Fu-ching (also known as Chang Ts’ung, 1475–1539) who incorporated large segments of Ch’iu’s arguments into his text. Why the Chia-ching emperor ultimately made the changes is unknown. He changed Confucius’ title to “Sagely Premier Teacher, Confucius” (chih-sheng hsien-shih K’ung-tzu), which is still somewhat longer than Ch’iu’s recommended “Premier Teacher, Confucius” (hsien-shih K’ung-tzu), but it constitutes a decided break with established practices. Ch’iu’s views on sculpted images were well known and were incorporated, either in full or in part, into such later works as the Ch’ung-ming-meng yü-lu by Sun Ch’eng-tse (1593–1675) and the Wu-li t’ung-k’ao by Ch’in Hui-t’ien (1697–1759). The most frequently quoted section of Ch’iu’s arguments against images is his statement attacking the validity of images on the basis that none of them look alike.

Both Confucius’ title and the system of using spirit tablets for worship still follow the parameters delineated in Chang’s memorial, and these ideas are currently in place in the orthodox Confucian temples in Taiwan. Ch’iu’s vision of spirituality eventually triumphed — at least in the orthodox temples — and even today when visiting the Confucian temple in Tainan, Taiwan, the only visual distractions from the “spiritual and numinous” are the names of the sages on the spirit tablets that line the temple halls. In an auxiliary temple room, a calligraphic inscription of the Great Learning is inscribed on the wall, and the text has become a kind of icon itself.
Appendix

[ Ch’iu Chun’s essay on iconoclasm, from the Wen-yüan-ko edition of the Supplement at 65: 11a. ]

Setting up sculpted images was unknown in antiquity and began only with the coming of Buddhism to the Middle Kingdom. Before the Three Dynasties, sacrifices to spirits were all performed with tablets, but no images were set up. It is not surprising that the heterodox teachings use them. It is not known when images began to be used in the sacrifices to our Sages [ Confucius ], but according to Li Yüan-kuan’s statement that “Yen Tzu stands in attendance,” then there were already images before the T’ang. Alas! Yao Sui [ fl. Yüan dynasty ] has said that the Northern Histories say that if someone dared to create figures of clay or bronze, then they and their associates were executed. So in China proper, clay figures were not considered important in the sacrifices to the sages, which were performed with spirit tablets. In later times, however, no one felt that making images was wrong, and so they changed their ways, and made them.

But from one place to another, none of the images are the same. Their appearance — whether tall or short, fat or thin, old or young, handsome or ugly — depends entirely upon the quality or lack thereof of the workmanship. Yet even if they should be superbly done, how can they convey the sense of the fullness of life? This is most certainly not the way of the “spiritual and numinous” or the “soundless and imperceptible.”

In the beginning of the dynasty, in the fourteenth year of the Hung-wu era [ 1381 ], at the beginning of the construction of the Imperial Academy, the Sagely Ancestor [ Ming T’ai-tsu ] brilliantly saw through the mistakes that had been perpetuated for a thousand years. Under his rule, from Confucius on down, there were neither sculpted nor painted images, and spirit tablets were used in sacrificing. The practices of several hundreds of years were thus gotten rid of. Ah! Wonderful!

As for the temple at the Imperial Academy, it is not only a place where teachers and pupils stand in awe: the Son of Heaven purviews the academe and conducts rites there. Now if when the Gem-crowned Reverence lends his presence to the place of viands and cauldrons [ the sacrificial altar ], and if the Sage and Teacher of a Hundred Generations [ Confucius ] would sit and not arise, that would still be acceptable. But considering that the various scholars who receive adjunct sacrifices were all merely gentry or ministers in their own day, then how can it be that the sovereign makes obeisance below while the minister sits above? This would not only be a mistake in terms of title and rank

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but would also be rather inelegant in terms of protocol. I fear that the spirits (ling) of the sages and worthies in heaven, on their part, would also be somewhat uneasy about this.

Suppose that someone has already taken up some clay and made an image. They treat it as if it were a sage or worthy, but as soon as it breaks they consider it just dust and dregs. This would seem rather irreverent. Now I have perused the Sagely Ancestor's edict about destroying the sculpted images of the city gods in the commanderies and cities, whereby their clay was used to plaster the walls [of the temple corridors], which were then painted with scenes of clouds and mountains. This edict is recorded in history, and can be examined as evidence. And how much more so should this destruction of images be done [at the Imperial Academy] where what are sculpted images are only human shapes, that is all. How could these be the bequeathed likenesses of the true sages and worthies? Ch'eng I in his discourse on ancestors has said that if the likeness of a person is even a hair's breadth off, then it is not that person. If a likeness made by someone who has seen the subject in person does not resemble that person, and if it can thus not be considered to be that person if it is only a hair's breadth off, then how much more is this true for one made by an artisan whose handiwork relies only upon his own imagination!

I believe that at the Temple of Culture [the Confucian temple] in Nanking, the Sagely Ancestor's decree has already been implemented. But at the Imperial Academy in Peking, the old ways of the Yüan people are still being followed. It is unfortunate that this decree by Ming T'ai-tsu was not made known in the Cheng-t'ung era [1436-1449] when the temple and academy were being restored. Had it been made known it would have been followed. I would not do this in the commanderies and cities of the realm, however, for to change things there would disturb the common people.

The Imperial Academy, however, is a place the Son of Heaven graces with his presence. I would implore you to follow the Sagely Ancestor's decree and reform the vulgar practices that have been perpetuated for a thousand years. As the scholar Sung Na [fl. early fourteenth century] has said, "This truly will grace a million generations of the Way of the scholars." I respectfully observe that your Sagely Ancestor made great achievements in the edification of the world, and this is but one of many. It is the great task of sagely, gifted descendants to continue and transmit the accomplishments of their ancestors.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCC</th>
<th>Ch'iu-chien chi, by Wang Yün, SPTK ed.秋潤集，王潤</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMMYL</td>
<td>Ch'un-ming-meng yü-lu, by Sun Ch'eng-tse. SKCS ed.春明夢餘錄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWTIT</td>
<td>Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien (The Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Chinese</td>
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NOTES


2. See, for example, Romeyn Taylor’s “Ming T’ai-tsu and the Gods of the

3. He served in several high-ranking positions and eventually became grand secretary. See Wu Chi-hua’s “Ming-shih Ch’iu Chün chuan pu-cheng” (Corrections to Ch’iu Chün’s biography in the Ming History), *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 35.9 (October 1967), pp. 271–278 and also *DMB*, s.v. “Ch’iu Chün.”

4. The *Supplement*, a compilation of 160 chüan, was submitted to the court in 1487 and appeared in numerous editions over the following centuries. For its publication history, see Chu Hung-lam’s “Ch’iu Chün (1421–1495) and the ‘Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu’. Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth Century China,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984, as well as his “Ch’iu Chün’s Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and its Influence in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Ming Studies* 22 (Fall 1986): 1–32. The most readily available edition of the *Supplement* is in the *Wen-yüan-ko ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu*, vols. 712–713 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983). References in this paper are to that edition.

5. For a discussion of Ch’iu’s concepts of sacrificial offerings and the Confucian spirit world, see my “Ch’iu Chün’s (1421–1495) On the Conduct of Sacrificial Offerings.” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993.


7. Etymologies here are from *Webster’s Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, 2d ed.

8. *CWTTT* # 5433. Entry *# 5433.1* for su jen (literally, “sculpted person,” or a figure sculpted of clay) provides a better context for this statement from the *Ch’eng Tzu ch’üan shu* (The Complete Works of the Ch’eng Brothers), which states that “Ming-tao sat upright every day like a figure sculpted of clay to receive guests, and he was extremely congenial.”

9. A text in 43 chüan. See *# 5433.3*.

10. One of his hidden references, for example, is the term t’ung in the *Mencius* that denotes human figural images made to substitute for posterity. *Mencius* 1A: 6.


14. Elsewhere, Chu Hsi stated that inappropriate spirits to whom one might not offer sacrifices were, for example, spirits of lateral relatives or distant ancestors, temple spirits, and Buddhist and Taoist deities. *TH* 55: 12a.


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19. Writings on the spirit world often make a distinction of some kind between *ling* and *shen*, and hence I translate the former term as “ethereal power” and the latter as “spirit” to avoid confusion.
25. *Hsiao hsiang* might be either two- or three-dimensional.
27. *SWHKCC*. Encomiums on paintings are scattered throughout this collection.
29. *WLTK*, p. 7271. Here the date is given as Hung-wu 15, or 1382, but later Ch’ìn Hui-t’ien indicates this occurred in Hung-wu 5, or 1372. Cf. p. 7277.
35. *Doctrime of the Mean* 16: 3.
41. The “workings of heaven” passage is from the *Odes*, no. 235. This entire paragraph is from *Doctrime of the Mean* 33: 6. Legge’s translation; *SK*, p. 433.
43. *TH 65:* 12b.
44. *TH 65:* 12a–14a.
45. He discusses these oblations in chapters 65 and 66 of the *Supplement,* which are based in large part on Ma Tuan-lin’s *Wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao* (Conspectus of documentary records). See *WHTK* 43. Ch’iu’s diatribe against the use of sculpted images, however, owes nothing to Ma.
46. *TH 65:* 12a.
47. While recent archeological excavations have uncovered anthropomorphic images from Shang and Chou times, whether Ch’iu knew of the existence of similar objects is another question. And whether those images were the object of religious reverence is yet another.
48. Modern archeological finds, such as the famous second century B.C. funerary banner of the Lady Tai, would of course prove him wrong. Yet one could also argue that the banner is not three-dimensional, that it was not necessarily the object of religious reverence, and that it does not date from the Three Dynasties. For a description and bibliography of the banner, see Audrey Spiro’s *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
49. Spiro, however, describes a number of extant Han portraits of Confucians, and notes a short work titled *The Method for Picturing Confucius and His Disciples* mentioned in the *Han shu. Contemplating the Ancients,* p. 22.
51. *TH 63:* 18a.
52. *TH 54:* 10a.
53. *TH 55:* 13b. Admonitions against offering sacrifices to spirits with whom one had no proper relationship are found in *Analects* 2: 24.
55. *TH 65:* 12b.
56. *TH 65:* 12b.
58. Ibid.
59. *TH 65:* 13b.
60. TH 65: 13b.
61. Spiro, Contemplating the Ancients.
62. Chan’s translation, from his Neo-Confucian Terms Explained, p. 158. See also PHTI B: 41a–b.
63. The term “eidetic,” which is from the Greek eidētikos, “constituting a figure, from eidos, what is seen, shape,” is an adverb “designating or of mental images that are unusually vivid and almost photographically exact.” From Webster’s Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary, 2d ed.
64. Book of Rites, “Chi i.” Legge’s translation; parentheses are his. LK 28: 211.
65. Ibid.
67. See Chan, Neo-Confucian Terms Explained, p. 151.
68. TH 65: 13b.
69. TH 65: 13a.
70. TH 65: 12b.
71. TH 65: 13a–b.
72. TH 65: 13b.
73. TH 65: 13b.
74. CCC 36: 15a.
75. CCC 52: 15b. For sources in Yüan writings on images in Confucian temples, see YJWC 340–342 and 496–497.
76. TH 61: 9b–10a.
77. TH 65: 6b.
78. Mencius 5B: 2.6.
79. TH 66: 5a–b.
80. TH 66: 5a–b.
81. TH 65: 6b.
82. MSCSPM 51: 70–83.
83. These arguments are sometimes mistakenly attributed to Chang. See Romeyn Taylor’s “Official and Popular Religion,” p. 141 and DMB, s.v. “Chang Fu-ching” and “Hsü Chieh.” For the memorial, see MSCSPM 51: 73–77. Ch’in Hui-t’ien states that Chang took some of his ideas from Sung Lien’s memorial on the Confucian temple, and this is in fact the case. WLTK, p. 7257.
84. Ibid., p. 76.
86. WLTK, p. 7089.
GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS

Chang Fu-ching (Chang Ts'ung, 1475-1539) 張孚敬，張璁
Chang Shih (1133-1180) 張栻
Chao I (Ch'ing Dynasty) 趙翼
Ch'en Ch'un (1153-1217) 陳淳
Ch'en Hao (1032-1083) 程頣
Ch'eng II (1033-1107) 程頤
Ch'eng Tzu ch'üan shu 程子全書
Ch'eng Tzu yü-lei 程子語錄
Chi-ssu: sacrificial offerings 祭祀
Ch'i: vital force 氣
Chien: to see 見
Ch'ien ch'in: see them in person 見親
Chih-sheng hsien-shih K'ung-tzu: Confucius, the Consummate Sage, the Premier Teacher 至聖先師孔子
Ch'in Hui-t'ien (1697-1759) 秦蕙田
Ching: reverence 敬
Ching shen: energies 精神
Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) 邱濬
Chou Hung-mu (1414-1491) 周洪謨
Chu: spirit tablet 主
Chu Hsi (1130-1200) 朱熹
Ch'un-ming-meng yü-lu 春明夢餘錄
Chuang: 状
Ch'ueh-li chih 閣里志
Ch'un-wun ta tz'u-tien 中文大字典
Fo-fa: Buddha dharma 佛法
Fo-hsiang: Buddha image 佛象
Fo shih: Buddhists 佛氏
Han shu 漢書
Hsiang: image 象，像
Hsiang tsan: encomiums for paintings or sculptures 象讚
Hsiao: resemble 相
Hsiao hsiang: images 肖像
Hsien-shih K'ung-tzu: premier teacher 先師孔子
Hsin: mind 心
Hsing: model oneself 刑
Hsü Chien (1503-1583) 許謙
Hui: paint, draw, depict 繪
Hui-tien 會典
Hun 魂
Hun po: soul cloths 魂帛
Hun p'o: anima souls and earthly souls 魂魄
I: righteousness 義
I chiao: heterodox teachings 異敎
I mao: bequeathed likenesses 遺貌
Jen hsin: human shapes 人形
Ju: scholar, Confucian 儒
K'ai-yü ts'ung k'ao 存餘叢考
K'an ying: responsive 感應
K'uei shen: spiritual beings 鬼神
Kukai 空海
K'ung miao: Confucian temple 孔廟
K'ung Tzu miao-t'ang 孔子廟堂議
Lao shih: Laoists 老氏
Lei: (1) Especial sacrifice, (2) kind of category 頓
Li: principle 理
Li: ritual 禮
Ling: ethereal essce, spiritual power 煞
Li Yuan-kuan (8th century) 李元瓘
Mao: likeness 貌
Miao: mysterious 妙
Miao shen: temple spirits 廟神
Ming: mandate 命
Ming: numinous 明
Ming: visible realm 明
Ming-hui-tien 明會典
Ming-shih Ch'iü Ch'iu chuan pu-cheng 明史: 賢傳補正
Ming-tao 明道, i.e., Ch'eng Hao
nan ming: ineffable 難名
ou jen: idols; statues in human shape 偶人
pu k'o tu ssu: unfathomable 不可度思
se: appearances 色
shen: spirit 神
shen erh ming chih: spiritual and numinous 神而明之
shih che: Ten Savants 十哲
Shih shih: followers of Skakyamuni 釋氏
shih tien: oblations 釋奠
ssu: to think 想
su: to sculpt or model 塑
su hsiang: sculpted images 塑像
su jen: sculpted clay figure 塑人
Sun Ch'eng-tse (1593–1675) 孫承澤
Sung Lien (1310–1381) 宋廉
Sung Na (fl. early 14th c) 宋訥
ta ch'eng: great completion, great concert 大成
Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu 大學衍義補
Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌
tao: the Way 道
tei: virtue 德
ti: Lord 帝
Tsou chuan 左傳
Tsou Kan (fl. Ch'eng-hua era) 鄭鶴
t'u: clay 土
t'u: painting or picture 圖
t'ung: wooden burial figures 俑
Wang Mang (r. AD 9–23) 王莽
wei: subtle 微
Wang Yün (1227–1304) 王梉
wei wu: not to be there 爲無
wei yu: to be there 爲有
Wu Chi-hua 吳正文
wu hsing: formless 無形
wu hsiu: without smell 無臭
Wu-li t'ung-k'ao 五禮通考
wu sheng: soundless 無聲
wu sheng wu hsiu: soundless and imperceptible 無聲無臭
yang yang: floating 洋洋
Yao Sui 姚燧
Yen Hui (fl. fifth century B.C.) 頭回
yi: demeanor 儀
yin ssu: wanton sacrifice 淫祀
ying: portrait of the deceased 影
ying t'ang: portrait hall 影堂
yü: hidden realm 幽

BQ2.A 83.7.23 四校
On the Cover: *The Canon of Filial Piety* (detail)
Ma Ho-chih
Sung Dynasty

The calligraphy for the album *The Canon of Filial Piety* was written by the Sung emperor, Kao-tsung. The illustrations were previously attributed to Ma Ho-chih, but a closer examination of the painting style reveals that the style more closely resembles that of Hsiao Chao. Furthermore, the dimensions and composition of the album leaves indicate that this work was originally a handscroll which was later cut to produce the album format. Painted in a realistic style, the people and objects are all imbued with the meanings of the chapters they represent. The brushwork and the use of ruled lines demonstrate the meticulous style of Sung Dynasty painting.