Korea University
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Symposium

高麗大學校 × 國立臺灣大學

2026. 10. 2. 13:30 - 17:30

Korea University Museum

Department of Archaeology and Art History, Korea University
Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan University



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TIMETABLE

Moderator: Kim, Eunkyung (Korea University)

TIME	PRESENTATION	PRESENTER
13:30 - 13:50	Opening & Welcoming Remark	Kim, Yunjeong (Korea University) Lu Hui-wen (National Taiwan University)
13:50 - 14:10	Dinner Sets in a Cross-Cultural Context: A Study of Peranakan Pink-Ground Porcelain with Surname Patterns	Ho, Xin (National Taiwan University)
14:10 - 14:20	Presentation 1 & Comments and Q&A	
14:20 - 14:40	The Introduction of Modern Ceramic Transfer-Printing Techniques to Japan and Their Political Uses	Shim, Hye-Ji (Korea University)
14:40 - 14:50	Presentation 2 & Comments and Q&A	
14:50 - 15:10	Picturing the Rural through Cultural Propaganda: Ran In-ting's Works in U.S. Aid Publications and Catalogs	Tsai, Tuan-Tuan (National Taiwan University)
15:10 - 15:20	Presentation 3 & Comments and Q&A	
15:20 - 15:40	Coffee Break Time	
15:40 - 16:00	A Study on the Nature of Chinese Tea Bowls Excavated from Mountain Fortresses during the Late Silla and Early Goryeo Periods	Song, Yoo-Na (Korea University)
16:00 - 16:10	Presentation 4 & Comments and Q&A	
16:10 - 16:30	The Kyoto Scroll Dated to 554: A Study of the Earliest Dated Dunhuang Daoist Manuscript	Chang, Kun-Lin (National Taiwan University)
16:30 - 16:40	Presentation 5 & Comments and Q&A	
16:40 - 17:30	Closing Remarks	

일정

사회자 : 김은경 (고려대학교)

시간	발표 및 내용	발표자
13:30 - 13:50	개회사	김윤정 (고려대학교) 루 후이 원 [盧慧紋, Lu Hui-wen] (국립대만대학교)
13:50 - 14:10	문화 교류의 맥락에서 본 식기 세트: 페라나칸 분홍바탕 성씨 문양 자기 연구 [Dinner Sets in a Cross-Cultural Context: A Study of Peranakan Pink-Ground Porcelain with Surname Patterns]	허신 [何欣, Ho, Xin] (국립대만대학교)
14:10 - 14:20	발표 1 토론 및 질문	
14:20 - 14:40	근대 도자 전사기법의 일본 전래와 정치적 활용 [The Introduction of Modern Ceramic Transfer-Printing Techniques to Japan and Their Political Uses]	심혜지 (고려대학교)
14:40 - 14:50	발표 2 토론 및 질문	
14:50 - 15:10	문화 선전 아래의 농촌 표상: 미국 원조 시기 출판물에 나타난 란인팅의 작업 [Picturing the Rural through Cultural Propaganda: Ran In-ting's Works in U.S. Aid Publications and Catalogs]	차이돤돤 [蔡端端, Tsai, Tuan-Tuan] (국립대만대학교)
15:10 - 15:20	발표 3 토론 및 질문	
15:20 - 15:40	휴식	
15:40 - 16:00	나말려초기 산성 출토 중국제 다완의 성격 고찰 [A Study on the Nature of Chinese Tea Bowls Excavated from Mountain Fortresses during the Late Silla and Early Goryeo Periods]	송유나 (고려대학교)
16:00 - 16:10	발표 4 토론 및 질문	
16:10 - 16:30	교토국립박물관 소장 『태상동현영보묘경 중편서장』: 양 승성 3년(554)의 돈황 도교 사본 [The Kyoto Scroll Dated to 554: A Study of the Earliest Dated Dunhuang Daoist Manuscript]	장쿤린 [張琨林, Chang, Kun-Lin] (국립대만대학교)
16:30 - 16:40	발표 5 토론 및 질문	
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文化交會下的成套餐具：土生華人粉地姓氏紋瓷器研究

Ho, Xin 何欣
M.A. program, Graduate Institute of Art History
National Taiwan University

Abstract

This paper examines a pink-ground Chinese porcelain dinner service decorated with repeated gold-painted “Yap” (葉) surname patterns, currently on loan from the Mariette Collection and exhibited at the Peranakan Museum in Singapore. Believed to have been associated with a Yap family within the Peranakan Chinese community, the service survives in approximately eighty pieces representing sixteen types of vessels. The paper investigates the possible sources of the forms and decorative style of the “Yap” service by tracing the development of large-scale porcelain dinner sets or services in the West and China, comparing their compositions, and examining the forms and decorative styles of the service in relation to these traditions. The comparison suggests that the “Yap” service combines the large-scale porcelain set tradition of late Qing China with the European use of armorial and decorative motifs as markers of identity. It thus reflects the cultural exchange embodied in Peranakan Chinese material culture from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

초록

본고는 현재 마리에트 컬렉션[Mariette Collection]에서 대여하고 싱가포르 페라나칸 박물관[Peranakan Museum]에 전시 중인 금채로 반복된 ‘엽(葉)’ 성씨문을 장식한 분홍 바탕의 중국 도자 식기 세트를 고찰한다. 해당 세트는 페라나칸 화인[Peranakan Chinese] 사회의 엽씨 가문과 관련된 것으로 추정되며, 16종의 기형으로 이루어진 약 80점의 기물이 현존하고 있다. 본고는 서구와 중국에서 대규모 도자 식기 세트 또는 식기 서비스[porcelain dinner service]가 전개된 양상을 추적하고 구성 방식을 비교하며, ‘엽’ 식기 세트의 기형 및 장식 양식을 이러한 전통과의 관계 속에서 검토한다. 이를 통해 ‘엽’ 식기 세트는 청대(淸代, 1644-1911) 말 중국의 대규모 도자 식기 세트 전통과, 정체성의 표지로서 문장[armorial motif] 및 장식 모티프를 활용한 유럽의 방식을 결합한 사례임을 밝히고자 한다. 나아가 이는 19세기 후반부터 20세기 초반의 페라나칸 화인 물질문화에 구현된 문화적 교류를 보여준다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

This paper presents a study of a pink-ground porcelain dinner service decorated wi th repeated gold-painted “Yap” (葉) surname patterns, currently on loan from the Mari ette Collection and exhibited at the Peranakan Museum in Singapore (Fig. 1, hereafter referred to as the “Yap” service). Made in China and believed to have been associated with a Yap family within the Peranakan Chinese community, the service survives in ap proximately 80 pieces for a table of 8, including 16 types of vessels: 6 types of bowls (30 pieces), 3 types of plates and 2 types of dishes (21 pieces), 2 types of cups, inclu ding covered cups, wine cups, and cup stands (16 pieces), and 2 types of spoons and spoon rests (16 pieces).[i]

The service bears the mark of the “De Sheng Company” (德生公司). Its surfaces are covered in pink enamel and decorated with butterflies and floral motifs. Most of the v essels are embellished with a band of gold-painted “Yap” surname patterns around th e rims, echoing the gold-painted bands along the rims and bodies. The centers also b ear four characters “朝議第制” in gold paint, possibly referring to a Qing official title obtained by the family through monetary contribution.

From the late 19th to the early 20th century, Chinese overglaze enamelled porcelain decorated in bright colors was widely favored by Peranakan Chinese communities in t he British Straits Settlements, particularly in Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. Pink-gr ound porcelain with surname patterns, such as this service, was especially popular an d was often used for Tok Panjang, a feast held at a long rectangular table on special occasions. Under British colonial rule, Peranakan Chinese culture combined Chinese, E uropean, and local Malay elements, resulting in a material and culinary culture shaped by cultural encounters. In terms of household utensils, for example, Peranakan Chines e used both Chinese famille rose and blue-and-white wares alongside British transfer ware. Their cuisine likewise combined Chinese and local cooking techniques while inc orporating ingredients characteristic of the Malay Peninsula.

This paper examines the possible sources of the form and decorative style of the “Yap” service. It first traces the development of large-scale porcelain dinner sets or services in the West and China and compares their compositions. It then analyzes the forms and styles of this service in light of these comparisons.

Ⅱ. Discussion

1. Exported Chinese Porcelain Dinner Services for Europe and America

The production of commissioned porcelain dinner sets developed alongside the Euro pean trade in Chinese porcelain. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Chinese dinn er sets traded by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) evolved with changing dining practices. 17th century sets contained relatively few plates, dishes, and bowls, with d ecoration that was not necessarily uniform, while by the early 18th century, they had expanded in size and adopted consistent decorative schemes.[ii] From the 18th to the 19th century, European and American clients also frequently commissioned Chinese p orcelain services bearing armorial designs.[iii] At this time, dinner sets used in Europe generally served 10 or more diners, although their composition continued to vary duri

ng the early period. It was not until the appearance of the 371 piece service designed by Cornelis Pronk in 1736 that the basic structure of large dinner services became mo re established.[iv]

More specifically, the composition and characteristics of European and American din ner services can be examined through an 1813 book by the British merchant William Milburn.[v] Milburn lists 4 types of Chinese porcelain table sets commonly traded in Ca nton. One example, a "Table Set of 170 Pieces", included 5 types of plates, 6 sizes of dishes, salad bowls, soup and pickle tureens with tops and stands, sauce boats and sta nds, and saltcellars.[vi]

In addition to documentary records such as trade lists, surviving Chinese porcelain se rvices exported to Europe and America provide further evidence of their composition. O ne example is a Chinese porcelain service possibly commissioned by the American Justi ce Samuel Chase (Fig. 2), produced around 1785–1790 and comprising at least 250 piec es.[vii] Each piece bears the Townley family arms, identifying the owner and the family affiliation.[viii] The service has a consistent decorative scheme: a white ground with gold -painted bands and a central armorial design surrounded by floral motifs and Rococo-st yle gold-painted borders, with European-style flowers scattered around the surface.

Its vessels are particularly diverse in form, function, and size, with plates and dishes constituting the majority. These include bread plates, soup plates, trays, covered platter s, and platters with drainers. The service also includes vessels designed for specific typ es of food, such as bowls of various sizes, shapes, and functions (e.g., salad bowls and sugar bowls), cups (such as covered cups and custard cups), pitchers (such as covered pitchers and cream pitchers), soup tureens, covered sauce tureens, and sauce boats.

The examples above show that, beyond consistent decoration, a key characteristic o f Chinese porcelain dinner sets or services exported to Europe and America was their diversity of vessel types and forms, serving different dining needs. In sum, during the 18th and 19th centuries, Chinese porcelain makers were able to produce large service s with diverse forms and specialized functions in response to European and American dining practices.

2. Chinese Large-scale Porcelain Dinner sets

In China, large-scale porcelain dinner sets were generally organized by "table" (桌) as a unit. The earliest known record appears in the *Jiajing* (嘉靖) edition of the *Jiangxi Sheng Dazhi* (『江西省大志』) in Ming Dynasty. It records that in the 23rd year of the Jiajing reign, 1,340 table sets were produced, each table comprising 27 pieces-includi ng 5 wine dishes, 5 fruit dishes, 5 food dishes, 5 bowls, 3 covered dishes, and 1 each of a tea cup, wine cup, *zhadou* (渣斗), and vinegar ewer-all sharing a consistent decor ative style.[ix] The *Wanli* (萬曆) edition of the *Jiangxi Sheng Dazhi* further records that 500 table sets were produced in the 5th year of the *Longqing* (隆慶) reign, with betwe en 27 and 61 pieces per table.[x]

In the Qing dynasty, the table sets recorded in imperial archives allowed for greater stylistic variation than those of the Ming dynasty, which followed a consistent style. B y the *Tongzhi* (同治) and *Guangxu* (光緒) reigns, the imperial archives provide more de tailed records of such sets. For example, at the imperial wedding of the Emperor,each table at the *nacai* banquet (納采宴) contained 42 pieces, all decorated in the same styl e of "fine porcelain with red flowers and double-happiness characters in colors" (五彩 紅花雙喜字細磁).[xi] At the *hejin* banquet (合巹宴), each table contained 34 pieces, but th

e styles varied: 24 pieces were decorated in the “red-and-gold” style (赤金), while th e remaining 10 had different designs.[xii]

In addition to differences in decoration, late Qing imperial records indicate a substan tial increase in the number of pieces per table. For example, during the *Guangxu* impe rial wedding, the *Chafang* (茶房, Tea Office) of *Chuxiu Palace* (儲秀宮) was instructed to prepare 10 tables of “coarse porcelain” (糙瓷) and 14 tables of “high-footed porcel ain with seasonal-flower designs” (四季花高腳瓷器), each comprising 138 pieces.[xiii]

The latter included 5 types of bowls (28 pieces), 2 types of dishes (66 pieces), 4 se ven-inch plates, 20 wine cups, and 20 spoons.[xiv] By the late Qing, therefore, a single table could contain a considerable number of vessels, with plates, dishes, and bowls f orming the core of the set.

Although complete surviving sets corresponding to those recorded in the late Qing archives are difficult to identify, the imperial kilns also commonly produced various ty pes of porcelain vessels in large batches. The Palace Museum in Beijing preserves bo th design drawings (畫樣) and the corresponding porcelain wares made for the *Tongzh i* Emperor’s wedding in 1867, providing further evidence of the composition of large-s cale porcelain sets in the late Qing. The drawings comprise 23 decorative patterns, ea ch specifying the required types, sizes, and quantities of vessels. Based on these desi gns supplied by the Imperial Workshops, the imperial kilns at *Jingdezhen* (景德鎮) prod uced the vessels accordingly, with production completed in 1871.[xv]

One example is the “Yellow Ground with Gold-Painted Double-Happiness and Hundr ed Butterflies” (黃地金雙喜百蝶) pattern (Fig. 3), which included 7 types of bowls (280 pieces, including covered bowls), 3 types of plates (120 pieces), 3 types of dishes (12 0 pieces), 2 types of tea cups (40 pieces), tea jars (20 pieces), spoons (40 pieces), *zh adou* (10 pieces), wine cups (40 pieces), flowerpots (6 pieces), narcissus basins (水仙 盆, 2 pieces), hair-cutting basins (剔頭缸, 4 pieces), rouge boxes (4 pieces), and powd er boxes (4 pieces), for a total of 690 pieces.[xvi]

Its composition centered primarily on bowls, plates, and dishes of different sizes, wi th relatively limited functional differentiation. Notably, its vessel types also extended beyond tableware to include flowerpots, narcissus basins, hair-cutting basins, rouge b oxes, and powder boxes.

3. Analysis of the “Yap” Service

A closer examination of the vessel forms produced for the *Tongzhi* Emperor’s weddi ng also reveals considerable similarities with the pink-ground porcelain dinner servic e. For example, spoons (羹匙) and covered bowls (蓋碗) or covered cups (蓋杯) are co mmon forms in Chinese dining culture and are found in both the “Yap” service and the porcelain set produced for the *Tongzhi* Emperor’s wedding, but are absent from the E uropean and American dinner services discussed above. The “Yap” service is likewise dominated by bowls, plates, and dishes, with relatively few vessels designed for speci fic types of food and correspondingly limited functional differentiation. In terms of bot h vessel types and forms, the service therefore more closely resembles large-scale C hinese porcelain sets in late Qing.

When it comes to the service’s style, it draws on styles and motifs common in late Qi ng famille rose porcelain from *Jingdezhen*, such as butterfly motifs and repeated elongat ed lettering. At the same time, its use of a surname pattern to signify identity and owne rship may have drawn on the European tradition of using armorial designs as markers of

family identity and ownership. The aforementioned service bearing the Townley family arms provides a useful comparison. The arms identify the owner and family affiliation, while the surrounding flowers and Rococo-style gold-painted borders echo the European-style floral motifs and gold-painted bands on the white ground of the service. Similarly, the "Yap" service uses the surname pattern to identify its owner. The repeated "Yap" patterns and the central characters "朝議第制" likewise are in gold paint, echoing the gold-painted bands around the rims and bodies and creating a unified decorative scheme.

The "Yap" service thus brings together multiple cultural elements. Its vessel types and forms retain the characteristics of large-scale late Qing Chinese porcelain sets, while its style reflects late Qing *Jingdezhen* famille rose porcelain. Its use of a surname pattern to identify the owner may also have been influenced by the European tradition of armorial porcelain, which incorporated arms or other decorative motifs as markers of identity, reflecting the cultural exchange embodied in the service.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

This study examines the form and decorative style of the "Yap" service by comparing it with large-scale porcelain dinner sets or services in the West and China. The comparison shows that, although plates, dishes, and bowls of various sizes constituted the majority in both, they differed in composition and functional differentiation. From the 17th to 18th centuries, European and American services grew increasingly large and diverse, incorporating specialized vessels for different dining functions, while consistent decoration became an important defining feature. By contrast, late Qing Chinese porcelain sets could also comprise hundreds of pieces, but their decoration style was not necessarily uniform, and their composition remained centered on bowls, plates, and dishes, with less functional differentiation and more flexible criteria for forming a complete set.

The "Yap" service more closely resembles large-scale late Qing Chinese porcelain sets in its forms and composition. Its style likewise draws on the late Qing *Jingdezhen* famille rose tradition, incorporating common motifs such as flowers and elongated lettering. Yet its use of a surname pattern to signify family identity also echoes the function of European armorial porcelain to mark identity and ownership. The service thus combines large-scale porcelain production in the late Qing with the European use of armorial and decorative motifs as markers of identity, reflecting the cultural exchange embodied in Peranakan Chinese material culture from the late 19th to early 20th century.

Endnotes

i. Randall Ee et al., Peranakan Museum Guide (Asian Civilisations Museum, 2015), 156–57.
ii. Christiaan Jörg, Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade (M. Nijhoff, 1982), 170–71.
iii. David S. Howard, Chinese Armorial Porcelain (Faber and Faber, 1974), 67–8.
iv. Jörg, Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade, 171.
v. William Milburn, Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China and Japan, Vol. 2 (Black, Parry & Co., 1813).
vi. Milburn, Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China and Japan, Vol. 2, 504.
vii. The surviving pieces are now dispersed across several collections, with most held by Th e Metropolitan Museum of Art and a smaller number in other institutions, including the His toric Odessa Foundation.
viii. The Townley family arms on the service were borrowed from Chase's aunt, Margaret To wnley, who was a heraldic heiress. His bookplate also shows that he used the same arms. Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Chinese Export Porcelain," The Met ropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin60, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 38; Arlene M. Palmer, A Wintert hur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain (Crown, 1976), 111.
ix. Zhadou (渣斗) is a vessel for collecting food scraps and other waste. Wang Zongmu, Jiang xi Sheng Dazhi 『江西省大志』 (Zhonghua Book Company, 2018), 375–76.
x. Wang Zongmu and Lu Wangan, Jiangxi Sheng Dazhi《江西省大志》, 38, movable-type editio n, Cabinet Library, National Archives of Japan Digital Archive, 292-0001, https://www.digit al.archives.go.jp/file/3610518 (accessed April 27, 2026).
xi. Tie Yuan and Li Guorong, eds., Qinggong Ciqi Dang'an Quanji《清宮瓷器檔案全集》 (China P ictorial Publishing House, 2008), 41:337–38; 42:56.
xii. Xu Ruiping and Li Jing, "Guangxu Dahon Quanjilu: 'Dahun Dianli Hongdang'"〈光緒大婚全紀錄：〈大婚典禮紅檔〉, Palace Museum Journal, no. 1 (2009): 141–42.
xiii. Tie and Li, Qinggong Ciqi Dang'an Quanji, 42:56–7.
xiv. Tie and Li, Qinggong Ciqi Dang'an Quanji, 42:56–7.
xv. Tie and Li, Qinggong Ciqi Dang'an Quanji, 35:102–8; 36:110–19.
xvi. Palace Museum, ed., Guan Yang Yu Ci: Gugong Bowuyuan Cang Qingdai Zhici Guanyang Yu Yuyao Ciqi《官樣御瓷：故宮博物院藏清代製瓷官樣與御窯瓷器》 (Forbidden City Publishing House, 2007), 116; Tie and Li, Qinggong Ciqi Dang'an Quanji, 35:102–8.

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Le Corbeiller, Clare, and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen. “Chinese Export Porcelain.” The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 60, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 1–60.

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Palace Museum, ed. Guan Yang Yu Ci: Gugong Bowuyuan Cang Qingdai Zhici Guanyang Yu Yuyao Ciqi《官樣御瓷：故宮博物院藏清代製瓷官樣與御窯瓷器》. Forbidden City Publishing House, 2007.

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Xu, Ruiping, and Li Jing. “Guangxu Dahon Quanjilu: ‘Dahun Dianli Hongdang’” 《光緒大婚全紀錄：〈大婚典禮紅檔〉》. Palace Museum Journal, no. 1 (2009): 136–47.

Figures



Fig. 1. Dinner Service with the Surname “Yap”, 19th to 20th century, porcelain, Mariette Collection. Photograph by author.



Fig. 2. Service possibly ordered by Samuel Chase, 1785–90, porcelain, the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/17778



Fig. 3. "Yellow Ground with Gold-Painted Double-Happiness and Hundred Butterflies" Porcelain Set (partial), 1867-71, porcelain, Palace Museum, Beijing. Ren Wanping et al., *Gugong Zhencang Cixi de Ciqi*《故宫珍藏慈禧的瓷器》 (Beijing Publishing House, 2013), 29.

The Introduction of Modern Ceramic Transfer-Printing Techniques to Japan and Their Political Uses
근대 도자 전사기법의 일본 전래와 정치적 활용

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Abstract

Following the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century, the European ceramic industry shifted toward a standardized system of mass production based on advances in mechanical technology, the division of labor, and the factory system. Ceramic decoration also required new techniques suited to mass production, moving away fro m hand-painted methods that depended heavily on individual skill and considerable working time. Transfer printin g developed in response to these demands. By enabling the same design to be reproduced rapidly, uniformly, and repeatedly, it became an important technique in the production and decoration of modern industrial ceramics.

Following the industrialization of copperplate transfer printing in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, the technique spread to ceramic-producing regions across Europe from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century. Transferware produced in Europe subsequently reached Asia and the Americas through expanding international trade networks. Japan, which became increa singly integrated into the international trade system in the mid-nineteenth century, also adopted transfer printing as part of its broader introduction of Western industrial technologies. In particular, the Meiji government's policies for industrial development brought significant changes to ceramic production systems and decorative techniques. Within this process, transfer printing beca me established as an important decorative technique for the expanding production of modern Japanese industrial ceramics.

The adoption of transfer printing transformed not only the efficiency of ceramic production but also the imagery represented on ceramics. Because the technique enabled identical images and textual information to be reproduced repeatedly in large quan tities, transferware could function as media for the dissemination of visual images and information. Alongside traditional decorat ive motifs, modern Japanese transferware featured contemporary social and political imagery, including modern cities and trans portation, symbols of Civilization and Enlightenment, the emperor and the military, and scenes associated with war. The repeat ed reproduction of such imagery on objects used in everyday life demonstrates that transferware served not merely as decorat ed ceramics but also as media through which contemporary images and information could be disseminated in everyday life.

This paper first examines the development and diffusion of modern ceramic transfer printing in Europe and its introducti on into Japan. It then considers how the technique was adopted, modified, and incorporated into the production of industrial ceramics in Japan. Finally, by analyzing the modern and political imagery represented on Japanese transferware, this paper examines transfer printing not merely as a decorative technique but also in relation to the mass reproduction and dissemina tion of visual images and information in modern Japan.

초록

18세기 후반 산업혁명 이후 유럽의 도자 산업은 기계기술의 발달과 공장제 생산체계의 확립에 따라 분업화·규격화된 대량생산체제로 전환되었다. 이러한 변화 속에서 도자기의 장식 역시 장인의 숙련과 작업시간에 의존하는 손그림 방식에서 벗어나 대량생산에 적합한 새로운 기술을 필요로 하게 되었다. 이에 따라 발전한 전사기법은 동일한 도안을 신속하고 균일하게 반복하여 시문할 수 있는 장식기법으로, 근대 산업도자의 생산과 장식에서 중요한 역할을 담당하였다. 특히 18세기 중엽 영국에서 동판전사가 상용화된 이후 전사기법은 18세기 후반부터 19세기에 걸쳐 유럽 각지의 도자 생산지로 확산되었으며, 이를 이용하여 제작된 전사도자는 국제적인 무역망을 통해 유럽을 넘어 아시아와 미대륙으로 유통되었다. 19세기 중엽 국제무역 체제에 편입되기 시작한 일본에서도 서구의 제도와 기술을 적극적으로 수용하는 과정에서 전사기법이 근대적인 도자 생산기술의 하나로 도입되었다. 특히 메이지유신 이후 추진된 식산흥업과 근대 산업의 육성은 도자 산업의 생산체계와 장식기법에도 변화를 가져왔으며, 전사기법은 근대 일본의 산업도자 생산이 확대되는 과정에서 중요한 장식기술로 자리 잡았다. 전사기법의 수용은 생산 효율의 향상에만 그치지 않고 도자기에 표현되는 도상의 성격에도 변화를 가져왔다. 동일한 이미지를 반복적으로 복제할 수 있다는 전사기법의 특성은 도자기를 특정한 이미지를 다수에게 전달하는 시각적 매체로 기능하게 하였다. 이에 따라 전사도자에는 전통적인 장식문양뿐 아니라 근대적 도시와 교통수단, 문명개화의 표상, 천황과 군대, 전쟁과 같은 당대의 정치적·사회적 도상이 폭넓게 표현될 수 있었다. 특히 일상생활에서 사용되는 도자기에 이러한 이미지가 복제될 수 있었다는 점은 전사도자를 근대 일본의 시각문화 및 매체의 확산이라는 맥락에서 살펴볼 필요성을 제기한다.

본고에서는 먼저 근대 도자 전사기법이 유럽에서 발전하고 일본으로 유입되는 과정을 살펴보고, 일본에서 전사기법이 수용되어 산업도자 생산에 적용되는 양상을 검토한다. 나아가 일본에서 제작된 전사도자에 나타난 근대적·정치적 도상을 분석함으로써 전사기법이 단순한 도자 장식기술을 넘어 시각적 메세지를 대량으로 유통하는 매체로서 기능하였음을 고찰하고자 한다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

The Industrial Revolution transformed both ceramic manufacture and the organizatio n of production. Division of labor, standardization, and mechanization created condition s for mass-produced industrial ceramics, but decoration remained dependent on skille d handwork. Transfer printing addressed this problem by allowing a prepared design to be repeatedly transferred to ceramic surfaces. Stencil-based methods increased uni formity, while copperplate printing used paper as an intermediate carrier and could re produce detailed pictorial imagery more rapidly and consistently than hand painting.

This paper examines transfer printing as both a decorative technology and a mecha nism that changed the visual function of ceramics. It traces the development of transfe r printing in Europe, its Dutch-mediated introduction and industrialization in Japan, and the modern imagery that appeared on Japanese transferware. Because identical image s and texts could be reproduced on large numbers of durable objects, transferware co uld circulate contemporary visual information through everyday material culture.

Ⅱ. Discussion

1. The Development and Diffusion of Ceramic Transfer Printing in Europe

Before copperplate transfer printing became an industrial ceramic technique, Europe an potters had already experimented with methods for repeatedly applying prepared d esigns. In sixteenth-century Deruta and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Castelli, preparatory outlines could be transferred from existing compositions rather than redra wn independently on every vessel.[i] Comparable practices appeared in Dutch tile prod uction, where prepared outlines were transferred to ceramic surfaces and the subsequ ent outlining and coloring could be divided among different workers.[ii] Such methods, later associated with the track technique, still depended heavily on handwork, but they introduced an important conceptual shift: the decorative image could be prepared sepa rately and then repeatedly applied. At the Doccia Porcelain Manufactory near Florenc e, founded by Carlo Ginori (1702–1757), stencil techniques likewise enabled standardiz ed designs to be repeated more efficiently.[iii] These pin-hole, track, and stencil proce dures remained within a largely handicraft-based system, yet they established the pri nciple of transfer that preceded mechanical printing.

British experiments demonstrate the productivity that made the technique industrially significant. In 1751 the Irish engraver John Brooks sought a patent in Birmingham for tr ansferring engraved images onto enamel and ceramic surfaces. Robert Hancock (1730–1 817) used copperplate transfer printing on enamel at the York House Factory in Batters ea in 1754–55 and later produced plates for the Worcester Porcelain Manufactory (Fig. 1). In Liverpool in 1756, John Sadler (1720–1789) and Guy Green reported printing more than 1,200 ceramic tiles with different designs in approximately six hours. Their hot-pla te process used a heated mixture of linseed oil and ceramic pigment on an engraved co pperplate; the image was printed onto transfer paper, rubbed onto the ceramic body, an d then fired. The experiment makes clear that the importance of transfer printing lay no t simply in stylistic novelty but in a substantial increase in decorative productivity.[iv]

Early copperplate transfer printing was mainly overglaze and commonly produced bl

ack, purple, and reddish-brown designs fired at approximately 700–850℃. Because such decoration could wear during use, British manufacturers experimented with underglaze printing using cobalt oxide. Thomas Turner, formerly associated with Worcester, established the Caughley Porcelain Manufactory in 1772 and produced consistently fired blue underglaze transferware. In the mid-1780s Josiah Spode I (1733–1797) successfully applied blue underglaze transfer printing to earthenware. This was a crucial stage in industrialization: transfer printing was no longer restricted to relatively expensive porcelain but could be combined with lower-cost earthenware produced in large quantities. The movement of engravers and printers between Worcester, Caughley, and Spode also shows that technical development depended on the circulation of skilled labor and specialized knowledge, not simply on isolated invention.[v]

During the nineteenth century, transfer printing diversified and spread from Britain to continental Europe through the movement of skilled workers and manufacturing knowledge. The Petrus Regout factory, established in Maastricht in 1836, is especially instructive. From its early years it drew heavily on Staffordshire ceramic technology and products.[vi] More importantly, British technicians were employed to improve product quality and train Dutch workers in transferware production. Regout therefore did not simply import British products or imitate their appearance; the factory gradually localized the technical knowledge necessary for independent large-scale manufacture.

Regout wares also entered overseas markets. The Netherlands possessed long-established commercial networks linking Europe with Asia, and its continuing relationship with Japan provided one route through which European ceramics circulated. Nineteenth-century Maastricht transferware has been identified among European ceramics preserved or excavated in Japan. The diffusion of transfer printing was therefore not only the movement of a decorative process but also a history of skilled labor, industrial organization, technological localization, and international commodity circulation.

2. The Adoption and Industrialization of Transfer Printing in Japan

Japan encountered European transfer printing through long-established Dutch-mediated exchange. After Dutch trade was authorized in 1609 and the trading post moved to Dejima in Nagasaki in 1641, Western commodities, books, instruments, and prints entered Japan and contributed to Rangaku, or “Dutch Learning.” Copperplate prints were especially important because their fine lines, shading, and perspective differed from Japanese woodblock prints. By the late eighteenth century Japanese artists had begun studying the process; in 1783, Shiba Kōkan (司馬江漢, 1747–1818) produced the first copperplate print in Japan. Knowledge of engraving and printing thus preceded its application to ceramics.[vii]

European ceramics imported through Dutch trade were generally called Oranda-yaki (和蘭陀焼; Fig. 2), although the term did not necessarily indicate Dutch manufacture. Nineteenth-century transferware from the Petrus Regout factory has been identified in Japan, including everyday forms decorated with patterns such as the Gleaners and roses. These objects show that wares developed for European markets entered Japan as both foreign commodities and material models for Western ceramic forms and printed decoration.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, Japanese craftsmen began experimenting with the transfer process itself. During the Tenpō Reforms (1841–43), restrictions on some forms of Western-style copperplate printing prompted engravers to leave Edo, and some subsequently collaborated with potters in Mino, Seto, and Kyoto. Copperplate

transferware is generally considered to have been produced at Risen-yaki (里泉焼) in Mino in 1846, followed by experiments at Kawana-yaki (川名焼) and Kaseyama-yaki (鹿背山焼). These examples are important because they show that Japanese producers moved beyond visual imitation of imported Oranda-yaki and attempted to integrate co pperplate printing with existing ceramic practices before the ports were opened. Yet the process remained experimental. European transfer printing depended on specialize d pigments, transfer paper, and coordinated technical procedures in addition to engrav ing. Without stable control of these materials, failure rates were high and transferred images often required hand retouching. Paper-stencil decoration therefore remained m ore practical for repeated designs into the early Meiji period.[viii]

After the opening of the ports, transfer printing developed within a broader reorgani zation of ceramic production. Mass production required more than the acquisition of a decorative technique: raw-material procurement and refinement, forming, decoration, f iring, production organization, marketing, and distribution also had to be reorganized. Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the government promoted industrial moderniz ation through policies associated with Fukoku Kyōhei (富国強兵) and Shokusan Kōgyō (殖産興業), while established ceramic regions were encouraged to improve productivity through the introduction and adaptation of Western technologies.

International exhibitions formed an important channel for this process. At the Paris Exposition of 1867, the Tokugawa shogunate and domains including Satsuma participat ed independently, displaying ceramics and other decorative arts while also encounterin g European machinery and manufactured goods. After the establishment of the Meiji g overnment, participation became more systematically connected with industrial policy, notably at the Vienna World's Fair of 1873. Exhibition participation was linked not onl y to the cultivation of overseas markets but also to the investigation of technologies, materials, and design. These activities were accompanied by inspections of European factories, the dispatch of Japanese trainees abroad, and the employment of foreign sp ecialists such as Gottfried Wagener (1831–1892). Through these mechanisms, Western ceramic technologies were introduced on a larger scale and adapted to Japanese condi tions of production.

Technical experiments in transfer printing intensified in the late nineteenth century. In 1887 Igarashi Kenji (五十嵐健二, ?–?) experimented with underglaze copperplate tran sfer printing at Gojōzaka in Kyoto, and the following year related wares were fired at Toki in Gifu. A cobalt-based gosu pigment was mixed with viscous substances such a s konjac (蒟蒻) or Bletilla striata root and glycerin, printed onto transfer paper, and tr ansferred by wetting the reverse of the paper.[ix] This example is important because it demonstrates adaptation rather than simple transplantation: imported principles were c ombined with materials and practices already familiar in Japanese ceramics.

From the late 1880s, further experiments and patent applications followed. At Hyōch ien (瓢池園), a Tokyo workshop producing ceramics for export, a copperplate-based m oriage (盛上) process for raised decoration was developed, while Katō Yonejirō (加藤米次郎, ?–?) of Tajimi and others applied for patents related to copperplate transfer print ing.[x] Copperplate printing nevertheless remained costly. Detailed engraving demanded highly skilled labor, plate preparation and printing required time and expense, and desi gns transferred onto complex curved surfaces could still require hand correction. The se limitations encouraged manufacturers to seek transfer methods that could increase productivity while reducing production costs.

Lithographic transfer printing offered a further solution. Lithography, developed by Aloys Senefelder (1771–1834), used the repulsion of water and oil rather than engrav ed recesses.[xi] Compared with copperplate engraving, it permitted freer drawing and w as particularly suitable for polychrome decoration through separate printing surfaces f or individual colors. In Europe, the expansion of lithographic ceramic transfer was sup ported by improvements in transfer media, including Duplex Transfer Paper developed in Britain in 1895.

In Japan, Kobe Shōkai imported German lithographic transfer paper in 1890. In 1897 Oguri Kunijirō (小栗国次郎, ?–?) experimented with lithographic designs and subsequent ly investigated the principles of the process, working toward domestic production of m aterials such as gelatin and varnish. Morimura Gumi (森村組) promoted wider adoption from 1905, and Matsukaze Tōki Gōmei Kaisha (松風陶器合名会社) introduced lithograph ic transfer printing into its Nagoya factory in 1907.[xii] By the Taishō period, the techni que had come into practical use more broadly and was applied not only to export cera mics but also to mass-produced wares for the domestic market. The Japanese history of transfer printing should therefore be understood as a sequence of reception, experi mentation, adaptation, localization of materials and processes, and eventual integration into industrial production.

3. Modern Imagery on Japanese Transferware

The industrial establishment of transfer printing altered more than productivity. Tra ditional motifs continued, but modern transferware increasingly depicted foreign lands capes, Western architecture, exhibitions, locomotives, steamships, railway maps, scho ols, military subjects, flags, and imperial symbols. Because these images appeared on durable objects repeatedly handled in everyday life, ceramic decoration became a surf ace for circulating contemporary information.

One major group of designs is associated with Bunmei Kaika (文明開化, “Civilization an d Enlightenment”). The Meiji government’s efforts to establish a modern state involved changes in education, industry, transportation, social customs, and public culture. Image s of foreign places and Kaika-e visualized these transformations through scenes of Wes tern-style buildings, new machines, public institutions, and modern transport. A plate be aring the characters Bunmei Kaika makes the concept itself into decoration, while a plat e depicting the Kyushu railway network turns modern infrastructure and geographic info rmation into the principal visual field of a ceramic object. Such examples are especially important because they show that the ceramic surface was no longer limited to conventi onal ornament: it could carry information closely tied to a specific historical moment.

A second group consists of imperial and military imagery. From the late nineteenth century, warfare and the consolidation of the modern imperial state generated designs depicting soldiers, warships, military aircraft, battle scenes, departures and triumphant returns, the Hinomaru (日章旗), and the Rising Sun Flag (旭日旗). The range extended beyond explicitly military subjects to representations of the emperor and imperial hou sehold, commemorative inscriptions, terms such as kōkoku (皇国, “imperial nation”) an d aikoku (愛国, “patriotism”), and era names including Taishō (大正) and Shōwa (昭和). Subjects concerning diplomacy, treaties, national commemorations, and Japan’s interna tional status also appeared.[xiii] These images were applied to everyday vessels as well as commemorative ceramics, placing state and military symbols within material enviro nments of repeated use and display.

A particularly revealing example is the Bakudan San'yūshi (爆弾三勇士, "Three Human Bomb Heroes"), three Japanese military engineers killed during an operation associated with the Shanghai Incident of 1932. Their story and images were subsequently reproduced through newspapers, magazines, songs, monuments, and commercial commodities. Their appearance on transferware (Fig. 3) demonstrates how an image already circulating through mass media could be reproduced on ceramic objects as part of the same broader visual culture. In this sense, transferware did not operate in isolation from modern print media: its reproducibility allowed political and military imagery, together with the messages attached to it, to enter the sphere of durable everyday material culture.[xiv]

The political significance of transferware lies not only in individual motifs but also in its reproductive structure. The same images of modernization, warfare, and imperial authority could appear on numerous commercially distributed plates, bowls, cups, and sake vessels such as tokkuri (徳利). Transfer printing thus connected industrial production with the circulation of visual information and positioned the ceramic vessel between commodity, image, and everyday material culture.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

Ceramic transfer printing developed in Europe by separating the creation of an image from its repeated application to individual vessels. Its decisive industrial phase came when British manufacturers combined copperplate printing—especially underglaze blue—with lower-cost wares and mass production. The technique then circulated internationally through workers, technologies, and commodities. In Japan, its adoption likewise proceeded through several stages: Dutch-mediated encounters with European prints and transferware, pre-opening experiments by engravers and potters, Meiji-period industrial investigation, and the eventual localization of copperplate and lithographic transfer methods.

Transfer printing transformed ceramic productivity and the circulation of imagery. Railways, foreign architecture, military heroes, flags, warships, imperial symbols, and written messages could be reproduced on durable everyday objects. Modern Japanese transferware therefore links the histories of ceramic technology and industrial production with the circulation of visual imagery and the propagation of political imagery and ideological messages through modern visual and material culture.

Endnotes

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ii. Bang Byeong-sun, “The Influence of Chinese Ceramics Imported into the Dutch Republic o n Delftware”, Gangjwa Misulsa, 48(2017): 322.
iii. The Doccia Porcelain Manufactory was founded in 1735 by Marquis Carlo Ginori (1702–17 57) and appears to have used stencil decoration from the 1740s, when it began operating commercially. In this process, a perforated sheet of paper, parchment, or thin copper was placed against the biscuit-fired ceramic body and pigment was applied through the openin gs to form the design. Oliva Rucellai, “The Medicean Legacy and the Genius of Carlo Gino ri,” in The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar Documentary(2005): 3939.
iv. J. V. G. Mallet: 95–112.
v. William Turner, Transfer Printing on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery: Its Origin and Develo pment in the United Kingdom (Chapman & Hall, 1907), 87–89.
vi. Some early factory marks adopted forms associated with British manufacture, including th e Staffordshire Knot and motifs resembling the British Royal Arms or the Diamond Registr ation Mark. “Petrus Regout,” The Potteries, https://www.thepotteries.org/allpotters/850b.ht m(accessed July 13, 2026); “Staffordshire Knot Marks,” The Potteries, https://www.thepott eries.org/markguide/staffs_knots.htm(accessed July 13, 2026).
vii. Hashimoto Hiroko, “On the Curved Coastlines Seen in Shiba Kōkan’s Megane-e and Oil-P ainted Landscapes” 《美術史論集》 10 (2010): 67, 72.
viii. Hashimoto Tadayuki, Modern Printed Wares: Their Designs and Historical Background, T enkūsha(2006), 107.
ix. Gertjan de Groot, “British Potters in Swedish and Dutch Pottery Industries in the 19th Ce ntury,”: 4–5.
x. Tsuruta Sumihisa, “Chapter on Igarashi Kenji”, Tsuruta, https://turuta.jp/story/archives/2196 (accessed September 23, 2026).
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xii. Miyachi Hidetoshi, The Ceramic Industry of Modern Japan: Industrial Development and the Multilayered Structure of Production Organizations (Nagoya University Press, 2008), 263–64.
xiii. Hashimoto Tadayuki, 52; Nakano Yasuhiro, “A Study of Modern Ceramic Painting”, Bullet in of the Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum 15 (2010): 44–65.
xiv. Hashimoto, Kindai no Inbande, 52; Nakano Yasuhiro, 37.

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Figures



Fig. 1. “Mug”
Worcester Porcelain Factory, 1757, H. 8.6 cm, British Museum.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1887-0307-V-26



Fig. 2. "Yunomi with The Gleaners Design"
Petrus Regout Factory, the Netherlands Hashimoto, Tadayuki. *Modern Printed Wares: Their Designs and Historical Background* (Tenkūsha, 2006), 199.



Fig. 3. "Wall-Mounted Flower Vase with the Three Human Bomb Heroes(肉弾三勇士)"
Copperplate transferware, 1932, 10.3 × 15.4 cm, Osaka Museum of History.
Hashimoto, Tadayuki. *Modern Printed Wares: Their Designs and Historical Background* (Tenkūsha, 2006), 61.

The Modern Transformation of Nanga and Its Transmission in East Asia: The Case of Komuro Suiun
南畫的近代轉化與東亞傳播：以小室翠雲為例

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Abstract

While Nanga had declined toward the end of the Edo period, it regained attention in Japan in the 1910s and 1920s. This paper examines the modern transformation and transmission of Nanga in East Asia through the act ivities of the Japanese Nanga painter Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874–1945). In particular, Nanga Shinron (南畫新論) demonstrates Suiun's theoretical rethinking of Nanga, while the painting manuals published through the Nan ga Kanshōkai (南畫鑑賞會) show how painting techniques and knowledge of natural subjects were organized int o repeatable forms of instruction. The transmission of this knowledge is further examined through the Nanga Kanshōkai's activities in Taiwan, including Suiun's lecture in Taipei in 1932, the establishment of its Taiwan br anch in 1933, and the participation of Taiwanese painters. By tracing these processes, this paper considers ho w Nanga was transformed from a painting tradition into a system of artistic knowledge that could be taught an d transmitted to a wider audience.

초록

에도 말기에 침체된 남화(南畫)는 1910-1920년대에 일본에서 다시 주목받기 시작했다. 본고는 일본 남화가 고무로 스이운[小室翠雲, 1874-1945]의 활동을 중심으로 동아시아에서 이루어진 남화의 근대적 변용과 전파 양상을 고찰한다. 특히 『남화신론(南畫新論)』은 남화에 대한 스이운의 이론적 재사유를 보여주며, 『남화감상회(南畫鑑賞會)』 를 통해 간행된 화보 및 회화 교본은 회화 기법과 자연물에 대한 지식이 교육적 양식으로 체계화된 양상을 보여준다. 이러한 지식의 전파는 1932년 스이운의 타이베이 강연, 1933년 남화감상회 대만지부의 설립, 그리고 대만 화가들의 참여를 포함한 남화감상회의 대만 내 활동을 통해 더욱 구체적으로 검토된다. 이러한 과정을 분석하며 남화가 하나의 회화 전통에서 보다 폭넓은 대중에게 교육되고 전승될 수 있는 예술 지식의 체계로 어떻게 변모하였는지를 살펴보고자 한다.

Nanga (南畫) refers to a school of painting that emerged in Japan during the mid-Edo period through the incorporation of Chinese literati painting traditions. Although its name derives from the "Southern School" of Chinese painting, it developed into a distinct Japanese painting tradition and gradually declined toward the end of the Edo period. It was not until the 1910s and 1920s that Nanga regained attention in Japan. This revival led to a wave of experimentation with "New Nanga," while Nanga acquired new meanings within modern art, and came to represent "Oriental" culture in the context of Japanese imperial expansion.[i]

As a painter grounded in the Nanga tradition, Komuro Suiun (小室翠雲, 1874-1945) actively participated in the revival of Nanga and sought to develop new forms of Nanga in response to modern art trends. In his book *Nanga Shinron* (南畫新論; A New Theory of Nanga), he incorporated ideas such as sketching (寫生) into Nanga. Moreover, Suiun established Nanga Kanshōkai (南畫鑑賞會; Nanga Appreciation Society) and issued the magazine *Nanga Kanshō* (南畫鑑賞; Nanga Appreciation), thereby making the study of Nanga accessible to a broader public, including audiences outside Japan. Through these activities, the revival and transformation of Nanga were also transmitted to Taiwan, Korea, China, and other regions.

Taking Komuro Suiun as a case study, this paper examines how this "new" form of Nanga became a system of knowledge that could be transmitted across East Asia in the first half of the 20th century.

In the context of the revival of Nanga in the 1910s and 1920s, Komuro Suiun published *Nanga Shinron* in 1921, in which he reinterpreted Nanga and its methods of study. Unlike the traditional approach, which emphasized copying, Suiun proposed beginning with "sketching." He stated:

> In any case, since painting is based on nature, the most important thing is to cultivate an understanding of realistic representation. By sketching, one comes to understand the "real" in the contrast between the real and the unreal, and grasp the structure of objects, and only then can one confidently take up the brush.[ii]

This demonstrates that he introduced the modern concept of sketching and observation of nature into the study of Nanga. However, this did not mean that he regarded realistic depiction as the goal of painting. Instead, he returned to the core of Nanga, "Rhythm" (氣韻), emphasized that expressing individuality was essential for a work to become art.[iii] Suiun's approach can be seen as an example of the modern transformation of Nanga, in which new ideas were incorporated while building on the Nanga tradition.

Komuro Suiun founded the Nanga Kanshōkai in 1932 as a form of correspondence education for amateurs. The magazine *Nanga Kanshō* was published monthly for its members. It mainly contained articles about Nanga and painting manuals by Suiun, through which new concepts in Nanga were also presented.

In Suiun's painting manuals, he demonstrated various painting subjects, starting with the practice of the "Four Gentlemen"—orchid, bamboo, chrysanthemum, and plum. This not only corresponded to the sequence mentioned in *Nanga Shinron*, which stated that students should learn basic brushwork with the "Four Gentlemen,"[iv] but also continued the traditional method of learning Nanga. Each demonstration was accompanied by a thin sheet of paper with instructions and the sequence of brushstrokes marked on it. These sheets could be placed over the works contribute to understanding the moveme

nt of the brush (Fig. 1).

Interestingly, when explaining painting subjects, Suiun included not only traditional p ainting history and theory, but also modern knowledge such as botany. In the section on “bamboo,” for instance, he provided detailed descriptions of various species of ba mboo. One example is “Niitaka bamboo” (新高竹):

> “Niitaka bamboo” grows in clusters in the Niitaka Mountain Range of Taiwan, at elevation s of approximately 6,000 to 12,000 shaku (尺), extending from the arboreal zone to the shru b or herbaceous zones. It is one of the representative alpine plants of the Niitaka Mountain Range, growing to a height of approximately 1.5 to 4 shaku.[v]

Yet although Suiun introduced numerous species of bamboo with reference to botani cal knowledge, his demonstrations still provided a set of steps and forms to follow. Th e sequence of brushstrokes was clearly indicated, together with modular forms such a s “goldfish-tail-shaped leaves”[vi] (Fig. 2).

In the section on “dandelion,” Suiun likewise referred to modern sources such as ency clopedias.[vii] However, unlike subjects that carried cultural meaning such as the “Four G entlemen,” dandelion was not a common subject in painting and was instead an ordinary plant found in everyday surroundings. It was therefore demonstrated in a less formalize d manner (Fig. 3). Compared with the standardized forms of bamboo, the depiction of da ndelion appears closer to an observation of the natural object itself.

In this sense, although Suiun advocated sketching and observation of nature as the basis for learning Nanga in *Nanga Shinron*, he continued to use the traditional pedagog ical model of painting manuals. This seemingly contradictory approach may reflect the coexistence of tradition and modernity. The demonstrations and procedures provided by painting manuals allowed brushwork to be formalized and repeatedly practiced, whi le the incorporation of modern knowledge such as botany deepened learners’ understa nding of natural subjects.

Beyond their pedagogical function, printed publications also served as a means for tr ansmitting Nanga across regions. The postage information on the advertisement pages of *Nanga Kanshō* indicates that publications of the Nanga Kanshōkai could also be ship ped to Korea, Manchuria, and Taiwan. For example, painters in Chiayi, Taiwan, could obtain Japanese art magazines and art book such as *Nanga Kanshō* and Toei (塔影) thro ugh the Sanyodo bookstore (山陽堂書店) in Chiayi city.[viii] This indicates that even with out traveling to Japan or learning through a master-disciple relationship, Taiwanese pa inters could still encounter modern Japanese art through print media.

Furthermore, the activities of Komuro Suiun and Nanga Kanshōkai in Taiwan provide another example of how Nanga was transmitted across East Asia. In 1932, Suiun visite d Taiwan and gave a lecture on Nanga at the Rotary Club in Taipei. He pointed out th at the difference between Nanga at that time and Nanga in the Edo period lay in their respective engagement with nature. This statement corresponds to the ideas of obser vation and sketching discussed in *Nanga Shinron* and suggests that Suiun was conscio usly introducing his new understanding of Nanga to Taiwan.

Suiun further established a Taiwan branch of Nanga Kanshōkai in Taipei in 1933, wi th Mori Bokusai (森牧齋) responsible for its activities. More than thirty Nanga enthusia sts participated in the establishment ceremony, including Yasuda Hanpo (安田半圃), Wa ng Shaotao (王少濤), Ozaki Hotsuma (尾崎秀真) and Wei Qingde (魏清德).[ix]

Records of Taiwanese members' participation can also be found in the section "Reviews of Winning Works at the Nanga Exhibition" in Nanga Kanshō, where Suiun reviewed works submitted by members and selected works for the annual exhibition. Among these records, the Taiwanese painter Lin Yushan (林玉山) was selected for the seventh exhibition in 1940 with *Landscape of Tamsui*. Suiun commented that the work "vividly depicts the actual scenery and creates an elegant composition."[x] This comment particularly emphasizes the depiction of actual scenery, which echoes with the concept of sketching proposed in *Nanga Shinron*.

In conclusion, Komuro Suiun's approach reveals that the modern transformation of Nanga involved both the incorporation of new ideas and the continuation of traditions. Through his writings, painting manuals, publications, and organizational activities, Nanga became a system of artistic knowledge that could be studied by a wider public and transmitted across regions to local painters.

Endnotes

i. Chiba Kei 千葉慶. “Imperialization of Thought in Japanese Art: A Case Study of Nanga Re-evaluation in 1910's and the 20's 日本美術思想の帝国主義化—一九一〇～二〇年代の南画再評価をめぐる一考察—,” Bigaku 美學, 54, no. 1 (2003): 56-68.

ii. Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲. *Nanga Shinron* 南畫新論 [A New Theory of Nanga]. Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1921, 57.

iii. Komuro Suiun, *Nanga Shinron*, 72.

iv. Komuro Suiun, *Nanga Shinron*, 56-57.

v. Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲. “Komuro Suiun-sensei Take no Kōgi 小室翠雲先生竹の講義 [Komuro Suiun's Lecture on Bamboo].” *Nanga Kanshōroku* 南畫鑑賞錄, no. 5 (1932), National Tsing Hua University Library Special Collection.

vi. Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲. *Gashu wo kaneta Shin Nanga no Kakikata* 画集をかねた新南画の描き方 [A Painting Album and Guide to New Nanga]. Shibundo Shoten, 1933, 19.

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viii. Lin Po-ting 林柏亭, Research on Painting in the Chiayi Region 嘉義地區繪畫之研究. National Museum of History, 1995, 118.

ix. “Nanga Kanshōkai Taiwan Shibu no Hakkai-shiki 南畫鑑賞會臺灣支部の發會式,” Taiwan Nichi nichi Shinpō, August 27, 1933.

x. Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲. “Dai-nana-kai Nanga Tenrankai Nyūshō Sakuhin-hyō 第七回南畫展覽會入賞作品評,” *Nanga Kanshō* 南畫鑑賞, 9, no. 8 (1940): 28.

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“Nanga Kanshōkai Taiwan Shibu no Hakkai-shiki 南畫鑑賞會臺灣支部の發會式,” Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō, August 27, 1933.

Figures



Fig. 1. Komuro Suiun, Komuro Suiun's Lecture on Plum Blossom, 1932. Nanga Kanshōroku, no. 10. National Tsing Hua University Library Special Collection.



Fig. 2. Komuro Suiun, Goldfish-Tail-Shaped Leaves, 1933. Gashu wo kaneta Shin Nanga no Kakikata, p. 19.



Fig. 3. Komuro Suiun, Komuro Suiun's Lecture on Dandelion, 1934. Nanga Kanshōroku, no. 23. National Tsing Hua University Library Special Collection.

Picturing the Rural through Cultural Propaganda: Ran In-ting's Works in U.S. Aid Publications and Catalogs
文化宣傳下的農村圖像：藍蔭鼎在美援時期出版品中的創作

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Abstract

This paper examines Ran In-ting's images of rural Taiwan in U.S. aid publications during the Cold War. Ran was known for his paintings of Taiwan's countryside during the Japanese colonial period. In the post-war era, he collaborated with the Republic of China government and the United States Information Service (USIS). Focusing on his works in Harvest Magazine and the 1961 catalog Ran In-ting's Taiwan, this study asks how his paintings showed rural Taiwan as part of "Free China." Although these publications promoted new farming methods and U.S. aid, Ran rarely showed modern machines or other signs of aid. Instead, he often painted farmers, ducks, bamboo groves, and rural houses, presenting a quiet and simple image of village life. The "local color" of Taiwan from the Japanese colonial period was thus given a new meaning during the Cold War and used to show Taiwan as part of "Free China." At the same time, Ran continued to depict Taiwan's rural landscape in ways that were closely connected to his earlier works. His paintings reveal the tension between the political use of rural images and his continued focus on the local character of Taiwan.

초록

본고는 냉전기 미국 원조 간행물에 나타난 란인팅[藍蔭鼎, 1903-1979]의 대만 농촌 이미지를 고찰한다. 란인팅은 일제강점기 대만 농촌을 그린 작품들로 잘 알려진 화가이며, 전후에는 중화민국 정부 및 미국공보처[United States Information Service]와 협력하였다. 본고는 『풍년잡지[豐年雜誌]』과 1961년 도록 『란인팅의 대만[Ran In-ting's Taiwan]』에 수록된 작품을 중심으로, 그의 회화가 대만의 농촌을 '자유 중국[Free China]'의 일부로 어떻게 제시했는지 탐구한다. 이러한 간행물은 새로운 농법과 미국의 원조를 홍보하였으나, 란인팅은 근대적 기계나 미국의 원조를 거의 묘사하지 않았다. 대신 그는 농부, 오리, 대나무 숲, 농가 등을 통해 고요하고 소박한 농촌 생활의 이미지를 제시하였다. 이처럼 일제강점기에 형성된 대만의 '향토색[local color]'은 냉전기라는 시대상 속에서 재정의 되었고, 대만을 '자유중국'의 일부로 표상하는 데 활용되었다. 동시에 란인팅은 이전 작품들과 긴밀히 이어지는 방식으로 대만 농촌 풍경을 지속적으로 묘사하였다. 그의 회화는 농촌 이미지의 정치적 활용과 대만의 지역적 특성에 대한 지속적인 관심 속의 긴장 관계를 드러낸다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

Ran In-ting (藍蔭鼎, 1903-1979) was a renowned Taiwanese watercolor painter. During the Japanese colonial period, his works were selected for the Imperial Fine Arts Exhibition (帝国美術展覧) as well as the Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition (台湾美術展覧会) organized by the Taiwan Education Association, an external organization affiliated with the Cultural and Education Bureau of the Governor-General of Taiwan under Japanese rule. He also frequently published illustrations in newspapers, maintaining a close cooperative relationship with the colonial authorities. His works primarily depicted Taiwanese rural landscapes, highlighting features that distinguished the island's southern scenery from that of Japansuch as water buffoons, red-brick houses, and coconut trees—and he was regarded as a representative artist who expressed Taiwan's "local color."

In the post-war period, Ran In-ting began collaborating with the Republic of China (ROC) government and the United States Information Service (USIS), and was involved in the launch of *Harvest Magazine* (豐年雜誌), which aimed to educate farmers. Furthermore, under the cultural diplomacy strategy of U.S.-ROC cooperation during the Cold War, he became one of the few native Taiwanese painters who were able to hold overseas solo exhibitions in the 1950s. Among these, his 1954 trip to the United States at the invitation of the Department of State received particular media attention. This opened up opportunities for him to serve as a private artist representing the ROC government in cultural diplomacy abroad.

After returning to Taiwan, and with the financial support of the USIS, he held a solo exhibition and published catalogs. This established his public image as a "watercolor painter who integrated Chinese and Western techniques." Images of duck farmers in his works were even presented as diplomatic gifts to national leaders and inspired film productions, further establishing him as a representative figure of post-war Taiwanese rural imagery.

However, current research on Ran In-ting mostly focuses on his activities during Japanese rule and his later watercolor creations, while paying less attention to his works in publications. This study takes *Ran In-ting's Taiwan*—a catalog funded by the USIS—and other publications as examples to discuss how Taiwan's landscapes were presented within the context of cultural propaganda.

Ⅱ. Discussion: The cases of *Harvest Magazine* and *Ran In-ting's Taiwan*

In the post-war era, Harvest Magazine was jointly established by the USIS, the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), amid the cultural propaganda campaign of the Truman administration's "Campaign of Truth." From the beginning of the project, it emphasized instilling anti-communist ideology among farmers, highlighting the assistance of U.S. aid, and promoting a blueprint for a "progressive rural village."[i.]

At that time, the already well-known Ran In-ting developed a close relationship with Robert Sheeks, the director of the USIS, and proposed the use of simple images and texts to educate farmers about basic knowledge. However, the person who actually illustrated agricultural knowledge was the woodcut printmaker Yang Ying-feng(楊英風, 1926-1997).[ii.]

Ran In-ting regularly published watercolors and sketches in the "Rural Guidance" section columns such as "Village Ballads"(田庄歌謠) and "Spring Festival Couplets" (春聯), accompanied by seven-character poems explaining their content—a format si

milar to his early contributions to the *Taiwan Daily News*. Taking the October 15, 1951 issue of "Village Ballads (Part 7)" as an example (Fig. 1), Ran In-ting chose to focus on the rapidly developing duck-raising industry of the time. He depicted a duck farmer holding a long pole, driving a large flock of ducks toward the distant background of the picture. The accompanying poem reads: "A bamboo pole twelve feet long directs the duck formation into the village; drakes and ducks sing mountain songs, and the herding sounds like gongs.[一枝竹高丈二長，指揮鴨陣落田庄，鴨公鴨母唱山歌，趕鴨聲音那銅鑼.]"[iii]

Compared to the new agricultural knowledge and illustrations by Yang Ying-feng published in other sections—which emphasized the changes brought to rural areas by U.S. aid—Ran In-ting's works published in *Harvest* rarely featured modernized machinery or technicians. Instead, through neat compositions, they presented rural order, and the joys of human relationships. Nevertheless, the appearance of the duck-farming theme still reflected how advancements in poultry-farming techniques under U.S. aid transformed the existing post-war rural landscape, thus implicitly achieving a propagandistic effect.

Ran In-ting's collaborations with the U.S. were not limited to magazines. In 1961, under the USIS translation project and the "Taiwan Reporting Project," *Ran In-ting's Taiwan*—a catalog of monochrome paintings—was published by Taipei Heritage Press to promote the culture of "Free China" to overseas Chinese and Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, as one of five books on painting published that year.[iv]

The catalog consisted of a series of ink paintings by Ran In-ting, each accompanied by a four-character Chinese title, and a short explanatory essay written by the editors of Heritage Press. Taking *Tranquil Labor* (安居樂業, Fig. 2) as an example, Ran In-ting depicted a farming household nestled within a bamboo grove, built of red brick or clay, with farmers, water buffaloes, and chickens scattered across the scene. The editor wrote: "*Despite new factories, farming is still the backbone of Taiwan life. Farmhouses, red brick or clay, cluster together for company in bamboo groves bordering well-tended rice paddies.*"[v] This annotation explained that while Taiwan's economy was still primarily agricultural at the time, it was also undergoing industrialization.

In *Urging Ducks to the Pen* (驅鴨歸欄, Fig. 3), Ran In-ting painted a duck farmer's shed, set against a backdrop of bamboo groves and thatched huts, accompanied by a dense flock of ducks. This image presented the rural visual elements that he most frequently featured in the catalog, while the editor introduced Taiwan's western duck-farming industry to readers in the accompanying text:

> *"The duck is ubiquitous in any inhabited landscape in the western half of the island. Waddling in front of boys or old men who direct their movement with bamboo poles, flocks of them quack along wet country lanes or glide along quiet stretches of the rivers. They probably outnumber chickens. At least, their eggs are cheaper."*[vi]

Even though the propaganda of the USIS and the ROC government more or less emphasized how agricultural technology improvements transformed the rural landscape, much like his contributions in *Harvest Magazine*, Ran In-ting's paintings in these publications rarely featured newer machinery such as trucks and tractors, nor did they show supplies stamped with U.S. aid labels. The Taiwanese rural villages depicted in his paintings were mass-printed and disseminated within the framework of Cold War cultural propaganda, yet the main elements in his paintings—such as tropical plants and red-brick architecture—remained largely consistent with the Taiwanese landscapes he repeatedly created during the Japanese colonial period, leaning toward a

pastoral landscape.

At the same time, the “local color” of Taiwan once understood by the Japanese during the colonial era was repackaged during the Cold War as the scenery of “Free China,” ser ving as a tool to garner support for the U.S. and ROC, as well as a means of understandin g rural China at a time when direct contact with villages on the mainland was impossible.

However, it is worth noting that while Ran In-ting largely cooperated with the Nat ionalist government's narrative in contemporary interviews, he consistently signed hi s works as Formosa in the Heritage Press catalog. Given that discussions of “peasa nts” in early Cold War Taiwan could easily evoke political sensitivities due to their association with communist ideology, Ran In-ting’s approach perhaps suggests that, even as he presented images of the “Free China” countryside overseas, he still mai ntained a sense of identification with the distinctive character of Taiwan’s rural land scape within these constraints.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

Compared with Taiwanese artists of the 1950s and 1960s who turned to experime ntation with new forms of artistic expression, Ran In-ting did not make a dramatic shift toward Western art movements in the post-war period. A closer examination o f his post-war works, however, reveals a growing emphasis on narrative, with his at tention increasingly directed toward the everyday interactions between people and t he land. This raises a broader question of how painters of the Cold War era navigat ed the cultural conditions of post-war propaganda: on the one hand, responding to official demands and shaping the public’s post-war perception of Taiwanese rural lif e; on the other hand, incorporating pre-war artistic perspectives, such as local colo r, into their subsequent works in new forms and preserving them within a rapidly ch anging art world. Examining this tension is therefore crucial to understanding how p ainters negotiated the cultural conditions of the Cold War era.

Endnotes

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Figures



Fig. 1. Ran In-ting, "Village Ballads (Part 7)(田庄歌謠第七回)", Harvest Magazine October 15, 1951.



Fig. 2. Ran In-ting, "*Tranquil Labor* (安居樂業)", *Ran In-ting's Taiwan*. Taipei: Heritage Press, 1961. p.5.



Fig. 3. Ran In-ting, "*Urging Ducks to the Pen* (驅鴨歸欄)", *Ran In-ting's Taiwan*. Taipei: Heritage Press, 1961. p.63.

From Regional Culture to Freedom and Abstraction: Five American Art Exhibitions Held in Taiwan in the Late 1950s
從地域文化到自由與抽象：1950年代後期美國在臺灣舉辦的五場藝術展覽

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Abstract

This paper examines five American art exhibitions organized or co-organized by the United States Information Service (USIS) in Taiwan between 1955 and 1960, challenging the prevailing Cold War interpretation that emphasizes the political promotion of Abstract Expressionism. The 1955 Highlights of American Painting foreg rounded national history, regional subjects, and cultural diversity rather than avant-garde art. Between 1957 a nd 1960, three print exhibitions increasingly incorporated modern and abstract works while emphasizing techni cal and stylistic diversity. A significant shift occurred with the 1960 Twentieth Century Highlights of American Painting, which introduced works by Jackson Pollock and Arshile Gorky and explicitly associated abstraction w ith individual freedom and democracy. These exhibitions reveal a gradual transformation in American cultural diplomacy in Taiwan, from representations of national identity toward plural modernism and the presentation of abstraction as an expression of democratic freedom, rather than a consistent campaign to promote Abstract Ex pressionism throughout the decade.

초록

본고는 1955년부터 1960년 사이 대만에서 미국공보처[United States Information Service] 주최 혹은 공동 주최한 다섯 개의 미국 미술 전시를 검토함으로써, 추상표현주의[Abstract Expressionism]의 정치적 확산을 강조해 온 기존의 냉전기 해석에 의문을 제기한다. 1955년 개최된 〈미국 회화의 정수[Highlights of American Painting]〉는 전위 예술보다는 국가의 역사, 지역적 주제, 문화적 다양성을 전면에 내세웠다. 이어 1957년부터 1960년까지 개최된 세 차례의 판화전은 근대적, 추상적 작품을 포함하는 한편, 기법 및 양식의 다양성을 강조하였다. 중요한 전환은 1960년 〈20세기 미국 회화의 정수[Twentieth Century Highlights of American Painting]〉에서 나타났다. 이들 전시는 1950년대 내내 추상표현주의를 일관되게 선전한 캠페인보다는 국가 정체성의 표상에서 다원적 모더니즘으로, 민주적 자유의 표현으로서 추상을 제시하는 방향으로 변화한 대만 내 미국 문화외교의 점진적 변모를 보여준다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

Studies of modern art in Taiwan during the 1950s have often been grounded in a Cold War framework. They tend to regard the United States as the principal source of modern art information and focus particularly on the influence of Abstract Expressionism on Taiwanese artists. Their arguments resemble the so-called revisionist interpretation advanced by Western scholars since the 1970s, according to which the United States deployed modern movements, including abstract art, as instruments of politically motivated cultural propaganda during the Cold War.

Existing scholarship has demonstrated that American programs promoting and exhibiting modern art in the United States and Europe during the early 1950s, together with their cultural organizations and patronage networks, were intricately connected to politics. The promotion of Abstract Expressionism is the most conspicuous example. This paper argues, however, that this conclusion cannot necessarily be applied directly to the cultural propaganda conducted by American official agencies in Taiwan. For most of the decade, these activities did not make Abstract Expressionism the focus of their artistic programs.

The distinction is methodological as well as historical. Evidence concerning exhibitions organized for American or European audiences cannot by itself establish what official agencies selected, interpreted, and circulated in Taiwan. The local record must instead be reconstructed from the periodicals, catalogues, and works actually made available there. Such materials reveal not a fixed policy operating uniformly across regions, but a changing set of priorities shaped by medium, venue, audience, and date.

One example is World Today, a magazine published by the United States Information Service (USIS) in Hong Kong and circulated among Chinese readers in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. Although it had an unmistakable anti-communist agenda and regularly published articles on art, almost all its artistic coverage during the 1950s introduced Chinese artists from Hong Kong and Taiwan. It contained virtually no information about postwar modern art in the United States. The USIS offices in Hong Kong and Taiwan may therefore have been less interested in promoting avant-garde art than in constructing the collective image of a “Free China” artistic community defined by Chinese cultural identity.

Beyond periodicals, this paper examines five exhibitions organized or co-organized by the USIS in Taiwan between 1955 and 1960: Highlights of American Painting in 1955; three print exhibitions in 1957, 1958, and 1960; and Twentieth Century Highlights of American Painting in 1960.

Ⅱ. Discussion

The 1955 Highlights of American Painting consisted of forty-one reproductions of works by thirty-seven American artists produced between 1674 and 1948 (see Appendix 1). Arranged chronologically, they presented a linear narrative of American art history.[1] The first half included colonial portraits, subjects concerning independence and nation-building, and nineteenth-century depictions of natural scenery, rural life, western experience, and everyday customs.[2] Its twentieth-century section highlighted diverse responses to modern art, including simplified form, impressionistic transformatio

n, and compositional design.[3] Arthur G. Dove's Flour Mill Abstraction (1938), which reduced visible reality to areas of color, was among the most abstract works. Grant W ood, Marsden Hartley, and others represented the modern artist's renewed attention t o American subjects and experience.[4]

The exhibition's principal objective was to construct a distinctive image of the Unite d States through art. Its earlier works explained how American art developed from Eu ropean-influenced traditions into representations of local society, regional experience, and national history. Subject matter identifiable as American was more important than formal qualities. The exhibition also demonstrated that American artists were not behi nd their European counterparts in exploring modernism and had begun to develop char acteristics of their own.

This narrative did not present American modernism simply as the reception of Euro pean ideas. Instead, it suggested that imported formal languages had gradually been tr ansformed through American experience. Landscapes, regional customs, and scenes of national development thereby served a double function: they documented the country' s history while distinguishing its art from European precedents. The exhibition's accou nt of modernism was consequently compatible with its larger national narrative rather than a rupture from it.

The catalogue introduction identified "unusual directness and clarity of vision," expr essed through simplicity, as fundamental characteristics of American art. It also treate d realism as a distinctively American development within modernism. Although John M arin, Charles Demuth, Arthur G. Dove, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Lyonel Feininger passed through various phases of abstraction, they retained a concern with visible reality and the inner meaning of their subjects. The romantic realism of Robert Henri and George Bellows (Fig. 105) was described as "incisive, bold, direct," socially and politically con scious, and especially representative of the United States. Lois A. Bingham further pr esented artistic variety itself as an American characteristic reflecting a nation formed by immigrants, races, and cultural traditions.

These descriptions are important because they show that the exhibition did not opp ose modernism and realism. Formal experimentation could be acknowledged so long a s it remained tied to visible experience, national subjects, or social consciousness. Div ersity, rather than adherence to a single avant-garde style, supplied the unifying princ iple through which American art was explained abroad.

The exhibition nevertheless overlooked Abstract Expressionism, which had already attracted considerable attention in the United States and was gaining international rec ognition. Although it might have embodied the directness and boldness identified as A merican qualities, the organizers instead selected the comparatively dated romantic re alism as the most representative style. Novelty and avant-gardism were not their prim ary considerations; in 1955, inwardly expressive abstraction had not yet been chose n as a principal cultural symbol of the United States in Taiwan.

Between 1957 and 1960, the USIS and the Taiwan branch of the China Institute in A merica organized the Exhibition of American Prints, the Modern Print Exhibition, and th e Contemporary American Print Exhibition. Nearly all the works were contemporary A merican prints produced during the 1950s, and abstract works were well represented.

In the 1957 Exhibition of American Prints, almost half of the thirty-five works empl oyed abstract or semi-abstract forms, some resembling action painting through free br ushwork, dripping, and areas of color. Yet the exhibition emphasized a new printmakin

g technique more than modern art itself. Every work was a serigraph, and the venue displayed tools, materials, production procedures, and commercial and industrial applic ations of screenprinting. Abstraction and modern art were thus two among the many p ossibilities of serigraphy presented there.

The 1958 Modern Print Exhibition presented recent works by ten American artists of German, French, Russian, Hungarian, and other origins. It encompassed woodcut, lin ocut, lithography, serigraphy, etching, and Cellocut. Most works were figurative and m odern, with Expressionism predominating, though wholly abstract works such as Boris Margo's From the Meteor were included. Their clearest common feature was that they had been produced between 1952 and 1955; the coexistence of multiple artistic forms in the postwar United States may therefore have been the exhibition's central theme.

The artists also held varied positions toward abstraction. Norma Morgan experiment ed with abstraction at Atelier 17 but turned toward landscape in the early 1950s. Gab or Peterdi developed abstract and semi-abstract works from organic natural forms, w hile Boris Margo used Cellocut to explore automatism, chance, and personal emotion. Although Corita Kent was interested in Abstract Expressionism, her exhibited work re tained recognizable religious figures, whereas the self-described "social expressionis t" Mervin Jules explicitly opposed abstract art. A single USIS-supplied exhibition thus included artists who embraced, abandoned, adapted, or rejected abstraction.

This range makes it difficult to treat the exhibition as a coherent promotion of abstr action, much less of Abstract Expressionism alone. What unified the selection was con temporaneity and technical variety rather than a common formal or ideological positio n. Its image of American printmaking depended precisely on the coexistence of incom patible artistic choices.

The 1960 Contemporary American Print Exhibition included sixty works created bet ween 1951 and 1957 and offered a fuller outline of the plural development of contemp orary American printmaking. More than half were abstract or semi-abstract—a higher proportion than in the earlier Taiwan exhibitions and in its sister exhibition, Prints by Contemporary American Artists, which toured the Near East between 1956 and 1958 b ut contained only about one-tenth abstract works. This difference may indicate that ar ound 1958 abstract art gained a more prominent place in overseas cultural exhibitions, or at least became more acceptable as representative of contemporary American art.

Yet these works should not be equated with Abstract Expressionism. They included geometric abstraction, surrealist and organic forms associated with Atelier 17, design-like compositions, and works retaining recognizable figures. Their media ranged from woodcut, serigraphy, lithography, engraving, and etching to spray techniques, paper re lief, and stencil printing. Even as American agencies incorporated abstraction more act ively into their image of contemporary art, they displayed a plural and heterogeneous modernism rather than a field represented exclusively by Abstract Expressionism.

The comparison with the Near Eastern touring exhibition is therefore suggestive but not conclusive evidence of a coordinated policy change. The higher proportion of abst ract works may reflect a broader institutional acceptance of abstraction, differences b etween available collections, or adaptation to particular exhibition circuits. What can b e established is that by 1960 abstraction had become sufficiently prominent to represe nt contemporary American printmaking in Taiwan without displacing other styles.

From July 27 to 31, 1960, the USIS held Twentieth Century Highlights of American Pa inting in Taipei. Commissioned by the USIA and organized by Doris Meltzer, director of

the Meltzer Gallery, the exhibition consisted of forty high-quality color reproductions and had toured internationally since 1958.[1] Unlike the 1955 exhibition, it focused decisively on the twentieth century, particularly the postwar period and the 1950s; about half its works had been produced after the war. Dorothy Adlow's catalogue introduction similarly characterized the 1950s as a period when American painting became wider in scope, less literal, more adventurous, mysterious, and free in form and spirit.[2][3]

The exhibition's most noteworthy works were Jackson Pollock's No. 27, 1950 (Fig. 152) and Arshile Gorky's The Betrothal, II (1947) (Fig. 153), the first public presentation in Taiwan of works by these leading Abstract Expressionists. Both were interpreted as visual expressions of inner emotion and rebellion. Gorky's "restless, mobile, mercurial line charted his roused feeling," while Pollock's drip painting sought "a visual counterpart of inner rebellion" and communicated hostility toward modern materialism and standardization.

Inner emotion expressed through abstract form was a central feature of contemporary American painting in the exhibition. The catalogue stated that Morris Graves had found a way to externalize moods, while Louis Bunce described painting as revealing inner life through intellectual, emotional, and technical transformation. It presented this attitude as a premise underlying the work of many younger American artists. Unlike the preceding exhibitions, this was the first American exhibition in Taiwan to interpret abstraction through such a characteristically postwar perspective.

This interpretive framework marked a significant change from the 1955 exhibition. Whereas the earlier catalogue valued modern artists for preserving visible reality and American subject matter, the 1960 catalogue made intangible experience itself a legitimate subject. Abstraction was no longer merely one formal option within a diverse national tradition; it became a privileged means of translating psychological and spiritual states into visual form.

The exhibition also emphasized the relationship between artists and nature. Dorr Bothwell's abstract Keepsake from Corsica was understood as an imaginative or symbolic interpretation of nature. In Beach-Rising Mist No. 3 (Fig. 154), nature suggested both the substance and mood of Bunce's painting. Balcomb Greene's abstract Composition: The Storm (Fig. 155) retained a visible link to natural scenery through rough edges, broken contours, and disruption, making disturbed nature a parallel for emotional unrest.

It also conveyed a more explicit democratic message. Adlow declared that "American painting of the twentieth century thrives in the energizing atmosphere of democracy." Discussing the 1950s, she connected its expanding scope and freedom with "an atmosphere of free speech and free expression." The exhibition therefore presented modern American painting as both part of a continuous historical development and the product of a democratic environment. It emphasized postwar abstraction and linked it not merely to the decomposition of visible reality, but to emotion, vitality, nature, and spirit. Historically, it was the first exhibition in which the United States publicly displayed postwar abstract painting in Taiwan.

The political meaning of the exhibition thus operated through the conditions said to enable artistic production rather than through overt anti-communist imagery. Stylistic freedom, individual emotion, and formal experimentation were made evidence of democratic culture. This formulation brought postwar abstraction into the ideological vocabulary of American cultural diplomacy more directly than any of the preceding exhibitions in Taiwan.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

Taken together, the five exhibitions reveal a transformation in the cultural display st rategies of American official agencies. The 1955 Highlights of American Painting emp hasized historical tradition, national subjects, cultural diversity, and figurative painting; modernism was present but not central. Beginning with the 1957 Exhibition of Americ an Prints, modern and abstract forms became increasingly visible, though initially withi n a broader presentation of serigraphy. The 1958 Modern Print Exhibition foregrounde d diverse media and the coexistence of Expressionism, geometric art, abstraction, and other styles. By the time the Contemporary American Print Exhibition and Twentieth Century Highlights of American Painting, both organized in 1958, reached Taiwan in 1 960, roughly half their works were abstract. The latter publicly introduced Pollock and Gorky and directly situated American modern art within a narrative of freedom and de mocracy. Rather than demonstrating a consistent, decade-long campaign to promote A bstract Expressionism, these exhibitions show a gradual shift: from historical tradition and figurative national imagery in 1955, toward plural modernism after 1957, and finall y toward the explicit association of predominantly abstract forms with American freed om and democracy in 1960.

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Figures



Fig. 1. George Caleb Bingham, *Raftsmen Playing Cards*; 1847; oil on canvas; 71.3 × 96.7 cm; Saint Louis Art Museum, https://www.slam.org/collection/objects/33813/



Fig. 2. Boris Margo, *From Meteorites*; 1952; color cellocut; plate: 29.5 × 40.3 cm, sheet: 40.3 × 50.5 cm; Hammer Museum, UCLA Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, https://hammer.ucla.edu/collections/grunwald-center-collection/loss-and-restitution-the-story-of-the-grunwald-family-collection/art/art/from-meteorites



Fig. 3. Jackson Pollock, *Number 27, 1950*; 1950; oil, enamel, and aluminum paint on canvas; 124.6 × 269.4 cm; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

A Study on the Nature of Chinese Tea Bowls Excavated from Mountain Fortresses during the Late Silla and Early Goryeo Periods
나말여초기 산성 출토 중국제 다완의 성격 고찰

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Abstract

This study examines the multifunctional nature of mountain fortresses (sanseong, 山城) and the aspects of tea utilization during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods through Chinese tea bowls (Yue ware-type celadon and Xing ware-type white porcelain) excavated from mountain fortress sites on the Korean Peninsula. Dating from the second half of the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century, these Chinese tea bowls serve as key historical evidence reflecting the adoption of tea culture in local society, while simultaneously demonstrating the complex roles played by mountain fortresses during the turbulent Later Three Kingdoms period.

The excavation contexts of Chinese tea bowls and tea utensils within these mountain fortresses can be broadly categorized into three types: first, administrative and command spaces within local seats of government (chiso, 治所) responsible for governance and tax collection; second, ritual and votive deposition spaces linked to mountain-river rituals (sancheonje, 山川祭) and protective deity worship; and third, hubs of foreign exchange, such as guesthouses (gaekgwan, 客館), which functioned as centers for Sino-Korean interactions and the reception of foreign envoys. As such, the Chinese tea bowls and tea consumed within mountain fortresses functioned diversely as status symbols for local magnates, ritual offerings praying for national and regional stability, and means of diplomatic hospitality. Consequently, this study demonstrates that mountain fortresses during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods transcended simple military and defensive outposts to become centralized spaces integrating the political, administrative, ritual, and diplomatic functions of local society through the medium of tea culture.

초록

본 연구는 나말여초 시기 한반도 산성(山城) 유적에서 출토된 중국제 다완(월주요계 청자, 형요계 백자)을 통해 당시 산성의 다기능적 성격과 차(茶) 활용 양상을 고찰하고자 하였다. 9세기 하반에서 10세기 전반에 걸쳐 산성 유적에서 확인되는 중국제 다완은 당시 지방 사회에서 차 문화가 수용된 양상을 보여주는 동시에, 후삼국 시대의 격동기 속에서 산성이 수행한 복합적 역할을 증명하는 핵심 자료이다.

산성 내 중국제 다완과 다구의 출토 맥락은 크게 세 가지 유형으로 분류된다. 첫째, 지방 통치와 조세 수취를 담당했던 치소(治所) 내 행정·지휘 공간, 둘째, 산천제(山川祭) 및 수호 신앙과 결부된 제의 및 매납 공간, 셋째, 대당 교류와 사신 접객 기능을 수행한 객관(客官) 등 대외교류 요충지이다. 이처럼 산성에서 소비된 중국제 다완과 차는 지방 유력자의 정치적 위세품인 동시에 국가와 지역의 안위를 기원하는 제례의 공양물, 그리고 외교적 접객 수단으로 다채롭게 활용되었다. 결과적으로 본 연구는 나말여초 산성이 단순한 군사·방위적 거점을 넘어, 차 문화를 매개로 지역 사회의 정치·행정·제의·외교적 기능이 집약된 중심 공간이었음을 밝혔다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

The Korean Peninsula, where mountainous terrain accounts for approximately 70% of the land area, features numerous mountain fortresses historically constructed to serve as military strongholds and administrative centers (chiso, 治所). From these sites, sherds of imported Chinese tea bowls are frequently recovered. This study aims to investigate the functions of mountain fortresses and the nature of tea utilization during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods through the analysis of Chinese tea bowls excavated from these fortress sites. The consumption of tea on the Korean Peninsula generally originated during the Late Silla period. During this era, as part of a national strategy to absorb advanced Tang culture, Silla dispatched numerous seeker-monks to Tang China, through whom tea culture was transmitted. Lu Yu (陸羽, 733–804) of Tang China authored the Classic of Tea (Chajing, 茶經) in the mid-to-late 8th century, identifying Yue ware (越州窯) celadon bowls as the finest vessel for tea. He also noted Xing ware (邢窯) white porcelain bowls as comparable alternatives celebrated by the public, despite being slightly secondary to Yue ware. Consequently, southern Yue celadon bowls and northern Xing white porcelain bowls became synonymous with fine teawares, giving rise to the phrase “Southern Green, Northern White” (南青北白). In addition to mountain fortresses, these Yue-type and Xing-type tea bowls have been excavated from various Late Silla sites, including the Mireuksa Temple site in Iksan, Ingaksa Temple site in Gunwi, Anapji Pond, Hwangnyongsa Temple site, the Royal Capital site in Gyeongju, Silsangsa Temple site in Namwon, and Seongjusa Temple site in Boryeong.

The Chinese ceramics retrieved from mountain fortress sites on the Korean Peninsula consist primarily of Yue ware-type celadon and Xing ware-type white porcelain tea bowls estimated to have been produced between the second half of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century. This timeframe corresponds roughly to the Late Silla to Early Goryeo transition. Mountain fortresses where such ceramic sherds have been discovered include Busosanseong in Buyeo (South Chungcheong Province), Hwawangsanseong in Changnyeong (South Gyeongsang Province), Gomo-sanseong in Mungyeong (North Gyeongsang Province), Marosanseong in Gwangyang and Jamisanseong in Naju (South Jeolla Province), as well as Dangseong in Hwaseong, Seolbongsanseong, and Seolseongsanseong in Icheon (Gyeonggi Province).[i]

The locations where Chinese tea bowl sherds were excavated within these fortresses can be categorized into three distinct contexts according to their functional nature: first, administrative and command spaces or tax storage areas within the administrative seat (chiso); second, water-collecting facilities or ritual features utilized for ritualistic purposes; and third, foreign exchange hubs, such as official guesthouses (gaekgwan, 客館). The character of these excavation contexts serves as a vital index reflecting the diverse roles and multi-faceted nature of mountain fortresses during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods, while simultaneously clarifying how tea was utilized during this era.

Ⅱ. Excavated Tea Utensils and the Aspects of Tea Utilization in Mountain Fortresses

1. Utilization within Administrative Spaces of Local Governance

Mountain fortresses of the late Silla and early Goryeo periods functioned not only a

s primary military fortifications but also as administrative centers (chiso) situated at st rategically significant regional points. Among the sites where Chinese tea bowl sherds were discovered, locations identified as spaces for local magnates, central command p osts, or tax storage facilities include Marosanseong in Gwangyang, Jamisanseong in N aju (South Jeolla Province), and Seolseongsanseong in Icheon (Gyeonggi Province).

Marosanseong is located in Gwangyang at the southeastern edge of the Korean Peni nsula. Although constructed during the Baekje period, archaeological excavations indic ate that the fortress was most actively utilized from the Late Silla to the Early Goryeo period.[ii] Following Silla's unification of the southern and central regions of the Korean Peninsula south of the Daedong and Wonsan bays after defeating Baekje and Gogurye o, Marosanseong appears to have served as an administrative fortress (chisoseong, 治所城) for local governance and tax collection during the Late Silla period.[iii] Subsequen tly, it was incorporated into the territory of Later Baekje (後百濟). This transition is evidenced by the excavation of numerous roof tiles bearing the inscription "Maro-gwa n" (馬老官), which incorporates "Maro" (馬老), a local placename reflecting the distinct regional identity of Later Baekje within these stratigraphic layers.[iv]

At Marosanseong, Yue ware-type celadon and Xing ware-type white porcelain were retrieved from four building sites: I-2, I-4, II-1, and II-2. In particular, Building Sites I-2 and II-1 are interpreted as being associated with the local ruling class, given their location, scale, and co-excavated assemblages.[v]

Building Site I-2 yielded iron belt sets, gilt-bronze belt ornaments, bronze belt orna ments—presumed to have been worn by the elite—along with horse trappings (stirrup s), a bronze mirror inscribed with "Wangga-jogyeong" (王家造鏡, "crafted by the Wan g's family"), and an iron tripod kettle (chodu, 鐎斗). From Building Site I-1, which ove rlaps with and shows close structural affinity to Building Site I-2, a square bronze mir ror decorated with sea monsters and grape motifs (haesubeopdo-banggyeong, 海獸葡 萄方鏡) was recovered; this artifact was produced in Tang China between the late 7th and early 8th centuries. Although there is a temporal gap between the production of this mirror and the building structure itself, it represents an imported prestige good, much like the Chinese tea bowl sherds.[vi]

Building Site II-2 is a stone-walled structure lacking heating facilities; it features a floor paved with split stones and an internal drainage system. Stone-walled structures of this type are exclusively found in Later Baekje-period mountain fortresses that mat ched the scale of regional county or prefecture seats (gun-hyeon, 郡縣). Large quantit ies of carbonized rice were excavated from the interior of this structure, suggesting t hat it functioned as a storage facility or financial administration building linked to tax collection and fiscal operations. This confirms that Marosanseong was a core strongho ld in both military and administrative capacities at the time.[vii]

In addition, Yue ware-type tea bowls were excavated from the central building site of Jamisanseong in Naju, an important administrative domain during the same era under Later Baekje. Jamisanseong is similarly presumed to have been a Later Baekje adminis trative fortress sharing a background and character comparable to Marosanseong.[viii] F urthermore, Yue-type tea bowls were discovered at Seolseongsanseong in Icheon, a ke y transport hub in the central inland region. Constructed by Baekje, Seolseongsanseong came under Silla control after the late 6th century and remained active as a mountain fortress through the Early Goryeo period.[ix] Yue ware-type celadon tea bowls and met allic tripod kettles (chodu) were recovered from the central building site—located on th

e widest flat terrain of the fortress—as well as from the surrounding surface area.

2. Utilization in Ritual and Sacred Spaces

Mountain fortresses were predominantly constructed on guardian mountains (jinsan, 鎭山) that sheltered regional counties and prefectures, serving to protect and defend the area. Geomantically, these guardian mountains held sacred significance as auspicious sites (myeongdang, 明堂). Consequently, the spaces occupied by mountain fortresses served not only as defense posts and administrative seats but also as sacred grounds where mountain-river rituals (sancheonje, 山川祭) were conducted to ensure regional protection.[x] Fortresses featuring Chinese tea bowl sherds that likely fulfilled these ritual functions include Hwawangsanseong in Changnyeong and Gomo-sanseong in Mungyeong (Silla), Marosanseong in Gwangyang (Later Baekje), as well as Busosanseong and Seolbongsanseong (Early Goryeo).

Among these, Hwawangsanseong was a Silla fortress constructed during the Three Kingdoms period and continuously utilized through the Joseon dynasty. A legend recounts that Jo Gye-ryong (曺繼龍), son-in-law of King Jinheung of Silla, was conceived at a pond within Mount Hwawang; perhaps owing to this tradition, Hwawangsanseong is characterized by the use of its internal water-collecting facilities as ritual spaces. Mountain fortresses inherently required water-collecting facilities to manage runoff, control fires, provide landscaping, and secure potable water.[xi] Over time, artifacts from within the fortress naturally accumulated in these reservoirs. However, the lotus pond (yeonji, 蓮池) at Hwawangsanseong yielded numerous artifacts possessing distinct symbolic and intentional depositional qualities. These include prestige goods such as metallic personal ornaments, bronze bells, horse trappings (stirrups and bits), severed animal skulls, iron scissors, straw cutters, large swords (daedo, 大刀), and wooden slips (mokgan, 木簡) bearing shamanic or talismanic significance.

From the Late Silla layer of this lotus pond, tea utensils—including an iron tea grinder (dayeon, 茶碾) with a wooden base, a tripod kettle (chodu), and Xing ware-type white porcelain bowls—were recovered alongside these ritual artifacts. The tea grinder, which also appears in Lu Yu's Classic of Tea, was a tool used to pulverize tea; an example was notably included among the votive offerings enshrined in the underground crypt (digong, 地宮) of Famen Temple by Emperor Xizong of Tang (r. 873–888). In the 54th panel titled "Preparing Tea" (吃茶準備) from the Five Hundred Arhats painting series (held at Daitoku-ji, Kyoto), co-authored by Zhou Jichang (周季常) and Lin Tinggui (林庭珪) during the Southern Song dynasty, the act of grinding tea with a tea grinder is vividly depicted. Such tea grinders have been co-excavated with Chinese tea bowls not only at Hwawangsanseong but also at Gomo-sanseong in Mungyeong and Busosanseong in Buyeo.

Alongside the Xing-type white porcelain tea bowls, tripod kettles (chodu) were also excavated at Hwawangsanseong. Used for boiling or heating alcohol, water, food, or medicine, these tripod kettles were elite status symbols during the Three Kingdoms period, typically recovered from royal capitals or tomb sites. By the Late Silla period, however, they were predominantly found in civic and communal structures, including mountain fortresses and large-scale building sites. Indeed, co-excavations of tripod kettles with Chinese tea bowls are confirmed at sites such as Marosanseong and Seolseongsanseong, in addition to Hwawangsanseong. Some scholars view these assemblages as deliberate votive deposits for ritual purposes; similarly, the pit feature beneath Building Site II-1 at Marosanseong—where a tripod kettle and Xing-type tea bowl were found—is interpreted as a ritual deposition site following ceremonial activities.[xii]

At Busosanseong in Buyeo, an assemblage with clear ritual characteristics was also uncovered. It contained a Yue ware-type celadon bowl, a tea grinder, and a three-legged bronze handle-cauldron (銅鐎) functionally similar to a tripod kettle (chodu). The presence of a small trident, iron axes, and a bronze kundika (jeongbyeong, 淨甁) within the same deposit further reinforces the sacred and ritualistic nature of this artifact group.

3. Utilization at Strategic Hubs for Foreign Exchange

In the mountainous landscape of the Korean Peninsula, mountain fortresses served critical roles in defense, military operations, regional administration, and transportation networks. Fortresses situated along coastal regions shared these fundamental functions while additionally assuming crucial roles as centers of maritime exchange due to their unique geographical advantage. Representative examples include Dangseong in Hwaseong (Gyeonggi Province) and Marosanseong in Gwangyang (South Jeolla Province).

Dangseong—famously known as Danghangseong during the Baekje period—was strategically vital for Sino-Korean trade due to its proximity across the Yellow Sea to the Shandong Peninsula in China. Consequently, as each of the Three Kingdoms reached its peak, Baekje, Goguryeo, and Silla sequentially occupied the fortress, utilizing it as a base for absorbing foreign culture and conducting international relations. The original name, Danghangseong (黨項城), was later modified by Silla to include the character “Dang” (唐, Tang) to emphasize its role as the gateway to Tang China.[xiii]

Numerous Yue ware-type celadon and Xing ware-type white porcelain tea bowls were excavated from various building sites within Dangseong. A prominent characteristic of Dangseong as an international trade hub is its probable function as an official guest house (gaekgwan). Excavated alongside the tea bowls from this site were roof tile sherds bearing inscriptions such as “Gwan” (舘, guesthouse), “Gwantaek” (舘宅), “Taekgwan” (宅舘), and “Byeong-o-gwantaek” (丙午舘宅), strongly pointing to the existence of official guest accommodations.[xiv] Dangseong was constructed to guard Danghangjin, the primary port of departure and arrival for Silla-Tang sea routes, thereby serving as a gateway for bilateral exchange. Furthermore, it appears to have functioned as a guesthouse providing lodging, meals, and banquets to welcome foreign envoys sent to Silla before their journey to the capital city of Gyeongju.[xv] Therefore, the Chinese tea bowls discovered at Dangseong likely served as trade commodities imported from Tang, items brought directly by Tang envoys, or utensils used specifically for entertaining foreign diplomatic guests.

As noted previously, numerous tea bowl sherds were also recovered at Marosanseong near Gwangyang Bay. During the Late Silla period, this region developed into a center for triangular trade between Tang China, Silla, and Japan under the direction of Jang Bogo (張保皐, ?-846); during the Later Baekje period, the forces of Gyeon Hwon (甄萱, 867-936) controlled maritime hegemony over this trade network. Although no inscribed artifacts explicitly denoting a guesthouse (gaekgwan) have been recovered at Marosanseong, the presence of numerous Chinese status goods and tea bowl sherds confirms its role as a key geographic node for trade with Tang China.[xvi]

Ⅲ. Conclusion

Chinese tea bowls dating to the Late Silla period and the Later Three Kingdoms period are predominantly recovered from major Buddhist temple sites and royal capital sites. This confirms that during an era when domestic ceramic production was not yet fully developed on the Korean Peninsula, Chinese tea bowls were consumed primarily by monks at prominent temples and members of the royal aristocratic elite. The excavation of such Chinese tea bowls from mountain fortress sites indicates that these fortresses were places of comparable significance, serving as residences for local magnates capable of consuming tea.

Based on base forms and associated artifact assemblages, the production period of Chinese tea bowls excavated from mountain fortresses can be dated roughly from the second half of the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century. This era corresponds to the Later Three Kingdoms period, when the peace established after Silla's unification of the central and southern Korean Peninsula began to fracture. During the Later Three Kingdoms period, mountain fortresses—originally constructed during the Three Kingdoms era for military defense and later maintained under Silla rule as key administrative centers (chisoseong)—underwent a complex transformation and re-strengthening of their roles as the peninsula fragmented into regional powers. Local warlords who established regional regimes claiming the heritage of Later Baekje and Later Goguryeo (後高句麗→Goryeo) built upon the stable tax collection and administrative infrastructure of the former Silla local system. Using mountain fortresses as their bases, they reinforced the administrative function of these sites alongside their primary military and defensive duties. In this process, fortresses situated on geomantically auspicious sites functioned as sacred grounds for mountain-river rituals (sancheonje) and prayer altars for regional protection. Concurrently, coastal fortresses served as strategic hubs for foreign exchange with Tang China to bolster the international prestige of regional regimes. In the course of this functional diversification of mountain fortresses, imported Chinese tea bowls and tea were consumed as prestige goods symbolizing the authority of local elites presiding over regional administrative centers (chiso). They also appear to have been utilized by high-ranking officials and commanders for daily routines during the execution of official duties or for private hospitality. Furthermore, evidence indicates that they were variously employed as sacrificial offerings during major rituals held within the fortresses, as well as for entertaining guests on official diplomatic occasions such as banquets.

Endnotes

i. See, for example, Changnyeong-gun and Gyeongsangnam-do Cultural Properties Research In stitute, Changnyeong Hwawangsanseong Yeonjii [The lotus pond of Hwawangsanseong Fortr ess in Changnyeong] (2009); Buyeo National Museum, Buso-san: Special Exhibition (2016); Dankook University Research Institute of Buried Cultural Properties, Report on the 2nd Exc avation of Seolbongsanseong Fortress in Icheon (2001); Report on the 3rd Excavation of S eolbongsanseong Fortress in Icheon (2002); Report on the 4th, 5th, and 6th Excavation of Seolbongsanseong Fortress in Icheon: Text (2006); Report on the 4th, 5th, and 6th Excavat ion of Seolbongsanseong Fortress in Icheon: Plates, Figures, and Rubbings (2006); Report o n the 2nd and 3rd Excavation of Seolseongsanseong Fortress in Icheon: Text (2004); Dong shin University Museum, Jamisanseong Fortress in Naju: Test Excavation of Fortress Wall and Building Sites (2013); Mungyeong City and Jungwon Cultural Properties Research Instit ute, Report on the 2nd Excavation of Gomo-sanseong Fortress in Mungyeong: Facilities ins ide the West Gate: Text (2009); Suncheon City and Suncheon National University Museum, Maro-sanseong Fortress in Gwangyang I (2005); Wuri Institute of Cultural Properties, Wate r Reservoir in Hwawangsanseong Fortress, Changnyeong (2014); Hwaseong City and Hanya ng University Institute of Cultural Heritage, Report on the 3rd (2015–2016) Excavation of D angseong Fortress (2018); Report on the 4th Excavation of Dangseong Fortress (2019); Hw aseong City and Hanyang University Museum, Report on the 7th Excavation of Dangseong Fortress (2023); and Report on the 8th Excavation of Dangseong Fortress (2024).

ii. Suncheon City and Suncheon National University Museum, op. cit., 261; Hyun-woo Kim, "N amal-yeo-cho-gi Jeonnam Dongbu-jiyeok Sanseong-ui Jeomyu-yangsang-gwa Jibang-hojok " [Occupation patterns of mountain fortresses and local magnates in eastern Jeollanam-do during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods], Gogohak: Journal of the Korean Archaeolo gical Society 108 (2018): 96.

iii. Hyun-woo Kim, "Namal-yeo-cho-gi Jeonnam Dongbu-jiyeok Sanseong-ui Jeomyu-yangsan g-gwa Jibang-hojok," 109.

iv. Hyun-woo Kim, "Namal-yeo-cho-gi Jeonnam Dongbu-jiyeok Sanseong-ui Jeomyu-yangsan g-gwa Jibang-hojok," 109–13; Dong-hee Lee, "Jeonnam jiyeok-ui Hubaekje yujeok-gwa ye oksa-jeok seonggyeok" [Hubaekje Remains in the Jeonnam Region and Their Historical Ch aracter], Hankuk Sanggosa Hakbo [Journal of the Korean Archaeological Society] 87 (201 5): 68–69.

v. Kwon-ho Choi, "Gwangyang Maro-sanseong-e Daehan Gogohak-jeok Yeon'gu" [An archaeo logical study on Maro-sanseong Fortress in Gwangyang] (master's thesis, Suncheon Nation al University, 2010), 39–40; Dong-hee Lee, "Jeonnam jiyeok-ui Hubaekje yujeok-gwa yeok sa-jeok seonggyeok", 47.

vi. Kwon-ho Choi, "Gwangyang Maro-sanseong-eul Tonghae Bon 9-segi-dae Jibang Geojeom-s eong Un'yeong" [The management of regional central fortresses in the 9th century: Focusin g on Maro-sanseong Fortress in Gwangyang], *Gunsa [Military history]* 124 (2022): 189–90.

vii. Dong-hee Lee, "Jeonnam jiyeok-ui Hubaekje yujeok-gwa yeoksa-jeok seonggyeok", 47–4 9; Hyun-woo Kim, "Namal-yeo-cho-gi Jeonnam Dongbu-jiyeok Sanseong-ui Jeomyu-yangs ang-gwa Jibang-hojok," 111.

viii. Dong-hee Lee, "Jeonnam jiyeok-ui Hubaekje yujeok-gwa yeoksa-jeok seonggyeok", 62–65.

ix. Dankook University Research Institute of Buried Cultural Properties, *Report on the 2nd an d 3rd Excavation of Seolseongsanseong Fortress in Icheon* (2004), 21–22.

x. Eui-do Jeong, "Jejang-euro-seo Sanseong-yeon'gu: Jinsan-eul Jungsim-euro" [A study on mountain fortresses as ritual sites: Focusing on guardian mountains (*jinsan*)], *Munmul Yeon 'gu [Cultural heritage studies]* 12 (2007).

xi. Seung-yeon Oh, "Hanguk Godae Sanseong Jipsuji Yeon'gu" [A study on water reservoirs i n ancient Korean mountain fortresses] (PhD diss., Dong-A University, 2024), 219.

xii. Eui-do Jeong, "Jejang-euro-seo Sanseong-yeon'gu," 63–64; Kwon-ho Choi, "Gwangyang Maro-sanseong-e Daehan Gogohak-jeok Yeon'gu," 40–41. Regarding the tripod kettles (ch odu) themselves, they are also presumed to have been utensils used for rituals or votive offerings; see Changnyeong-gun and Gyeongsangnam-do Cultural Properties Research Insti tute, Changnyeong Hwawangsanseong Yeonji, 221.

xiii. Hyun-june Bae and Jeong-cheol Lee, "Hwaseong Dangseong-gwa Tongil-silla Dae-dae-oe-gyoryu-ui Ilmyeon" [Hwaseong Dangseong Fortress and an aspect of foreign exchange in Unified Silla], *Dong-Asia Godae-hak [Journal of East Asian ancient history]* 61 (2021): 190–91.

xiv. Hee-jun Choi, "Tongil-gi Silla-ui Gaekgwan Un'yeong-gwa Geu Bunpo" [The operation and distribution of official guesthouses (*gaekgwan*) during the Unified Silla period], *Hanguk Sahakbo [Journal of Korean history]* 69 (2017): 190.

xv. Hee-jun Choi, "Tongil-gi Silla-ui Gaekgwan Un'yeong-gwa Geu Bunpo," 193.

xvi. Chinese tea bowl sherds have been excavated not only from Maro-sanseong Fortress but also from Ongnyongsa Temple site in Gwangyang and Jamisanseong Fortress in Naju within the sphere of Later Baekje influence. These are likewise considered to be the result of trade with Tang China via Gwangyang Bay. See Suncheon National University Museum, Ongnyongsa Temple Site in Gwangyang II (2006); Suncheon National University Museum, Ongnyongsa Temple Site in Gwangyang IV (2007); Dongshin University Museum, *Jamisanseong Fortress in Naju: Test Excavation of Fortress Wall and Building Sites.*

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Figures



Fig. 1. Chinese tea bowl sherds (Yue ware-type celadon and Xing ware-type white porcelain tea bowls) excavated from Maro-sanseong Fortress, Jeonnam; iron tripod cauldron (chodu), height: 21.5 ㎝, leg length: 14 ㎝, rim diameter: 18.1 ㎝



Fig. 2. Chinese tea bowl sherd (Xing ware-type white porcelain tea bowl) excavated from Hwawang-sanseong Fortress, Changnyeong, height: 4.8㎝, restored rim diameter: 15㎝, restored base diameter: 7㎝; iron tea grinder (dayeon), height: 5㎝, length: 25.8㎝, width: 6.6㎝ (wooden tea grinder stand, height: 2.2㎝, length: 30.1㎝, width: 13.6㎝)



Fig. 3. Chinese tea bowl sherd (Xing ware-type white porcelain tea bowl) excavated from Dang-seong Fortress, Hwaseong, height: 4.5㎝, rim diameter: 14㎝, base diameter: 6.2㎝, foot-ring width: 1㎝, foot-ring height: 0.3㎝

The Kyoto Scroll Dated to 554:
A Study of the Earliest Dated Dunhuang Daoist Manuscript
京都國立博物館藏梁承聖三年(554)寫卷研究：敦煌道教寫卷之最早紀年作

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Abstract

This study examines the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miaojing zhongpian xuzhang* (太上洞玄靈寶妙經眾篇序章) in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum. It is the earliest dated Daoist scroll from Southern Dynasties, bearing a dated inscription of 554 CE. The scroll has not received the attention it deserves, partly because the re is no scholarly consensus regarding its authenticity. Following a thorough investigation, it appears to be no extant template from which this work could have been forged. And through formal and stylistic analysis, the relationship between this scroll and the two separate genuine fragments can be firmly established. Writing pra ctices revealed from this scroll are also consistent with those of the medieval period. Thus, I argue that this work is a genuine ancient Dunhuang Daoist scroll and that it should be an important source for understanding the context of Daoist scroll production during the Southern Dynasties.

초록

본고는 교토국립박물관 소장 『태상동현영보묘경중편서장[太上洞玄靈寶妙經眾篇序章]』을 고찰한다. 이 권본(卷本)은 서기 554년이라는 명문(銘文) 연대가 기록되어 있어, 편년이 확인되는 남조(南朝) 시대의 도교 사경 중 가장 오래된 것이다. 그러나 본 권본은 진위에 관한 학계의 학술적 합의가 이루어지지 않았다는 이유 등으로 그 중요성에 상응하는 주목을 받지 못하였다. 면밀한 조사를 통해 살펴보자면 권본을 위조하는 데 사용될 수 있었던 현존하는 모본이 존재하지 않음이 확인되었다.. 또한 형식 및 양식 분석을 통하여, 이 경권과 별도로 전하는 두 점의 진본 단편 사이에 성립하는 관계를 확인하였다. 더불어 함께 확인되는 필사 관행은 중세 시기의 필사 양상과도 부합한다. 이에 본고는 『태상동현령보묘경중편서장』 이 진정한 고대 돈황 도교 경권임을 주장하며, 남조(南詔, 653-902) 시기 도교 경권의 제작 맥락을 이해하는 데 중요한 자료로서 평가하고자 한다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

This study examines the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miaojing zhongpian xuzhang* (『太上洞玄靈寶妙經眾篇序章』) in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum. It is the only extant Daoist scroll from the Southern Dynasties bearing a dated inscription. The scroll has not received the attention it deserves, partly because there is no scholarly consensus regarding its authenticity. I will argue that this work is a genuine ancient D unhuang Daoist scroll and that it should be an important source for understanding the context of Daoist scroll production during the Southern Dynasties.

The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miaojing zhongpian xuzhang* (hereafter Xuzhang), in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum (hereafter KNM), measures 25.5 ㎝ in hei ght and 662.1 ㎝ in length. (KNM Collections Database, Accession number: B甲310) T he extant scroll consists of 15 sheets, each generally containing 27 lines, with 17 cha racters per line. (Fig. 1)

The beginning of the scroll is missing, and the opening title is no longer preserved. The scroll survives in three parts: the scripture text, the closing title, and the inscript ion. The extant scripture text consists of 336 lines. The end of the scroll is intact (Fi g. 2), and it contains a closing title reading "『太上洞玄靈寶妙經眾篇序章』," hence the title we commonly use, and an inscription, "Written by the Daoist Zhu Shiyuan, the se venth day of the third month of the third year of Chengsheng (承聖三年三月七日道士朱 世元書)." The scroll was dated to 554 (the third year of Chengsheng), during the Liang dynasty (502–557) of the Southern Dynasties.

KNM *Xuzhang* bears three seals attributed to Li Shengduo (李盛鐸, 1859–1937), a no table collector of the late Qing and early Republican periods. At the beginning of the scroll, on the verso of the first sheet, is a square vermilion seal reading "Seal of the Linjia Hall (麐嘉館印)." At the end of the scroll, on the 15th sheet, are two square ver milion seals: "Mu Zhai's Genuine Appreciation (木齋真賞)" and "Preciously Preserved i n the Fanjian Ge by the Li Family of Dehua (德化李氏凡將閣珍藏)."

Ⅱ. Discussion

Before entering the collection of the KNM, *Xuzhang* was in the collection of Moriya Kōzō (守屋孝藏, 1876–1953). Fujieda Akira (藤枝晃, 1911–1998) questioned the authent icity of the majority of scrolls in the Moriya collection, and he also argued that a large number of Dunhuang scrolls preserved in Japan are forgeries. (Fujieda 1966/1969, 198 5) In 1996, the KNM published an illustrated catalogue of its ancient manuscripts. Of the 94 Chinese scrolls dated before the 10th century, only 11 pieces were considered to be authentic. *Xuzhang* was regarded, by the museum, as a work of questionable aut henticity. (Kyoto National Museum 1996) By comparing genuine seals, the three suspi cious Li Shengduo seals are indeed forgeries.

Regarding the authenticity of a manuscript, however, the presence of forged seals d oes not affirm that the manuscript itself is a forgery; the presence of genuine seals do es not guarantee that the manuscript itself is genuine. (Rong 2001) The forged Li She ngduo seals on KNM *Xuzhang* can only indicate that the scroll was once circulated in the Beijing antiquarian book market. Its authenticity must be determined on the basis

of the scroll itself, and I will analyze KNM *Xuzhang* through an examination of its materiality and calligraphic features.

From the perspective of the materiality, the paper used for writing during the medieval period followed certain conventions regarding its height and length. The ratio of height to length was either 1:1.5 chi (尺) or 1:2 chi, corresponding to approximately 26×39㎝ or 26×52㎝. The standard writing format for scrolls was 17 characters per line. (Fujieda 1966/1969) KNM *Xuzhang* conforms to these conventions.

The calligraphic features can be examined from several approaches. Of particular relevance to the present investigation is that there is a group of scrolls and fragments of scroll related to KNM *Xuzhang*. Specialists of Daoist studies generally affirmed the authenticity of these works, including KNM *Xuzhang*, on the basis of its unique content. (Wang 2004) The style of these works, which scholars have not yet examined in depth, remains a pressing issue to be addressed. Through an analysis of form and style of calligraphy, I further establish the relationship between KNM *Xuzhang* and the two separate fragments, one in Russia and one in Japan, arguing that they belonged to a single scroll. Since the two fragments are genuine, they can serve as evidence supporting the authenticity of the KNM *Xuzhang*.

Even if we take a step back and suppose that KNM *Xuzhang* were a modern forgery, what was the template that the forger could have used as the basis for copying and fabricating it? If we assume that the work was forged in modern times, there are three possible sources that could have served as a template. The first is the early Ming-dynasty *Daoist Canon* (道藏), which was compiled in the first half of the 15th century. The second is the two scrolls, preserved in Britain (S.6659) and France (P.2386), containing the same scripture text as KNM *Xuzhang*. The third is another *Xuzhang* that has survived through the centuries and is somehow unknown to the scholarly community.

Apart from the third possibility, for which no extant evidence is available for discussion, a close comparison of the calligraphic features reveals that KNM *Xuzhang* was copied earlier than the first two sources, thus makes it difficult to establish that either of the first two sources could have served as the template for the forgery. In other words, there appears to be no extant template from which this work could have been forged.

A close examination reveals that KNM *Xuzhang* contains a number of variant Chinese characters that differ from those commonly used in modern scripts. These variant characters in KNM *Xuzhang* match with those found in medieval manuscripts. Writing practices revealed by KNM *Xuzhang* are consistent with those of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. This provides another piece of evidence supporting the authenticity of the work.

The preceding discussion has established the authenticity of the scripture text of KNM *Xuzhang*. Dunhuang manuscripts sometimes contain inscriptions added in modern times, therefore the closing title and dated inscription of KNM *Xuzhang* likewise require careful scrutiny. Formal and stylistic analysis affirms that the calligraphy style of the closing title and inscription are consistent with the scripture text. They should have been written by the same scribe, or by a scribe working in the same workshop. The difference lies in the fact that the scribe treated the closing title and inscription with greater refinement. Having established that the closing title and inscription are not later additions or modern forgeries, the content of the dated inscription carries considerable historical significance. Its date identifies this work as a rare specimen of calligraphy from the late Southern Dynasties and makes it the only known Daoist scroll that be

ars a Southern Dynasties date.

KNM *Xuzhang* enriches our understanding of calligraphy in Southern Dynasties scrolls. The number of Southern Dynasties Dunhuang scrolls that survive today is very small, with only slightly more than 20 dated pieces. (Wang and Tao 2011) Among these manuscripts, the Berlin fragment, the Britain scroll (Fig. 3), and the Japan fragment are characterized by tightly structured form, with the strokes of each character arranged in a compact manner. This stands in contrast to the two French scroll, whose character structures are relatively loose and strokes are rounded and full. A comparison of the Berlin and Britain manuscripts with the KNM *Xuzhang* shows that the latter has similar character structures as the former two, while its brushwork appears to have developed out of the former two. The calligraphy style of KNM *Xuzhang* thus was developed from those of the Berlin and Britain manuscripts. These three works belong to the same stylistic lineage, which implies that Buddhist and Daoist scripture scribes in the Southern Dynasties shared closely related regional calligraphic styles.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

This study has established the authenticity of KNM *Xuzhang* and has demonstrated its significance for the study of Dunhuang Daoist manuscripts. Currently the majority of extant Daoist scrolls cannot be securely attributed to a specific region. Against this background, KNM *Xuzhang* serves as a benchmark for identifying and establishing the characteristics of Southern Dynasties calligraphy. Its value therefore extends beyond the authentication of a single scroll: it offers a firm point of reference for the identification and dating of other Southern Dynasties scrolls. Further study may make it possible to distinguish manuscripts with regional traditions. Such an approach would contribute not only to the study of the history of Chinese calligraphy, but also to the field of Daoist studies.

This scroll raises a number of questions that point toward future research. The inscription identifies the scribe as a Daoist priest, suggesting that the production of the scroll may have been situated within a specific religious context. And the scroll was copied on the seventh day of the third month, raising the possibility that its production, offering, and preservation were likely connected with a particular Daoist festival or liturgical occasion. Reconstructing the religious context surrounding the scroll requires further investigation. The significance of the scroll lies not only in its value as a dated specimen of Southern Dynasties calligraphy, but also in its potential to illuminate the religious practices of medieval Daoism.

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Figures



Fig. 1. Taishang dongxuan lingbao miaojing zhongpian xuzhang, beginning of the scroll; 554 CE; ink on paper; 25.5 ㎝ in height; Kyoto National Museum, https://knmdb.kyohaku.go.jp/3154.html



Fig. 2. Taishang dongxuan lingbao miaojing zhongpian xuzhang, end of the scroll; 554 CE; ink on paper; 25.5 ㎝ in height; Kyoto National Museum, https://knmdb.kyohaku.go.jp/3154.html



Fig. 3. Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra, fascicle 11 (detail); 506 CE; ink on paper; 26.6 ㎝ in height; British Library, accession number: Or.8210/S.81, https://idp.bl.uk/collection/1A00B13DFA5F450F8D92A16ECD1C6A71/

The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll and Calligraphy in Mid-Tang China: Questions of Attribution and Style
〈朱巨川告身〉卷的書者與書風探討

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Abstract

The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll, attributed to Xu Hao (徐浩, 703-782) , is currently in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei. It is an official appointment document issued by the Tang court, appointing Zhu Juchuan (朱巨川, 725-783) as a Court Review Officer and concurrently as magistrate of Zhongli County in Haozhou (大理評事兼豪州鍾離縣令). It was written in the third year of the Dali era (768), during the reign of Emperor Daizong of the Tang dynasty. As an important and rare surviving example of Tang calligraphy, the scroll was widely transmitted through later periods. The scroll has attracted considerable attention from both historians and historians of calligraphy, with one of the major issues being whether Xu Hao was indeed its calligrapher. This article focuses on the calligraphic style and the identity of the calligrapher, situating the scroll within the historical context of calligraphy during the High and Mid-Tang periods. Through analysis and comparison with other surviving works, the article examines the relationship between the scroll's calligraphic style and that of court calligraphers of the period, as well as the similarities and differences between the scroll and the surviving works of Xu Hao, its traditionally attributed calligrapher. Based on these comparisons, this article seeks to provide a more precise understanding of the stylistic position of The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll within the calligraphic landscape of the Mid-Tang dynasty.

초록

전(傳) 서호(徐浩, 703-782)의 『주거천고신(朱巨川告身)』은 현재 타이베이 국립고궁박물원에 소장되어 있다. 이는 당(唐, 618-906)의 조정이 주거천(朱巨川, 725-783)을 대리평사겸호주종리현령(大理評事兼豪州鍾離縣令)에 임명하며 발급한 관료 임명 문서이다. 당 대종(代宗, 재위 762-779) 대력(大曆) 3년(768)에 작성되었다. 몇 안되는 현존 당대 서예 작품으로서 후대에 널리 전승되었다. 또한 역사학계와 서예사학계 모두의 주목을 받아 왔으며, 특히 서호가 실제 필사자인지 여부가 핵심 쟁점으로 논의되어 왔다.

본고는 이 두루마리의 서풍과 필사자에 주목하여, 이를 성당(盛唐, 713-765)에서 중당(中唐, 766-835) 시기 서예사의 맥락에서 확인하고자 한다. 현존작과의 비교를 통해, 『주거천고신』 과 당시 궁정 서예가들의 서풍의 관계를 검토하고 서호의 다른 작품과 『주거천고신』 사이의 유사점과 차이점을 분석한다. 이를 바탕으로 본고는 중당 시기 서예사에서 『주거천고신』이 점하는 양식사적 위상을 보다 정밀하게 규명하고자 한다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

A *gaoshen* (告身) or appointment document, was a type of official document used in ancient China. It was issued by the imperial court when an official was appointed to a government position or awarded a rank or honor for meritorious service. The handscroll *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* (Fig. 1), now in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, has traditionally been attributed to the famous Tang-dynasty calligrapher Xu Hao (徐浩, 703-782). It was written in the third year of the Dali era (768) under Emperor Daizong (r. 763-779) of the Tang dynasty (618-907). The work does not bear the calligrapher's signature or other identified inscription.

The document itself is an appointment for a sixth-rank official. It was issued to Zhu Juchuan (朱巨川, 725-783), who had previously served as a Registrar Military Adviser in Muzhou (睦州錄事參軍). He was appointed as a Court Review Officer and concurrently as magistrate of Zhongli County in Haozhou (大理評事兼豪州鍾離縣令). At the end of the handscroll, there are colophons written by collectors and connoisseurs from the Yuan and Ming dynasties, added at different periods.

Japanese historians began paying attention to *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* quite early on. By comparing this handscroll with other excavated and unearthed materials, they used it to investigate and reconstruct the institutional system of Tang-dynasty appointment documents. In the process, they also began to question its traditional attribution to Xu Hao.[i] Since then, scholars of calligraphy history have also questioned the attribution to Xu Hao, drawing on both the administrative system of the Tang dynasty and the characteristics of the calligraphic style.[ii]

Although scholars have raised doubts about the identity of the calligrapher, they have generally characterized the style of this handscroll as a representative style of the Mid-Tang period. However, there has not yet been a systematic analysis and comparison with actual works from the same period. At the same time, many general studies and reference books on Chinese calligraphy continue to present this handscroll as a representative work by Xu Hao.

Therefore, in this paper, I will focus specifically on the identity of the calligrapher and the characteristics of the calligraphic style. Through closer analysis and comparison with other surviving works, I hope to provide a more precise understanding of where this handscroll should be situated within the calligraphic landscape of the Mid-Tang dynasty.

Ⅱ. Discussion

1. *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* and the Calligraphic Style of the Court in the Mid-Tang Dynasty

To understand the relationship between *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* and the calligraphic style popular at the Tang court during this period, a particularly important source is the Northern Song (960-1127) calligrapher Mi Fu (米芾)'s *Haiyue mingyan* (海岳名言), or *Haiyue's Remarks on Calligraphy*. Mi Fu writes:

> "The Tang official appointment documents that have survived to the present display the styles of Chu Suiliang (褚遂良), Lu Jianzhi (陸柬之), and Xu Qiao (徐嶠), and some are particula

> rly refined. Since the Kaiyuan era (713–741), however, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756)'s ca lligraphy became increasingly broad and conventional. Xu Hao then emerged, adapting his st yle to the emperor's preferences, and the writing of clerks likewise became broader and he avier from this time onward."[iii.]

According to Mi Fu, after the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, Emperor Xuanzong's call igraphic style became broader and heavier. As the emperor's taste influenced the cour t, this style was also adopted by those working under the court. As a result, the callig raphic style of Tang official appointment documents was also affected. Among the ver y small number of surviving original appointment documents, the appointment documen t for an unidentified person's meritorious service, dated to 736, is written with relativ ely heavy strokes. Another example is *The Appointment of Zhang Huaiqin*. It was writ ten sometime between 742 and 758. Its brushwork is also substantial, and particularly in this document, we can see many broad and heavy strokes.

Among the materials I have examined so far, there are not many works that closely resemble the style of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*. However, based on the official titles recorded alongside their names on inscriptions and commemorative stele s, we can identify two calligraphers, Liu Qin (劉秦, active in the 8th century) and Zhang Shaoti (張少悌, active in the 8th century), who held the positions of Hanlin Attendant (翰林待詔). Their primary responsibility was to write inscriptions and commemorative te xts on steles at the request of the imperial court. Both began serving in this capacity during the Tianbao era (742–756) under Emperor Xuanzong, and continued to work und er the reigns of Emperor Suzong (r. 757–762) and Emperor Daizong. One of Liu Qin's representative works, *the Epitaph for the Fifth Imperial Granddaughter* (皇第五孫女墓誌銘) (Fig. 2), exemplifies his calligraphic style, which inherited the tradition of Wang Xiz hi's (王羲之) calligraphy, a tradition that had been highly valued at the Tang court since the time of Emperor Taizong (r. 627–649). However, his brushwork became much mor e rounded and turning, with greater use of the central-tip technique, resulting in a full er and more substantial appearance. Zhang Shaoti's style, exemplified by one of his re presentative works, the *Epitaph of Gao Lishi* (高力士墓誌), is very similar to Liu Qin's, although his lines are somewhat thinner, firmer, and more vigorous, with relatively few broad and heavy strokes. One important characteristic shared by the works of both call igraphers is their highly standardized brushwork. Many fixed or habitual brush moveme nts appear repeatedly. Their writing is therefore highly practiced, regular, and precise.

Regarding the similarities *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* and the works of Liu Qin and Zhang Shaoti, in terms of brushwork, all three employ rounded and turnin g movements, make extensive use of the central-tip technique, and use returning stro kes, when beginning and ending strokes. More importantly, their character structures are also very similar. When a single horizontal stroke is extended, the center of gravi ty of the character tends to shift noticeably toward the right. Many of the characters in these works do not have particularly distinctive individual features. Instead, they sh are the same underlying patterns of character construction.

There are, however, some differences. In *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*, t he brush tip is more frequently concealed within the stroke, and the strokes have a st ronger sense of twisting and turning. The characters also tend to be written at a more pronounced angle. Based on these comparisons, the calligraphic style of *The Appoint ment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* shows a very high degree of similarity to the works of Liu

Qin and Zhang Shaoti.

This suggests that court clerks and Hanlin Attendant shared a common, contemporary calligraphic style. In other words, the style seen in *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* was not necessarily limited to a particular professional group, but was part of a broader calligraphic style circulating within the Tang court. Finally, although *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* was written in 768, the third year of the Dali era, this was only thirteen years after the end of the Kaiyuan–Tianbao period under Emperor Xuanzong. Its calligraphic style therefore continued to preserve important characteristics of the fuller and heavier style that had developed during Emperor Xuanzong's reign.

2. The Traditional Attribution of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* to Xu Hao

Xu Hao was a prominent calligrapher of the High Tang period. He served at the Jixian Academy (集賢院) under both Emperor Xuanzong and Emperor Suzong for more than twenty years. During the reign of Emperor Suzong, while serving as a Secretariat Drafter (中書舍人), he held a highly esteemed position, and many of the imperial edicts were drafted by him. However, when we compare *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* with Xu Hao's surviving works, we can see clear differences between them. This is true even when we compare it with works that are relatively close in date, such as the *Epitaph of Li Xian* (李峴墓誌), which was written only one year before *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*. It is also true when we compare it with the *Stele of the Monk Bukong* (不空和尚碑, Fig. 3), which represents some of Xu Hao's heaviest and most substantial brushwork. For example, compared with the *Stele of the Monk Bukong*, the characters in *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* are noticeably narrower and more elongated in shape. In terms of brushwork, the two are also quite different. In *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*, turns and changes of direction are often handled with rounded brush movements, producing a smoother and more continuous line. Based on these comparisons, we can see that the calligraphic style of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* is fundamentally different from that of Xu Hao's surviving works. Moreover, Ōba Osamu argued that Xu Hao had been transferred to Guangzhou (廣州) in the second year of the Dali era (767), where he served as Governor of Guangzhou and Military Commissioner and Observation Commissioner of Lingnan (廣州刺史、嶺南節度觀察使).[iv] Therefore, it would have been highly unlikely for him to have written an official appointment document for the court in the following year, 768. Ōba thus rejected the attribution to Xu Hao on historical grounds. More importantly, if we consider the actual production procedure of Tang appointment documents, the final copy was made by clerks. Given this procedure, it would have been impossible for an official of Xu Hao's rank and position to have been the person who physically copied the document.

However, there is a reason why *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* was not arbitrarily attributed to Xu Hao. The most important reason is a record in the Northern Song catalogue *Xuanhe Shupu* (宣和書譜) or *The Xuanhe Calligraphy Catalogue*, which states that the imperial collection at that time contained a work by Xu Hao entitled *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan*.[v] In other words, the attribution of this appointment document to Xu Hao can be traced back to the Northern Song dynasty. It was already regarded as a work by Xu Hao at that time. Xu Hao had served as a Secretariat Drafter, a position that involved drafting imperial edicts and official documents. It is possible that later scholars misunderstood the relationship between this position and the actual process of copying appointment documents. They may have assumed that because Xu Hao was

responsible for drafting official documents, he could also have been responsible for ph ysically writing the appointment document itself. This misunderstanding may have cont ributed to *the attribution of The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* to Xu Hao.

Even more importantly, the colophons at the end of the handscroll reveal how this attribution was subsequently reinforced. The Yuan-dynasty calligrapher and connoisse ur Xianyu Shu (鮮于樞, 1246-1302) referred to the record in *Xuanhe Shupu* and, toget her with the surviving "Xuanhe" (宣和) and "Zhenghe" (政和) imperial collection seals of Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song on the handscroll, concluded that this must be the same work by Xu Hao that had once entered the Northern Song imperial collec tion. From that point onward, Xianyu Shu's judgment became an important authority fo r later collectors and connoisseurs. As a result, the attribution of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* to Xu Hao was gradually established and continued to be transmitt ed through later generations.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

To conclude, regarding the questions of the calligraphic style and the identity of the calligrapher of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*, I would first argue that, accor ding to the Tang-dynasty regulations governing the production of appointment docume nts, the final copy had to be written by a court clerk as part of the official issuing pro cedure. Therefore, the calligrapher of *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* should, without doubt, have been a clerk, rather than Xu Hao. Second, through stylistic analysi s and comparison, I have found that the calligraphy of this handscroll bears a high deg ree of similarity to the works of the Hanlin Attendant Liu Qin and Zhang Shaoti, who were active during the High and Mid-Tang periods. This comparison suggests that *Th e Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* belongs to a broader courtly calligraphic style th at continued the fuller and heavier style popular during the reign of Emperor Xuanzon g. In this way, we can give *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll* a more precise sty listic position within the calligraphy of the Mid-Tang period, while also reconsidering its traditional attribution to Xu Hao.

Endnotes

i. Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩, “A Paleographic Study of Tang-Dynasty Official Appointment Documents,” originally published in Studies in the Culture of the Western Regions, vol. 3: Social and Economic Materials from Dunhuang and Turfan, Part 2 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1960), and subsequently reprinted in Tang Official Appointment Documents and the System of Rank in Ancient Japan (Ise: Kōgakkan University Press, 2003), 31-210.

ii. Jian, Songcun 簡松村, “Official Appointment Documents of the Tang Dynasty: An Introduction to The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll in the National Palace Museum,” The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art, no. 13 (1984): 115-19; Xu, Bangda 徐邦達, “The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll of the Tang Dynasty,” in Essential Records of Calligraphy and Painting: Calligraphy of the Jin, Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song (Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 1987), 90-93.

iii. Mi Fu (米芾, Song dynasty), Haiyue minyan, in Lu Fusheng 盧甫聖, ed., Complete Collection of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1993), 976.

iv. Ōba, *Tang Official Appointment Documents and the System of Rank in Ancient Japan*, 103-111.

v. *Xuanhe shupu*, by an anonymous author, in Lu Fusheng 盧甫聖, ed., *Complete Collection of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1993), 14.

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Figures



Fig. 1. Attributed to Xu Hao, *The Appointment of Zhu Juchuan Scroll*, 768, ink on paper, 27x185.8 cm (main part), National Palace Museum in Taipei. In *The National Palace Museum's Calligraphy Masterpieces Re-edited*(故宮法書新編), vol.6.



Fig. 2. Liu Qin, *Epitaph for the Fifth Imperial Granddaughter*, ink on paper, 93x95cm, Rubbing in the Collection of Peking University Library. In *Highlights of Newly Acquired Rubbings of Epigraphic Materials in the Peking University Library: 1996-2012*
(北京大學圖書館新藏金石拓本菁華：1996-2012)



Fig. 3. Xu Hao, *Stele of the Monk Bukong* (detail), 781, ink on paper. 304x99 cm (stone) The Stone Stele Currently Housed at the Xi'an Beilin Museum. In *The Essence of Famous Steles in Xi'an Beilin Museum: Stele of the Monk Bukong*(西安碑林名碑精粹：不空和尚碑).

