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JOURNAL



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On Launching a New Journal

THE EDITORS

Libraries surely are among the most genial of places and it is no surprise that they have friends. Even so, it seems that today libraries can never have friends enough. Some of the friends of the East Asian Library at Princeton therefore resolved to organize the Friends of the Gest Library—"The Gest" being a traditional Princeton nickname for the East Asian Library. The Friends hope to enlarge the circle and, at the same time, to give all those with interests in the civilizations of East Asia a journal which will remind, inform, and perhaps even entertain them.

We might play a bit with the word "journal," which we have chosen for our title. Despite its obvious derivation via Old French "*jur-*" and "*journal*," and late Latin "*dies*" and "*diurnalem*," meaning "day" and "the record of the day," at least since the year 1728 the English word "journal" (according to that awesome authority, the OED) has been used in the sense of "any periodical publication containing news in any particular sphere." In deciding to call this new publication *The Gest Library Journal* we have hoped immodestly to associate it in the readers' minds with learned journals which contain news in a "particular sphere." But we also have in mind something close to the other sense of the word, the fact that our East Asian Library (the Gest) is an element of the University's daily activity. To be sure, we do not intend to make this a log of all of our library's activities. The Gest's day by day existence challenges a devoted staff and draws grateful users throughout long hours; far more goes on there than ever could be recorded. The editors hope that this slight journal will contain high quality scholarship concerning traditional and modern East Asia, as well as reflect some sense of the daily labors, the discoveries, the problems and the excitement that the Gest Library generates.

ON LAUNCHING A NEW JOURNAL

THE GEST LIBRARY

Guion Moore Gest (1864-1948) was an engineer and international businessman who became interested in the East. He visited China in the early 1920s and decided to have his friend Commander Irvin Van Gorder Gillis (1875-1948), a retired American naval officer living in Peking, acquire rare and valuable books for him.

G. M. Gest's story has been well told elsewhere,¹ however, one curious aspect of it has special meaning for us here. Mr. Gest suffered from glaucoma. Commander Gillis urged him to seek relief from the painful condition of his eyes by consulting a traditional Chinese medical specialist in eye diseases. Immediate relief resulted and Mr. Gest was deeply impressed. Here was something of practical value. He conceived the idea of collecting old Chinese medical works so that they might be studied in the West. At that point his friend Commander Gillis interposed crucial advice: the traditional medical knowledge of China could not be studied in isolation from the lore of the entire civilization. Books on all aspects of Chinese life must be acquired to provide the perspective that alone would make the medical knowledge intelligible. Thanks to that profound advice the Gest collection became a magnificently rounded core collection of 102,000 volumes, many exceedingly rare and valuable. In 1937 it came to Princeton from Toronto with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, intended, incidentally, for the Institute of Advance Study.

LIBRARIES AND LIBRARIANS

In East Asia, World War II commenced in the mid-nineteen-thirties. International tensions and other problems forced Mr. Gest to cease his collecting, but under Princeton University's stewardship the Gest Library began to grow again in the nineteen-fifties. It has now become a systematic collection of almost half-a-million volumes in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other languages. As the collection has grown to serve the ever-changing needs of modern scholarship, the advice given by Commander Gillis to Mr. Gest has continued to guide Gest Library librarians. As he pointed out, even though our focus may be immediate, practical, and contemporary, our research capacity must be broad and deep. One may go to the library seeking to learn something about disputed claims to petroleum resources in Northeast Asia,

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and discover that he needs to know first about the Manchu conquests in the seventeenth century, and the incursions of the Great Powers in the nineteenth. One may seek the meaning of the current political leader's latest speech, only to discover that its pungent allusions will take him back to some ancient philosopher. In short, to understand any problem in contemporary East Asia one may have to fathom rather remote, but still resonant, points of its origins.

In this last regard generally, the United States has benefited from East Asian librarians who have set strong standards and built our collections. One need think only of the late great Alfred K'ai-ming Ch'iu at Harvard-Yenching Library, Dr. K. T. Wu at the Library of Congress, and T. H. Tsien at the University of Chicago. Among those who have made landmark contributions at Princeton, one must mention first of all Nancy Lee Swann, who came to us with the collection when it was moved from McGill University in Toronto in 1937. She guarded and studied the collection, wrote books in its midst, and guaranteed that the rare treasures would be properly preserved. Her spirit lingers on. Dr. Hu Shih bore the title of curator for two years, 1950-52, but his principal role was to advise President Dodds on how best to utilize this resource in building Chinese studies at Princeton. He left his indelible mark on the Library and the University, including numerous slips inserted in rare books with scholarly notes in his distinctive calligraphy. Dr. Hu introduced James S. K. T'ung to Princeton. Mr. T'ung became the Gest Library's curator in 1951, and on his retirement in 1978 President Bowen cited him, in remarks delivered to the graduating class of that year, for his long and faithful direction of the Gest, during which time it acquired its staff, created the excellent Japanese collection, and trebled the holdings overall. The T'ung years also witnessed three semesters-in-residence of Prof. Ch'ü Wan-li of the Academia Sinica (Taiwan) who prepared the catalog of the Gest's rare books published in 1974.² These great librarians and scholars have set the standards for the Gest Library in our time. The Gest's Friends must honor their memories.

Guiding both the young student and the senior scholar to the right books is all in a day's work for Gest librarians. To be successful they must have long anticipated the many directions in which research may turn, so that the needed books will be there, in place, ready to use. They are the usually unsung heroes and heroines of scholarship.

The Gest Library Journal will bear witness to the ongoing achievements of

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our librarians. It will try to arouse all who value books, knowledge, and scholarship to take an interest in the life of this great library, and of others like it. Libraries do not compete, or should not. All the resources of any of them must be made freely available to all the others. The progress of one great research collection is a boon to all. Just as we hope to draw friends to Princeton's Gest Library and to join in supporting it, so we hope to enlarge the appreciation of all libraries in the East Asian field, and to encourage their friends to assist them.

We hold those truths to be self-evident; we shall not preach them, but they will be implicit in all that our journal offers.

COLLECTORS AND COLLECTING

Guion Moore Gest, the international businessman, had true collector's instincts. Commander Irvin Van Gorder Gillis was his expert technical advisor. Gillis was a romantic expatriot living in Peking in the afterglow of the Manchu dynasty. He was steeped in the lore of the East Asian book, a participant (through his Manchu wife's highly-placed, if impoverished, ex-aristocrat associates) in the world of book-collecting, and a master of scientific methods which he gleaned from his knowledge of military cryptography. He used these methods for detecting authentic rarities. The fortuitous conjunction of personalities, resources, and skills impelled the collecting spirit of both men. The result is the unmatched core collection of the Gest Library. The time and the place were right; no such collection could be assembled today. Yet the avid collector still plays an indispensable role in the building of libraries—as he does for museums and other public collections. Someone with the means to indulge his or her particular imagination might be struck by an opportunity, or might see what others have not seen. That is how collections are created, and thus remain very personal monuments to the individual's unique gifts.

One collector we know has been fascinated by the importance of East Asian writing systems, as art and as technology. He has acquired items not seen by others as possessing any coherent logic, yet we are now able to appreciate that (among their other values) they fill in the history of the book during the era when printing slowly superseded hand-copying. Within the context of a rare-books library and an art museum, this assemblage of

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graphic data illuminates an important aspect of the development of art, and also of the technology for transmitting and preserving knowledge.

Another friend of the Gest, his collector's instincts highly tuned, heard from a friend about an underground political movement in a corner of East Asia. He learned that complete runs of the movement's suppressed publications might be donated by one of the members to a North American library, through an intermediary who works in Asia. No other runs of these serials are known to exist outside of the East Asian country. Would the Gest Library accept them, the donor asked, but on condition that they not be accessioned and catalogued for ten years? They are now sitting in a Princeton professor's office marked for eventual donation to the Gest Library. Current issues mysteriously arrive from a postal address in a third country. Someday they may be recognized as important research material, or they may prove to be of little value. The important thing about this true story is that someday in the near future we shall have the opportunity to judge their value, to add them to our collections, and to use them. The event illustrates collecting at its best. It isn't costing any money, but it did require a sensitive ear to the ground, a concern for the purposes of libraries, and a self-effacing collector's sharp instincts.

Collectors understand the passion to see their collections grow. More important, their own appreciation for books and documents often leads them to want their collections eventually to be preserved in libraries. Where, indeed, would we be without collectors?

FINALLY, AN INVITATION

The purposes to be served by the Friends of the Gest, whose journal this is, have perhaps been made clear enough in the foregoing paragraphs. They are the perennial purposes of all who learn and who teach, who collect and who care for collections, here made specific to the needs of East Asian fields. We invite you to join the Friends by subscribing to their *Journal*, and additionally to visit the Gest Library and Princeton's other libraries and museums, to join in the occasional activities of the Friends, to write to the editors about your interests, to submit short articles and news items for possible future publication here, and to contribute to the support of Princeton's East Asian research activities by whatever means you choose. For advice on how

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to do all or any of those admirable things, please turn to the last page of this issue.

Now hoping we may call you "friend," we invite you to enjoy this first issue of our new *Gest Library Journal*. (And keep it—it will be a collector's item!)

NOTES

1. Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. XV, Spring, 1954, pp. 1-27.
2. Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalog of Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton Library* (Taipei, Yee-wen Publishing Company, 1974).

The “Colby Collection” of Rare Chinese Books

HUNG-LAM CHU

The name for the Colby Collection comes from Colby College in Maine, its former home. Impressive both in quality and in quantity, it consists of 544 stitched volumes comprising forty block-printed Chinese books, nine calligraphic works, and one manuscript. The Friends of the Gest Library purchased it in 1984 as a gift to the Gest Library and it is the largest collection added to the Gest corpus in recent years.

The collection was originally a donation to Colby College, but its history has yet to be explored. Questions like who the donor was, when the donation was made, and where in China had the collection been located remain to be answered. To have made Colby College, a place not known for Chinese studies, the home for the collection is also a mystery. Common-sense calculation suggests that to have been directly shipped from China the books ought to have been in Colby since before the outbreak of the Pacific War, thus at least for fifty years.

We at Princeton are grateful that Colby released them to a major East Asian library, where many scholars and bibliophiles may have access to them. To the East Asian Studies faculty of Princeton, the collection quickly proved itself to be a valuable addition to the Gest holdings. The ensuing investigation has also ascertained its usefulness in the study of the history of book printing, of textual transmission, and in the correction of certain bibliographic information. The Colby collection thus must be recognized as a valuable resource for studying textual collation and emendation, as well as for the art and technology of book printing. They all contribute signifi-

THE "COLBY COLLECTION"

cantly to a branch of learning fundamental to all other spheres of sinological studies—the knowledge of Chinese books.

Some statistics about the collection are useful. Of forty-one books, twenty are products of the Ming period, nineteen the Ch'ing period and two the early Republican period. Except for two from the Ming and four from the Ch'ing, all the items are complete. The calligraphic items are mostly Ch'ing products, and seven out of the nine are complete. Most of these items are in very good physical condition; a few of them are unquestionably among the best in terms of block engraving and printing.

A classification by subject yields the following figures: one classical exegesis, three historical writings, three philosophical, one on law, one *pi-chi* type collection of miscellaneous notes, two anthologies of selected poems and essays, four multi-author collections of poems and essays, and twenty-four literary collections by individual authors. The entire corpus comprises the works of four authors of the T'ang, one of the Sung, and five each of the Ming and the Ch'ing.

An assessment is also possible of the collection's contribution to the Gest Library's rare book holding: twenty-two of the thirty-five book items in complete form and five of six that are incomplete are either new titles or new editions that do not exist in Gest in other forms. So are eight of the nine calligraphic items. While these new items add handsomely to the present Gest holdings, the duplicate ones no doubt can be sold to other institutions.

I shall not enter into the area of monetary value, but shall confine myself to commenting on the more interesting items, in particular those new to Gest and those rare among the holdings of other major libraries.

THE WORKS OF WANG YANG-MING (1472-1529)

We have here two different copies of Wang Yang-ming's works published in the Ming. They are rare not only to Gest, but also to other major libraries. Rarity aside, it is more important that they do in fact help us to correct previous bibliographic descriptions and enlighten our understanding of the appreciation of Wang Yang-ming and his school during Ming times.

1. *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu* 38 *chüan*, 24 Volumes (One copy)

In the Ming there were only two editions bearing this title and with this number of *chüan*. The one with the wider circulation, and which was sub-

sequently reproduced in the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* series, is given in authoritative catalogs as compiled by Hsieh T'ing-chieh (*chin-shih* 1559), Education Intendant of the Southern Metropolitan Area, and published in Ying-t'ien fu (Nanking) in 1572 (sixth year of the Lung-ch'ing reign). The other edition, with limited circulation for reasons not yet clear, is given as published in Hangchow in 1568 (second year of the Lung-ch'ing reign) by Kuo Ch'ao-pin (*chin-shih* 1535) et al.¹ A textual comparison of these two editions shows that they both are of the same content and textual origin, in spite of their difference in block format and of the lack of a preface in the former one.

The present copy belongs to the Hangchow edition. This is seen in book formatting similarities, in the size and style of block, the style of characters, and the names of sponsors.

However, a problem crops up at this point. It so happens that the Hangchow edition was not published in 1568 and the Nanking edition not in 1572, but were produced in 1572 and 1573 respectively. Since a detailed study of this problem can be found elsewhere,² I shall only point out the major clues.

The Hangchow edition contains a list of 35 officials who sponsored its publication. (Illustration 1.) They, including Kuo Ch'ao-pin, were then either officials of the Chekiang provincial government or of the prefecture of Hangchow. Naturally, all the officials' titles were those current at the time of the edition's publication. Since, based on biographical information, the range of dates for these sponsors' titles is 1570 to 1572, the book cannot have been published in 1568. In fact, a preface by Hsü Chieh (1503-1583), contributed to this edition but for some reason withdrawn and used instead in the Nanking edition, confirms the date 1572.

The Nanking edition also contains a list of sponsoring officials: Hsieh T'ing-chieh and three local officials of Ying-t'ien Prefecture under his jurisdiction. A study of these officials' careers shows that only in 1573 were they all serving together in Nanking; hence the true date of this edition. Hsieh T'ing-chieh is named compiler of the Nanking edition. Significantly, his name also appears in the 1572 edition published in Hangchow, Chekiang (Illustration 1)—where he served in the very same year. The Hangchow edition does not specify a compiler. For reasons too complicated to be given here, Hsieh was actually the compiler: Hsü Chieh's preface, as well as major editorial similarities, prove the fact well.

Two long-repeated mistakes about an edition of Wang Yang-ming's works are hereby corrected. But from this point, other questions arise. For

instance, why was this huge work published in two nearby areas within a short period of two years? It is easy to see that further research is called for and will prove to be quite interesting.

In any event, the Hangchow edition is truly rare. Other than the present copy, there is only one copy in the Central Library in Taipei.³ It is not found in the catalogs of Peking Library, National Peiping Library Rare Books, Library of Congress, or any major library in Japan.⁴

2. *Ho-tung ch'ung-k'o Yang-ming hsien-sheng wen-lu* 5 *chüan*, *wai-chi* 9 *chüan*, *pieh-lu* 12 *chüan*, 10 Vols. (One copy)

This edition was published in 1553 by Sung I-wang (*chin-shih* 1547), Regional Inspector of Shansi, probably in T'ai-yüan, Shansi. The book itself was an early version of the "complete works" of Wang Yang-ming. Compiled by Ch'ien Te-hung (1496-1574) et al., it was first published in 1535 by Wen-jen Ch'üan (*chin-shih* 1525) in Soochow; and before the appearance of the *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu*, was one of the two most frequently reprinted versions of Wang's works—the other being the *Yang-ming hsien-sheng wen-ts'ui* in 11 *chüan*, compiled and first published by the same Sung I-wang.

Besides the identifying label "Recut in Ho-tung (*Ho-tung ch'ung-k'o*)" (Illustration 2), the present copy contains a preface by Sung I-wang, dated 1553, specifically written for this reissue while he was in office. According to Sung, the Soochow edition had been subsequently recut in Fukien, Chekiang, and Kuan-chung (Shensi), and this reissue in Ho-tung was based on the Kuan-chung edition. Sung also gave reasons for his undertaking: he wanted to enable readers to know the truth of Wang Yang-ming's teaching and scholarship, because the overly quick-minded among Wang's disciples had too freely and independently transformed their master's doctrines, to the extent that they were now disrespectfully criticized by younger generations. Such apologetic reveals an early awareness of the school's own defects. This is how the history of publication helps us to understand the development and impact of a philosophy.

Extant copies of this edition are very rare. Most catalogs register only copies of the original edition published in Soochow.⁵ Only the Naikaku Bunko registers a copy of another later date edition, one with a preface dated 1557, but without specific indication that it was "recut in Ho-tung."⁶

The Central Library catalog records one *Yang-ming hsien-sheng ch'üan-lu* (27 *chüan*) published in Kiangsi in 1557 by the Tung family of Kan-chou.⁷ I do not know of any relationship between it and the one in the Naikaku Bunko. It would be quite useful if the present copy could be compared with copies of other editions published elsewhere. At least then something could be learned about the level of printing skills in the Kuan-chung area during the sixteenth century. Neither the calligraphic style nor the carving skill of the present edition is as impressive as some other contemporary products from areas in the lower Yangtze valley. That fact in itself bears usefully on the history of printing in the sixteenth century.

Like other libraries, Gest has various modern editions of Wang Yang-ming's works and reprints of those published in Ming and Ch'ing times. But with the addition of these two new Ming editions to our rare book holdings, our collection is notably strengthened.

THE WORKS OF HO CHING-MING (1483-1521)

3. *Ho Ta-fu hsien-sheng chi* 38 *chüan*, Appendix 1 *chüan*, 16 Volumes (One copy)

This copy of Ho Ching-ming's works has no trace of the publisher's, collocator's, or blockcutter(s)' names. The front matter includes four prefaces written, respectively, by Wang T'ing-hsiang (1474-1544) in 1537 (which is a mistake for 1531),⁸ by T'ang Lung (1477-1546) in 1524, by K'ang Hai (1475-1541) also in 1524, and by Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590) in 1558. The last date of course should be an *ante quem* date. Evidence from the text, however, ensures that it was published no earlier than 1570. Circumstantial bibliographic information even suggests that this copy belongs to an edition published in 1577. This may be established by the history of the publication of Ho's works in the Ming.

The earliest printed versions of Ho's works to have appeared in the Ming were the *Ho-shih chi*, a 26-*chüan* collection of essays and poems, and the *Ho Chung-mo chi*, a 10-*chüan* selection of poems alone. Both these works were edited after the death of Ho by his friends K'ang Hai and Chang Chih-tao (1487-1556), and have been considered as published about the same time, in 1524. The former version appears to have been first issued in Lu-chou, Shansi; the earliest dated extant copy, however, is from an edition

carved and printed in Wu-chün (Soochow) by the Yeh-chu chai of Shen Yü-wen. It contains only T'ang Lung's preface, which is similar to the one mentioned above. The latter version was issued in Sian, Shensi, by four disciples of Ho—a Fei P'an and three others. It contains the same 1524 prefaces by T'ang Lung and K'ang Hai. Because T'ang Lung's preface was written for a forthcoming edition, but had been used in two different versions, the *Ho Chung-mo chi* has come to be regarded as a "separate edition" (*pieh-pen*) of the *Ho-shih chi*. The latter one was reissued in 1531 by the I-yang shu-yüan in Kuan-chung, for which Wang T'ing-hsiang's preface was written.⁹

The third version of Ho's works was the *Ta-fu chi*, first published in 1555. In 37 *chüan* of text plus 1 *chüan* of appendix, it was the first expansion of the *Ho-shih chi*. The Gest Library has a copy of this edition,¹⁰ in which a line on the first folio of the text reads "Published by [Ho's] son-in-law Commander-in-chief Yüan Ts'an." (Illustration 3.) Preceding the text are the same two prefaces by T'ang Lung and K'ang Hai, and a third one by Wang T'ing-hsiang, dated 1531; at the end of the text is a postface by Tsou Ch'a from Soochow, dated 1555. Tsou was then Prefect of the Subprefecture of Hsin-yang, Ho's native locality. According to Tsou, in 1555 Ho's son and son-in-law, Ho Li and Yüan Ts'an, supplemented Ho's unpublished poems and supervised the publication.

The present copy belongs to the fourth (and perhaps the last) version of Ho's works published in Ming times. Obviously an expansion of the 1555 edition, this one adds one more *chüan* to the main text and more material to the appendix. (Illustration 4.) Characteristically, it does not specify Yüan Ts'an as the publisher, but includes a fourth preface by Wang Shih-chen, dated 1558, our supposed *terminus ante quem*. But Wang's preface states that it was written at the request of Yüan Ts'an. For this reason, most likely, the eminent bibliographer, the late Wang Chung-min (1903-1975), had doubts about its ascription to Wang Shih-chen.¹¹

But the question is not that easily resolved, because the same text of Wang's preface, with the same title, is preserved in Wang's own works, the *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao* published in his lifetime in 1577.¹² Part of the answer to all this lies in the fact that Wang's preface was not written for the present edition, our *Ho Ta-fu hsien-sheng chi*. Although it was for some "*Ho Ta-fu chi*," nevertheless, the appendix in our edition contains passages written well after the date of Wang's preface. These passages include most de-

cisively a biography of Ho quoted from the [*Huang-ch'ao*] *Chung-chou jen-wu chih* by Chu Mu-chieh (1517-1586), which was published in 1570.¹³

The present copy might well belong to a 1577 edition of the same title and same format published by Ch'en T'ang (*chin-shih* 1568) of Nan-hai, Kwangtung, which became the text on which the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* manuscript of Ho's works was based.¹⁴ Two copies of this edition are preserved in the Peking Library.¹⁵ There is another identical copy in the Library of Congress, which Wang Chung-min suspects as belonging to the 1577 edition.¹⁶ It is possible that a preface or a postface to this edition, bearing evidence that Ch'en T'ang was the publisher, is missing from the present copy.

The National Central Library catalog records two copies of the same title and format, the date of which, however, is given as 1558 and the publisher as Yüan Ts'an.¹⁷ I have no access to these copies and do not know whether the preface by Wang Shih-chen is included in them, and whether the appendix includes the same passages as those in the present copy. If the information in that catalog is correct, then the edition which produced this copy was a reissue, not a new version by itself. In any event, however, the present copy is most useful as a reliable text for collating the widely accessible, but often heavily edited, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* version of Ho Ching-ming's works.

THE WORKS OF LU CHIH (754-805)

4. *T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung chi* 24 *chüan*, 12 Volumes (One copy)

This is also a new addition to Gest. Judging from the content and block style (including the number of columns and characters on each folio) of this copy, the edition to which it belongs is the same as that listed as the "white opening, ten-column" (*pai-k'ou shih-hang*) Ming edition in the catalog of the National Central Library, the only catalog of major libraries where two similar copies are mentioned. The date of this edition, though not given in the same catalog, can be determined in view of the various editions of Lu's works that appeared in the Ming.

We know of at least four different versions of Lu Chih's works which were published in the Ming. In chronological order they are (A) the *T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung chi* in 22 *chüan*, (B) the same title in 24 *chüan*, (C) the *T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung han-yüan chi* in 24 *chüan*, and (D) the *Lu Hsüan-kung ch'üan-*

chi in 24 *chüan*. The first edition of version A was published in 1416, though there appears to be no extant copy of it. Thereafter there was one published in 1428 in Tsui-li (modern Chia-hsing, Chekiang), one published in 1457 in Wu-chün (Soochow, modern Wu-hsien), one in 1502 in Chia-hsing, one in 1581 in Lu-chou (modern Ho-fei, Anhwei), and one in 1607 in Nanking by the Kuang-yü t'ang.¹⁸ In addition to these, there was one published in Chien-yang between 1502 and 1581, customarily referred to as the "black-opening" (*hei-k'ou*) edition. Just when the earliest edition of version B first appeared is difficult to determine. The earliest extant copy, customarily referred to as stemming from a "ten-column twenty-five character" edition, however, is dated to the 1520's. Another edition was published in 1548 in Hsiu-shui, Chekiang. Before that, there were also two undatable editions with places of publication uncertain—one customarily referred to as the "black-opening, ten-column" edition and the other as "nine-column" edition of the Chia-ching (1522-1566) period. The earliest edition extant of version C is the one collated and published in 1607 by Lu Chi-chung, a twenty-seventh generation descendant of Lu Chih. A Pu-fu t'ang edition appeared thereafter. In the Ming period, version D seems to have appeared latest of all. An edition published in 1628 by T'ang Pin-yin (1568-1628+) of Hsüan-ch'eng, Anhwei, still exists, which includes T'ang's commentaries.¹⁹

The Central Library is the place where copies of most of these editions are preserved; Gest Library has one copy of the last edition of version A and one copy of version D.²⁰

The present copy contains only a Ming preface by Hsiang Chung (1421-1502), dated 1457, and no postface or printer's colophon—evidence suggesting that it belong to the 1457 edition. But from the above information it is clear that it belongs to version B, the first edition of which did not appear until after 1502. Moreover, it is obvious that Hsiang Chung's preface was not written for this edition because it bears the title "Preface to the Memorials of Lu Hsüan-kung." Thus, it is reasonable to assume that this copy was printed some time between 1506 and 1548. The mediocrity of character style and carving skill (Illustration 5) further suggests that it was a product of the commercial printers in Fukien. This, however, does not reduce its significance, because not only does it reveal the development of printing skills in the sixteenth century, it also adds to our knowledge of how Lu Chih's works were edited for publication over time.

THE WORKS OF HAN YÜ (768-824) AND
LIU TSUNG-YÜAN (773-819)

5. *Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi* 40 *chüan*, *i-wen* 1 *chüan*, *chi-chuan* 1 *chüan*, *wai-chi* 10 *chüan*, 28 Volumes (Two copies, one bound in 15 volumes)
6. *Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi* 45 *chüan*, *wai-chi* 2 *chüan*, *Lung-ch'eng lu* 2 *chüan*, *fu-lu* 2 *chüan*, *chi-chuan* 1 *chüan*, 16 Volumes (Two copies)

These two annotated versions of the literary works of Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan are among the items in the Colby Collection which can be cited for block-cutting and printing excellence. Han's was published in the late sixteenth century by the Tung-ya t'ang of Hsü Shih-t'ai (*chin-shih* 1580) from Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu; Liu's was in the mid-sixteenth century by the Chi-mei t'ang of Kuo Yün-p'eng from Tung-wu (Soochow). Both editions are among the most highly reputed of block-printed books from the Ming.

In terms of textual filiation, both of these editions are facsimile reproductions of their respective original versions, printed in late Southern Sung by the Shih-ts'ai t'ang of Liao Ying-chung (died 1275). Because of their excellence in cutting and printing, alongside their having been based on the same prestigious origin, these two editions have been customarily paired with each other as examples of "family-cut" (*chia-k'o*)²¹ books.

Other copies of Han Yü's writings, in the above edition, exist; in fact Gest already has one. Liu Tsung-yüan's, however, is a unique addition to Gest. In the latter case, acquiring a second copy appears to have been quite worthwhile. One of the two copies of Liu's works contains numerous handwritten collation or critical notes on the top margins of the folios which often point out miswritten characters and variant texts in comparison with other editions. (Illustration 6.) Aside from serving collation purposes, the copy also reminds us that even a book most reputedly cut is not necessarily perfectly proofread, nor is its version of the text necessarily the best.

7. *Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* 40 *chüan*, *chi-chuan* 1 *chüan*, *i-wen* 1 *chüan*, *wai-chi* 10 *chüan*, 12 Volumes (One copy)

This edition of Han Yü's works was published by the Yung-huai t'ang of Ke Ts'ai from Tung-wu (Soochow) during the Ch'ung-chen period (1628-

1644). It is a "text-only" (*pai-wen*) edition, which excludes all the typical annotations of the Tung-ya t'ang edition. Copies of this are indeed rare. Of all the major libraries in China, Taiwan, Japan, and the United States, only the Naikaku Bunko has a complete copy (as well as one facsimile copy produced during the Ch'ing) and the National Central Library has one incomplete copy of 36 *chüan*.²²

Although this version would not be a good text for studying Han Yü, both the cutting and printing of this edition are excellent, fully revealing the characteristics of a more refined book manufacture during late Ming times. Furthermore, the present copy contains abundant black and red-inked commentaries by its previous reader(s)—both within and on top of the folios—valuable for literary criticism. (Illustration 7.)

It should be noted that although the blocks of this edition were cut before the end of the Ming, this copy must have been printed during the Ch'ing. There are two compelling reasons for this having been the case. First, the character *chiao* (for "proofread by" or "collated by")—a taboo character during late Ming times—appearing in the second line of the first folio of the text has its "tree" radical replaced by the "hand" radical; this shows that the blocks were cut during the Ming. (Illustration 8.) Secondly, the character *hung* (tabooed not in the Ming but in the Ch'ing after 1736) is in its full shape throughout the text, but in the table of contents the last stroke has been removed to obscure the taboo; this shows that some modification had been done for this particular printing, which was based on pre-1644 blocks.

EARLY CH'ING ITEMS

8. *T'ang-jen wu-chia chi* 16 *chüan* in toto, 6 Vols. (One copy)

The above title appears on the cover page of the Colby copy. The copy itself contains neither a preface explaining the naming of the book nor a general table-of-contents bearing the same title. It is in actuality a collection of poems by five late T'ang poets: namely, Tu Hsün-ho's (846-904) *Tu Hsün-ho wen-chi* (also appears as *T'ang-feng chi*) in 3 *chüan*, Hsiang Ssu's (fl.840) *Hsiang Ssu shih-chi*, Ku Fei-hsiung's (fl.845) *Ku Fei-hsiung shih-chi*, and Ch'u Ssu-tsung's (fl.859) *Ch'u Ssu-tsung shih-chi*, each in 1 *chüan*, and Ch'ien Ch'i's (fl. 766-779) *Ch'ien K'ao-kung shih-chi* in 10 *chüan*. This copy contains,

moreover, three dated colophons and numerous collation notes (with occasional explanations) handwritten by the eminent early Ch'ing scholar Ho Ch'o (1661-1722). (Illustration 9.)

At the end of the *chüan* for Ku Fei-hsiang is a printer's colophon reading: "The Hsi Family of Tung-shan published this in the Ch'in-ch'uan shu-wu; entirely based on a Sung edition." At the end of the *chüan* for Hsiang Ssu, there is a note by Ho Ch'o which reads: "Collated in the year *ping-hsü* of the reign of K'ang-hsi (1706), with a manuscript facsimile of the Sung edition [owned] by Mao Pao-sun. Of the T'ang poetry [collections] carved by the Hsi [family], this collection is the best." It appears from this that this edition was issued by the Hsi family of Tung-t'ing, who operated the Ch'in-ch'uan shu-wu during the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722).

Two other notes by Ho Ch'o at the end of Tu Hsün-ho's works throw light on the date of publication. The first states that he (here Ho's early *tzu*, Wu-yung, is used) collated this copy with a manuscript owned by Feng Mo-an (Feng Shu, fl. 1640-1670) on the 26th day of the 12th month of the year *jen-shen* of the K'ang-hsi reign (1692). The other states that this (second) time he collated this copy again with a Northern Sung edition and had found that Feng's manuscript was inferior to the Sung copy. The date given is the 2nd month of the year *jen-ch'en* of the K'ang-hsi reign (1712). He also specifically noted that this was done "twenty-one years after the last [collating]." From this it can be ascertained that this copy must have been printed before 1692. (Illustration 10.)

It can be noted that the Ch'in-ch'uan shu-wu owned by Hsi Ch'i-yü had published in 1702 a famous collection of poems by a hundred T'ang poets entitled *T'ang-shih pai ming-chia ch'üan-chi*.²³ Thus, the present copy, containing collections of five poets' poems, appeared before that, as a separate publication. It is possible that it was later incorporated into the larger collection. In any event, this copy is truly rare because no similar one has yet been found in other major libraries for which we have catalogs.

An assessment can be made of this copy. In 1980 a facsimile reproduction was made of a Northern Sung edition of the *Tu Hsün-ho wen-chi*,²⁴ which, in light of Ho Ch'o's notes found in the present copy, is the edition Ho Ch'o used for his collation. In other words, then, the present copy might be considered obsolete (at least insofar as the works of Tu Hsün-ho are concerned), because we now have the original Northern Sung edition at our disposal.

Nonetheless, our copy is evidence of typical textual scholarship pursued in early Ch'ing times: Ho Ch'o would collate a book more than once, as other editions became available, and would offer rationalizations for the textual preferences he made. From what he has done on this copy, we can also appreciate the practice of restoring the format of a later product to that of an early one by means meticulous collation.

9. *Kuei Chen-ch'uan hsien-sheng ch'ih-tu 2 chüan*, 2 Volumes (One copy)

10. *Ch'ien Mu-chai hsien-sheng ch'ih-tu 3 chüan*, 4 Volumes (One copy)

These two works are, respectively, the letters of Kuei Yu-kuang (1507-1571) and Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664), compiled and edited by Ku Yü (fl. 1660-1700) of Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu. Both copies have the same style of block and characters; both also have at the end of their texts the same printer's colophon reading "Published by the Ju-yüeh lou of Yü-shan [Ch'ang-shu]" and the same printed seal with the words "[Manuscript] copy held by the Ku's." The copy of Kuei Yu-kuang's works begins with a preface by Wang I (fl. 1650-1700) of Ch'ang-shu, which mentions that the book was published by Ku Han-chang [Ku Yü]. The copy of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's, however, begins with a "postface" by Ku Yü himself. Both preface and postface are dated 1699. These simultaneously published works are thus similar to a combined issue entitled *Kuei Ch'ien ch'ih-tu*, which, according to the *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu*, was first published by the Wan-wei t'ang in 1699. Whether the editions to which the present copies belong were originally issued separately by the Ju-yüeh lou and then collectively issued by the Wan-wei t'ang is not clear to me, as I have no access to the later edition.

In any event, it seems that these two new additions to Gest are also rather rare items. Even the Wan-wei-t'ang edition is given by the *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu* as available only in the Peking Library, Nanking Library, and the libraries of Ch'ing-hua University and Shantung University.²⁵

A note may be added about Ku Yü's postface to Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's works. Its description of the work as having 5 *chüan* is a mistake for 3 *chüan*. In fact, a 1910 reprint of this work also contains only 3 *chüan*. We can assume that this 3 *chüan* copy is complete.

To summarize, the Colby Collection has added very significantly to the

HUNG-LAM CHU

Gest holdings of rare and fine editions. Careful study of the most important items not only verifies them, but also adds significant bibliographic information of value to all libraries, collectors, and scholars using these and related materials. We hope that the information offered here will elicit responses that supplement and correct our findings.

刻王文成公全書姓氏總目	
欽差提督軍務巡撫浙江等處地方都察院副都御史戶部侍郎文上郭朝賓	欽差提督軍務巡撫浙江等處地方都察院右副都御史新昌鄔璉
巡按浙江江監察御史新建謝廷傑	欽差巡按浙江等處監察御史汾州張更化
欽差巡按浙江等處監察御史曹州馬應夢	浙江等處承宣布政使司左布政使新泰姚世熙
封丘郭斗	蒲圻謝鵬舉

1. List of sponsoring officials from the 1572 edition of *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-chi*. Such lists were typical of books printed under government auspices.

河東重刻陽明先生文錄卷之一

二冊

書一

始正德已
巳至庚辰

與辰中諸生

已巳

謫居兩年無可與語者歸途乃得諸友何幸何幸方
 以為喜又遽爾別去極怏怏也絕學之餘求道者少
 一齊眾楚最易搖奪自非豪傑鮮有卓然不變者諸
 友宜相砥礪夾持務期有成近世士夫亦有稍知求
 道者皆因實德未成而先揭標榜以來世俗之謗是
 以往往墮墮無立反為斯道之梗諸友宜以是為鑒
 刊落聲華務於切已處着實用力前在寺中所云靜

陽明先生文錄卷之二

2. 1553 "re-cut edition" of Wang Yang-ming's works, issued in Ho-tung by Sung I-wang.

大復集卷第一

都指揮婿袁檠刊

賦一十篇

渡瀘賦

晨瞻崇丘鬱宇相表竒以水峽隱以大洲沙莽
寒日江深夕流蓋將濟於瀘水榜人告予以理
舟泐洪波以直度迎迴颺於上游顧中原而緬
邈久西域以滯留感逆旅之長勤懷古人而增
憂想夫漢炎旣燼蜀都始家區土未闢士馬不
加深入五溪橫制三巴冒險通塞柔邇來遐收
羗髻以帶甲率庸廬而習戈撻吳權之堅銳摧

3. From the 1555 edition of Ho Ching-ming's *Ta-fu chi* in 37 *chüan* (Gest Library copy); the publisher's name appears in the second line of the first column.

何大復先生集卷之一

徐德瑜

賦十一篇

渡瀘賦

以下使集

晨瞻崇丘鬱手相袞局以水峽隱以大洲沙莽寒日
江深夕流蓋將濟於瀘水榜人告予以理舟公洪波
以直度迎迴颺於上游顧中原而緬邈又西域以滯
留感逆旅之長勤懷古人而增憂想夫漢炎既燼蜀
都始家區土未闢士馬不加深入五溪橫制三巴冒
險通塞柔邇來遐收羗髮以帶甲率庸盧而習戈捷
吳權之堅銳摧魏懿之精華今其斷岸遺津寂寥水

4. From the 38-chüan edition of *Ho Ta-fu hsien-sheng chi* published in 1577. Compare Illustration 3 for differences in block style and lack of publisher's name.

唐陸宣公制誥卷之一

奉天改元大赦制

門下致理興化必在推誠忘已濟人不吝改過朕嗣
守丕構君臨萬方失守宗桃越在草莽不念率德誠
莫遠於既往永言思咎期有復於將來明徵厥初以
示天下惟我烈祖邁德庇人致俗化於和平拯生靈
於塗炭重熙積慶垂二百年伊爾卿尹庶官洎億兆
之衆代受亭育以迄于今功存于人澤垂於後肆予
小子獲續鴻業懼德不嗣罔敢怠荒然以長子深宮
之中暗于經國之務積習易溺居安忘危不知稼穡

5. From *T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung chi*; style of block and characters both unrefined.

照家板改定
此今之重本也

察御史臣柳宗元奏奉勅新除監察御史柳
宗元祖名察躬准禮二名不偏諱不合辭讓
年月日檢校司空同中書門下平章事杜佑
宣

為京兆府昭應等九縣訴夏苗旱損

狀

貞元十九年正月不雨至七月
時京兆尹李實也然史傳謂關
中大歉而實為政猛顧百姓所
訴一不介意其說恐未必然按
正元二十一年二月以瀉臚御
王權為京兆尹此狀訴夏苗旱
損而首云謬領京畿已
逾兩月疑與此合耳

6. From the Chi-mei t'ang edition of *Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi*; collation notes are by an unknown author.

昌黎先生全集卷第一

門人隴西李漢編

後學東吳葛禹校

賦

感二鳥賦 并序

貞元十一年五月戊辰，愈東歸。癸酉，自潼關出息于河之陰。時始去京師，有不遇時之歎。見行有籠白鳥、白鸚鵡而西者，號於道曰：某土之守其官，使使者進於天子。東西行者皆避路，莫敢正目焉。因竊自悲。幸生天下無事時，承先人之遺業，不識干戈，耒耜攻守耕穫之勤。讀書著文，自七歲至今，凡二十二年。其行已不敢有愧於道，其閒居

昌黎全集

卷一

賦

一三六

尺牘

8. From *Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* published by Yung-huai t'ang; cut in late Ming but printed in early Ch'ing. Notice the last character in the second column; it replaced a late Ming taboo character.

樂天有著朱騎馬是
何人之句是唐制在內唯
有官者得乘馬也作時
亦得

貧夫得路曾不念昔者
帝不怨笑作平文無理

別離人生無此恨鬢色不成絲未得重相見看
君馬上詩

北宋本時

訪蔡融因題

杖藜時復過荒郊來到君家不忍拋每見苦心
修好事未嘗開口怨貧交貧一溪寒色漁收網半
樹殘陽鳥傍巢必若天公主人事肯交吾子委
衡茅

北宋本貧

閑居書事

竹門茅屋帶村居數畝生涯似有餘鬢白祇因
秋鍊句眼昏多為夜抄書雁驚風浦魚燈動猿

七言古詩

三

9. Black-inked collation notes by Ho Ch'o, as they appear in Colby copy of T'ang-jen wu-chia chi. Notice how Ho justified his choice of text.

山下水不知平地有風波

九江連海一般深未必船經廟下沉頭上蒼蒼

沒瞞處不如平取一生心

杜荀鶴文集卷第五

康熙壬申十二月二十六日對點庵馮先生抄本校一過

無勇

此刻^獨照北宋本點庵所有極本不如也間有二三家
本誤或當商論却不可反以近人所見疑之按後二十一

年壬辰二月碑又記

如
記
奉
知

10. From *T'ang-jen wu-chia chi*; the two notes by Ho Ch'o help date this edition.

THE "COLBY COLLECTION"

NOTES

1. See *Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Hereafter abbreviated as *Central Library*; Taipei: Chung-hua ts'ung-shu wei-yüan-hui, 1958), Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, 4.123; also Wang Chung-min, *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 582.
2. See my forthcoming paper, "The Politics of Recognizing Wang Yang-ming in 1572-73," from which the following account is derived.
3. *Central Library*, Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, 4.123.
4. No copy of this edition is recorded in Yamane Yukio et al. eds., *A Catalogue of Wenchi in Ming Dynasty Existing in Japan* (Tokyo: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, 1978).
5. *Central Library*, *op.cit.* Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 583.
6. *Naigaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo: Naigaku bunko, 1971), p. 349.
7. *Central Library*, *op.cit.*
8. The date of Wang's preface appears as 1531 (tenth year of the Chia-ching reign) in both the I-yang shu-yüan edition of the earliest version of Ho's works, the *Ho-shih chi*, published in the same year (see Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 584) and the 1555 edition of an enlarged version, the *Ta-fu chi*, published by Yüan Ts'an, a copy of which is held in the Gest Library (see also Note 10 below).
9. For reference to the editions mentioned in this paragraph, see *Central Library*, Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, 4:124-25; Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, pp. 584-85; *Kuo-li Peiping t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Taipei: Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, 1969), p. 213.
10. See Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton Library* (Taipei: Yee-wen Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 449-50.
11. Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 585.
12. See Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao* (Shih-ching t'ang edition of 1577), 64.14b; see also the bibliographic notes on this copy in Ch'ü Wan-li, *op.cit.*, p. 462. The Gest Library appears to hold the only complete (i.e. 180 *chüan*) copy of this work known to exist outside of China, and until recently thought to be a unique exemplar. (See Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 628.)
13. Cf. the exact text of this biography in Chu Mu-chieh, *Huang-ch'ao chung-chou jen-wu chih* (reprint of 1570 edition; Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chu, 1970), 13.5b.
14. Cf. *Ta-fu chi* in *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen ch'i-chi* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1977), Vol. 243-47; see also Chi Yun (1724-1805) et al. eds., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1931), Vol. 33, p. 87.
15. See *Peking t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 7.29b.
16. Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*
17. *Central Library*, Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, 4.125.
18. For the Kuang-yü t'ang's being a printing house in Nanking, see Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 518, entry on the *Hsin-k'o Lin-ch'uan Wang Chieh-fu hsien-sheng chi*, published around 1612. Note that Wang's source shows that the Kuang-yü t'ang was owned by the publisher Li Feng-hsiang, whereas in the

- present copy there is a line on the first folio of the text, reading "Ming Hsiu-ku Hsiao-ch'uan Wu Chi-wu chiao-k'an," thus indicating that Wu Chi-wu was the person responsible for the publication of this edition. Whether Wu was a new owner of that house is uncertain.
19. For reference to the editions mentioned in this paragraph, see *Central Library*, Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, 4.21-22; Wang Chung-min, *op.cit.*, p. 503; Ch'ü Wan-li, *op.cit.*, pp. 414-15.
 20. See Ch'ü Wan-li, *ibid.*
 21. See P'an Ch'eng-pi and Ku T'ing-lung, *Ming-tai pan-pen t'u-lu ch'u-pien* (reprint; Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1971), pp. 275-76, 282-83.
 22. See *Naigaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, p. 329; *Central Library*, Vol. 2, *chia-pien*, p. 23.
 23. See *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1982), Vol. 1, p. 1094. For a note on this collection, see Cheng Chen-to, *Chieh-chung te-shu chi* (Shanghai: Ktien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1956), p. 81.
 24. This was issued in traditional stitched volumes by the Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she; the original copy is preserved in the Shanghai Library.
 25. See *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu*, p. 1106.

GLOSSARY

- Chang Chih-tao 張治道
 Ch'ang-shu 常熟
 Ch'en T'ang 陳堂
 Chi-mei t'ang 濟美堂
 Chi Yün 紀昀
 Chia-hsing 嘉興
 chia-k'o 家刻
 chiao 校
 Chien-yang 建陽
 Ch'ien Ch'i 錢起
 Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益
 Ch'ien K'ao-kung shih-chi
 錢考功詩集
 Ch'ien Mu-chai hsien-sheng ch'ih-tu
 錢牧齋先生尺牘
 Ch'ien Te-hung 錢德洪
 Ch'in-ch'uan shu-wu 琴川書屋
 Chu Mu-chieh 朱睦㮮
 Ch'u Ssu-tsung 儲嗣宗
 Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao
 中國善本書提要
 Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu
 中國叢書綜錄
 Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里
 Fei P'an 費槃
 Feng Mo-an 馮默庵
 Feng Shu 馮舒
 Han Yü 韓愈
 hei-k'ou 黑口
 Ho Ching-ming 何景明
 Ho Ch'o 何焯
 Ho Chung-mo chi 何仲默集
 Ho-fei 合肥
 Ho Li 何立
 Ho-shih chi 何氏集
 Ho Ta-fu hsien-sheng chi
 何大復先生集
 Ho-tung ch'ung-k'o Yang-ming
 hsien-sheng wen-lu, wai-chi,
 pieh-lu 河東重刻陽明先生文錄、外集、別錄
 Hsi 席
 Hsi Ch'i-yü 席啟寓
 Hsiang Chung 項忠
 Hsiang Ssu 項斯
 Hsieh T'ing-chieh 謝廷傑
 Hsin-k'o Lin-ch'uan Wang Chieh-fu hsien-
 sheng chi 新刻臨川王介甫先生集
 Hsin-yang 信陽
 Hsiu-shui 秀水
 Hsü Chieh 徐階
 Hsü Shih-t'ai 徐時泰
 Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城
 Huang-ch'ao chung-chou jen-wu chih
 皇朝中州人物志
 hung 弘
 I-yang shu-yüan 義陽書院
 Ju-yüeh lou 如月樓
 Kan-chou 贛州
 K'ang Hai 康海
 Ke Ts'ai 葛蘆
 Ku Fei-hsiung 顧非熊
 Ku Han-chang 顧漢璋
 Ku T'ing-lung 顧廷龍
 Ku Yü 顧楫
 Kuang-yü t'ang 光裕堂
 Kuei Chen-ch'uan hsien-sheng ch'ih-tu
 歸震川先生尺牘
 Kuei-Ch'ien ch'ih-tu 歸錢尺牘
 Kuei Yu-kuang 歸有光
 Kuo Ch'ao-pin 郭朝賓
 Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen
 shu-mu 國立中央圖書館善本書目
 Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-
 mu 國立北平圖書館善本書目
 Kuo Yün-p'eng 郭雲鵬
 Kuan-chung 關中
 Li Feng-hsiang 李鳳翔
 Liao Ying-chung 廖營中
 Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元
 Lu Chi-chung 陸基忠

- Lu Chih 陸贄
 Lu-chou 廬州 (淞州)
Lu Hsüan-kung ch'üan-chi
 陸宣公全集
 Mao Pao-sun 毛豹孫
 Ming Hsiu-ku Hsiao-ch'uan
 明繡谷肖川
Ming-tai pan-pen t'u-lu ch'u-pien
 明代版本圖錄初編
Naigaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku
 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄
 Nan-hai 南海
pai-k'ou shih-hang 白口十行
pai-wen 白文
 P'an Ch'eng-pi 潘承弼
pieh-pen 別本
 Pu-fu t'ang 不負堂
 Shen Yü-wen 沈興文
 Shih-ts'ai t'ang 世錄堂
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen ch'i-chi
 四庫全書珍本七集
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao
 四庫全書總目提要
Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊
 Sung I-wang 宋儀望
Ta-fu chi 大復集
T'ang-feng chi 唐風集
T'ang-jen wu-chia chi 唐人五家集
T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung chi 唐陸宣公集
T'ang Lu Hsüan-kung han-yüan chi
 唐陸宣公翰苑集
 T'ang Lung 唐龍
 T'ang Pin-yin 湯賓尹
T'ang-shih pai ming-chia ch'üan-chi
 唐詩百名家全集
- Tsou Ch'a 鄒察
 Tsui-li 攜李
 Tu Hsün-ho 杜荀鶴
Tu Hsün-ho wen-chi 杜荀鶴文集
 Tung 董
 Tung-shan 東山
 Tung-t'ing 洞庭
 Tung-wu 東吳
 Tung-ya t'ang 東雅堂
 Wan-wei t'ang 宛委堂
 Wang Chung-min 王重民
 Wang I 汪緝
 Wang Shih-chen 王世貞
 Wang T'ing-hsiang 王廷相
Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu
 王文成公全書
 Wen-jen Ch'üan 聞人詮
 Wu Chi-wu 吳繼武
 Wu-chün 吳郡
 Wu-hsien 吳縣
 Wu-yung 無勇
 Yamane Yukio 山根幸夫
Yang-ming hsien-sheng ch'üan-lu
 陽明先生全錄
Yang-ming hsien-sheng wen-ts'ui
 陽明先生文粹
 Yeh-chu chai 野竹齋
Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao
 歙州山人四部稿
 Ying-t'ien fu 應天府
 Yung-huai t'ang 永懷堂
 Yü-shan 虞山
 Yüan Ts'an 袁燾

The Oldest Chinese Book at Princeton

FREDERICK MOTE

Awe and excitement. No other words so well describe the feelings of four members of the East Asian Studies faculty on an afternoon in April 1986. We were in the depths of the University Art Museum in a cool, windowless storage vault, surrounded by Japanese and Chinese works of art. Many scrolls in boxes jammed the shelves all around us. Miss Pao-chen Ch'en, curator of the East Asian Art Seminar, donned white gloves and deftly unrolled a scroll on the long table spread with white felt. It was our first viewing of the so-called "So Tan *Lao Tzu* scroll," a famous manuscript that has recently come into the collection of a Princetonian who has deposited it at the museum on long-term loan.

We could feel the "presence" of this venerable object even before the opening section was unrolled before us (see illustration). We knew that it is by far the oldest East Asian book at Princeton and that it may well be the oldest example in the world of this form of the Chinese book, i.e. a book copied with brush in ink on paper. During the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 21-220) paper making was greatly improved, making it the preferred material for writing, hence for manuscript books. The only other example known to me that might be almost as old is the strikingly similar manuscript copy of a few pages from the *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* written by an unknown calligrapher, probably before the year 300, and found in a cache archaeologically uncovered in 1924 at Shan-shan, in the deserts of Sinkiang Province. Like the So Tan scroll, it too represents the new form of the Chinese book that developed in the second century and continued until the hand-copied book slowly came to be superseded by the widespread use of

道主之德畜之物形之勢成之是以萬物莫不尊道
而貴德道之尊德之貴大莫之命而帝自然故道主
之畜之長之育之成之熟養之覆之主而不有為
而不持長而不宰是謂玄德
天下有始以為天下母既得其母以知其子既知其
子復守其母沒身不殆塞其兌閉其門終身不勳
關其兌滲其事終身不敝見小曰明未曰強用
其光復歸其明无遺身殃是謂襲帶
使教尔然有知行於大道唯施是舉大道甚亨而民
好淫朝甚除田甚蕪倉甚虛服文采帶利劍厭飮會
資財有餘是謂盜誇非道狀
善建者不拔善抱者不脫子孫以祭祀不輟脩之身
其德乃臧脩之家其德乃餘脩之鄉其德乃長脩之
國其德乃豐脩之天下其德乃普故以身觀身以家
觀家以鄉觀鄉以國觀國以天下觀天下吾何以知
天下之然哉以此
含德之厚比於赤子毒蟲不螫猛獸不攫鷲鳥不搏
骨弱筋柔而握固未知牝牡之合而蛟作精之至也
察曰狷而嗟不囂和之至也知和曰常知常曰明益
生曰祥心使氣曰強物壯則老是謂不道早已
知者不言言不知塞其兌閉其門挫其銳解其紛
和其光同其塵是謂玄同不可得而親不可得而疏
不可得而利不可得而害不可得而貴不可得而賤
故為天下貴

The opening section of "the oldest Chinese book at Princeton," and so far as is known, the oldest Chinese ink-on-paper manuscript scroll book anywhere. It comprises the final portion of the *Tao-te Ching*, also well known from the name of its reputed author as the *Lao Tzu*. The Princeton scroll contains about forty percent of it, being one of two or three scrolls originally comprising the entire *Tao-te Ching*. The first four lines shown here correspond to Chapter Fifty-one in extant Sung dynasty and later printed versions. The Princeton manuscript runs to the end, Chapter Eighty-one, and is signed "second year of the Chien-heng reign period," corresponding to A.D. 270.

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printing after the eighth and ninth centuries. It is but a few pages and, moreover, the So Tan scroll is earlier by a decade or two.¹

I expected this ancient object to show its age: faded, perhaps patched or worm-eaten. The four of us bent over it eagerly. Here was the actual paper bearing brush strokes signed and dated by the skilled calligrapher-copyist, his date corresponding to June 10 in the year A.D. 270 by our calendar. We were examining a manuscript 1,760 years old! Astonishingly, however, the ink turned out to be richly black and fresh-looking, the brush strokes clear and strong. The thin roll of paper was among tens of thousands of scroll books, paintings, silk banners, and early printed books that had lain sealed up for close to a thousand years in a large room cut into a sandstone cliff in the northwest desert locale known as Tun-huang. Of all the items preserved in that arid treasure trove, this one bears the earliest date. Though we have earlier examples of Chinese writing, inscribed on various materials or cast in bronze, in various Princeton collections, this item must count as the oldest Chinese book at Princeton.

Yet, before a claim like this can be taken into account, one must think carefully about the concept, "book." In China, as in the West, it is useful to distinguish epigraphy, the study of writing that is scratched or incised into clay or harder materials, from paleography, the study of ancient writing done with pen or brush, using ink or paint on smooth surfaces like paper or parchment. Although we have rather lengthy inscribed texts from ancient times in both the West and in China, we are perhaps justified in using the word "book" only when writing or printing on lightweight materials made a lengthy text portable and easily read. When "book" is defined in that way, paleographers tell us that the oldest books in the West are the thousands of papyri, mainly those bearing Greek texts recovered from the desert sands along the Nile in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The earliest of those roll books date from the end of the fourth century B.C. Chinese epigraphy begins with the oracle bone texts, the earliest of which date from early in the second millenium B.C. But the Chinese book begins with the silk manuscripts from the sixth century B.C. and onward, and texts written with brush (sometimes subsequently incised) on wooden or bamboo strips called "*chien*," from roughly the same time. Many books have been found in those forms.

In the West, parchment replaced papyrus in later Roman times, and consequently the characteristic form of the book changed from the roll to the

codex—rectangular pages stitched together and often covered in a heavy binding. In China, however, paper became the principal material for writing manuscript roll or “scroll” books, and eventually for printed books. The adoption of page-size wooden blocks engraved for printing by the seventh century, and the truly widespread use of the technique after the tenth, definitively changed the book from scroll to stitched volume.

This form of the Chinese book was somewhat like the parchment or vellum codex in the West but was much lighter and far cheaper. Paper-making eventually reached Europe, via the Arabs, only in the twelfth century and was not widespread until the fifteenth. It is not a coincidence that European printing also dates from that time. The impact of materials on the nature of writing, then on the form of the book, and finally on the technology of printing, shows some similarities in China and the West, but even more striking differences. Perhaps this digression into the history of the book East and West will help us to appreciate Princeton’s oldest Chinese book.²

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF SO TAN AND THE SO TAN MANUSCRIPT

So Tan, the calligrapher of our *Lao Tzu* manuscript, was from a family long prominent in the far northwest commandery called Tun-huang. “So” is a rare surname and it suggests that the character with which it is written may have been used to transliterate a name of non-Han origin, but there is nothing in the existing biographies of So Tan and his known kin to support such speculation. By the third century, at any rate, his family were within the mainstream of the Chinese cultivated elite. His biography in the *History of the Chin Dynasty* states that after a long career as a man of learning, he died peacefully at his Tun-huang home at the age of seventy-four.³ Professor Jao Tsung-i, the eminent sinologist, published a definitive study of the So Tan *Lao Tzu* manuscript. In it he calculated that So Tan was born in the period 249-53, and thus must have died between 323 and 327; we might roughly assign him the approximate dates 250 to 324.⁴ When So Tan was still a young scholar in his teens, but already of demonstrated talent, he was admitted to the Imperial Academy at Lo-yang, the capital of the waning Wei dynasty that was to fall to the succeeding Chin dynasty in 264. Uncles and cousins had preceded him to the national capital. Some of those clan members became prominent, one or two as calligraphers. So Tan himself became

an accomplished scholar in the classics in the usual pattern of preparation for an official career. But that was a time of impending disorder: the end of the Three Kingdoms era attending the fall of the Wei dynasty in the North. Young So Tan attempted to flee those troubles by going to the Yangtze delta region where the Kingdom of Wu had its capital, at modern Nanking, then called Chien-yeh. That is why in 270, when So Tan was perhaps barely twenty, he signed a copy that he had carefully made of the *Tao-te Ching* (the *Lao Tzu* if we call it by the name of its reputed author) using the reign title of the last Wu monarch by which to date it. Professor Jao has speculated that he might have gone to Wu to study the Taoist writings with experts there; he also was becoming noted for dream prognostication and related arts. We do not know how long he remained in Wu but Professor Jao estimates that he returned to Tun-huang after 280, the final year of the Wu Kingdom before it too was absorbed into the new Chin dynasty. Back in Tun-huang he lived out his long life as an honored scholar and member of one of the great families, but he never held office, so far as we know.

Making careful, artistic copies of the Taoist classics (as was later done with the Buddhist sutras) was both a scholarly and devotional act. So Tan probably wanted for his own use an accurate copy of the text in this version, representing one of the two most influential transmissions of the *Lao Tzu* text then available. He must have carried it with him, eventually back to Tun-huang. Perhaps it was a valued family heirloom for generations thereafter; quite possibly it was subsequently donated to the library of a temple.

We can only speculate about the scroll's history from 270 until it was discovered in its long-sealed cave by a local Taoist priest in 1900. In 1907 the Hungarian-born, naturalized British explorer, Mark Aurel Stein (subsequently Sir Mark Aurel Stein), who conducted archaeological explorations for the British government in India, trekked from the Pamir Mountains in Afghanistan east across the Tarim Basin and came to Tun-huang. Once a great outpost of the T'ang (618-906) Empire, it was now only a tiny oasis in the vast desert frontiers of northwest China. Stein had heard rumors about ancient objects coming to light in the Tun-huang region. It was not long until he met the Taoist priest who had made the cave discovery and Stein induced him to reveal the trove. For small sums of money Stein was allowed to sort through much of the accumulation of centuries, picking out things that interested him. He could read some Western Asian scripts but knew no Chinese; nonetheless he appreciated the importance of preserving ancient

objects. He packed thousands of items in chests and transported them by camel caravan back to India. Most of his finds have ended up in the British Museum. I must digress to note that some years ago his nephew, residing in Vienna, presented Stein's own copies of the lavish publications of his explorations, and other memorabilia, to Jeannette Mirsky for the Gest Library; Miss Mirsky had interviewed him in Vienna in the course of the extensive research she carried out while writing her acclaimed biography, *Sir Aurel Stein, Archeological Explorer* (Chicago University Press, 1977).⁵

Hearing of Stein's finds, French, Japanese, and other seekers of antiquities soon were on the scene, eager to scoop up what was left. So spectacular were the reports that the moribund Chinese imperial court (it died in the Revolution of 1911) sent officials of its Ministry of Education in 1910 to secure the remaining finds in the name of the Chinese government, and to transport them to Peking. But many items at that time fell into the hands of Chinese collectors and dealers. The So Tan manuscript seems to have passed from one of the Chinese officials then posted in the Tun-huang region to a relative, a collector in Peking, whose seals and colophon it bears. In 1947 it became the property of another collector in Peking who subsequently took it to Hong Kong; that is where Professor Jao was invited to study it, and to make the meticulous analysis of the text published in 1955. In 1985 it was acquired by the collector who now has placed it on long-term loan at Princeton.

The transmission of this object since 1910 is clear enough, even though the earlier owner was very secretive and refused to allow noted experts then studying the Tun-huang texts to see it. He did however invite Mr. Yeh Kung-ch'ò (1881-1968), one of the most learned scholar-officials and bibliophiles during the Republican Period (1912-1949), to examine it. Mr. Yeh's colophon, evaluating the work and placing it in the history of calligraphy (see below), is among several appended to the scroll when it was mounted on a paper backing by one of its recent owners.

The arid climate of Tun-huang at the edge of the Takla Makan desert is perfect for preserving paper, textiles, and wood. Princeton's Gest Library possesses an item acquired for Mr. Gest from dealers in Peking sixty years ago that also came from the Tun-huang caves. It is a Buddhist sutra, undated, but similar to the So Tan manuscript in its being written with brush in ink on paper. Internal evidence dates this scroll to the seventh century.⁶ About four hundred years younger than the So Tan manuscript, it nonthe-

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less is almost 1,400 years old. It has not been mounted or backed, and its thin paper is still tough and flexible, showing that ancient Chinese paper has remarkable longevity. A comparison of these two scrolls, the oldest Chinese books at Princeton, reveals the continuity of the handwritten scroll book from Han to T'ang times. These two scroll books from the Tun-huang cache are important testimony to the form and the aesthetic standard of the beautiful manuscript book that only gradually gave way to printing in T'ang times.

THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Is the So Tan manuscript an art museum object or more properly a library holding? That question could be asked of many of the rare books in the Gest Library, and of some of the calligraphic works in the Art Museum. But it is not an important question. The So Tan manuscript serves the needs both of scholars who use the library and of those who depend on the holdings of the Art Museum, by being at Princeton. At present the Art Museum is better equipped to care for an item of such extraordinary character, so that is where it has been placed on deposit. The more interesting question is: What is the importance of this object to scholars, at Princeton and elsewhere?

We can usefully distinguish at least three kinds of enduring importance which this manuscript holds for scholars, in addition to the sheer aesthetic pleasure that any person might derive from seeing and knowing about an object whose history is so intriguing.

First, the So Tan manuscript is one of the earliest versions of a book—more precisely, of the latter part of a book, originally one of a set of two or three scrolls comprising the entire *Tao-te Ching*—a book that has been of central importance to Chinese civilization. When Professor Jao published his critical examination of this text in 1955 he could state quite confidently that it is the oldest known copy of that work. He could not foresee that in 1973 an amazing archaeological discovery at Ma-wang-tui in Hunan Province would bring to light the tomb of a Han dynasty imperial relative which contained, among many spectacular finds, two essentially complete manuscripts of the *Tao-te Ching*, written on silk (*po shu*); “Manuscript A” probably written about the year 200 B.C., and “Manuscript B” perhaps thirty years later. The texts are essentially the same.⁷ Professor Jao could identify two independent textual traditions in the transmission of the *Tao-te Ching*,

one stemming from the third century A.D. scholar Wang Pi,⁸ and one from the second century B.C. exegete known as Ho-shang-kung (“the old man by the river bank”). The earliest known copies of the *Tao-te Ching* in the Wang Pi tradition are several incomplete manuscripts from the sixth to the ninth centuries, also from Tun-huang. The So Tan manuscript is the earliest known example of the *Tao-te Ching* in the Ho-shang-kung tradition. Now, however, we can also speak of a third independent textual tradition, that of the Ma-wang-tui manuscripts. We still do not know how to construct a filiation of these three distinct transmissions of the *Tao-te Ching*. The Ma-wang-tui silk manuscript versions are more than four-hundred years earlier than our So Tan manuscript, and the text of the Taoist classic in those earliest of all known versions is significantly different from all the third-century and later transmissions of the work. But not even the Ma-wang-tui silk manuscripts are close in time to the *ur-text* written by “Lao Tzu”—whoever he might have been—sometime between the sixth and the fourth centuries B.C. It is possible that archaeologists may someday discover a still earlier version, or other versions filling in the important time-gap between the Ma-wang-tui manuscripts and our So Tan manuscript.

Whether or not that happens, the comparative study of the three known independent textual traditions must continue to engage the best efforts of scholars, and the So Tan manuscript of the last two-fifths of the book, as the earliest example from one of those three, remains one of the essential building blocks of such study.

A complete photograph of the So Tan manuscript was published in 1955 along with Professor Jao’s detailed textual analysis. One might therefore say that the scholarly world’s requirements for comparative study are available, making this object no longer essential. In an important sense that is true. But on the other hand it would be incorrect to say that we no longer need the original versions of the *Magna Carta* or the Declaration of Independence, since facsimile copies of them can be found in all libraries.

Second, the So Tan manuscript is of importance to scholars as an example of the new standard form of the Chinese script that was evolving during the Han dynasty and throughout the third and fourth centuries A.D. The First Emperor of Ch’in (reg. 221–210 B.C.), whose grandiose tomb containing thousands of life-size terra cotta soldiers and horses has been under excavation since the 1970s near Sian (Xian), implemented a variety of cultural unification measures after he accomplished the political unification of the

Chinese empire. One of those measures was standardization to eliminate all the regional variations in the way Chinese wrote their script. It was decreed that all must write the new standard characters used in the offices of central and local government; we call that the *li-shu* or clerkly script. This remained the official standard for Chinese writing under the following Han dynasty. A bit cumbersome to write, clerks tended to modify it. Especially as paper became the favored writing medium, as ink was improved, and as brush design was adapted to the use of ink on paper. The clerks and government officials began to write the clerical script somewhat more cursorily, in the interests of speed, convenience, and beauty. The modified hand became known as "*Chang-ts'ao*" which may be taken to mean "the cursive (*ts'ao*) hand used in government documents (*chang*) or, by another explanation, "the cursive script favored by Emperor Chang" (reg. A.D. 76-89). In his learned colophon appended to the So Tan scroll, Mr. Yeh Kung-ch'o has described the calligraphy as follows:

His calligraphy is a mutation wholly derived from *chang-ts'ao*, similar in style to that of the wooden strips (*mu chien*) dating from the beginning of the Chin dynasty (*ca.* 265); moreover, here and there it carries the flavor of clerical script.⁹

He goes on to call it a close match to the early Chin dynasty manuscript of a few pages of the *San-kuo Chih* ("Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms") discovered in 1924 at Shan-shan, which has been mentioned above.

Yeh Kung-ch'o thus identifies the So Tan manuscript as one of perhaps only two existing specimens of brush-on-paper calligraphy dating from an important transitional moment in the history of the Chinese writing system. Because the So Tan manuscript bears so importantly on the history of China's premier art, as well as on the evolution of the writing system itself, it is an object of highest value. Moreover in this context its value inheres in the original object; no number of excellent facsimile reprints can supersede it, just as superb Roman copies and technically perfect modern casts do not supersede original Greek sculptures. Historians of calligraphy, as art or as technology, must see and study this object in order to fully understand it; the intrinsic importance of the object will always be there.

Third, the So Tan manuscript is the earliest complete scroll (if only part of the text of the entire book) that we know of, to represent the physical form of books in this phase of their development. Within the history of the

book through the many centuries before printing, this single scroll is at present (and may well remain) the earliest known example in a line of development. Even if archaeologists should turn up an earlier example, this scroll is sure to retain its historic importance as exemplar of the third-century book. This value also inheres in the physical object itself and will not be superseded by any number of superb copies that modern craftsmen may turn out—though any recent visitor to China's great museums will testify to the diabolical cleverness of the artisans who make the "museum copies." The Gest Library is one of the very few places in the West where the history of the Chinese book as artifact can be extensively displayed. The So Tan manuscript copy of the *Tao-te Ching* will no doubt claim pride of place in any such display.

Princeton's oldest Chinese book thus is a great treasure. We hope it soon may be properly displayed for all to see.

NOTES

1. *The Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Kuo Chih*) by Ch'en Shou (died A.D. 297) was completed sometime after the fall of the Kingdom of Wu, the last of the Three Kingdoms to submit to the Chin dynasty, in 280. The manuscript fragments found in 1924 have been published several times, most recently as eight pages of frontispiece to the Hsin-hua Shu-tien punctuated edition of the *San Kuo Chih*, Peking, fifth printing, 1973. The fragments correspond to text (without P'ei Sung-chih's commentary) of part of *chüan* 57, pp. 1321-1330 in the 1973 printing, and, moreover, have allowed the editors to make corrections. See the *chiao-chi* ("collation notes") appended to the 1973 edition, pp. 1508-09 covering pages 1321-1330 of the *Chronicles*: no fewer than ten errors in later printed editions have been emended on the authority of this manuscript fragment.
2. See Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume V, Part One, Cambridge, 1986, *Paper and Printing*, by Tsien Tsuen-hsün, especially section 32e, pages 132-196. This new book is reviewed by Diane Perushek in this issue of *The Gest Library Journal*.
3. So Tan's biography appears in the *History of the Chin Dynasty* (*Chin Shu*) by Fang Hsüan-ling et al., compiled A.D. 646-648, in *chüan* 95, Peking edition, 1974, pp. 2493-95. (This earlier Chin dynasty is sometimes spelled Tsin.)
4. Jao Tsung-i, "Wu Chien-heng erh-nien So Tan hsieh-pen *Tao-te Ching* ts'an-chüan k'ao-cheng" ("The Su [sic] Tan Manuscript Fragment of the *Tao-te*

THE OLDEST CHINESE BOOK AT PRINCETON

- Ching*, A.D. 270"), *Journal of Oriental Studies* (Hong Kong University), Vol II, part one, 1955, pp. 1-71, in Chinese with English summary. See especially pp. 22-23 for a study of So's birth and death dates.
5. Jeannette Mirsky, eminent historian of geographical exploration, resides in Princeton and has been a visiting fellow in the Department of East Asian Studies.
 6. This very fine Tun-huang scroll from the Gest Collection is a portion of the *Fang-kuang* sutra, a version of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* as translated by the Khotanese monk Mokshala in A.D. 291 and revised in 303-304; See Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of Princeton University*, 1974, pp. 361-62; and Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, two volumes, Leiden, 1959, pp. 63-65. On the basis of internal evidence Professor Ch'ü dated this scroll to the first quarter of the seventh century; the latest possible date for it the year 685, that date given in a seal impression found both on the scroll and on its hemp wrapper.
 7. On the Ma-wang-tui silk manuscripts of *Tao-te Ching*, or, as it appears in those manuscripts, the *Te-tao Ching*, see D.C. Lau, *Tao-te Ching*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1982. In this work Professor Lau revises his earlier translation of the *Tao-te Ching* (Penguin Classics, London, 1963) and compares the Ma-wang-tui manuscripts with other versions of the text. For an account of the archaeological setting of the *Lao-tzu* discovery at Ma-wang-tui, see Michael Loewe, "Manuscripts found recently in China: a preliminary survey," in *T'oung-pao*, 63.2-3 (1977), pp. 118-120. For facsimile reproductions of the text, see parts 1-2 of *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui san-hao Han mu po-shu*, Shanghai, 1974. See also T'ang Lan, "Ma-wang-tui ch'u-t'u *Lao-tzu* i-pen ch'ien ku-i-shu te yen-chiu," *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*, 1 (1975), pp. 7-38; and Jan Yün-hua, "Tao yüan or Tao: The Origin," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 7.3 (1980), pp. 195 ff.
 8. A recent work has analyzed the sources of Wang Pi's life and discussed his family's history and his career within the context of other canonical exegetes' families and works. See Howard L. Goodman's, *Exegetes and Exegeses of the Book of Changes in the Third Century AD: Historical and Scholastic Contexts for Wang Pi*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1985.
 9. Quoted in Jao Tsung-i, *op. cit.*, p. 2, from Yeh Kung-cho's colophon appended to the So Tan manuscript scroll.

Foreword to a Rare Book Catalogue
by a Gest Library Friend
in Shanghai, with an Introduction
by the *Journal's* Editor

INTRODUCTION

The following "Foreword" by Professor S. T. Phen (Pan Shici, or P'an Shih-tz'u) is his translation of the Chinese original he wrote for a new printing of the *Pao-li t'ang Sung-pen shu-lu*, a detailed, annotated catalogue describing 111 rare, Sung period books. The catalogue was written by his late father, P'an Tsung-chou (also known as P'an Ming-hsün or Pan Mingxun) of Nan-hai, Kwangtung, in collaboration with Chang Yüan-chi of Hai-yen, Chekiang. Professor Phen teaches at the Department of Foreign Literatures and Languages of Fudan University, Shanghai; he was also at various times professor, department chairman, dean, and acting president of the former St. John's University at Shanghai. The senior Mr. P'an was a successful merchant in Shanghai during the early Republican era, well known also as the owner of the Pao-li t'ang (Hall of Precious Rites) library of rare books. Moreover, he collated various editions of K'ung Ying-ta's (574-648) annotation of the classic *Book of Rites*, the *Li-chi cheng-i*, using as anchor the only surviving copy of a Southern Sung edition of that work. So greatly was that copy of the *Rites* valued by the book world, that the senior Mr. P'an named his library for it.

P'an Ming-hsün's interest in rare book collecting dated back to the years when he was in his native province. In the nineteenth century there were many famous private libraries in Kwangtung, among them, for example,

the Wu family's Yün-ch'ing kuan, a different P'an family's Hai-shan hsien kuan, another Wu family's Yüeh-ya t'ang, the Tings' Ch'ih-ching chai, and the K'ungs' San-shih-san-wan-chüan lou. Such traditions had attracted his admiration and imagination. In Shanghai, he was further inspired by the collections and collation work of such noted scholars as Yang Shou-ching (1839-1915) and Chu Tsu-mou (1857-1931), from whom he also gained some of his bibliographic knowledge. His ambition to collect rare books began when he was shown an incomplete copy of a Sung printed edition of the famous *Shih-chi* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien. The foundation of his Pao-li t'ang came for the most part from this quest for Sung editions.

Mr. P'an Ming-hsün, unlike some other collectors at that time, was not a vain businessman striving to effect mere appearances of scholarship. Soon after he acquired the Sung copy of the *Li-chi cheng-i*, he invited the noted bibliophile Tung K'ang (1867-1947) to recruit experienced blockcarvers to cut blocks for a facsimile reproduction, and a hundred copies were subsequently printed. (Gest does not have one of these copies.) Furthermore, with the aid of the famous expert, Chang Yüan-chi (1866-1959), he made use of his famous Sung copy, and other early editions, in order to collate the ancient classic. In 1928, with Tung K'ang again directing the publication, he issued his *Li-chi cheng-i chiao-k'an* (2 *chüan*) in another limited edition of one hundred copies. The style both of the characters and the page design modeled those of the Sung edition.

In a recent letter to the editor of *The Gest Library Journal*, Professor Phen released the news that a facsimile reproduction of this work was already in progress. With Chang Yüan-chi as principal contributor, the *Pao-li t'ang Sung-pen shu-lu* records all the Sung printings owned by the family library as of 1938. It is a work of high quality bibliographic scholarship and a useful reference work on book editing and printing in Sung times.

First issued in an edition printed from lead plates by the P'an family in 1939, a photographic reprint was made in 1963 by the Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she in Taiwan. Gest has a copy of each of these editions. The edition which Professor Phen introduces in his "Foreword" is a photographic reprint issued in China for the first time; it was printed in 1984 by the Kiangsu Kuang-ling ku-chi k'e-yin-she, a famous old-style publishing house in Yangchow. Besides the "Foreword," nine plates and a publisher's note on them have been added. Like the original edition, each copy of this reprint consists of four brocade-covered stitched volumes, together in a case—also

beautifully brocaded. According to Professor Phen, who graciously bestowed a copy on Gest, only one hundred such cloth-bound copies were issued.

Professor Phen wrote the following note to accompany his translation of the "Foreword" which he sent to us for inclusion in this first issue of the *Journal*:

In memory of my late father, Mr. Pan Mingxun, I present a copy of "The Catalogue of Sung Block Print Books for the Hall of Precious Rites" to Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collection, Princeton University.

At the end of his "Foreword" he has added the following afterthought: " 'Within the four seas all are brothers' —Confucious."

The entire Pao-li t'ang collection of Sung books was shipped to Hong Kong during the Sino-Japanese war. In 1952, with the aid of Cheng Chen-to (1898-1958) and others, Professor Phen reclaimed it, bringing it back to Shanghai to donate to the government, in accord with his late father's wish. The books were later transferred to the Peking Library. For those who wish to know the history of this collection, Professor Phen's "Foreword" is a most stimulating point of departure.

In deference to our admirable friend, the editor has decided to reprint the "Foreword" as it came to us, in the author's own English. Since many of the names refer to historical eras and figures of traditional China, we have changed the transliterations from Pinyin to the Wade-Giles system, and have substituted formal names (more easily recognizable to a broad readership) for courtesy names. We have placed the courtesy names in parentheses, signaled by "T" (*tzu*) or "H" (*hao*), and also added dates and a few bracketed words here and there.

Hung-lam Chu, EDITOR

FOREWORD TO A NEW PRINTING OF THE "HALL OF PRECIOUS Rites"
CATALOGUE OF SUNG EDITIONS

In ancient times primitive man used knotted string to record dates and sums. Later on carved markings on bone were used to record facts. Then Chinese characters were cut directly onto bronze bells and incense burners

or into the molds themselves before casting. With time, however, man turned to extensive use of bamboo, which in turn became obsolete with the appearance of pen and ink.

By the Chou dynasty (1120-770 B.C.), Chinese civilization was well on its way to ascendancy. Scholarship and letters developed steadily throughout the Ch'in (221-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) dynasties, until the summit was reached in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-1280 A.D.). Sometime during the T'ang dynasty, printing was invented, as books came into ever greater demand. By that time, book printing was done by using engraved wooden boards. These had taken the place of the even earlier method of printing from stone slabs. Block printing came into use in the Sung dynasty. Sung block printing, as seen from the precious volumes that have come down to us, is characterized by beautiful workmanship and by retention of the brush-stroke calligraphic forms.

The oldest extant (Chinese) printed book is the *Diamond Sutra* (*Chin-kang ching*), which was printed in 868 A.D., over eleven hundred years ago, in the ninth year of the Hsien-t'ung period in the reign of the T'ang emperor I-tsung (860-878 A.D.) This book is unique in that it is the oldest block-printed book in existence. It saddens me to say that this irreplaceable treasure has been taken out of China and is presently housed in a museum in England.

Art treasures and rare books have always found their way into the city of Shanghai, and large numbers of these treasures have in turn flowed out of the city to alien shores. My late father, P'an Tsung-chou (T. Ming-hsün), after arriving in Shanghai from Kwangtung, felt the responsibility to preserve China's art treasures. At that time, Mr Yüan K'e-wen (H. Han-yün, 1889-1931), the second son of former president Yüan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916), left Peking to come to Shanghai, where he intended to live in retirement. A renowned scholar and connoisseur of antiques, Mr. Yüan possessed an excellent collection of rare books, the best in China. So extensive was this collection that he could boast of it as the "Latter Library of 100 Sung Tomes." The original "Library of 100 Sung Tomes" had been the property of the famous Ch'ing dynasty scholar-collector, Huang P'ei-lieh (1763-1825).

Unfortunately, after Mr Yüan settled in Shanghai, he found himself in straitened circumstances and was forced to dispose of his valuable books in order to meet more pressing needs. His collection included the San-shan Huang-t'ang copy of the "Essence of the Book of Rites (*Li-chi Cheng-i*),"

printed in 1190 A.D.; Kung-yang Kao's "Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals with Annotations;" and other valuable volumes. The San-shan Huang-t'ang copy of the "Essence of the Book of Rites" was originally part of the library of [the descendants of] Confucius in Ch'ü-fu. It was the only copy of its kind in existence (Sung dynasty printing) and as such had been a priceless family heirloom of the K'ung (Confucius) clan.

The Yüan collection was known beyond China's borders, and Japanese collectors, getting wind of the sale, came forward with eager offers. Meanwhile, my father had also learnt of the sale. He outbid the Japanese and, for an immense sum of money, bought the collection. He thus saved a national treasure, preventing it from being taken away by the Japanese. In jubilation, he named his new library "The Hall of Precious *Rites*."

My father availed himself of the services of a master craftsman of block printing, Tung K'ang (T. Sung-fen). Mr. Tung supervised the carving of facsimile blocks from the original copy in order to print 100 exact reproductions.

The copies in facsimile met with an enthusiastic reception among literary circles, and soon collectors of rare and old books came flocking to our house with offers to sell. The famous Hai-yüan Pavilion Library of Shantung's Mr. Yang I-cheng (1787-1856), the Hall of the Bronze Lute and Steel Sword of Kiangsu's Mr. Ch'ü Shao-chi (1772-1836), as well as many other rare volumes, were in this way added to the original collections of the Hall of Precious 'Rites.'

Entirely through his own efforts, my father had gathered several thousand Sung dynasty volumes. The fact that this wonderful collection far eclipsed Huang P'ei-lich's "Library of 100 Sung Tomes" must have given my father satisfaction. But, his success in safeguarding one of our national treasures must have made him feel that he had accomplished something truly significant, made him feel that he had not lived in vain.

After his death, I felt under obligation to follow my father's wishes; so, immediately after Liberation, I offered the collection to the State for permanent safekeeping. I believe that if my father knew what I had done, he would smile down at me from that other world.

In collecting his books, my father consulted with his good friend, Chang Yüan-chi (T. Chü-sheng, 1866-1959). Mr. Chang had the task of authenticating each new book purchased. Without Mr. Chang's authentication, a book, no matter how attractive, would not join the collection. Mr. Chang

FOREWORD TO A RARE BOOK CATALOGUE

Chü-sheng was a towering figure in the world of literary scholarship. He was known for his contributions to the development of Chinese culture and his efforts to preserve the rare documents relating to China's historical heritage.

Thus, when my father decided there should be a catalogue for his newly-acquired library, the first person he thought of was his friend. But, Mr. Chang was not only elderly, he was also frail and weak. Nevertheless, when my father approached him, he overcame his reluctance, since he would be working to preserve the recorded wisdom of our ancient sages. He gave generously of his time and energy, and for the next few years worked with my father, devoting himself to writing the catalogue for the thousands of Sung volumes. The result of these efforts was a description of the development of Sung block printing, a monumental literary achievement. After completing the catalogue, Mr. Chang entitled it "The Catalogue of Sung Block Print Books for the Hall of Precious Rites."

The catalogue, listing 111 items, consists of four parts. Twenty-one items deal with Confucian philosophy, twenty-six with historical subjects, twenty-three with the philosophies of sages other than Confucius. Thirty-nine items are literary works. In addition, another six items are block prints from the Yüan dynasty (1277-1376 A.D.). Altogether there are 1,088 volumes, many of which have notes and comments written by their former collectors, mostly well-known bibliophiles.

The books come from the collections of such poets and scholars as Mao Chin (T. Tzu-chin, 1598-1659), Sun Ch'eng-tse (1593-1675), Chi Chen-i (H. Ts'ang-wei, 1630-1663+), Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh (1631-1694), Huang P'e-ieh (H. Yao-p'u), Wang Shih-chung (H. Lang-yüan, fl. 1820), Hsiang Yüan-pien (T. Tzu-ching, 1525-1590), Yang Shao-ho (1830-1875), Ch'ien Tsun-ho, and others. Among the volumes, the following can be found: "The Collected Works of Wei Ying-wu" (*Wei Su-chou chi*), "Selected Prose of Tseng Kung" (*Tseng Nan-feng hsien-sheng wen-ts'ui*), "A Galaxy of Masterpieces Annotated by Six Court Scholars" (*Liu-ch'en chu wen-hsüan*), as well as other items that originally belonged in the Imperial Library of the Ch'ing Court. These books were thus stamped with the imperial Seal of Approval by the Ch'ien-lung emperor. These Imperial Seals were carved with such words as "Treasure Perused by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor" or "Treasure Blessed by the Emperor of Heaven." Surely books of such auspicious provenance deserve respect.

One hundred sets of the catalogue were presented to eminent men of letters and to university libraries. But, even in my father's day there weren't enough to go around. I had always thought that another printing was called for, but up till now that had not been possible. Recently, however, the Yangchou Block-Print Classics Publishing House expressed interest in reprinting the catalogue. So, with their encouragement and efforts, this will be done.

The publishers suggested that I write a foreword to the new edition. I feel inadequate to do this for a work of such overwhelming historical value. But, I am the only remaining descendant of the House of "The Hall of Precious Rites." There is no one else to do the job. It is March, springtime, and the grass is growing. The hills and valleys of our country take on a renewed beauty. Inadequate I may be, but amid the growing life around me, I am emboldened to try to explain how [the catalogue of] these Sung books came to be reprinted.

S. T. Phen
FUDAN UNIVERSITY
APRIL, 1984

GLOSSARY

- | | |
|---|--|
| Chang Yüan-chi (T. Chü-sheng)
張元濟 | Hsü Ch'ien-hsêh 徐乾學 |
| Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 | Huang P'ei-lieh (T. Yao-p'u)
黃玉烈 (堯菊) |
| Chi Chen-i (H. Ch'ang-wei)
李振宜 (滄葦) | I-tsung (T'ang emperor) 懿宗 |
| Ch'ien Tsun-ho 錢遵和 | Kiangsu Kuang-ling ku-chi k'e-yin-she
江蘇廣陵古籍刻印社 |
| Ch'ih-ching chai 持靜齋 | K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 |
| Chin-kang ching 金剛經 | Li-chi cheng-i 禮記正義 |
| Ch'ü Shao-chi 瞿紹基 | Liu-ch'en chu wen-hsüan 六臣註文選 |
| Chu Tsu-mou 朱祖謀 | Mao Chin (T. Tzu-chin) 毛晉 (子晉) |
| Hai-shan hsien kuan 海山仙館 | P'an Shih-tz'u ([Pan Shici], S. T. Phen)
潘世慈 |
| Hai-yen 海鹽 | P'an Tsung-chou (T. Ming-hsün
[Mingxun]) 潘宗周 (明訓) |
| Hai-yüan (Pavilion) 海源 (閣)
hao 號 | Pao-li t'ang Sung-pen shu-lu
寶禮堂宋本書錄 |
| Hsiang Yüan-pien (T. Tzu-ching)
項元汴 (子京) | San-shan Huang-t'ang 三山黃唐 |
| Hsien-t'ung (reign title) 咸通 | |

FOREWORD TO A RARE BOOK CATALOGUE

San-shih-san-wan-chüan lou

三十三萬卷樓

Shih-chi 史記

Sun Ch'eng-tse 孫承澤

Tseng Kung 曾鞏

Tseng Nan-feng hsien-sheng wen-ts'ui

曾南豐先生文粹

Tung K'ang (T. Sung-fen)

董康 (誦芬)

tzü 字

Wang Shih-chung (H. Lang-yüan)

汪士鍾 (闡原)

Wei Su-chou chi 韋蘇州集

Wei Ying-wu 韋應物

Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she 文海出版社

Yang I-cheng 楊以增

Yang Shao-ho 楊紹和

Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬

Yang-chou 揚州

Yüan K'e-wen (H Han-yün)

袁克文 (寒雲)

Yüeh-ya t'ang 粵雅堂

Yün-ch'ing kuan 蕩清館

From the Editors

THE CONTRIBUTORS

The contributors to this first issue of *The Gest Library Journal* are with but one exception members of the Princeton community, and the contributions are mostly about Chinese subjects. This was not planned and it surely will not be true of future issues, for which we shall commission or inspire contributions on a wider range of subjects.

Among our contributors are: Soowon Kim, the head of the Gest Library's Reference Division, and Acquisitions Librarian for Japanese and Korean materials. Mrs. Kim would be very happy if Princeton would initiate a program in Korean Studies, and she can be counted on to provide the *Journal* with news coming from the Korean section of the Library. Diane Perushek is the Curator of the Gest Library and the East Asian Collections. A veteran of advanced library studies at Columbia and Chicago, she also is completing a doctoral dissertation on seventeenth-century Chinese literature in Princeton's East Asian Studies Department. Hung-lam Chu completed his doctorate at Princeton by defending a dissertation on fifteenth-century Chinese statecraft; he now heads the Ming Bibliography Project at Princeton, supported by the University and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Fritz Mote began teaching Chinese history at Princeton thirty years ago, and plans to continue to live in Princeton after retirement next year only in order to remain within user's distance of the Gest Library.

Our other contributor to this issue is Professor S. T. Phen (Pan Shici) of Fudan University in Shanghai. Hung-lam Chu has added an introductory note explaining the remarkable story behind this contribution. Mr. Phen is heir to an eminent family tradition of book collecting; he wrote to us last year after learning about the Gest Library from a recent Princeton graduate then teaching English at Fudan. We are deeply moved by his devotion to the great old—and continuing—tradition of studying and collecting rare books.

FROM THE EDITORS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The brochure announcing the formation of the Friends of the Gest Library has begun to bring in an encouraging response. We might add that these beautiful advertisements have received praise; letters arrive requesting one from those who had merely heard about it and were not on our mailing list. The brochure was designed by Bruce Campbell, well known graphic designer for books and museum announcements. We are fast running out, so anyone knowing a prospective Friend should quickly send us a note with his or her address.

To all our new Friends, we wish to announce that the East Asian faculty and staff, with help from the Gest librarians and the staff of the University Library, will mount an exhibition in the main gallery space of the Firestone Library, to run from about May One until mid-August, 1987. The second issue of the *Journal* will be published in time to relay the exact information. The title of the exhibition, not yet firmly decided, will indicate its focus on calligraphy in relation to the history of East Asian printing. Objects from the University Art Museum as well as some of the finest books from the Gest will be displayed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors of *The Gest Library Journal* wish to extend thanks to several persons who helped inform and create our new publication. First are the Gest Library staff who provided materials and information, especially Diane Perushek, C. K. Wang and Soowon Kim. Members of the East Asian Studies departmental office gave critical help. We thank Jan Gibson and Ellen Barber. Last, and of course not least, is a longtime friend and a charter Friend, Mr. John B. Elliott. He has given unstintingly of his energy and provided a motivating force for the *Journal*.

News and Notes from the Gest Library

ANNIVERSARY

Sixty years ago, in 1926, the Gest Oriental Research Library was founded in Toronto, at McGill University, its home until it came to Princeton in 1937. To mark this anniversary, the *Princeton Library Chronicle*, a publication that may be likened to a congenial and respected older relative of our new *Gest Library Journal*, will devote its Spring 1987 issue to the Gest Collection and its place within the Princeton University library system. We urge our readers to take note of that special issue.

Also to mark the Gest Library's sixtieth anniversary, the Gest staff have put up a small exhibition (located in two places within the Gest). It draws on memorabilia of Mr. Gest and Commander Gillis (see "On Launching a New Journal" in this issue, for identifications of these co-founders of the Gest collection), and of Nancy Lee Swann, the collection's first curator. In the display case at the head of the stairway to the upper level there is a marvelous photograph of Miss Swann, a regal lady. This alone would be worth a price of admission.

NEW COLLEAGUE

On the first of September, Dr. C. K. Wang joined the Gest staff as associate head of Reference Services and Acquisitions Librarian for Chinese materials. Dr. Wang did his doctorate at Cambridge University in England, and until coming to Princeton was chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, Taipei. He is a widely-published specialist in folklore and ethnomusicology, as well as more conventional aspects of Chinese literature. We hope this *Journal* will soon carry an article by Dr. Wang.

NEWS AND NOTES

VISITING SCHOLAR

A recent visitor for two weeks at the Gest was Mr. Jin Shen, Associate Director of Special Collections in the Shanghai Library. Mr. Shen is an eminent expert on the identification of rare editions and the history of printing. In our brief association with him in the Gest Library we found him to be impressively knowledgeable—and generously helpful—on all kinds of library matters. We hope he will soon return and will be able to stay for a longer period of time. One consequence of Mr. Shen's visit is a plan to enhance the cooperation between the Gest Library and the Shanghai Library, one of China's largest and most important libraries, with unmatched special collections in a number of fields.

MONGOLIAN COLLECTION

An arrangement has recently been completed under which the Gest Library will acquire an important collection of works in Mongolian and other languages, about the Mongols in history, the Mongol language, and all aspects of Mongol studies. It is described as a scholar's full working library, no doubt one of the most important such collections in private hands. The Gest Library has a small number of old Mongolian books, including some rare items. This new addition will make it possible for Princeton to provide basic library support for a scholar in Mongolian studies, should that option arise. More information on this collection will appear in a future issue of the *Journal*.

SECOND RARE BOOKS CATALOGUE

In 1974 the University Library in conjunction with a leading academic publisher in Taiwan published the scholarly catalogue of the Chinese rare books in the Gest. Prepared by the late Professor Ch'ü Wan-li, that catalogue was re-published in 1984 by the Lien-ching (Linking) Publishing Company of Taipei, as part of a twenty-volume set of Prof. Ch'ü's collected works. That catalogue observed the conventions of the Chinese rare books world in using the end of the Ming dynasty, 1644, as the cut-off date for assigning the term *shan-pen* ("incunabula"). In fact, however, the decision excluded many rare and valuable works printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, books that deserve special care and scholarly attention. Starting in the late

1970s the Gest invited Mr. Peter Ch'ang, then head of the Special Collections Division of the National Palace Museum, now Assistant Director of that Museum, to examine the large collection of post-1644 imprints to select those most important, to identify and describe those, so that a second rare books catalogue could be published as a continuation of the Ch'ü catalogue. Mr. Ch'ang visited the Gest on two occasions, staying several months altogether, and taking his notes back to Taiwan where he could complete the verification of the Gest items. That is a long and difficult process, and it has only recently been completed. The Gest staff are happy to report that Mr. Ch'ang's catalogue in galley proofs began arriving at the Gest for proof-reading, the final stage in the preparation of the new catalogue before it is to be published early next year. The proof-reading is being meticulously performed under the supervision of the head of the Gest's technical processing division, Mrs. I-p'ing Wei. Scholarly catalogues of East Asian libraries in this country are so rare a phenomenon that this matter merits special congratulations.

THE HELLMUT WILHELM COLLECTION

Several years ago the Gest acquired the entire Western language library of an eminent sinologist, Hellmut Wilhelm, formerly of the University of Washington and Peking University—now retired. The western collection will aid the Gest in two ways. First is that it may someday be a study library for Princeton's undergraduates in the East Asian Program; the collection contains almost everything they would use in survey and first-level seminar courses. Second, the holdings reflect a strong, personal style of collecting, with many unusual and exotic books and serials. In the next issue of the *Journal*, a Friend who is producing an on-line, computerized catalogue of the collection, and who knows it well, will write about it.

Recent Books

Early Korean Typography

BY SOHN POW-KEY

New Edition, Seoul, Pojinjae, 1982. pp. 488. Text in Korean, Japanese, and English. (Korean title: Han'guk ūi ko hwalcha). Many illustrations, bibliography, indices. Price 1982, 38,000 Won or U.S. \$70.00.

This magnificent book embodies forty years of scholarship by a leading expert on the history of printing in East Asia; it sums up a lifetime of devoted labors. The new edition supersedes a previous one of 1971. The pages are ten inches by fourteen and the covers are faced with handsome, embossed, leather-like paper. The English text, from page 121 to page 184, is lucid and interesting. However, the most outstanding feature is the section of 'specimen pages,' eighty-three tipped-in plates printed in facsimile on Korean paper, perhaps mulberry paper, representing examples of printing by Korean movable type dating from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. Each specimen page is accompanied by explanatory notes in three languages. They identify the book, the type font, and other features of the specimen item. The plates illustrate the text superbly, and they are supplemented by a fine section of photographs at the front of the volume which clarify a number of technical matters and lend further coherence to the whole.

Mr. Sohn Pow-key is on the faculty at Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea and a graduate of the Seoul National University (B.A., 1947). He received his Ph.D. from the University of California in 1963 and was director of the University Museum between 1965-1981. He has written numerous articles and books on Korean history and archaeology.

The focus of this book is not on the invention of printing as such, although the East Asian and European elements of that are briefly and competently reviewed. The focus is on typography, or printing with movable type. In Korea, fonts of type large enough to handle the thousands of Chinese characters in which Korean was written before the invention in

1443 of *Hangŭl* (the Korean phonetic alphabet), and which later continued to be used in conjunction with *Hangŭl*, were not only carved of wood, but very early on were cast in various metals and alloys. Mr. Sohn's work documents the invention and adaptations of the latter. That is, this work does not claim that xylography—printing from blocks of page-size or larger that have been engraved or carved on wood—was a Korean invention. Mr. Sohn more or less conclusively credits it to the first half of the eighth century in T'ang China, although he speculates that xylography might have been used by Buddhist monks in Korea slightly earlier than in T'ang China (English text, page 122). Nor does this work claim that movable type is a Korean invention, but agrees with most Chinese and other specialists that the Chinese artisan-inventor, Pi Sheng, first made clay movable type sometime between the years 1041 and 1048, during the Northern Sung dynasty. Sohn states that Pi Sheng's invention was the "revolutionary idea which provided the first step in typography" (English text, page 126). That revolutionary idea, however, stimulated a succession of further developments in Korea that, in this author's view, gave Korea primacy in the development of typography. "Fortunately there is a bronze type extant which proves that Koryŏ developed the first typography with cast type in the world" (page 146; specimen page number one). That type is dated to the twelfth century. Important inventions which further advanced printing technology were improvements in casting techniques, improvements in the alloys from which type fonts were cast, new paper-making processes, and many minor refinements.

It was not until the nineteenth century that typography became as popular in China and Japan as it already was for centuries in Korea. Sohn's explanations for this are among his most important contributions to the history of East Asian printing; they draw on facts about Korean material civilization and the society, and merit the attention of all historians of East Asia.

T. H. Tsien, whose monumental volume on "Paper and Printing," Volume V, Part I of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* (1985), is reviewed in this issue of *The Gest Library Journal*, cites the 1971 edition of Mr. Sohn's work, but was unable to consult this revision of it. Tsien agrees that Korea was "the first to use metal type, so antedating Europe by some two hundred years" (Needham/Tsien, page 322). He also notes the high quality of Korean papers and inks, but he believes that the first extant book

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printed from metal type dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Needham/Tsien, page 325). Thus Tsien's and Sohn's accounts differ in some details, and Tsien reflects the views of many Chinese and Japanese historians in making somewhat smaller claims for the Korean contributions to the history of printing than does Mr. Sohn.

These differences are minor, however, compared with the discrepancies between European and East Asian historians in their views on the history of printing. For example, Mr. Sohn states:

Typography by means of cast type started in Korea and gradually spread to Europe via Yuan China and the Arab countries. Ironically enough, printing technology developed by Gutenberg . . . reached Korea via Japan towards the end of the nineteenth century. The innovation made by Gutenberg was the invention of copper mould-making and the use of lead alloy with antimony in type casting. (page 179)

Professor Tsien writes that the transmission of paper-making from China throughout East Asia and into Europe is readily documented, but the parallel transmission of printing is less clearly established. "Although no direct relationship has yet been established between European typography and Chinese printing, a number of theories in favor of the Chinese origin of the European techniques have been advanced" (Needham/Tsien, page 303). Tsien goes on to detail the very strong circumstantial evidence in favor of "the Chinese origin" of printing. In some of his earlier writings Joseph Needham has been much more positive on this score than he is in his preface to Tsien's volume, and among East Asian historians generally 'the invention of printing in China and its spread westward' (to use the name of an earlier book by T. F. Carter, 1925) has been an article of faith. The astonishing thing about all of this is not the minor disagreements between Mr. Sohn and Professor Tsien, but the fact that western reference works like the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the *Columbia Encyclopedia*, in their entries on the history of printing, credit East Asian predecessors with no role in the subsequent but, in their views, not consequent invention of printing in fifteenth-century Europe. Does that represent Western Europocentrism? Or are the East Asians too chauvinistic?

Throughout the present work Mr. Sohn stresses, and in his conclusions focuses on, the idea of "continuous human invention" which draws on

many elements first appearing in many places (English text, pages 183-184). He is, moreover, very conscious of social factors which caused the impact of printing to vary in different parts of East Asia and of Europe, showing that the differing uses to which an invention is put bear significantly on that process of continuous invention. Historians nonetheless have unending curiosity about all the competing claims that may be made concerning the points of origin from which inventions were or were not diffused, and someday may be able to solve all the riddles in the history of printing, East and West. As they pursue these puzzles, Sohn Pow-key's achievement in documenting the development of printing technology in Korea will remain an essential source of information.

Soowon Kim
with the Editors

Paper and Printing

By T. H. TSIEN, in *Science and Civilisation in China*, JOSEPH NEEDHAM, EDITOR
Volume V, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, Part 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). xxv, 485 pp. \$95.00.

By the time the Gutenberg Bible was printed in about 1455, printing with movable type had been known in China for 400 years since its invention in the early eleventh century by Pi Sheng (c. 990-1051). Long before that, near the end of the first century A.D., Ts'ai Lun (d. 121) is said to have devised a process for making paper from treebark, remnants of cloth, and fishing nets. In fact archaeological investigations tentatively date one existing paper specimen to 49 B.C.; and paper is mentioned in a text dated 93 B.C. Though the use of papyrus as a medium for writing is dated back to the third millennium before Christ, the invention of both paper and printing took place in China. It is the developments leading up to their invention, their refinements, and introduction in the West which are the topic for T. H. Tsien's *Paper and Printing*, Part 1 of Volume 5 of the series *Science and Civilisation in China*.

This is the first major work on Chinese paper and printing since the appearance in 1925 of T. F. Carter's *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925; rev. 1931; 2nd rev., Carter and L. C. Goodrich, eds, 1955). The scope of Tsien's work

is larger, devoting over 100 pages to the evolution, making, and use of paper; and Tsien refers to recent archaeological evidence and new studies to verify his finds and update the information in Carter's book. The result is a fully documented work which traces the history of paper and printing from their inception to the nineteenth century and pulls together data of historical, economic, cultural and even anecdotal value. *Paper and Printing* is the thirteenth volume in Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* series, following works in such areas as mathematics, physics, mechanical and civil engineering, chemistry, and agriculture. According to the Foreword, this is the first volume undertaken by a collaborator on the series, rather than by Needham himself and his two main co-authors, Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen. Tsien, a retired professor of Chinese literature and emeritus curator of the Far Eastern Library at the University of Chicago, made an earlier contribution with his important work on the written word in China before paper and printing, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. 233pp). The new work continues to chart the evolution of paper and printing using literary records, archaeological discoveries, scientific reports and artifacts. Tsien's sources, while they are predominantly in Chinese, cover many languages and number about 2,000.

He traces the use of inscriptions on bone, shell, bronze, stone, ceramics and wood as the precursors to paper. A detailed account of the production of paper from materials as various as mulberry and rags elucidates all steps in the papermaking process. He gives similarly thoroughgoing explanations of the methods used for cutting woodblocks, and making type fonts of clay, enamel, wood and metal as well as the methods of typesetting and printing from woodblocks and type.

Tsien is a strong advocate of the theories that both paper and printing originated in China, and he marshals his many resource materials to substantiate these theories. For example, though the earliest specimen of printing, a Buddhist sutra fragment dated at around A.D. 700, was found in Korea, Tsien supports the idea that it was taken to Korea from China no later than 751, the year of construction of the stupa in which the sutra was found. He also refutes such stock errors as the misnomer "India ink" for the indelible lampblack ink which can actually be traced back to ancient China.

Brought to light are quantities of interesting facts, some peripherally related to paper or printing. For example, he explains why writing from right

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to left was easiest for a Chinese copyist writing on narrow tablets of wood strips who would put down finished strips first near at hand then farther and farther to the left. And there is a charming description of automatic doors and curtains in the Sui imperial library which opened when one approached, as well as accounts of how many day workers there were at a Hangchow paper factory in 1175 and how much a carver charged to prepare the blocks for a book.

From minute detail, he expands to general observations and explanations of such characteristics of Chinese printing as the near total dominance of woodblock printing over movable type printing until modern times due to the writing system of the Chinese language. He recounts the history of paper kites, fans, money and umbrellas, and also ventures into the world of aesthetics and into the general influence of paper and printing on Chinese culture and such indigenous developments as the civil service examination system. The author describes both paper and printing in the West, in particular as they are derived from Chinese paper and printing, are covered, as well as the influence paper and printing had on Western culture versus Chinese.

The nearly two hundred black-and-white illustrations in this volume do much to enhance the text, and the copious notes and quotations introduce the reader to most of the world's scholarship on Chinese paper and printing. Whether interested in paper and printing from the standpoint of technology, aesthetics, economics or culture, the reader will find drawn together a wealth of information.

D. E. Perushek

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The Friends of the Gest Library is a group of private individuals dedicated to the idea that an East Asian library resource like the Gest Oriental Library (the East Asian Research Library at Princeton University) must be known, supported and encouraged in order to enrich both the aesthetic knowledge of East Asia and the growth of scholarship and contemporary information concerning that part of the world. Many individuals have already been active for years in guiding the Gest Library, and contributing their time and resources *ad hoc*. In 1986 they formed the Friends of the Gest Library in order to broaden the Library's support and foster communication among other interested parties.

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