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THE GEST LIBRARY JOURNAL

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SPRING 1987

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Dr. Hung-lam Chu, *Editor*

Dr. Howard L. Goodman, *Managing Editor*

Prof. Frederick Mote, *Advisor*

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From the Editors

Announcements

The first issue of *The Gest Library Journal* was mailed to Friends of the Gest late last December. As this second issue goes to press, the editors wish to thank all the Friends for their warm support, and many for messages approving the idea of the *Journal*. We hope that this issue and those planned for 1987-88 will attain better standards, and will merit your continued support. That there is much interest in all aspects of East Asian books appears to be well verified. It is our hope that the *Journal* will reflect an ever wider range of those interests.

We must apologize to Friends in Canada for one of those embarrassing errors that you Friends have as yet been too kind to mention: on pages 2 and 55, recounting the history of the Gest Collection, we said that it came to Princeton in 1937 from Toronto. We all know that the collection came to us from McGill University in Montreal, but we did not catch the slip until too late. That and a few other errors are corrected in a Table of Errata at the end of this issue. We shall follow the same procedure in future issues.

The Friends of the Gest Library is still a small organization, if an enthusiastic one. We are trying to expand the membership, and hope that you will continue to aid us by reminding your friends to become Friends. An announcement about how to join the Friends appears on the last page of this issue.

As announced in the first issue, the first important activity of the Friends will be sponsorship of an exhibition, "Calligraphy and the East Asian Book," to be held in the main exhibition gallery of Firestone Library from about May 15 to August 15, 1987. All Friends of record as of April will be sent a special announcement concerning the opening of the exhibition, including an invitation to attend a reception and a guided tour of the exhibition on a date late in May or early in June. We hope many of you will come.

The editors will be happy to consider for publication articles sent from beyond the Princeton campus. Volume Two, Number One, to be published in the fall of 1987, will be entirely devoted to the catalogue of the forthcoming exhibition on "Calligraphy and the East Asian Book." The deadline for articles to be used in Volume Two, Number Two (Spring, 1988) is January 1, 1988. Manuscripts preferably should be submitted on standard paper, double spaced (or triple) with very wide margins; notes (where used) should appear on a separate page, also double-spaced. Specific procedures for Chinese, Japanese, or Korean glossaries, as well as for photographs, will be required.

Volume Two, Number Two of the *Journal* will mainly be devoted to the Japanese side of Gest Library, the history of Japanese books, and developments in Japanese book collecting and bibliographic research. We welcome manuscripts in these areas.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

There are several new contributors in this issue: Professor Gilbert Rozman, Professor of Sociology, specializes in the historical sociology of Japan, China, and Russia; his most recent book, *A Mirror for Socialism* (Princeton University Press, 1985) is about Soviet studies of Communist China, and his next, soon to be published, will analyze Communist Chinese studies of the USSR. Professor Chih-p'ing Chou has for some years taught Chinese language and literature at Princeton while directing the Middlebury Chinese Summer School; his book, soon to be published by Cambridge University Press, explores currents of literature in late Ming China. Dr. Howard L. Goodman, the Managing Editor of both *The Gest Library Journal* and *Asia Major* (which ceased publication in London some years ago and will resume in Princeton this October), received his Master's Degree from the University of Washington and his doctorate in early Chinese social and intellectual history from Princeton. Hung-lam Chu and F.W. Mote were introduced in Volume One, Number One, of the *Journal*.

News and Notes from the Gest Library

Visiting Scholar

Mr. Jin Shen, Associate Director of Special Collections and Rare Books at the Shanghai Library in China, whose brief visit to the Gest Library in the fall of 1986 was noted in Volume One, Number One, has been prevailed upon to pay us a second visit. He is spending the entire month of February, 1987, working with us in the Rare Books Collection of the Gest, and examining items to be displayed in the forthcoming exhibition on "Calligraphy and the East Asian Book." Mr. Shen has graciously sandwiched this return visit in between working visits to Harvard, Hong Kong (the Chinese University), the University of Chicago, and the Library of Congress. His vast experience in examining old books and manuscripts and his immense bibliographic learning have been of inestimable value to us. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Friends in helping us to bring Mr. Shen to Princeton.

Tun-huang Acquisition

An important collection of Tun-huang fragments has been acquired by the Gest Library, with assistance from the Program in East Asian Studies. A future article will carry a description of this very valuable collection, some items from which will be included in the forthcoming exhibition announced elsewhere in this issue.

Purchase and Cataloguing of the Complete Library (Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu)

The 1,500-volume facsimile reprint of the Complete Library (a manuscript of the Ch'ien-lung period) was completed last year. The entire set has now

been catalogued and shelved, occupying 218 running feet of shelves in the Gest stacks, apparently our largest collectanea. It is the subject of two articles in this issue, one by Hung-lam Chu and the other by F.W. Mote.

Plans for a Gest Library Medical Series

A major component of the original Gest Collection is its unparalleled assemblage of traditional Chinese medical works, including many rare or unique Ming editions. Possessing this important resource has stimulated us to continue to purchase books about Chinese and East Asian medicine. The Gest Library has been designated the library in North America with the principal obligation to acquire publication concerning traditional medicine by the cooperative acquisitions plan of the Association of Research Libraries. The Gest Library recently had the opportunity to acquire a fine manuscript copy of a large compendium of medical prescriptions dating from the mid-nineteenth century. It is a work that probably exists in no other copy. It is both important in the history of medical practice in China, and a beautiful manuscript apparently prepared as the model for cutting printing blocks, a project that was not carried out. Feeling that this work merits publication, we are exploring the possibility of producing a Gest Library Medical Reprint Series, using this item as the first work to be so published, and later adding some of the rarer works from the Gest Collection. We solicit advice and opinions from our readers on this plan.

Hellmut Wilhelm's Collection at Princeton: Last Stop from Peking and Points Beyond

HOWARD L. GOODMAN

Hellmut Wilhelm in Seattle

In 1948 a gentle, smiling man began packing up his boxes of Chinese books in Peking. In a classic case of bureaucratic befuddlement, China at that time outlawed shipment overseas of many items (including books) by freight, but not by post. About 1,500 boxes of books were subsequently mailed without much fuss to Seattle, Washington.

That is just a sketch of only one chapter; from before that time and continuing on, another had begun—the same two protagonists (book collector

and books), yet their contents changed somewhat. The collector set out on new intellectual quests and had new scholarly necessities; new books were chosen to fit them. For the history of the Gest Library we are interested here in this latter chapter. Of course, we must review the previous one in more detail.

Hellmut Wilhelm, son of a Christian missionary in Shantung who became a secular scholar, carved out a life which was in its own way intrinsically rooted in the very thing that the politicized new world has often found impossible to understand—genuine cultural synthesis. His brand of cultural synthesis can never more be duplicated. In his day the modern university system in China was taken seriously by Chinese and Western scholars. Friendships among Chinese and European scholars, teachers, and writers led to the sharing of life-long values, both cultural and personal. Chinese political and social leaders could treat the long-term foreign residents in their midst as brothers in a professional endeavor, and they could form alliances in order to gain insights into their languages, specialties and views. The foreigners relished the opportunity to engage with minds bred at the critical core of a vast and sophisticated culture which, above all, needed slow, careful attention by an outsider to grasp fully.

Hellmut Wilhelm had been raised in China as part of a foreign educator's household, but an unusual one at that.[1] His father Richard's circle of acquaintances in China and back in Germany included the likes of K'ang Yu-wei, Martin Buber, and Carl Jung. Hellmut himself was raised together for many years with a young lad named Chou I-liang, who would become one of the world's most respected historians of early China. Richard Wilhelm's missionary teaching eventually yielded to his desire to promote the European understanding of China's heritage, and he translated into German a core of Chinese classical writings. He approached his task of translation slowly, under the consistent tutelage of *bona fide* Chinese masters of the classical tradition. Lao Nai-hsüan was one such teacher, a Chinese scholar-official who was expert in literature, the classics, the *Book of Changes* in particular, as well as mathematics. From this array of figures in the life of the future scholar and bibliophile, Hellmut Wilhelm, we can detect a solid blend of West and East. Neo-romantic German mysticism, modern ideas about the mind and reality, as well as the most up-to-date in Chinese "evidential scholarship" were accepted and learned in one household, as well as in a father's and son's careers. The younger Wilhelm continued his studies

back in Germany in the late 1920s, himself switching—from law to sinology; he had finally decided to assume his father's researches and aims. Upon returning to China in 1932, he wrote for a well-known German periodical and continued the organs of German-Chinese cultural exploration which his father had started. He eventually became a professor of German at Peking University.

While acting as exponent of this type of cultural synthesis he did not limit his contacts to scholars, scholarly journals and university offices. He was an active member of a whole sub-society in Peking, many of whom felt forced to stay because of perverse forces in their homelands. Wilhelm might have preferred to be able to continue his travels and teachings back in Europe, and to become a German sinologue; or to maintain editorial and scholarly control over his publication interests. But as the world grew more topsy-turvy, the Germans of Peking grew more interested in ordering and re-telling their own world. Hellmut Wilhelm's experiences in this community produced some of the best sinological writings of our century.[2] But as we shall see, much also can be learned from writings and publications which he collected.

In 1949, open-minded cultural synthesis suddenly become outmoded. Truck with countries beyond China's borders ceased. Men like Wilhelm simply packed up, and noble experiments ended. The experiments had not been initiated by governments but by individuals, by loose associations of international friends (a confluence of hosts and guests), by university programs, and by the common forms of social intercourse and everyday life that cemented them together in a natural way. Not all the Sino-Westerners had the same combination of inquiry and interests as Hellmut Wilhelm. Some returnees to the West brought back their specially honed theories of Chinese political history, some brought the basic skills for research into traditional Chinese letters, or some merely the memories of events and meaningful friends. Like the others, Hellmut Wilhelm worked these fruits of the synthesis into his new life. Some of the books and documents packed up in 1948 plus a whole set that still was to come into existence constitute a key by which his unique world map can be understood.

The 1948 shipment was a whole library; the Chinese titles in it constituted most of the basic tools as well as many of the sources needed by a historian of Chinese culture. They were the Chinese side of the Wilhelm equation and acted in that capacity in Prof. Wilhelm's new life in the spacious Pacific

Northwest. Seattle, Washington, was an up-and-coming center for the study of modern China. It was the logical place for him to land—several fine German and Chinese sinologues were at the forefront of the Seattle scene and had known him in Peking.

We are not concerned with this Chinese library, although it eventually helped to establish the University of Washington's East Asia Library as a contender in the humanistic field of Asian studies when he transferred it to that institution. The Gest Library by the time of that transfer (in the early 1950s) had already met up with its Chinese bibliographic core, which had come from Canada and was being expanded and built up properly. But thirty years later, in 1982, Hellmut Wilhelm's second library came to the Gest. It was not even a Chinese library, but consisted of 2,258 Western language titles, many collected in China and others purchased in his travels to England, Germany, and Switzerland (for the Eranos Conferences) after 1949.

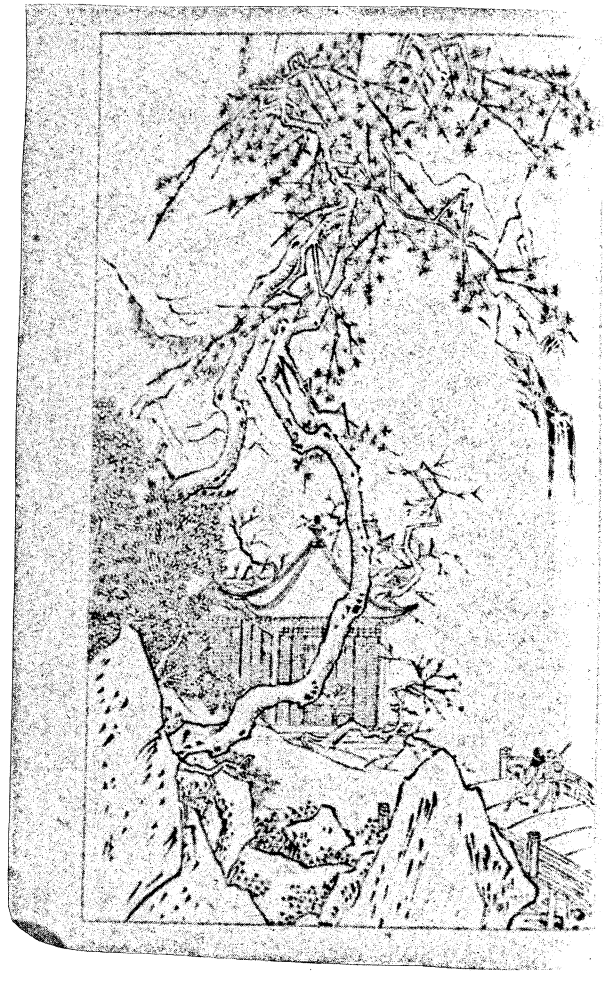
Although the term "curio" has been overly used by well-meaning (and sometimes quite skilled) amateurs in the study of Chinese culture, let us nevertheless say it about the new collection at Princeton; its connotation can be good: something rare which invites regard. Furthermore, the Wilhelm Collection may serve Princeton University in quite practical ways. It can help East Asian Studies departmental courses to be taught more efficiently and with the potential to stimulate student interest. Finally, it can help to inculcate a particular kind of appreciation for that area of knowledge. The books in it are not just standard reference works and sources of Chinese thought and history in Western translations, but the map-like traces of a singular mind, one which put together facets in a way that no one else has thought to do. Because of the father's heritage of scholarship and because of the son's fertile researches in the U.S. and in modern Europe after World War II, the collection leads anyone who is able to ruminate in it and to see the titles all in concert to think about the effect of Chinese literature itself on the earliest Western sinologues, the traditions of sinology, the effect of one of China's most important classics on the West, and the role of archetypes in explaining commonalities across time and continents. Hellmut Wilhelm has held all these ideas as uppermost.

More needs to said about the curious, however. The land of the curious—the barrio of German (and other European) intellectual and material life in the middle of the Imperial City—comes slowly to life in the Wilhelm Col-

lection. Pick up some of the journals and see a literary chronology of the times, or occasionally a jarring mixture of the heroic with the politically heinous. The Collection has copies of *Sinologische Arbeiten* [Sinological Tasks], published by the Deutschland-Institut in Peking. It has already been noted by other writers that the *Arbeiten* grew to be controlled by Nazis to the extent that Dr. Wilhelm could no longer stay at its helm in good conscience.[3] The Wilhelm Collection contains other journals which show the entrance of Hitlerism into the literature of the German community in the Far East. Unlike *Arbeiten, China-Dienst* [In the China Service], published in Shanghai, is a new addition to the holdings of the Library. Its stated purpose was the furthering of German-Chinese relations. However, just how far that was intended to go is suspect. It sounds mostly like a Nazi political organ—very martial: the meaning of "China service" must be read as "good German soldiers at the outposts." Articles and weekly columns in these issues, running mostly from 1933 to 1936, talk about the true situation in the homeland ("Zur Lage in Deutschland," "Der Soldat des Dritten Reichs") or about the 'Jewish problem' ("Die Scheidung zwischen Deutschtum und Judentum"). German youth were exhorted to be correct in politics ("Wesen und Aufbau der Hitlerjugend").

There is a tangible difference in the tone of things German when compared with another rare item in the Collection, again a valuable addition to the Gest's holdings. The name of the journal is *Die Dschunke*, and was published in Peking from April, 1940, to May, 1945, or a bit thereafter. (May, 1945, was the last issue collected by Hellmut Wilhelm. It does not seem conceivable that it went on much after that, if at all; otherwise later issues would have entered the collection during his presence there.) A check of the *Union Listing of Serials* has shown it, as well as *China-Dienst*, to have been nonexistent in U.S. libraries up to now. Nor can one imagine that it found a safe home in Germany.

The premier issue set the tone and ambience; the paper was crisp, there was a beautiful facing plate next to the title page (see Illustration 1) and inside could be found a translation of the words of no less a famous Chinese intellectual than Hu Shih. Issue 20 (Nov., 1941) had almost its whole contents devoted to W. A. Mozart, plus Chuang Tzu-inspired verse entitled "Die Harmonie der Sphären" by Vincenz Hundhausen, a noted multi-lingual literatus in the exile community. In other issues we see the same formula: articles on German greats of earlier centuries (Holbein in No. 44, with



Die Dschunke

Herausgegeben von Erich Wilberg

Heft 1 — April 1940

„Wer sich selbst und andre kennt
Wird auch hier erkennen:
Orient und Okzident
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen."

Blumen blühen, Knospen springen!
In den roten Bäumen singen
Nachtigallen, Nachtigallen!
Möven fliehn auf weißen Schwingen,
Um die blauen Fluten schlingen
Gräser sich und wehn und wallen.

Lenzesleuchten, Windeswehen!
Alle, die es ganz verstehen,
Sind im Glücke, sind im Glücke!
Zarter Flöten zärtlich Flehen!
In der Sonne Untergehen
Kehrt die Dschunke still zurücke.

Ssü Yüan-Djiä (11. Jahrh.)

Das Original zu dem nebenstehenden Bilde ist eine der wenigen erhaltenen Schöpfungen Ma Yüan's des Älteren, der in der Sungzeit lebte und schon von seinen Zeitgenossen als unübertroffenes Vorbild gepriesen wurde. Der Pekinger Lithograph Ta Tien-sun zeichnete die Kopie nach dem Original auf den Stein.

(Gest)
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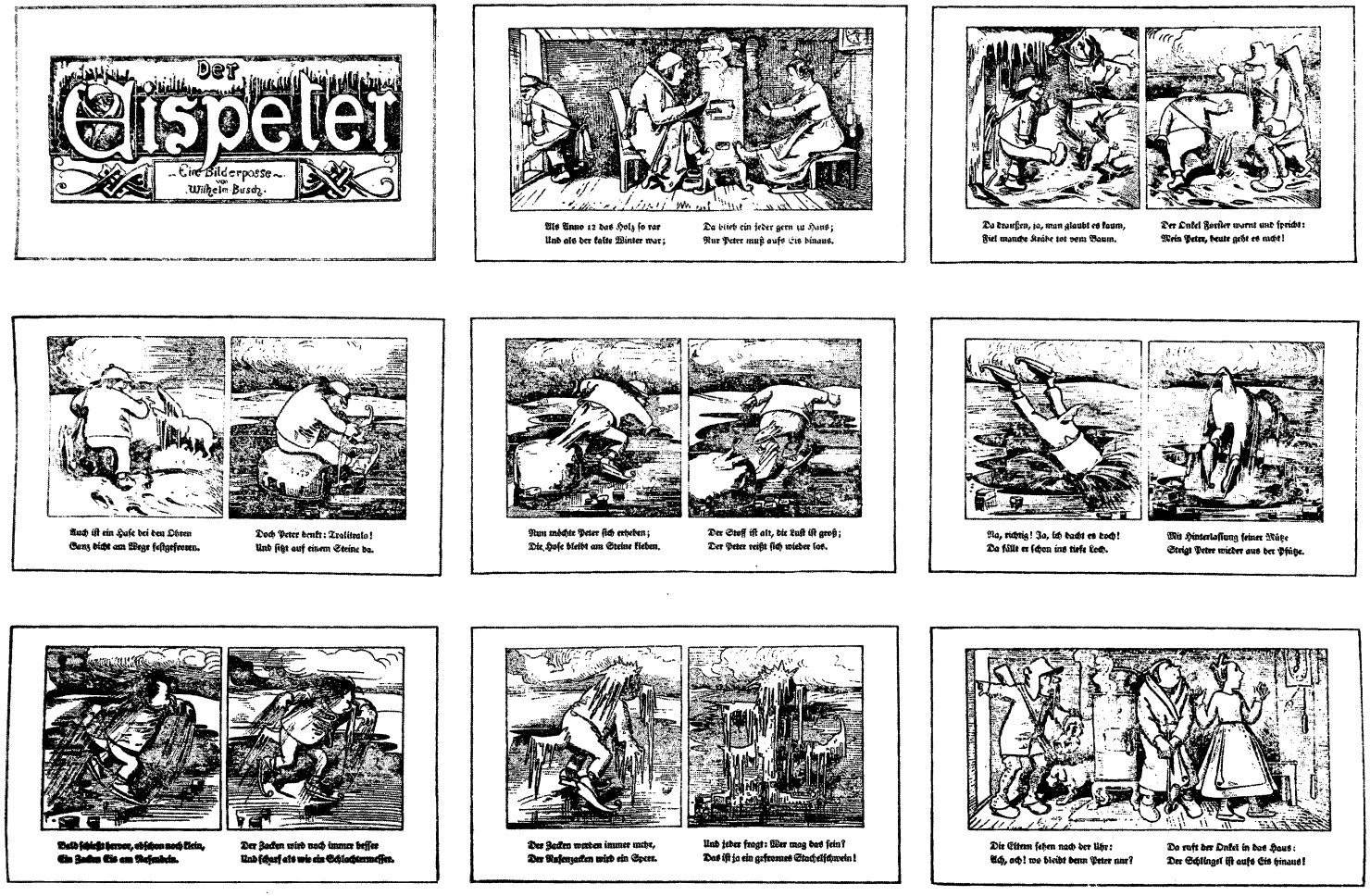
1. The premier issue of *Die Dschunke*, April, 1940. The cover page shows the logo and art deco typeface. The frontispiece is a lithograph based on a painting of Ma Yuan the Elder (Sung dynasty).

woodblock prints; Peter Paul Fechner with photos of his sculptures, in No. 21; and plenty of the Voltaire/Frederick the Great correspondence) along with China (translations from the classics and *belles lettres* often by Richard Wilhelm, Lin Yutang, or Hundhausen). By the last issue, in 1945, the paper quality had deteriorated badly and the number of specifically sinological contributions had already been dwindling (Hundhausen was carrying much of the load, even reaching back to the Western classics—"An Virgilius").

Here is what our colleague at Princeton, Anthony Grafton, Professor of Renaissance and Reformation European intellectual history, had to say about the journal when he inspected it at the Gest Library:

> *Die Dschunke* vividly reveals a tiny but fascinating last outpost of European culture, the German community of Peking in the war years. The journal's content of articles is a bewitching combination of efforts to preserve the classical German humanist culture already defunct in the West, with efforts to come to terms with Chinese culture and earlier Westerners who tried to master it. On one hand, one finds long articles on great German classicists like Johann Winckelmann (see No. 46, 1944), and less stately but more amusing products of more recent times like a foldout comic story by Wilhelm Busch. (See Illustration 2.) Much of the more heavyweight material is marginal: excerpts from standard German works on philology and literary history reprinted for an exile public with little access to the originals. Taken together, though, they reveal impressive efforts to preserve values and celebrate heroes of German humanism. At the same time *Die Dschunke* serialized German novels and offered translations from Chinese poetry, and was the forum for German missionaries to write essays on the earlier heroes of their enterprise, like von Schall. But the journal's latent content is in some ways more revealing than its manifest content. Advertisements for Turkish cigarettes sold by Greeks in Peking, European grand hotels, fine bakeries, and Rolleiflexes (Illustration 3), exude a wonderful flavor of the 1930s and 1940s (the world of *Stamboul Train*), and remind us of a world in which a Western elite could buy its May wine, fine scotch and high cuisine anywhere from Europe. Such unification of the globe by retail merchants was unequaled until the recent airport dutyfree phenomenon



2. Detail from a complete cartoon story, in the form of an immense foldout, by Wilhelm Busch. This appeared in Issue 11 (February, 1941) of *Die Dschunke*.

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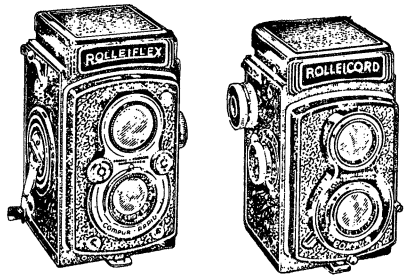

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3. A montage of the various kinds of advertisement repeated frequently throughout the run of *Die Dschunke*.

(which offers much less attractive goods at higher prices). A social historian of Germany might be able to use *Die Dschunke* as an unexpected source through which to discuss an island of peace and even cultural resistance to Nazism inhabited by that small number of Germans who spent the war years in Peking.

The Sino-German synthesis also occurred outside of China. Another journal in the Wilhelm Collection was published from 1926 to 1935 in Frankfurt am Main by the China-Institut, an organization spearheaded by Richard and continued by Hellmut Wilhelm. The title is *Chinesisch-Deutscher Almanach*, a fine production, printed on the highest quality paper, and including original works. (Of course, one cannot belittle *Die Dschunke* for having had to make do with what it could get.) Every issue of the *Almanach* began with a calendar. The first issue's calendar for the Chinese *ping-yin* year coordinated the *Book of Changes* hexagrams with the Western calendar. The 1927-28 issue had German translations from the *Tao-te ching* for each month. Articles by leading sinologues like Erwin Rousselle, Willy Hartner, Edouard Erkes, and Richard Wilhelm, covered mainly the Chinese classics, Chinese art, religions and the calendar system. The tone is imperial in a special sense: not like *China-Dienst*, with its outstretched arm of Hitlerjugend instructing fair Pekinese to take a correct look at Axis Manchuria, but like Chinese imperial courts ever since the Han dynasty, more specifically since the coming of Christianity at the end of the sixteenth century. Coordination of the calendar and re-interpretation of the classics had been staid but important tasks of each new emperor, and the Jesuits had opened this scholarship to learned foreigners. Thus, we see not just a continuation of acceptable elite, Sino-European collaboration, but an example of East-West synthesis in which the participants sought meeting points of the two cultures, not political control or self-aggrandizement.

Probably the most curious of all Wilhelm Collection items is *Etudes Confucéennes*, a newsletter of the Confucian Science Church, published approximately monthly from 1953 to 1962 in Geneva under the aegis of one G.H. Schuetz. There are birthday paeans to Confucius, lectures on neo-Confucianism, an article: "Neo-Confucianisme et Hassidisme," and a long running attempt to begin translating the obscure (to Westerners) *T'ai-hsüan*. Hellmut Wilhelm had been asked to contribute to the newsletter, and his work is seen especially in the *T'ai-hsüan* project. A questionnaire in No. 26 asks such questions as "Etes-vous vous-même confucianiste?" "Avez-vous

lu les classiques confucéens? Dans quelle langue?" "Avez-vous visité des Temples de Confucius? Lesquels?" (Geneva was obviously the wrong place for Schuetz's church.) Wilhelm, having given a serious scholarly contribution, probably looked on amusedly at these attempts to teach truth.

We leave the curious and move to the scholarly. The Wilhelm Collection contains interesting clusters of items. All scholars know what it is like to need a volume of a journal that circulates in a library. Often we wish that the journal offprints of one writer could be collected in one place (as they are only rarely). The Collection is a fund of such offprints. The entire journal output of Hellmut Wilhelm himself is represented, as is nearly the whole output of Herbert Franke up to about 1980; many articles of Nicholas Poppe, Udo Posch, Agehananda Bharati, August Wittfogel, Wolfram Eberhard, Vincent Shih, and Jaroslav Prusek are there as well. Some of the above are likely never to be reprinted, and some of the authors, like Posch and Bharati, are highly unusual characters whose articles deserve reading purely from the standpoint of the histories of sinology and indology. In the case of Wilhelm's offprints, some are of obscure provenance. The Collection also holds eighty-three typescript dissertations and theses. Only a small number were ever published in other forms and most reflect careful research on traditional sinological subjects. Finally, there are issues of obscure or not easily obtainable journals like *Orient/West*, *Recontre Orient Occident*, and *Mundus*. There are single numbers of such 'new age' voices as *The Order of the Universe* (with an article about the metaphysical truth of the trigrams), and the more conservative *Inward Light*, by the Friends Church, with an article on the soul healing properties of R. Wilhelm's and Carl Jung's interpretations of the East.

What are all these things supposed to add up to? So far I have only been recounting oddities and singletons, little things about sinology that seem not to have any critical mass in today's scholarship. One must forget that the library now exists as rows along several spare (I use the word advisedly) aisles in the Rare Book Room of the Gest Oriental Library. One must picture instead the library being used by students. In that case, the assemblage can speak with its own voice, a rare example of a book collection imbued with personality. Hellmut Wilhelm had an enormous interest in interpretive meldings of Jungian thought, religions, and literary excursions. Newsletters and journals which mention the *Book of Changes*, as well as the expected sticks, dice, and cards associated with that classic in its modern U.S. incar-

nation (see Illustration 4), form an interesting part of our relations with China. Undergraduates who are bent on learning Chinese so that they can advise corporation presidents and government bureaucrats about Chinese business environments might gain from learning about the long process of Chinese-Western "syntheses," a new one of which seems always about to emerge. They can see the more than thirty-five books which were published before 1875, one as old as 1770. Their contents show what it was like in Shanghai, London, and Paris bookstores when the public first saw books purveying Chinese culture. A student might ask, "How did the early

4. Games, cards, and mantic devices based on the *Book of Changes*. These were popular especially in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Prof. Wilhelm has always supported the popular phenomenon with genuine curiosity.

impressions of, for example, English Protestant missionaries or French literati take form?" "What was considered interesting about China at a time when, in the West, authoritative learning and the classic languages held almost the same kind of vaunted place as they had for aeons in China?" Hellmut Wilhelm's strong commitment to his father's aims, to the fathoming of all aspects of China's lettered culture, and to the *Book of Changes* in particular, all help to shape the thoughts of whoever has the pleasure to sit among the books in one room, under one roof.

There is of course a huge store of work-a-day sinological books in the Collection, the kind which is needed in Princeton's courses. Many of them duplicate Gest's Western language titles. The Wilhelm Collection, however, is not just a duplicate book source, ready to supply replacements when circulating books are worn out, destroyed, or stolen (the last two of which in our frazzled society happen frequently and beyond the control of library administrators). No, again the mind must build a picture of something closed and quiet, a room with shelves and windowed cases (hopefully with wood in abundance, like the wooded treehouse of the Wilhelm study in Seattle). In this place, located somewhere in a future Princeton, the Wilhelm Collection, perhaps augmented by other titles, would be a special, non-circulating library inside of Gest (itself already a cult library, known among juniors and seniors as Heaven's answer to thesis writing). Hopefully, the integrity and rare quality of the Collection would be preserved so that the older traditions of sinology can mingle with the new demands of today, and so that connections with the past can be made.

Students using the facility would be able to use a data-base catalogue of the holdings. This catalogue has already been devised by the author and allows on-line searches for titles, authors, or of any number of subjects. A student's project for a paper may lead him to ask: "What books have been written on Ming erotica, or what theses on medieval poetry, or any illustrated works on literature published in China before the revolution? Can I find them in the Wilhelm Collection?" The answer would be yes: six, four, and one.

Hellmut Wilhelm's relationship with Princeton goes back quite a way; the Collection does not signify his one and only association with us. Prof. Wilhelm was a visiting professor here in 1961-62, and his editorial and scholarly acumen was attached to the *Book of Changes* publishing success at Princeton University Press. Perhaps when the day comes that a pleasing and

inviting room is built, we shall have gathered there all the sinological titles by Richard and Hellmut Wilhelm, added various other Princeton Press items concerning the *Book of Changes*, as well as adjunct things like the paraphernalia (mentioned and illustrated above) and works of fiction and nonfiction about the appealing classic, so that we can have a *Changes* nook.

While we are waiting for that day, the scholarly community is invited to inquire about the Collection. Although it is, and hopefully will remain, non-circulating, nevertheless the printed catalogue is in place in the card room. It lists the holdings by author, title, and by journals and offprints. There is also a survey of the Collection grouped by several important subject areas. The books may be examined in the Rare Book Room at the normal times. The Gest Library staff (c/o Chinese Bibliographer, Gest Library, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. 08544) will be glad to perform additional searches and proffer a readout of the results, provided there is no time constriction and the project not overly large.

NOTES

1. For a short biography of Hellmut Wilhelm, see F.W. Mote's "Hellmut Wilhelm: a biographical note," *Monumenta Serica*, 29 (1970-71), pp. iii-vi.
2. One of these was *Die Wandlung*, beginning as lectures to the European community trapped in Peking by the Japanese and eager to engage in cultural study. This later was published in English as *Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching*, Harper & Row, 1960, and became one of the best introductions to the *Changes* available in the West.
3. See Mote, *op. cit.*

Restricted Circulation

GILBERT ROZMAN

Freedom of access to information is a cherished right with which libraries are closely identified. The fact that some governments go to great lengths to conceal information can be frustrating not only to their own citizens but also to users of libraries throughout the world. Sometimes the restrictions are particularly designed to deny foreigners access. It is well known that under Mao Zedong information on contemporary conditions in China was kept secret. What is not well known is that the gap between published information and sources normally available to foreigners has been growing in the post-Mao era; it may never have been greater than it is today in China.

Through the tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution there was no doubt about the dismal state of information concerning contemporary China. Our libraries could offer us little from the People's Republic of China apart from a tiny number of official newspapers and journals. Local newspapers and Red Guard documents were occasionally smuggled out of the country, but in this period specialized scholarship and investigative journalism were so rare inside China that foreign libraries were scarcely at a disadvantage to those which had been permitted to remain open there. In the absence of much data, debates swirled about such fundamental questions as what was the population of China rounded to the nearest hundred million! The extreme was reached about 1969 when quotations from Chairman Mao usurped the pages of newspapers and journals; although that gave way to gradual improvement over the next eight years, careful scholars turned to oral history in the form of interviews with émigrés in Hong Kong to compensate, as best they could, for what our libraries could not provide.

There has been an information explosion in China since 1979. Foreign scholars have responded enthusiastically to the increased sources of information. Our libraries are now inundated with hundreds of new journals.

While book publishing has tended to trail behind journals, increasing numbers of Chinese books are also appearing on our library shelves. Today China is much less a mystery than it was in the second half of the 1960s and almost the entire decade of the 1970s. Nevertheless, the problems of foreign research on China remain serious. For no other major country are our libraries acquiring such a small percentage of the important publications. What we acquire is generally inferior to what we cannot acquire due to restrictions imposed in China.

When I was engaged in research concerning the changing Chinese attitudes toward the Soviet Union, I encountered an extreme situation of restricted access. Between 1979 and 1984 approximately twenty new journals on the Soviet Union had been launched in China. (I wrote about this in "China's Soviet Watchers in the 1980s: A New Era in Scholarship," *World Politics*, 37.4, July 1985, pp. 439-41.) When I searched American libraries for Chinese articles on the Soviet Union, I learned almost nothing about these journals. In 1984 only one journal in the arts was received at the six major libraries that were checked. In the several hundred articles on the Soviet Union that I examined in available Chinese journals, these twenty publications were not mentioned. If I had attempted to write about Chinese views on the basis of what I could read in our libraries, my findings would have been incomplete, peripheral to the major questions I was asking, and probably misleading. (See Illustration 1.)

In the winter of 1984-1985 I went to China for research on this topic. There I was fortunate to be able to read the monthly *National Periodical Index (Quanguo baokan suoyin)*. I say fortunate because this is a *neibu* (internal) source that my host institute and the dozens of scholars who knew of my search for sources did not mention to me. From this source and the card catalogues of Chinese libraries I learned of the existence of more than three hundred *neibu* journals in the social sciences and humanities. It has long been known that *neibu* newspapers are the basic source of world news for millions of educated Chinese. With the citations in the *National Periodical Index* one can map out the subjects covered in a vast network of internal publications about both international and national topics. Many provinces issue their own *neibu* journals on such subjects as finances and crime. Academic institutions are represented by specialized journals on the United States, Japan, and other countries or regions as well as those on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. With a lag of a few years, and at a considerable markup,

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沙 俄 侵 华 史

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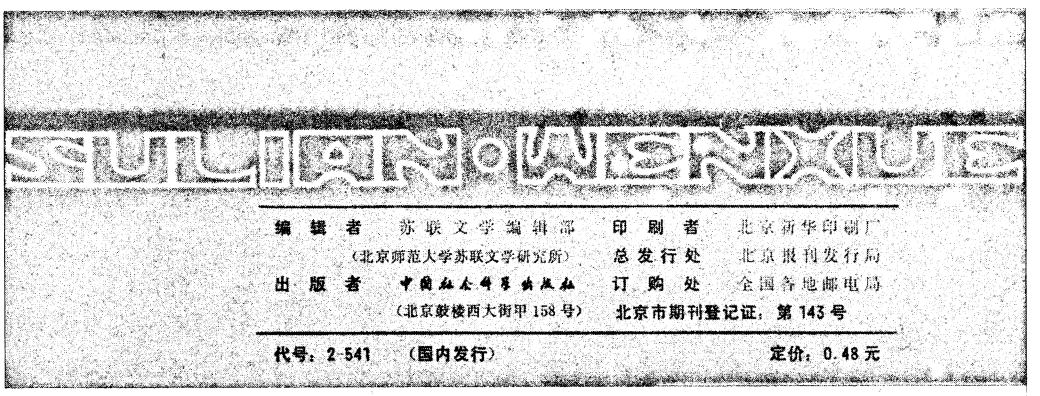

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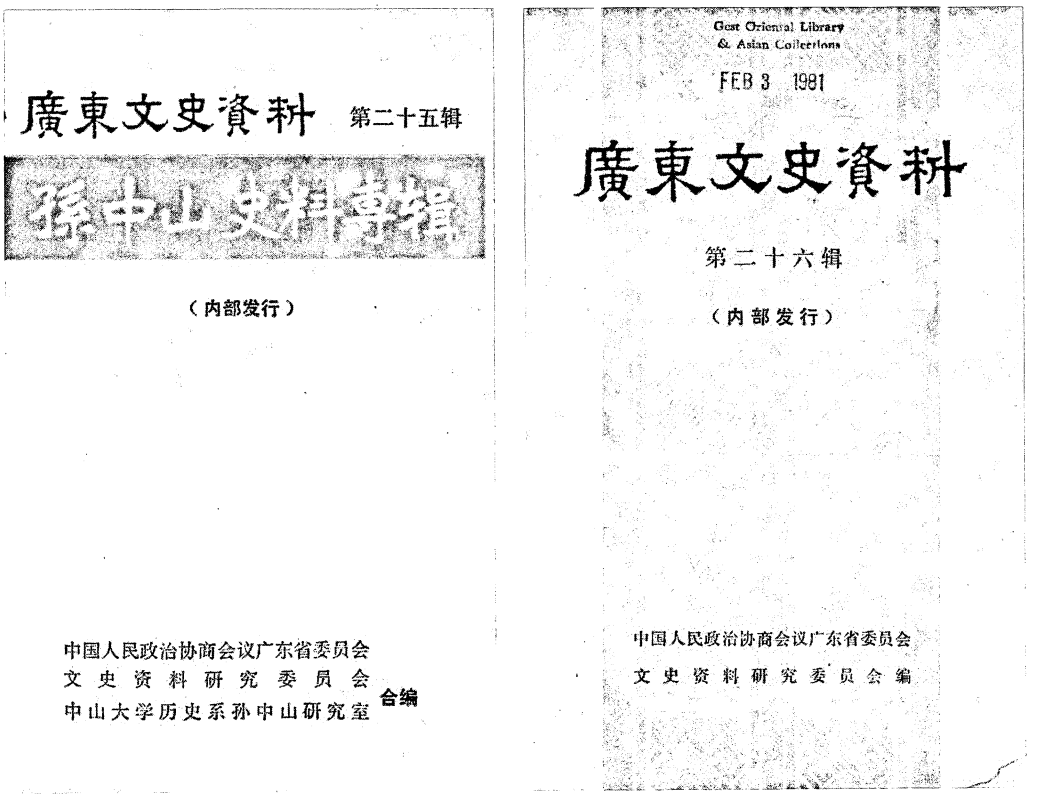
1. Publication data-blocks from three books and serials in the fields of Soviet Studies and World Socialism, dating from 1976 to 1984. The wording of the restriction varies: "Zhi xian guonei faxing" ("limited exclusively to domestic circulation"); "Guonei faxing" ("domestic circulation"); and "Neibu faxing" ("internal circulation").

Hong Kong dealers are now making the *National Periodical Index* available to libraries outside of China. Future researchers will at least have the advantage of knowing what is missing from their libraries.

The *neibu* barrier is more than a ban on taking sources out of China. It is a barrier that the specialist on contemporary affairs encounters at every turn. Most institutes deny visiting scholars access to their libraries because of the many *neibu* publications there. The central libraries to which foreigners can gain access routinely reject requests because the publications are listed as *neibu*. After furtively glancing for a minute or two at a volume in a bookstore, the foreigner will be approached by a clerk who admonishes him that this source is only for Chinese. At meetings arranged with groups of Chinese scholars in one's field, conversations are guided away from citations and contents of *neibu* writings. Since reports of conferences and activities in the field are widely presented in the *neibu* literature, this barrier to open conversation is difficult to overestimate. The *neibu* label is the bane of our research efforts both inside and outside China.

It would be a mistake to conclude that the *neibu* classification is always firm. China is not the closed society it was barely a decade ago. There is ambiguity about which *neibu* writings should be denied to foreigners. After all, these are not secret (*baomi*) publications that are clearly off limits. Some internal sources—both journals and books—are translations of writings freely available outside of China. Disregard for copyright regulations explains this type of distribution. The curious result is that a foreigner may find his own book for sale in Chinese translation, only to discover that he is not permitted to buy a copy. The response when this happened to me was the decision at the publisher's office to give me a copy. Millions of Chinese have access to *neibu* sources. Naturally, foreigners manage to see some of the sources, and some make their way out of the People's Republic particularly to Hong Kong and Taiwan where foreigners can read them. (See Illustration 2.)

For several years rumors have spread that the *neibu* system will soon be ended. When two journals on Soviet literature and Russian language were made openly available in 1985, some suggested that it was a step toward abolition. To some Chinese intellectuals the system is an embarrassment. Applying for graduate study or fellowships outside of China, they are prevented from showing many of their principal publications. Conversing with overseas colleagues, they are not free to report in detail on academic



2. Parts of covers of Number Twenty-five and Number Twenty-six in a series called "Materials on the Literature and History of Guangdong Province." Both bear the restriction "Internal Circulation" (*Neibu faxing*). Number Twenty-five, on the left, is a photo-facsimile received from a Hong Kong dealer. Number Twenty-six, on the right, is the original from inside Mainland China. The library happened to receive both kinds of issue, but received neither a restricted original nor a pirated duplicate of others in the series.

developments in their field. The system endures, while Chinese are asked to justify it and to discount its impact on the flow of information.

My research turned out relatively well. I managed to read many of the Chinese journals on the Soviet Union. I even made use of perhaps the most important journal on international affairs, *Internal Reference on World Economies and Politics (Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi neican)*. This is a *neibu* publication with the added warning that it should be carefully protected. (See Illustration 3.) In diverse journals I located reports on conferences, for example one on Soviet collectivization where opinions differed sharply on how to evaluate this socialist transformation under Stalin. I read about the founding in

RESTRICTED CIRCULATION

世界经济与政治内参

八、九十年代的国际环境和我国的对外经济关系
从日本经济走势看太平洋的挑战
略论列宁对帝国主义第五个基本特征的两种表述
苏联的东亚战略及我国的对策
论中国式的科学技术现代化
尼赫鲁——印度民族解放运动的先驱

2
1985

内部刊物　注意保存

3. Detail of the cover of a serial dated February, 1985, called: "Internal Reference on World Economies and Politics." The restriction at bottom says: "Internal publication—take care to preserve."

September 1982 of a new association for Soviet and East European studies and its objectives, when public confirmation was delayed until mid-1985 and appeared without details about the goals for the field. In my book, *The Chinese Debate About Soviet Socialism, 1978-1985* (Princeton University Press, 1987), I fully acknowledge the *neibu* sources I used, consistent with the openness expected of an academic publication.

As long as the *neibu* system persists, research problems on contemporary China will be difficult to resolve. As a referee for a journal, how do I evaluate a manuscript which is based on diligent use of available sources but omits potentially crucial *neibu* sources? How can we be reasonably confident about the conclusions we present in classrooms and our publications about China's reform of socialism and its international relations if we are not reading many of the up-to-date analyses that are available to many Chinese and perhaps to other foreign scholars? Chinese colleagues sometimes try to reassure us that there is no contradiction between the views expressed in internal publications and those openly available, and, on the whole, I think they are right. What should not be ignored, however, is that good scholarship often requires an appreciation for the range of viewpoints and for the depth of analysis that is most often found in the *neibu* literature. If direct contradictions between the two types of source are rare, this does not prevent the added vulnerability to misunderstanding by those with access only to the open writings.

The *neibu* system in the 1980s makes it impossible for libraries outside of China to collect systematically on many aspects of contemporary policies. Odd volumes of certain *neibu* journals may appear on a library shelf, but that is no way to develop a good collection. Perhaps a clearing house should be set up to indicate where *neibu* writings can be located outside of China. This step would help; yet the only true solution to the confusion produced by the existing restrictions is for China to abolish them. If Chinese officials want world understanding for their policies at home and abroad, then they should replace an extraordinary system of restrictions on information with open access to scholarship.

Reflections on the First Complete Printing of the *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu*

FREDERICK MOTE

On New Year's Day in 1772 the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, then in the thirty-seventh year of his sixty-year reign, looked about his realm in his usual mood of self-congratulation and announced a new project to enlarge his imperial library. An edict issued on that day ordered officials of the empire to seek out and submit to the throne all kinds of rare and valuable books. The edict reviewed his own reign's achievements in promoting classical and historical scholarship. It also invoked dynastic precedent by noting the impressive achievement of his grandfather's reign, especially the compilation of the 10,000-*chüan* encyclopedia, *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (sometimes translated as "Grand Encyclopedia of Ancient and Modern Knowledge").[1] The glorious sixty-year reign of the K'ang-hsi Emperor seemed always uppermost in the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's mind. One may assume that with this new project he was attempting to exceed his grandfather in the sponsorship of learning. But like the two great Manchu emperors who had preceded him, his grandfather, who reigned from 1662 until 1722, and his father, the Yung-cheng Emperor, who reigned from 1723-35, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor had complex motives in all he did. "Sponsorship of learning" was part of the stance of the ideal Chinese ruler. For this fully-sinicized Manchu it was also a sure means of self-glorification. If overblown imperial pretensions and vanity were the only complications surrounding the enterprise that ensued from the emperor's edict in 1772, we could easily forgive him those excesses. In fact, however, darker elements entered the compilation of the vast *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, sometimes translated as "The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries."[2]

The emperor did not at first announce any grand plan for those rare and valuable books which he had ordered his officials throughout the realm to collect. Some scholar-officials responded to his edict with proposals for specific scholarly tasks. Subsequently, the emperor seemed stimulated to formulate a more concrete project.

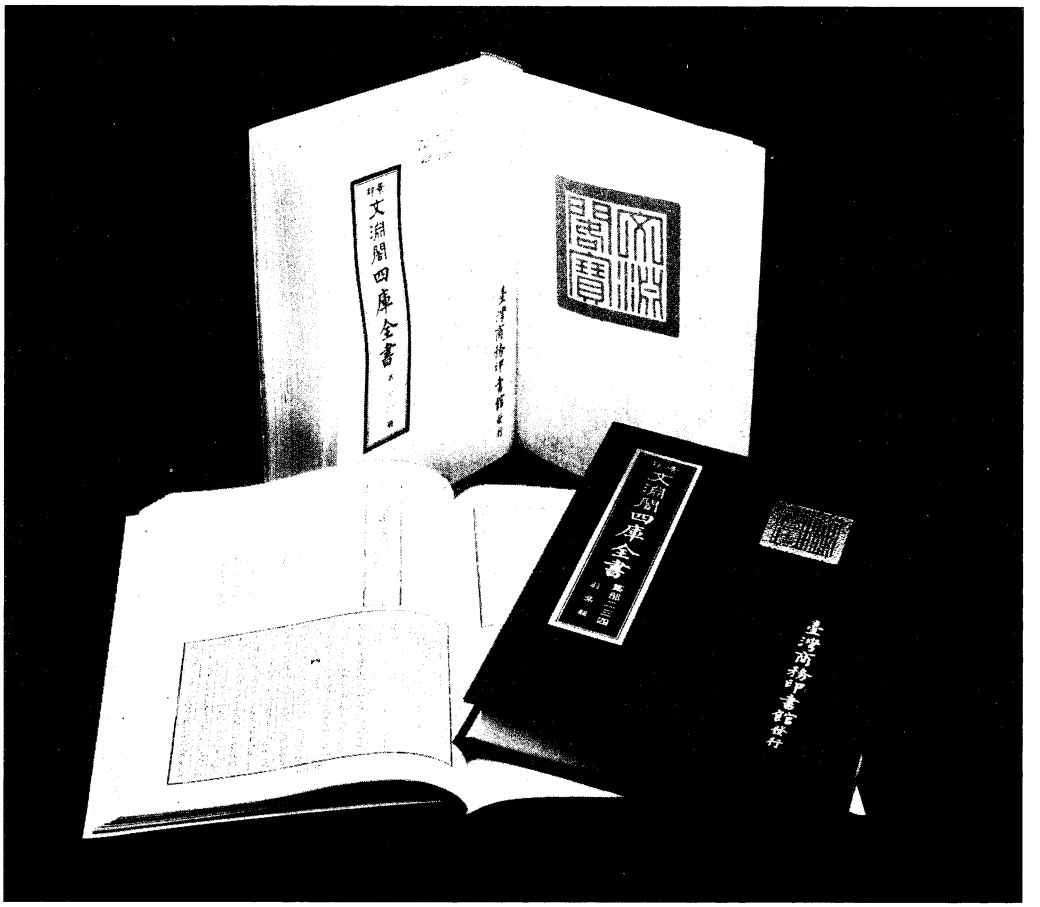
Rare books would be assiduously collected. Private collectors would be induced or intimidated into loaning their choicest items for copying. Some new works would be specially compiled. Fragments of lost ancient works would be reassembled from passages quoted in later writings, in particular by drawing from the imperial library's sole, but incomplete, set of the early fifteenth-century encyclopedic compendium, the *Yung-lo Ta-tien*. Salvaging those otherwise lost works from a great manuscript in danger of disappearing was one of the most stirring proposals by the scholars of the time, and one that may have moved the emperor to think about his still inchoate urge to achieve a grand effect.[3] All the books collected and assembled at the Han-lin Academy within the Palace City in Peking would be collated and emended, using the resources of the various imperial libraries. Altogether 360 Han-lin scholars and other scholar-officials specially selected for this highly prestigious assignment would produce new critical editings of all the works, and 3,826 expert scholar-calligraphers would transcribe manuscript copies in uniform format. The project soon out-grew the facilities of the Han-lin Academy, and a special bureau was established to house and manage the work. Moreover, a large library building, called the Wen-yuan Ko, was built within the palace precincts to hold the final product.

Thousands of works were reviewed by the scholars. One of their important assignments was to prepare critical abstracts giving information on the author, the work, and the transmission of each text. Such abstracts ultimately numbered 10,230. From among those works, 3,470 were selected for inclusion in the *Complete Library (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu)*. The others were recorded by name only in the *General Table of Contents with Critical Abstracts*, or *Tsung-mu t'i-yao*, itself a hefty publication in 200 chapters (*chüan*). It became the cornerstone of Chinese scholarly bibliography.

The first manuscript of the *Complete Library* was presented to the throne in 1782. The 3,470 complete works comprising it have a combined total of 79,931 chapters, more than 360 million words, filling 36,000 large folio volumes. That is the set originally held at the Wen-yuan Ko within the palace precincts in Peking. Other copies were made for the summer palace, for the

palace in the secondary capital at Mukden, and for the imperial park at Ch'eng-te in Jehol Province; three additional copies were ordered in 1782, eventually placed in libraries at Yangchow, Chen-chiang and Hangchow in the lower Yangtze region, where authorized scholars were given access to them. The copying of those sets was completed by 1787. It was impossible, of course, that manuscript copies of so vast a compilation could be completely identical; scholars agree that the Wen-yuan Ko, or first set, was the most carefully produced. The Summer Palace set was destroyed when Lord Elgin burned the Summer Palace in 1861, in the course of the second opium war, to teach the Chinese that a superior civilization could enforce its demands on the Chinese government. The three sets in the Yangtze region were destroyed, two completely and one in major part, during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion of the mid-nineteenth century. The Wen-yuan Ko set became part of the National Palace Museum after the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1912. Along with other Palace Museum holdings it was transported back and forth during the years 1937-46, to keep China's treasures out of the hands of the invading Japanese. In 1949 those items were transported to Taiwan, and are now housed in the government museum and library buildings in the Taipei suburbs.

In some ways we are richer today than the Ch'ien-lung Emperor ever was in the late eighteenth century because large-scale duplication by printing did not become practical until our time. Plans to reproduce it got under way in the 1930s, encouraged by the Ministry of Education. Between 1935 and 1980 eleven series of more than one hundred titles each, called the *Ssu-k'u chen-pen* ("choice works") *Series*, were printed in facsimile by the Commercial Press of Shanghai, later Taipei. Finally in 1984, with the assistance of the National Palace Museum a new plan was developed to produce a uniform printing in photo-facsimile of the entire *Complete Library* using the Museum's Wen-yuan Ko set. This was offered for sale by subscriptions for complete sets of fifteen hundred large volumes, in a reduced format allowing four pages of the original on one page. The cost is about twenty dollars per volume, not an inconsiderable sum, but manageable by major research libraries.[4] The last volumes of the Gest Library's set have recently been catalogued and placed on the shelves. (See Illustration 1.) Occupying over 217 running feet of shelves and filling more than a full bay of the stacks, they indeed make a startling visual impression despite their prosaic plastic bindings. Visually they are less impressive than the K'ang-hsi Emperor's great



1. Three of the 1,500 volumes comprising the first complete printing of the Wen-yuan Ko set of the Ch'ien-lung period *Complete Library*, a manuscript collectanea produced between 1772 and 1782. The Gest Library accession stamp on the volume at the top is dated March 4, 1986.

encyclopedia of 1728, in its imperial yellow silk wrappers, filling 207 running feet of shelves in the Gest Library's Rare Book Room. In some ways, I believe, the grandfather won this contest with his grandiose grandson and his surrogates, the modern mass-production printers. This goes beyond all questions of format and beauty—for the original Wen-yuan Ko set from which the modern printing is made is truly a beautiful object, with its elegantly hand-written pages.

Naturally, the pre-publication subscription announcement for the mass-produced *Complete Library* in 1984 produced heated debate at a number of

centers for East Asian studies in Europe and North America, including the Gest Library. Many scholars doubted the justification for duplicating the entire collectanea. There were problems of cost and housing; but the ultimate proposal by some, that all libraries boycott the subscription offer in order to force its cancellation, was based on something deeper. All scholars know that virtually none of the *Complete Library* editions of 3,470 separate works is ever the "edition of choice" whenever another published version exists. Moreover, most do indeed exist in other editions, many of which are readily available in major libraries. Finally, many of the rarest and most useful items have already appeared in facsimile reproduction from the Wen-yuan Ko set, in the eleven installments of the *Ssu-k'u chen-pen Series*. The relatively small number of such items still not published could more usefully come out in a continuation of that series, it was argued. Was it, we asked, truly worth the acquisition price plus the costs of processing and shelving these fifteen hundred large volumes? East Asian faculty opinion at Princeton, including my own, was generally negative. However, now that the entire set is here and on the shelves, I am grateful to our librarians who made the decision to acquire it. Somewhat ironically, my change of view developed when I began to utilize several rare books in Gest Library which once were the property of the Ssu-k'u Kuan, the bureau for the compilation of the *Complete Library*. They bear evidence which, when checked against the versions in the *Complete Library*, reveal more than I had ever known about the non-scholarly aspects of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's project.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century a growing scholarship has focused on the damage done to the literary and scholarly heritage of China by the so-called "literary inquisition" of the Ch'ien-lung reign. It has detailed the numbers of books destroyed in full or in part, printing blocks ordered burned, authors and owners of books intimidated or executed for sedition. The peak of the "inquisition" coincided with the years during which the Ssu-k'u Bureau was in existence, and the link between the search for old and rare editions on the one hand, and the ferreting out of sedition on the other is all too clear. The various *Chin-hui shu-mu*, or "lists of books ordered destroyed and prohibited" include a total in excess of 2,400 to be "totally suppressed," with another 400 ordered partly suppressed.[5] Nonetheless, one cannot conclude that the Ch'ien-lung Emperor had absolutely no interest in China's literary heritage, or that his Complete Library project was designed merely as a cover for his effort to police the mind of China. It would

be more accurate to say that a genuinely good idea, innocently developed by his Chinese scholar-officials once he had proposed it, came to be seen by him as the perfect vehicle for simultaneously accomplishing sinister as well as altruistic objectives. Other forms of political management under the Manchus, like the secret memorial system,[6] developed in much the same way. Nor had censorship to suppress dissidence been initiated by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor; that had occurred sporadically throughout the reigns of his three Manchu predecessors as well. What marks the literary inquisition in the middle and later years of his reign is the unpredictable vindictiveness of this mean-spirited, pompous ruler. He grandiosely over-did all things, and it is most difficult to separate his fatuous posturings and his unending quest for ego gratification from his cultural sensibilities and his political acumen. He possessed all those qualities in good measure.

Many historians, deploring the literary inquisition, have said that the *Complete Library* is flawed, that it cannot be trusted. Until recently such opinion has been based primarily on the scholars' sense of the links between the project to compile it and the evidence for suppression and censorship. Some have cited the text of instructions in which the emperor ordered his Ssu-k'u Bureau compilers to edit out such anti-Manchu sentiment as found, for example, in the defamatory language of Chinese statesmen discussing the late Ming defenses against Manchu incursion. It has been generally assumed that the primary concern of the inquisition was to protect the image of the Manchus, so that they would not appear to have been crude barbarians, ruthless conquerors, and rulers unworthy of the Mandate of Heaven. Thus the *Complete Library* could be expected to have serious weaknesses, both in the exclusion of entire works and in the editing and coverage of the writings of Ming loyalists. That opinion, although undoubtedly accurate, nonetheless has been based on the overall assessment of the era, not on close scrutiny of the works. There are two ways to test that opinion by closely scrutinizing the works themselves: by comparing editions that pre-date the compilation of the *Complete Library* with the version of the same work included there; and by examining the copies of works actually used by the Ssu-k'u Bureau editors as their working copies, on which they made their editorial changes before turning them over to the calligraphers for transcribing. It is not surprising that the second method has not been widely used, because it seems probable that not many marked-up working copies have survived. Some may have been intentionally destroyed; others may

have been returned to government libraries, from which they subsequently were lost. I know of no survey of library holdings in China or elsewhere to identify all existing books which bear the seals of the collections from which the Ssu-k'u compilers drew their working copies and which bear their editorial marks. It would be a highly desirable project for rare books librarians everywhere to identify all such books and to make a registry of them so that a more comprehensive study could be carried out. The Gest Collection has at least five such items, all identified by the late Professor Ch'ü Wan-li in his critical notes on the Gest rare books.[7] I shall refer to those below.

It is even more surprising that little use has been made of the former method, that of collating one or more earlier editions of a work, identified in the "Critical Notes" (*t'i-yao*) as the edition the editors used, with the text as it appears in the *Complete Library*. In some cases earlier copies of those works are extremely rare, and in a few may no longer be extant. But for most of the works included in the *Complete Library* there is no problem in assembling one or more copies of the earlier editions and making detailed comparisons with the *Complete Library* manuscript version. I suspect that has not been done because of the assumption that whatever editing which had been done was technical in nature, the exceptions being primarily politically censored works concerning Ming-Manchu relations. A recent pioneering study has shown, quite unexpectedly, that in addition to critical emendation for the improvement of the texts, political editing for censorship was carried out where we might not expect it. The study that has made this discovery, one of greatest importance for all users of the *Complete Library*, is Huang K'uan-ch'ung's detailed collation and critical analysis of Ch'eng Pi's poetry collection entitled *Ming-shui Chi*.[8] Ch'eng Pi was a thirteenth-century statesman and poet who observed the actions of the late Southern Sung court at a time when its enemy, the Jurchen enemy state which had conquered north China a century earlier, was now being conquered by the Mongol invaders. Thirteenth-century Sung statecraft turned importantly on policies of defense against these two alien invaders. The Manchus of Ch'ien-lung times looked upon the Jurchens as their tribal ancestors, and upon the Mongols as partners in their own domination over China. Their sensitivity to unflattering Chinese comments on themselves was extended, under the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, to protecting the image of Jurchens and Mongols of five hundred years earlier from deprecations of Chinese long dead. Huang's study shows that entire items from a literary

collection could be omitted, that a large number of standard vocabulary items could be arbitrarily replaced with different words, and that phrases and sentences could be significantly re-written, sometimes purposely and sometimes merely carelessly, in either case giving an unintended and erroneous meaning. He also notes that obvious errors in the earlier editions of *Ming-shui Chi*, usually explainable as scribal errors committed during preparations for printing, have been appropriately emended. But, in some cases such errors have not been noted and emended, and in others they have been incorrectly emended. Most interesting perhaps is his discovery that the censorship of Ch'eng Pi's poems varies considerably from the censorship inflicted on some of those same poems when they were included in an anthology of Sung poets, which was itself copied into the *Complete Library*. Were no uniform editorial procedures established? It is all the more disturbing to think that loose guidelines were applied quite differently by different staff editors. In order to come to terms with the *Complete Library* we must achieve a much clearer understanding of just how the editorial tasks were carried out. Dr. Huang has made an important first step toward achieving that understanding.[9]

By examining other books that were once in possession of the Ssu-k'u Bureau we should be able to extend Dr. Huang's findings. When we turn to the Ssu-k'u Bureau working copies held in the Gest Library we encounter a number of interesting problems; we can both corroborate and supplement Dr. Huang K'uan-ch'ung's pioneering study.

Of five such items in the Gest Collection, two reveal very little information on how the Ssu-k'u project was managed, for neither bears significant traces of editing. Nonetheless they are quite interesting in their own right. Both are part of the large and important collection on traditional Chinese medicine, a major component of the Gest Collection. Both bear the large square seal in Manchu and Chinese of the Han-lin Academy. Both are listed, accompanied by abstracts, in the *General Table of Contents with Critical Abstracts*. One, a sixteenth-century work on pediatrics, is in the "recorded by title" (*ts'un-mu*) category of works not chosen for inclusion; the other, a very early Ming work on acupuncture, was chosen.[10] The work on pediatrics merits a note; the critical abstract states that this copy came from the famous T'ien-i Ko library in Ning-po belonging to the Fan family, founded in the sixteenth century. That was one of four private libraries especially rewarded by the Ch'ien-lung emperor for having contributed more than five hundred

rare items to the *Complete Library* project; the T'ien-i Ko contributed 638 items, of which 97 were copied into the *Complete Library*. The building housing the T'ien-i Ko library was famous for its design, and the collection was known for its strict rules governing use and care of the books. The emperor sent people to study the building so that it could be used as a model for the Wen-yuan Ko, specially constructed in the palace precincts to house the Ssu-k'u project's first completed set, as well as buildings subsequently constructed elsewhere to house the other sets. The T'ien-i Ko building, a masonry structure more or less resistant to fire, still stands; it has housed the remnants of its once magnificent collection down to the present day. Bibliophiles find it worth a visit to Ning-po.

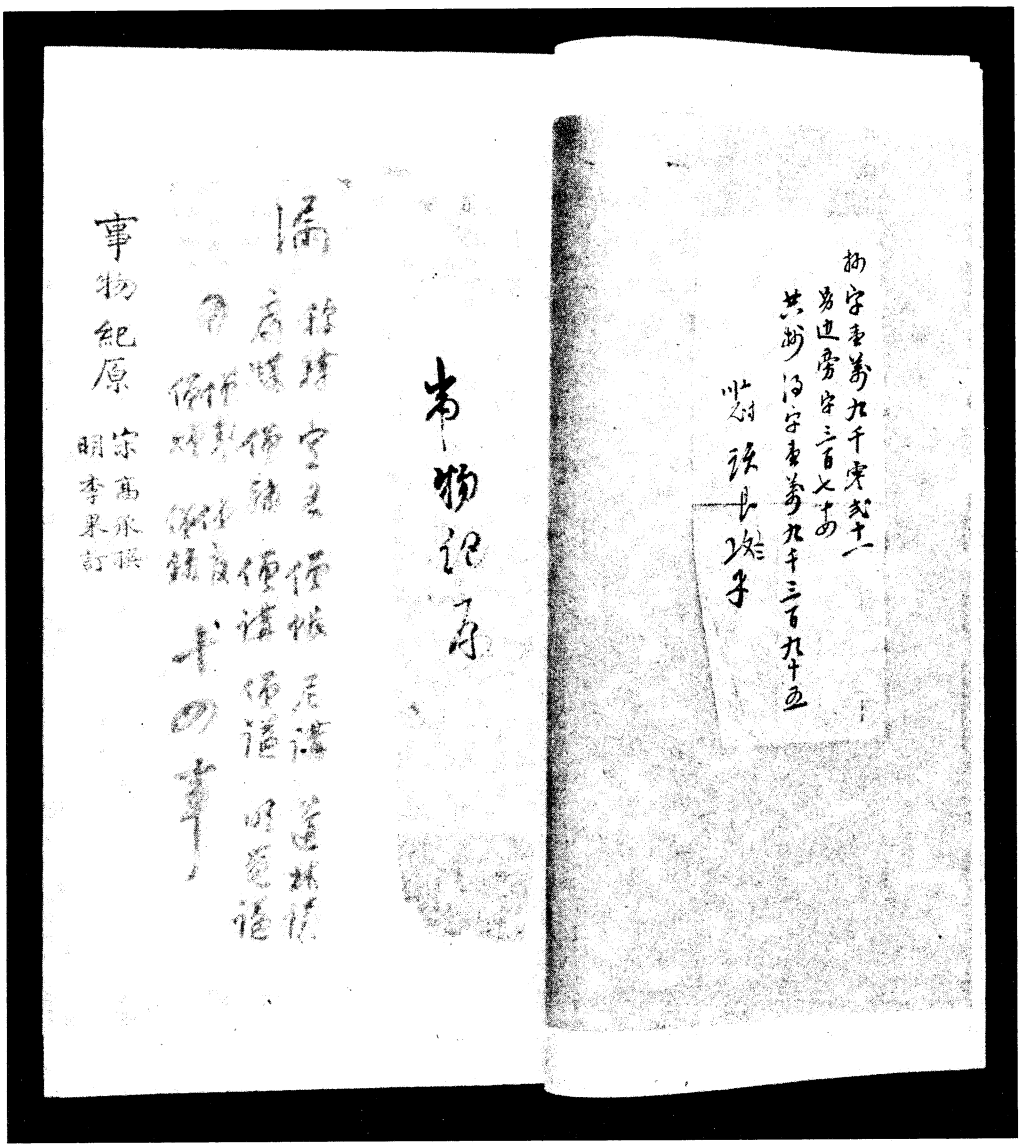
The third item is more important for the study of the *Complete Library* project. It is a Ming edition of a Sung dynasty work, called *Shih-wu Chi-yuan (Chi-lei)*, or *Accounts of the Origins of All Manner of Things*, by Kao Ch'eng.[11] This work had been reprinted a number of times. Why the *Complete Library* editors chose this edition of 1472, and this copy of this edition to serve as their master copy in preparing the work for inclusion, is not clear to me. It is clear that they did not have access to a copy of the original Sung edition, although at least one copy of that was still extant in the year 1900. For whatever reasons, the *Complete Library* editors expended great effort to restore this copy to completeness and legibility. It is poorly printed from well-worn blocks, and four pages are missing. Much over-writing by brush in red ink was necessary to restore the text so that it could be read, edited, and then copied into the *Complete Library*. For much of that labor it would have been necessary to refer to another copy. The critical abstracts however tell us that another copy, presumably that referred to as "the other copy" of the same edition, contributed from the family library of one of the Bureau's scholar-editors, ultimately superseded this copy on which so much labor had been spent. It became the second "working copy," and the one needed for copying the text into the *Complete Library*.

Perhaps this subsequently superseded copy merited extensive restoration because it was among 626 items loaned to the *Complete Library* project by Pao T'ing-po (1728–1814), owner of the famous Chih-pu-tsu Chai library in Hangchow. This too was one of the four libraries specially honored and rewarded by the Ch'ien-lung emperor for having offered more than five hundred items to the project.

The Gest copy is of special interest for a number of reasons. First, it bears

on the cover of the first volume the red-ink impression of a large wooden seal specially cut to mark books borrowed from Mr. Pao's library; this reads: "In the eleventh month of the thirty-eighth year (1773) of the Ch'ien-lung reign there is received from San-pao, the Governor of Chekiang, one copy of _____ in _____ volumes from the family collection of Pao Shih-kung." The name of the book and the number of volumes have been filled in by brush in red ink.[12] Second, this copy has interesting notes inside the cover of the first volume, written by staff members of the *Complete Library* project and by Yang Shou-ching (1839-1915).[13] (See Illustration 2.) On the right-hand page there, a note (probably from Yang Shou-ching's studio) tells how much was paid to copyists for copying a total of 19,395 missing characters. On the left-hand page, first item to the right is the "*fei-ch'ien*" or "loose slip" of paper used for identifying books in the process of editing at the *Complete Library* (Ssu-k'u) Bureau. This is now pasted to the page, but the top and bottom are misplaced. They once were joined at the torn edges and together formed the top of the slip. The seal impression reads: "Perused by the Office of General Management; proposed for inclusion." At the center of the slip, the title of the book has been handwritten (according to one expert opinion, by the Chief Compiler, Chi Yün, himself). The seal impression underneath reads, "Respectfully examined by servitor [Chi] Yün and servitor [Lu] Hsi-hsiung." (See the discussion of this slip, or "*fei-ch'ien*" in the article by Hung-lam Chu which follows.) The middle section of the left-hand page shows a pasted-on strip of paper with an editor's handwriting in red ink listing the titles of fourteen short essays known to be missing from this copy; they were restored from another copy of the same edition. The last item at the far left includes another handwritten title, the name of the author, and the name of the Ming period editor. They were written directly onto the page by a previous owner, perhaps by Pao T'ing-po.

The absence of fourteen items explains the fact that four pages are missing. Since the items have been restored in the *Complete Library*, it is clear that they were transcribed there from another copy. In the Gest copy, those four pages also exist in hand-written copies bound into the volumes, but by a copyist working for Yang Shou-ching a century later. Yang also has added, in the hand of a different copyist, four more items that apparently were originally missing from this edition and from all other Ming and subsequent editions of the work, which he had located in a Sung edition to which he



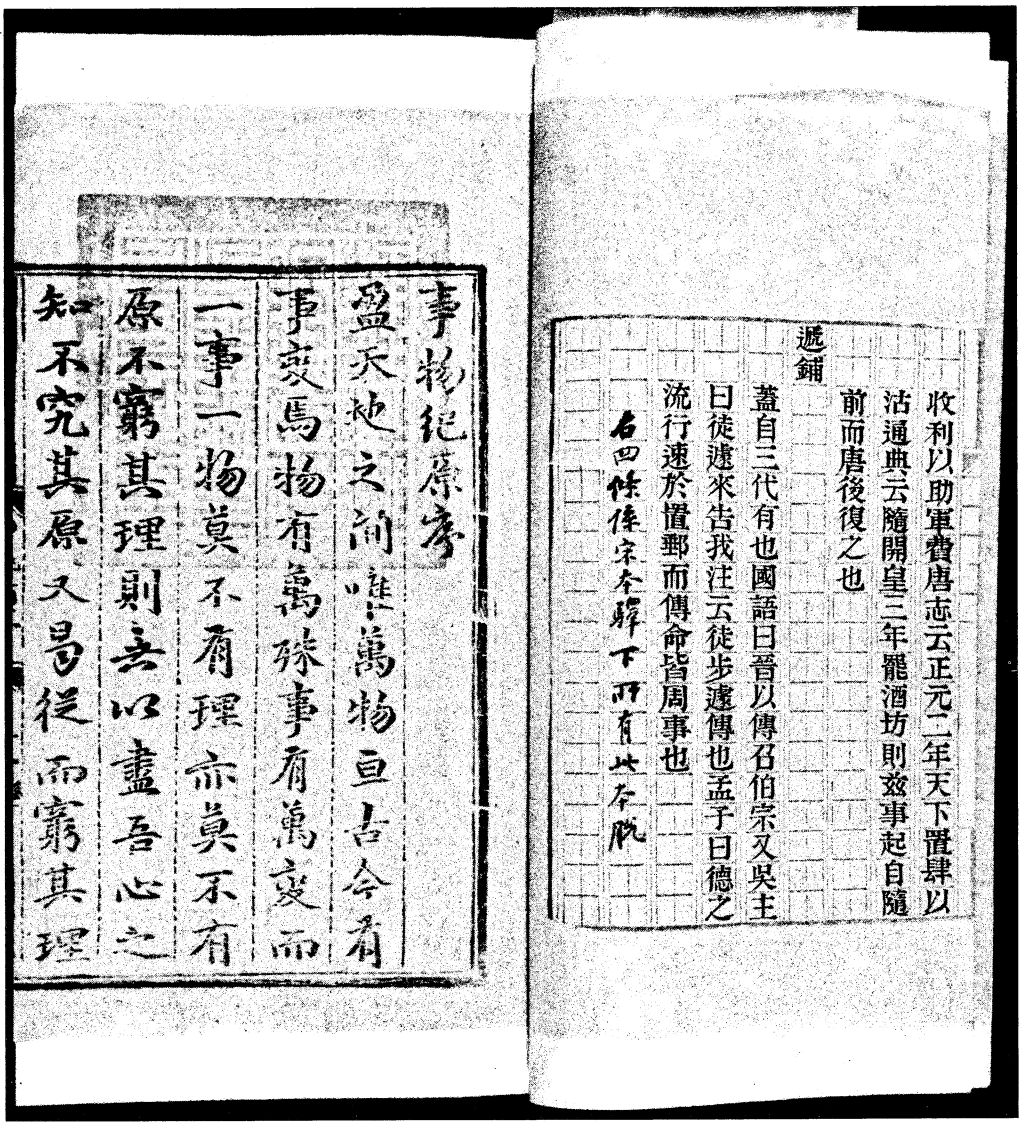
2. *Sih-wu chi-yüan (chi-lei)*, by Kao Ch'eng; edition of 1472. This copy was loaned by Pao T'ing-po (1728-1814) to the *Complete Library* Bureau. Sometime around 1900, missing pages were supplied from a Sung edition by the late Ch'ing bibliophile, Yang Shou-ching.

had access in 1900. This page of hand-copied text is pasted into the front of the book. (See Illustration 3.) After these added texts is a note written in a slightly cursive hand. It says, "The four preceding items, missing from this edition, are found in the Sung edition under the heading 'postal relays.' " Thus the Princeton copy is now more complete than when it was first printed in 1472,[14] and more complete than the *Complete Library* text. Moreover, because Yang Shou-ching was one of the most important bibliophiles of recent times, the presence in this book of his hand adds greatly to its interest and value.

As for the *Complete Library* editors' work on this book, it mostly is of the praiseworthy kind. That is, beyond their painstaking labors to restore a defective copy, the editors have subjected this book to very little of the routinely imposed changes in the text that afflicted so many of the *Complete Library* books.

The fourth item to be mentioned here is an anthology of model literary works compiled by the late Sung literatus, Lou Fang (*chin-shih* 1193), called *Ch'ung-ku Wen-chüeh*.[15] It is one of two different Ming editions of this influential anthology held by the Gest Library, both apparently published in the mid-sixteenth century. A third copy, identical with the edition under discussion here, was recently acquired as part of the Colby Collection.[16] Although the original Gest copy, like the newly-acquired one, lacks front matter that might have provided its publication date, the Ssu-k'u Bureau editors judged it to be from the Chia-ching reign period (1521-66), and that opinion has been accepted. Among other seal impressions, it bears one to be found at a number of points throughout the book which says, "*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chi-pu*," in other words, identifying it as having belonged to the section of the Ssu-k'u Bureau that was responsible for preparing the "*chi*" or "literary collections" division of the *Complete Library*. (See Illustration 4.) None of the books now at Princeton which had once been in the care of the Bureau's other three divisions, bears similar seals showing their divisional location. The management of the four divisions of the *Library* seems to have operated with differences in each case.

The Gest Library's copy of Lou Fang's anthology reveals extensive editing of several kinds, good and bad. First one must note that the Ssu-k'u Bureau editors in this and other instances observed a norm that is not always made explicit, and which led to questionable practices. They sought to

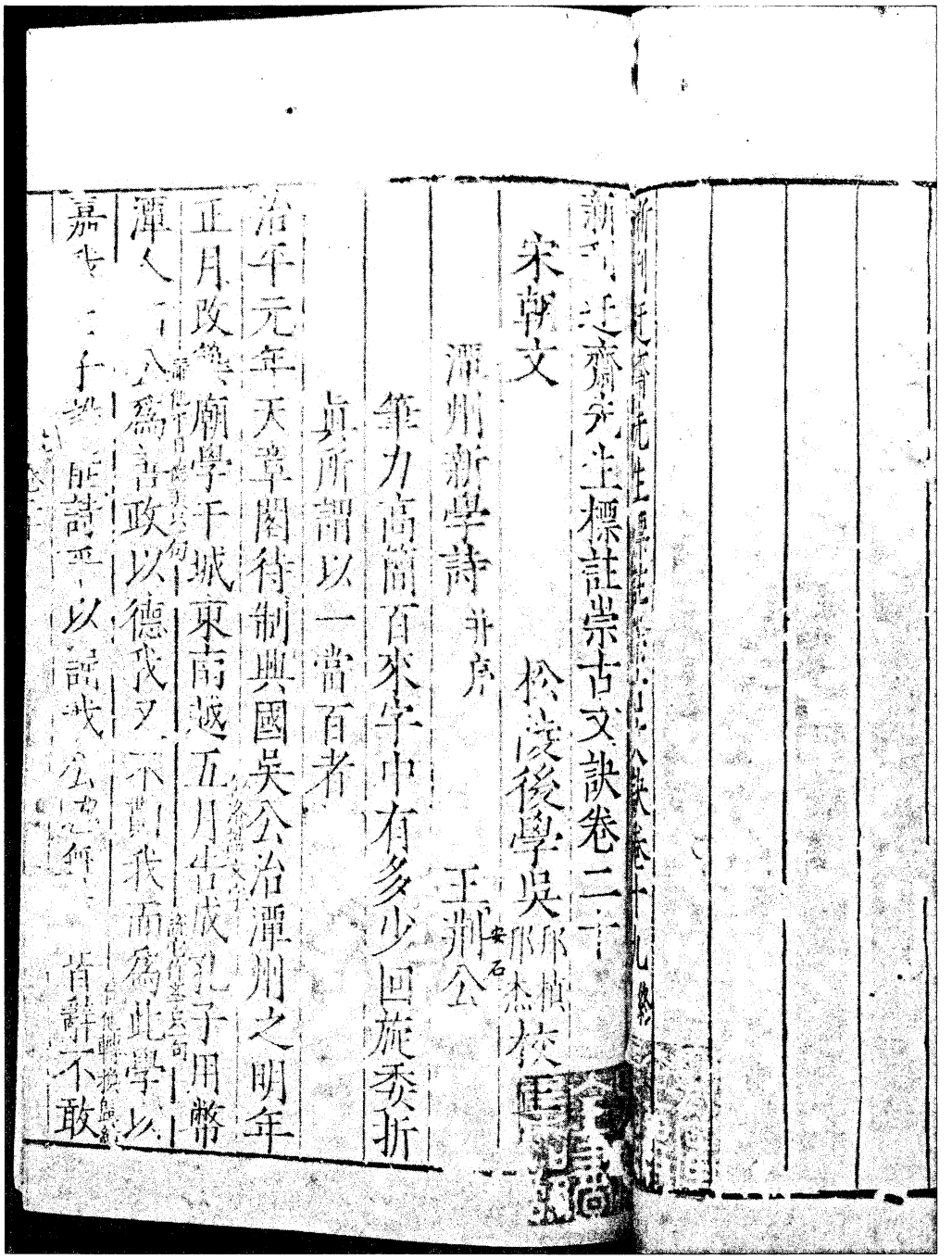


3. *Shih-wu chi-yüan (chi-lei)*. The last page of the frontmatter added by Yang Shou-ching about 1900, on the right. Visible here are part of the third item and all of the fourth, the latter entitled "courier stations." The page on the left is the first page of the Preface to the Ming edition. The large square seal impression is that of the Ch'ing dynasty Han-lin Academy, in Chinese (right) and Manchu (left).

make some of their new editions conform to their sense of what an earlier edition might have been like without having the prototype at hand to copy.

This mid-sixteenth-century Ming edition of Lou Fang's *Ch'ung-ku Wen-chüeh* has extensive commentary added by the Wu brothers;[17] their names and all evidence of their editing have been removed without any indication, and without the editors' having had access to the Sung original. Thus the later editors produced an unfounded simulation of an earlier edition and, most serious, they entered no record of the changes made in it. The reader of the *Complete Library*, whether emperor, Ch'ing official, or modern scholar using the new photo-facsimile printing, has no way of knowing what has been altered or omitted. That is entirely contrary to the best principles of traditional editing, long established and widely, if not universally, used in Chinese scholarship. The Wu brothers' interlinear commentary may have been judged to have no importance, but whatever their reasons for omitting it, along with their names and other obvious evidence of their editing, the Ssu-k'u editors are to be faulted for adopting the Wu brothers' edition as the *Complete Library*'s working copy and failing to tell the reader how the new edition was produced.

Second, the detailed table of contents has been omitted, as in almost all Ssu-k'u volumes. Third, words having possibly defamatory implications for sensitive Manchu alien rulers have been arbitrarily altered. In this book we see some such words rubbed off the paper and new characters inserted in those blank spaces; in other cases the offending characters are marked over by brush and new characters are written in at the side. In still other cases the changes have been written in the top margin. Moreover, in many places phrases, sentences, or longer passages have been marked for deletion. (See Illustration 5.) Close comparison of this copy with the *Complete Library* manuscript version of the same anthology shows still further word changes, not appearing here, as having been made in the transcribed version. Were the scholar-calligraphers under instructions to add further editorial changes? We cannot say. But it is clear that the censorship was done in more than one phase, for in this working copy some of the editing was done in one hand in red, some in another hand in black, and some, as we have noted, appears in the final version without showing in the working copy at all. These changes, particularly numerous in this anthology's writings from Sung period authors, seriously alter the original meaning. Ironically, the



新刊迂齋先生標註崇古文訣卷二十

宋朝文

松陵後學吳邦楨 邦杰 校正

潭州新學詩 并序

王荊公 安石

筆力高簡百來字中有多少回旋委折

眞所謂以一當百者

治平元年天章閣待制興國吳公治潭州之明年

正月改築廟學于城東南越五月告成孔子用幣

潭人而公爲善政以德我又不勤我而爲此學以

嘉我士子能詩平以詩我公恐無[illegible]皆辭不敢

critical abstract prepared for this work by the same editors praises it as one of the two or three best anthologies of model writings compiled in Sung times because of its closeness to the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy of Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and hence the purity of its thought.

It is all too clear that the four kinds of changes described in the foregoing paragraphs all were made for purposes of outrageously cynical, political censorship, not for scholarly reasons. All are made without inserting a note informing the reader that an alteration has been made. In short, the Ssu-k'u editors were required to conspire to keep the readers ignorant. Politically it of course would do no good to edit for such purposes were the editor to insert a note saying: "the words 'dog barbarians were trounced and sent fleeing by our nation's valiant defenders' are here changed to 'the enemy was routed by the imperial forces,' " or even to admit that the offending line had simply been excised.

Finally, because of the dilemma implicit in that kind of editing, neither could the editors indicate the points at which they made their quite justifiable, scholarly emendations. Yet such "good" changes lose an important dimension of their value and utility by being concealed from view, under the workings of a blanket policy requiring obfuscation. Modern scholars obviously will not wish to be subjected to such obfuscation, and will always try to use another edition.

The next Gest Library item to be discussed here corroborates and extends some of the foregoing observations. It is again a Sung dynasty work, by Chu Chang-wen (1039-98), in an edition of Ming times dated 1580. It is

4. *Ch'ung-ku wen-chüeh* by Lou Fang; Ming, Chia-ching period edition. On the right we see the end of the last page of *chüan* 19, and at the left the first page of *chüan* 20. The "*chi-pu*" seal impression is at the bottom of each page. The second line of *chüan* 20 shows the names of Wu Pang-chen and Wu Pang-chieh of the Ming period, but their names and their editorial additions were removed from the *Complete Library* manuscript version. The small characters inserted into the column lines of the last three columns are examples of their interlinear commentary on the text; all of those were expunged. The small brush-written characters at the bottom of the third column show "good" editing by the *Complete Library* editors; here, the courtesy name of the author of this anthology item has been changed to his formal name, in keeping with the standards of scholarly editing. Likewise, the second of the three characters at the top of the second column has been marked for deletion, and a missing stroke in the first character of the third column has been added.

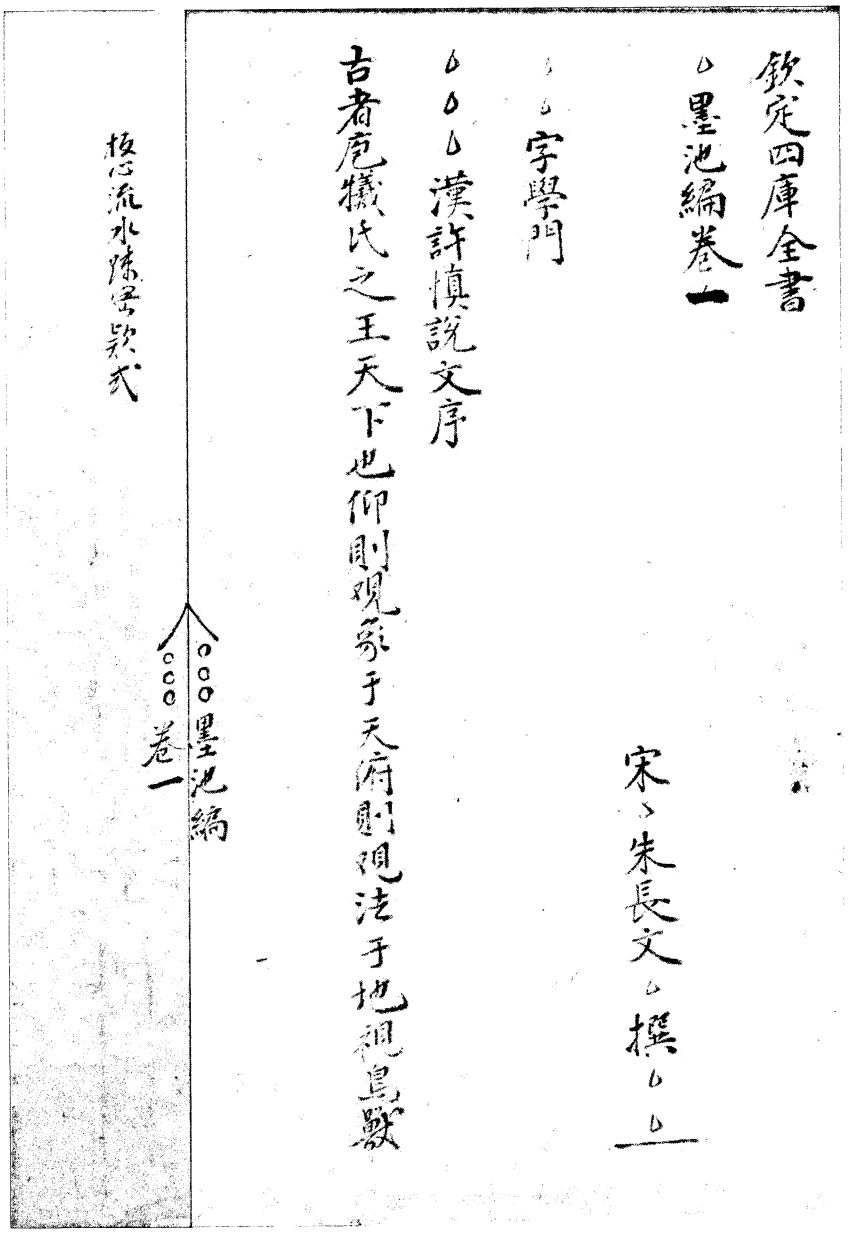
靦虜南面稱王自以爲子孫帝王萬世不拔之業一旦豺狼改慮梓而縛之父子爲虜商鞅不遠而倫又欲陛下效之夫天下者祖宗之天下也陛下所居之位祖宗之位也柰何以祖宗之天下爲大戎之天下以祖宗之位爲大戎藩臣之位陛下一屈膝則祖宗廟社之靈盡汗夷狄祖宗數百年之亦子盡爲左衽朝廷宰執盡爲陪臣天下士大夫皆當衆寇毀冕變爲胡服異時豺狼無厭之求安知不加我以無禮如劉豫者哉夫三尺童子至無也堂堂天朝相率而拜犬豕曾童孺之所羞而陛下忍爲之邪倫之議乃曰我一屈膝則梓宮可還太后可復淵聖可歸中原可得嗚呼自變故以來主和議者誰不以此說啗陛下哉而卒無一驗是彼之情僞已可知矣陛下尚不覺悟竭民膏血而不恤忘國大讐而不報含垢恐恥舉天下而臣之甘心焉就令虜決可和盡如倫議天下後世謂陛下何如主況靦虜變詐百出而倫又以姦邪濟之

called *Mo-ch'ih pien (ts'un)*,[18] a work on epigraphy and antiquities. (See Illustration 6.) It consists mostly of the texts of stele inscriptions from all periods, bronze vessel inscriptions, and the like.

In this copy the Ssu-k'u editors have indicated how the format of the page should be altered to conform to that of all the books transcribed into the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, an entirely expectable and reasonable change. Yet it is interesting to be able to see the manner in which that was indicated for the benefit of the calligraphers, in this case by diagramming the instructions on the first page inside the cover of volume one. The editing throughout this book is almost entirely indicated by writing notes on slips of paper pasted to the top margin nearest the column of characters to which the correction applies.

This copy now has only five chapters, whereas its table of contents shows that it originally had six. The sixth chapter apparently was made up entirely

5. *Ch'ung-ku wen-chüeh* (same edition as in previous illustration). Here we see pages 1b and 2a from *chüan* 35. These pages show heavy political censorship which appears to have been done in at least two, possibly three, phases. 1) Some offending characters have been overwritten in red ink, supplying standard substitutions for such words as "stinking caitiffs," here overwritten to read "enemy people." Examples are found in the first two characters in column one on the right, and the sixth and seventh characters in the last column of the second page, on the left. 2) In other cases a small replacement character has been written in black to the right of the offending character. An example of this is the sixth word from the bottom in the second column of the right-hand page. Here, the same word "caitiff" used as a verb meaning "to capture" has been replaced by a more neutral-sounding verb meaning "to take prisoner." Four other such changes are seen in columns four, five, and six. 3) That same editor, using black ink, reconsidered the passage, starting in column four, or a later editor decided that the small character substitutions were inadequate. He added a black stroke mark at the right of each character from the middle of column four to the eighth character from the bottom in the last column of the right-hand page, indicating that these lines were to be entirely deleted. In the *Complete Library*'s final manuscript version, no record of any of these substitutions and deletions is provided.


欽定四庫全書
墨池編卷一
宋朱長文撰
字學門
漢許慎說文序
古者庖犧氏之王天下也仰則觀象于天俯則觀法于地視鳥獸
墨池編
卷一
按心流水陳密款式

6. *Mo-ch'ih pien (ts'un)* by Chu Chang-wen, edition of 1580. This page added to the front of the first volume by an editor working in the *Complete Library* Bureau gives instructions to the calligraphers for copying the work. It shows the spacing to be used at the beginning of the first chapter, in headings and for entering the author's name, number of spaces to be indented, characters to be placed in the "fish-tail" on the center fold, as well as the author and title and first line of the first item included in this anthology of writings on epigraphy and the history of the Chinese script.

of items of post-eleventh-century provenance which were added to the eleventh-century work by the Ming editor. Here again the Ssu-k'u editors have excised what they took to be all of the later accretions, in the effort to restore the original Sung dynasty form of the book. The critical abstract prepared to accompany this item in the *Complete Library* declares that this was the intent, and the deletion may in fact be for that purpose only, and it may have been done correctly. Unfortunately, we must be suspicious of the Ssu-k'u editors, and this Gest Library copy of the book, their working copy, does not allow us to see what the sixth chapter contained. That chapter has been removed by someone unknown. In the table of contents the words "originally missing" have been inserted under the sub-headings of "Chapter Six" to conceal the fact that this copy is unnaturally incomplete. Moreover, some highly suspect seal impressions purporting to be those of a most eminent seventeenth-century bibliophile are found in the front pages. This all has nothing to do with the Ssu-k'u Bureau. Such alterations are typical of those made by unscrupulous book dealers to make defective or later copies look like perfect copies or earlier editions. This reminds us that even when examining books about which we must be suspicious, we must not assume that all the skullduggery was perpetrated by one villain. Yet neither does that subsequent tampering with the book exonerate the Ssu-k'u Bureau's editors for having omitted the final chapter. For it is possible that "restoring its Sung dynasty original form" was an easy way out of the problem of being forced otherwise to edit heavily any post-Sung inscriptions that contained defamatory language. Other copies of the Ming edition in six chapters are known to exist, permitting us to make a judgment when access to them can be gained.[19]

Finally, we may turn to another example, a literary collection of the fifteenth century. The rare book in question is not possessed by the Gest Library. When preparing a *Research Manual for Ming History*,[20] in which a research problem discussed the career of Li Shih-mien (1374-1450), an early Ming Chancellor of the National Academy (Kuo-tzu Chien) in Peking, I was unable to find a copy of Li's *Collected Writings*.[21] Such a book had been published after his death by his son and grandson, first in a ten-chapter edition, supplemented in a subsequent edition by two more chapters. When the Commercial Press in Taipei published in 1972 the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen ts'ung-shu*, Series Three, the Ssu-k'u edition of Li's collected works in twelve chapters was included. After reminding the reader that the

Complete Library's editors by their intrusive and inappropriate editing often produced versions that scholars should avoid, I wrote in the *Manual*: "In this case, we must be grateful to them for preserving an edition of Li's *Ku-lien Wen-chi* that would thereby become widely accessible." Otherwise Li's writings would be almost totally unknown.

My gratitude remains more-or-less intact, even though I have since acquired a microfilm copy of the first edition of Li's works in ten chapters from the National Central Library in Taipei, which holds the original. That copy also was once owned by the Ssu-k'u Bureau and was the working copy used by the editors. It is heavily marked up with changes, some written directly on the book, and a probably later round in another hand written on slips pasted to the top margins of the pages. This copy reveals much about the Ssu-k'u Bureau's editorial procedures. One must surmise that before this copy was completely edited and turned over to the calligraphers for transcribing, another copy of the work in the twelve-chapter version came into their hands. The latter became the working copy (*ti-pen*), leading to the twelve-chapter version as copied into the *Complete Library*. I have been unable to locate any twelve-chapter copy in a Ming or later printed edition, nor is the one used by the Ssu-k'u editors known to be still in existence.[22] Thus we have no way of determining whether the changes seen in the microfilm of the ten-chapter version were transferred to the working copy of the twelve-chapter edition, or whether both copies, each partly edited, were used by the calligraphers for transcribing the edited work. But it is clear that the copy we know in microfilm does not contain the final stage of the editing work. Evidence for that is seen in the celebratory ode Li Shih-mien wrote on some ceremonial occasion called "In Praise of the Barbarians' Defeat" ("P'ing Hu Sung," the last item in *chüan* one). The microfilm shows that this innocent and highly conventional ode posed grave problems for the censor-editor. He marked out many words and phrases, rewriting them according to the Ch'ing period formula, but leaving the sanitized ode to be included in the edited version of Li's book. The word "barbarian" in its title was changed to "the north" ("P'ing Pei Sung"). Turning to the corresponding place in the *Complete Library* version, however, we find that the entire item has been omitted, with no comment or explanation. Thus we must assume that the editing for political censorship went through successive stages. The microfilm shows two different hands in the editing. Was

the person who ultimately decided to omit the celebratory ode a third person working at a later time, or one of the two editors already involved who perhaps received new instructions, or changed his mind after re-thinking the matter? Were the editing for scholarly accuracy and the censor's editing done by different divisions of the staff, under different authority? We do not know, but we can see enough in the working copies of edited works to justify asking such questions.

To summarize, the editing of the works transcribed into the *Complete Library* is not consistent, being more thorough in some works than in others, and varying somewhat erratically in the thoroughness with which some general principles were applied. Much of the editing, from a scholarly (whether traditional or modern) point of view, is reprehensible. Yet some of it displays care and erudition, and could be of value. Sadly, by departing from traditional standards, these editors could not preserve the record of their emendations so that later readers might judge the correctness for themselves. Thus even the "good" editing is not made evident, and cannot fully be utilized. Even when we have access to other copies of the edition used by the editors, or other editions to consult, we often must undertake painstaking word-by-word collation in order to become aware of and utilize whatever scholarly improvement went into these texts.

A fuller study of as many working copies (*chu-lu ti-pen*) as can be found may make it possible to reconstruct the working procedures of the Ssu-k'u Bureau, but it is already clear that inconsistency in their work will complicate our tentative generalizations about the kinds of emendations for which we should be alert in using the *Complete Library*. Why then should our libraries acquire the recent photo-facsimile printing of the Wen-yuan Ko set of the entire work?

Some of the answers to that question may be apparent in the foregoing. There is much to be learned from this vast set of books; its information bears not only on bibliography, but also in a larger way on society and government in the eighteenth century. As bibliography, the *General Table of Contents with Critical Abstracts*, although originally designed to accompany the work, has long been regarded as not only the guide to that work, but more importantly as the starting point of all pre-1772 bibliographic problems and as a vast repository of broadly useful information. To use it fully we must be able to refer to the *Complete Library* itself. Despite its faults,

therefore, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's grandiose collectanea is indispensable. Precisely because of its faults it is a collection of intriguing puzzles which have engaged, and should continued to engage, many minds. We must be grateful to the library that enables us to pursue the tasks involved.

NOTES

The glossary of Chinese terms used in this article has been included in that of the following article.

1. The K'ang-hsi emperor's great encyclopedia was printed from bronze movable type, the printing not completed until after his death. Only sixty-six sets, in 5,020 volumes, were printed before the type font was destroyed. The Gest Collection possesses one of those, as do East Asian collections at Harvard, Columbia, and the Library of Congress. See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume V, Part One, *Paper and Printing*, by Tsien Tsuen-hsuin (1985), pp. 215-16.
2. "Four Treasuries," or four categories refers to the traditional four-fold classification of Chinese literature, i.e. *ching* "classics," *shih* "histories," *tzu* "philosophers" (broadly defined to mean specialists in many fields of knowledge), and *chi* "literary collections."
3. *The Yung-lo Ta-tien* was produced in two manuscript copies, and was felt to be too large to be printed. It totaled about fifty million words, was divided into 22,937 chapters, and was bound in 11,095 volumes. By Ch'ien-lung times only one of the two sets remained and it was not complete. Nonetheless 385 complete works were extracted from it for inclusion in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, perhaps to be considered the most notable achievement of the Ssu-k'u project.
4. Some five or six libraries in North America are known to have acquired sets of the first complete printing. Recently it has been reported that individual volumes in the *chi* ("literary collections") division may be sold separately.
5. For a study of the lists of proscribed books see Wu Che-fu, *Ch'ing-tai Chin-hui shu-mu yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1969), and works cited by Hung-lam Chu in his accompanying article in this issue of *The Gest Library Journal*.
6. The secret memorial system, eventually the major instrument of political control, also developed somewhat adventitiously from a benign convention. See Silas Wu, *Communication and Imperial Control in China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), esp. Chapter Five.
7. Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library* (in Chinese), Taipei, 1974. Referred to hereafter as: Ch'ü, *Catalogue*.

8. Huang K'uan-ch'ung, "Ch'eng Pi yü *Ming-shui Chi* yen-chiu," revised and reprinted in Huang's *Nan-Sung shih yen-chiu chi (Studies in Southern Sung History)*, Taipei, 1985.
9. Huang K'uan-ch'ung, *op. cit.*, esp. Section Five, pp. 154-57, 174-80.
10. These medical works are: 1) *Hsiu-chen Hsiao-erh Fang*, 6 *chüan*, by Hsü Yung-hsüan, preface date 1403; second edition by Ch'ien Hung (c.s. 1508), publication dated in the *Critical Abstracts* to 1532; Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, p. 247.2) *Chen-chih Wen-tui* (or *Wen-ta*), by Wang Chi, whose preface is dated 1532; Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, pp. 249-50.
11. See Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, pp. 316-17.
12. Pao T'ing-po loaned his 636 rare books to the court in the name of his eldest son, Pao Shih-kung, no doubt hoping that any expression of imperial favor would accrue to the son's benefit. A slip of paper pasted inside the cover, presumably in Pao T'ing-po's own hand, says this book was added to his collection in 1757. The Pao's were a merchant family from Hui-chou (Hsin-an) in Anhwei. Many of the best works in their library were published in their collectanea called *Chih-pu-tsu Chai Ts'ung-shu*, noted for the excellence of its scholarly standards and careful printing. The red ink impression of the special wooden seal on the cover is too faint to permit reproducing it here. It suggests very systematic handling of borrowed works, but the work on pediatrics (identified in note #10, above) borrowed from the T'ien-i Ko library does not bear a similar seal impression, even though that library was within the jurisdiction of the same provincial governor. It may be that the Chih-pu-tsu Chai Library, famous for the strictness of its rules, requested this procedure, and that it was not done on the initiative of the Governor or of the Ssu-k'u Bureau. San-pao, an important Manchu official, served as Governor of Chekiang from the beginning of 1773 until promoted to the Governor Generalship of Hu-kuang in 1777.
13. On Yang Shou-ching, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D.C., 1943-1944), p. 484, biography of Li Shu-ch'ang by Hiromu Momose, who describes Yang as "a well-qualified calligrapher, epigraphist, geographer, and bibliographer." Yang's manuscript essay bound into the first volume states that he used a copy of the Sung edition borrowed in 1900 from the famous scholar, Liang Ting-fen (1859-1919).
14. See the comment on this book in Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, pp. 316-17. Yang Shou-ching went to Japan in 1881 as secretary to Li Shu-ch'ang, the Chinese Minister to Japan. There he saw many rare Chinese books in Japanese collections, on which he wrote scholarly notes, eventually published in 1901 under the title *Jih-pen Fang-shu Chih (A Record of Books Seen in Japan)*. Those notes include comments on a seriously defective edition of *Shih-wu Chi-yüan* dated to 1444, but there is no evidence that he then knew of any extant Sung copy. See Li's biography in Hummel, cited in note #13.
15. Lou Fang's anthology, in this edition, is called *(Hsin-k'an Yü-chai Hsien-sheng Piao-chu) Ch'ung-ku Wen-chüeh*, 35 *chüan*. See Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, pp. 494-95.

16. The Colby Collection, recently acquired by the Gest Library, is described by Hung-lam Chu in *The Gest Library Journal*, 1.1 (December, 1986), pp. 7-33.
17. The Ming editors were brothers from Wu-chiang in Kiangsu, near modern Soochow, named Wu Pang-chen (*chin-shih* 1553) and Wu Pang-chieh. They were from a family long prominent in Ming scholar-officialdom.
18. See Ch'ü, *Catalogue*, pp. 268-69.
19. One copy is held by the Peking University Library, according to Wang Chung-min, *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai, 1983), p. 294, where it is listed under what must be the original title, *Mo-ch'ih pien*.
20. F.W. Mote and Howard L. Goodman, *A Research Manual for Ming History*, two volumes, Chinese Linguistics Project, Princeton University, 1985.
21. Li Shih-mien's literary works have been published under different titles, e.g. *Shih Chung-wen Ku-lien wen-chi* in 10 *chüan*, and, as seen in the *Complete Library, Ku-lien wen-chi* in 12 *chüan*.
22. *The Ssu-k'u ts'ai-chin shu-mu (Catalogue of Books Collected and Submitted to the Complete Library Office)*, rev. edn., Wu Wei-tsu, ed., Peking, 1960, shows that altogether four copies of twelve-*chüan* editions, called variously *Ku-lien Chi* and *Ku-lien wen-chi*, came into the possession of the Ssu-k'u Bureau. Oddly, the ten-*chüan* edition is not listed there, even though the copy now in the possession of the National Central Library in Taipei bears the seals and identifying marks showing that it undoubtedly once belonged to the Ssu-k'u Bureau and was extensively edited there.

High Ch'ing Intellectual Bias as Reflected in the Imperial Catalogue

HUNG-LAM CHU

When it was completed and presented to the Ch'ien-lung emperor in 1782, the famous *Imperial Catalogue of the Complete Library of Four Treasures* came to signify among other things a climactic achievement of scholarship during the High Ch'ing (1736-1895). Evidential research was the foremost aspect of this scholarship; when performed with ability it tended to unify critical understanding with textual verifiability.

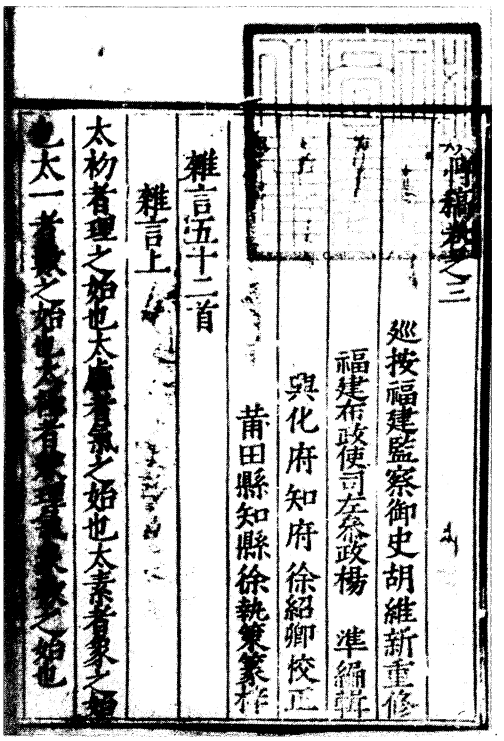
The imposing and enduring *Imperial Catalogue* consists of 10,230 critical abstracts (*t'i-yao*) of books reviewed by elite official scholars for eventual inclusion into or exclusion from the *Complete Library* collection, imperial China's largest handwritten collectanea (and, by the way, the world's largest official compilation). Whatever may be said about its quality, this by-product of a monumental library ever since its appearance exerted considerable influence on the formation and dissemination of intellectual judgments concerning past scholarship and literary accomplishment. Today, while the books of the *Complete Library* remain as eloquent testimony either of an immense imperial will or an intriguing dynastic scheme, the *Catalogue* still functions for scholars as an invaluable source of critical bibliography.[1] It is no surprise that modern scholarship on the library, and on the *Catalogue* in particular, has been impressive.[2]

Yet missing from the vast secondary literature is a particularly important question: why are the book abstracts far from uniform in quality? To offer an explanation I shall take up an example which also reveals the intellectual bias of that century. It deals with two abstracts of what are in fact two editions of the same work by Yüeh Cheng (1418-1472). The overlap was un-

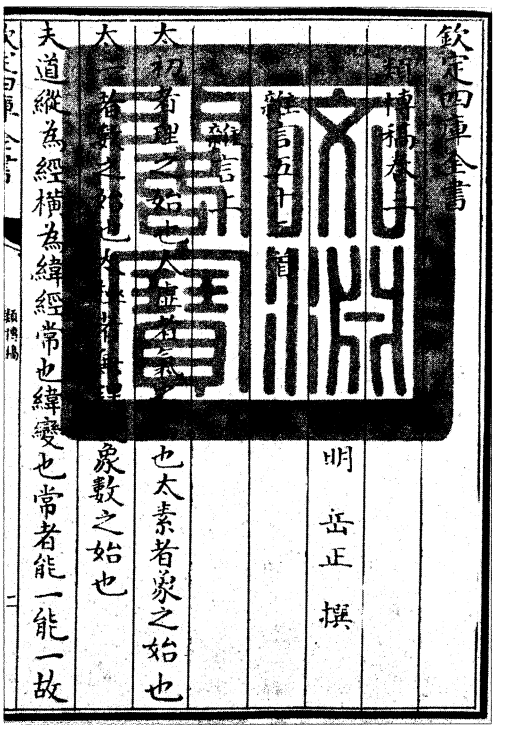
detected and the two were separately processed, presumably because in only one of them was the authorship known. The other reason, obviously, was their different titles: *Lei-po tsa-yen* and *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*.[3] They contained miscellaneous notes (*tsa-yen*), the former eighteen of them and the latter forty-seven. There is irony here: not only did the books' classification into categories of close proximity, in other words, as "miscellaneous philosophers" (*tzu-pu tsa-chia*) according to the system of this *Catalogue*, fail to alert the erudite imperial reviewers, but the books' identical contents turned out to have received opposite appraisals.

Relevant facts about our scholar-official author must first be given.[4] Yüeh Cheng was best known during the mid-fifteenth century as a promising statesman who met a tragic political end. Coming from Kuo-hsien county in the metropolitan prefecture of Shun-t'ien (near Peking), and placing third in the palace examination of 1448, he was hand-picked to serve as junior Grand Secretary in 1457 by the newly restored Ying-tsung emperor. However, he served in that capacity for a mere twenty-eight days before he was suddenly stripped of all his official titles and honors and ordered exiled to the northwestern border as a commoner. He had failed in a daring but indiscreet plot to engineer a political duel between two equally powerful leaders, one a general and one a eunuch. They had dominated the emperor since his inglorious restoration, and Yüeh hoped to trigger their downfall. Yüeh thus became the victim of a self-inflicted political wound. Although he was duly exonerated when a new emperor came to the throne seven years later, he was not restored to his former high position; his outspokenness and somewhat egoistic boastfulness were incompatible with the prevailing bureaucratic style. He became a provincial official and soon retired. Historically, he was characterized as a brave man of integrity. Fifteenth-century art circles also acknowledged him as a distinctive calligrapher and a master painter of grapes. His literary works, known as *Lei-po kao*, were posthumously published in Chin-hua, Chekiang, in 1486. Thereafter they were thrice reissued: in Hsiang-yang, Hu-kuang and in P'u-t'ien, Fukien. They were introduced by a preface written by his eminent son-in-law, the famous grand secretary and man of letters, Li Tung-yang (1447-1516).[5]

To add to the complexity of our case, a larger version of Yüeh's Notes appears in Chapter (*chüan*) Three of *Lei-po kao*, in which the collective title "*tsa-yen*" and the number "fifty-two entries" are noted preceding the text. The text in effect consists of only fifty, organized into an "upper" and a



1. From a photocopy of the 1567 edition of Yüeh Cheng's *Lei-po kao* (original held in Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo). It indicates "fifty-two" Miscellaneous Notes divided into two parts, "upper" and "lower."



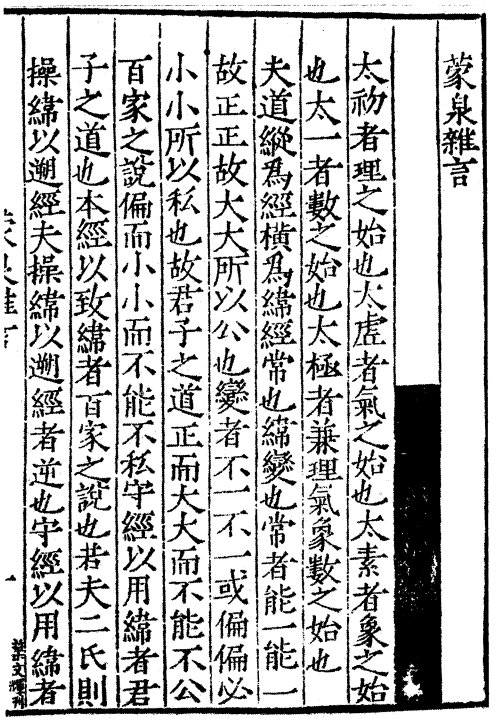
2. The *Complete Library* edition of *Lei-po kao* copied faithfully from the 1567 edition, but omitting the persons responsible for its publication.

"lower" part. (See Illustrations One and Two.) During Ming times these Notes also were published in monographs, of which the one recorded in the official *Ming History* as *Lei-po tsa-yen* was given a two-*chüan* format.[6] However, versions from extant Ming period collectanea all appear in one *chüan*, with no division into parts.

The content of the fifty Miscellaneous Notes truly fits the classification of "miscellany."[7] They may be roughly classified into several groups. The largest group consists of fourteen Notes dealing with Neo-Confucian cosmological concepts and theories, especially those of Shao Yung (1011-1077) and Chou Tun-i (1017-1073). The next in size has twelve Notes of a quasi-scientific nature on natural phenomena, cosmological objects, animals and plants. The third has six Notes on the theory and practice of medicine, div-

ination, astrology, and fortune-telling. Remaining Notes deal with literary composition and calligraphy, the evaluation of Confucianism vis-à-vis Buddhism, historical figures, and manifestations of the human temperaments. In general, the latter two types are often insightful and to the point. Those in the largest group concerning Shao Yung's cosmology, on which Yüeh based his own, are either forced or opaque. Those concerning science and natural phenomena, as well as medicine and the like, are worse, because Yüeh coupled the Neo-Confucian cosmological frame with a mixture of Neo-Confucian and Taoist vocabulary in the explanation of all natural and social phenomena. The tinge of Taoism there is indeed obvious; a modern Taoist scholar even indiscriminately considered them as "treasures that help one cultivate and make evident the [Taoist] Way" and included them in a huge collection entitled *Essence of Taoist Canons*.[8] In fact, however, only a few of them are based on personal experience, while the rest is bookish talk.

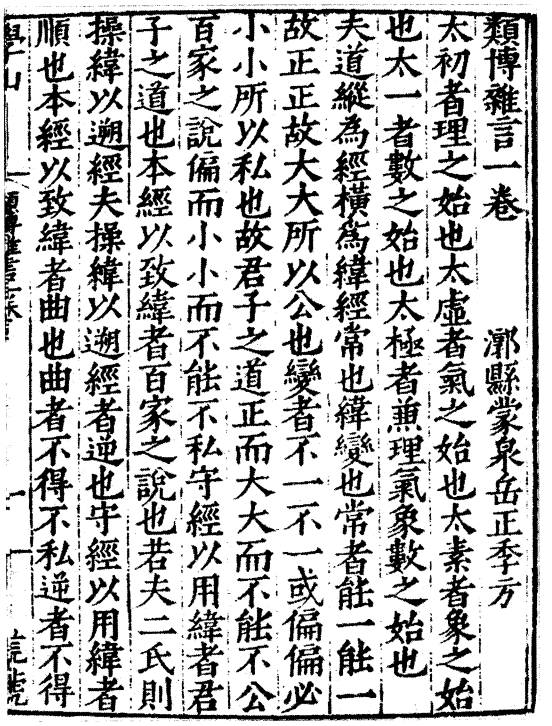
The texts of the Notes, whether in *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen, Lei-po tsa-yen*, or Chapter Three of *Lei-po kao*, are identical. The difference between the first two books lies only in the number of Notes they each have included. *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, as found in the Ming collectanea, *Chin-hsien hui-yen*,[9] includes the first forty-seven of the fifty Notes in *Lei-po kao*. However, the characters denoting the author, engraved in the second column of the opening folio, for reasons unknown, are completely ink-covered so that the name Yüeh Cheng does not appear. (See Illustration Three.) *Lei-po tsa-yen* is found in two late Ming collectanea. The one that appears in *Pai-ling hsüeh-shan* has eighteen Notes,[10] all of which are found within the first twenty-four Notes in *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, or otherwise in the "upper" part of the "*tsa-yen*" in *Lei-po kao*. These Notes cover all the fourteen we have identified as belonging to the largest group, as well as four from the third group. The other that appears in *Hsüeh-hai lei-pien* has one Note fewer.[11] But in either edition the author is clearly given in a line reading: "Yüeh Cheng, [alias] Chi-fang, [courtesy name] Meng-ch'uan, [from] Kuo-hsien." (See Illustration Four.) *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* and *Lei-po tsa-yen* both also appear in the early Ch'ing collectanea, *Shuo-fu hsü*,[12] although the former contains only thirty-eight Notes (again without an author) and the latter only six. The *Lei-po tsa-yen* which the *Complete Library* compiler processed, according to the *Catalogue*, was the one found in the *Hsüeh-hai lei-pien*. Since the *Catalogue* states that "no author is given," it obviously was the version of *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* which we find in the *Chin-hsien hui-yen*. The only disturbing point is that the *Catalogue* says that the text has two chapters (*chüan*).


蒙泉雜言

太初者理之始也太虛者氣之始也太素者象之始也太一者數之始也太極者兼理氣象數之始也

夫道縱為經橫為緯經常也緯變也常者能一能一故正正故大大所以公也變者不一不一或偏偏必小小所以私也故君子之道正而大大而不能不公百家之說偏而小小而不能不私守經以用緯者君子之道也本經以致緯者百家之說也若夫二氏則操緯以遡經夫操緯以遡經者逆也守經以用緯者順也本經以致緯者曲也曲者不得不私逆者不得

3. *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, from the collectanea, *Chin-hsien hui-yen*, with Yüeh Cheng's name omitted.


類博雜言一卷　　澥縣蒙泉岳正季方

太初者理之始也太虛者氣之始也太素者象之始也太一者數之始也太極者兼理氣象數之始也

夫道縱為經橫為緯經常也緯變也常者能一能一故正正故大大所以公也變者不一不一或偏偏必小小所以私也故君子之道正而大大而不能不公百家之說偏而小小而不能不私守經以用緯者君子之道也本經以致緯者百家之說也若夫二氏則操緯以遡經夫操緯以遡經者逆也守經以用緯者順也本經以致緯者曲也曲者不得不私逆者不得

4. *Lei-po tsa-yen*, from the collectanea, *Pai-ling hsüeh-shan*, with Yüeh Cheng's name. The texts of the Notes are identical with those in *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*.

It is hard to imagine that the compilers of the *Complete Library* could fail to recognize the identity of these two books. Equally amazing is the fact that this also escaped the scrutiny of such modern authorities on the scholarship of the *Catalogue* as the late Hu Yü-chin (1859-1940) and Yü Chia-hsi (1883-1955),[13] whose lifelong endeavor it was to criticize and enhance that scholarship. Because neither book was ultimately copied into the *Complete Library*, these two scholars probably did not actually see the books. Assuming they had not, it is then the more surprising that the modern *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (The Library of One Hundred Collectanea)* also should have failed to identify the authorship of *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*. After all, the publisher's colophon to it states that the selections were based on extensive comparison of available texts.[14] This matter is, however, clarified in the *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu (Comprehensive Catalogue of Chinese Collectanea)*.[15] In this case, painstaking scholarly bibliography has proven better than the more expedient, commercial bibliography.

There remains, however, a more acute problem. Why should two virtually identical works have yielded strikingly different reviews in the *Complete Library*'s authoritative catalogue? In the *Complete Library* the *Lei-po tsa-yen*, where the author is named, is classified as a philosophical work in the category of "miscellaneous learning of miscellaneous philosophers (*tsa-chia tsa-hsüeh*);" under the title *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, for which no author is named, it is classified in the category of "miscellaneous theories by miscellaneous philosophers (*tsa-chia tsa-shuo*)." For the former book the *Catalogue* comments: "This work discusses at random the theories of *yin-yang* and the five elements, as well as medical science, divination, and astrology. Furthermore, the part which consists of discussions on the numeration of the Cosmic Evolution (*ta-yen*) system and of the Cosmological Chronology (*huang-chi ching-shih*) [of Shao Yung] is rather enlightening."[16] The comments for the latter read: "The first chapter assembles borrowed theories about *yin-yang* and the five elements which are forced and ungrounded in general. The second chapter contains casual notes which are also mostly forced [in their argument]—for example, the one that says the eight principles of execution in calligraphy are in accord with [the principle that] the Supreme Ultimate produced the two forms of *yin* and *yang* [basic to any trigram], which in turn produced the four emblems [of a trigram], which then produced the eight trigrams." In order to explain this contradiction, we must look into the actual compilation procedures of the *Complete Library* project.

The process of writing and editing abstracts for the *Catalogue* was not well coordinated. The abstracts were separately authored; colleagues in the compilation project did not review each other's work; each scholar worked independently on his own assignment, hence no possibility of group discussion; the *Catalogue*'s famous Editor-in-chief, Chi Yün (1724-1805), did not review the abstracts against the books and was thus unable even to notice an obvious discrepancy. Such flaws were a result of poor coordination, not uncommon in official projects. But Chi Yün's flaw is graver, because he was also Compiler-in-chief of the *Complete Library*.

The processing of individual books also lacked rigor. This is revealed by the rare example of a cataloguing device called "loose slip" (*fei-ch'ien*). The following printed words appear on the upper portion of the loose slip attached to the front page of a book called *Shih-i*: "Perused by the Office of General Management; proposed for 'recording by title only' (*ts'un-mu*, as

against 'copying into the Library')." The lower portion of the slip bears these rectangular seal inscriptions: "Respectfully examined by servitor [Chi] Yün and servitor [Lu] Hsi-hsiung."[17] Another, slightly damaged, loose slip attached to Gest Library's copy of *Shih-wu chi-yüan chi-lei*[18] helps ascertain that the same cataloguing format was also adopted for other books. Accordingly we know that whether a book was to be included, and hence copied into the *Complete Library*, was decided at least nominally by the Office of General Management with prior approval by the Compiler and Proofreader-in-Chief (Chi and Lu respectively). This double check would have ensured a careful processing of any book. But our example shows that these chief officials may not necessarily have read each of the books that bore their approval. It appears more likely that "respectfully examined" as printed on the loose slip referred to examination of an abstract of a book rather than the book itself. The Chinese character from which "examined" is here translated is *yüeh*, which also means "to take note of." Thus, the seal inscription may possibly mean "[previous perusal] noted." In any event, the procedure by which the chief officials acknowledged personal responsibility appears to have been rather routine.

Scholars who made their names for being critical in an age known for critical scholarship were trained very differently. The scholar who reviewed *Lei-po tsa-yen* appears to have been treating his book seriously, at least making a standard bibliographic check against the "Bibliography" section of the official *Ming History*. From his mention of the incompleteness of the *Hsüeh-hai lei-pien* version of the text and of its being "complete in Yüeh Cheng's *Lei-po kao*," he at least had made actual use of Yüeh Cheng's collected works. Contrary to the standards of "evidential research," however, the reviewer of *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* appears to have had slipshod techniques and limited knowledge. Not only had he not read Yüeh's works, he evidently also had not come across the collectanea, *Pai-ling hsüeh-shan*, in which the variant text of *Lei-po tsa-yen* is included.

Nor was he familiar with the history of the Ming dynasty, for otherwise he should have found in the text useful clues to help ascertain the authorship. The book includes an entry which bears the words "Master Yüeh comments," another which reads, "when I was in my exile in Chiu-ch'üan [Kansu]," and a third which reads "when I was in my exile in Kan[su]."[19] A student of Ming history would not have found it too difficult to guess that the person surnamed Yüeh who had been exiled to Kansu was Yüeh Cheng.

We have to agree with Kuo Po-kung, the modern authority on the history of the *Complete Library*, who says that "careless and arbitrary conclusions" plague the *Catalogue*.[20]

We come even closer to an explanation of the two opposing reviews of the Notes when we realize that they represented different intellectual backgrounds. The *Complete Library*'s compilers were of two rival schools, the so-called "Sung learning," which to some extent emphasized the abstractly philosophical, and the so-called "Han learning," which vehemently emphasized evidential research. The compilers were found disagreeing with each other even at work, to the extent that the famous Yao Nai (1732-1815), who was inclined to "Sung learning," openly censured the opinions of Compiler-in-chief Chi Yün, who was devoted to Han learning.[21]

The compiler responsible for *Lei-po tsa-yen* can well be considered a "Sung-learning" type of Neo-Confucian just on the basis of his positive review. His praise of the arguments in the book suggests that he would have recommended *Lei-po tsa-yen* for inclusion into the *Complete Library*, had they not been fully published already in Yüeh Cheng's collected works. His attitude further suggests that he was not the typical "Han learning" scholar who almost ritually would accuse the "old-style" Neo-Confucians. But we must remember that the book he reviewed contained only about half of all the Notes in the original version; and that from our analysis this half belongs to the part that actually contains those forced, opaque, and even farfetched arguments, not that part containing the arguments that are comparatively insightful and objective. This is to say that he was not free from bias. On the contrary, the review of the more or less intact *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, as we have shown, is all negative: the book was regarded as for the most part ungrounded and forced, in other words empty talk devoid of verifiability. It is clear that the author of this review was an orthodox member of the critical school, and that it was his bias against Neo-Confucian cosmological expressions that blinded him from pursuing the book and its author more carefully. Just how deliberate such scholarly actions were cannot be determined here. However, we cannot escape the following paradox: while the "Sung learning" inclined scholar could implement "evidential research" very much in the style of a "Han learning" scholar, the latter (nominally devoted to rigorous evidential scholarship) did not observe his own maxim in pursuing a critical study of his subject. Reason: intellectual bias considerably affected, if not totally dictated, his scholarship. The corollary is that

scholarly statements of the time were not always rational but often colored by prejudice. Hence we have drawn a lesson. We must be aware of the pro-Sung learning scholars' practice of concealing the flaws of Neo-Confucians; we must not be too quick to believe the excessively critical views of the pro-Han learning scholars.

Intellectual bias may be caused not only by scholastic differences. In our case this has to do with the convention of relating words to personality, which is to say that what a good person says must be right. This is especially clear in the abstract for *Lei-po tsa-yen*. Because the author was known, the abstract's writer was forced to take into account the esteemed opinions of Yüeh Cheng in early Ch'ing intellectual circles. Praises to him are found both in the *Ming History* and the *Catalogue*. The writer of the abstract could not but be inclined to favor Yüeh when Yüeh's *Lei-po kao* was found copied into the *Complete Library* preceded with a most approving review. The *Lei-po kao* abstract discusses Yüeh Cheng's ill-fated political scheme (see above) thus: "Although his strategy was clumsy, his intention was in essence a loyal one." This is clearly sympathetic to Yüeh's political vicissitudes, and is appreciative of his character. It goes on to lament, "after the successive downfall of the crooks Yüeh was nonetheless the victim of [Grand Secretary] Li Hsien's (1408-1466) jealousy, ending [his political career] in destitution. Yet his unyielding disposition never changed." Such sympathies, moreover, caused a heightened appreciation of Yüeh's literature: "The opinion of Li Tung-yang (Yüeh's son-in-law) that his essays are high-minded, succinct, lofty and precipitous as to be close to the ancient writers is after all a fair appraisal." But it goes further: "Li Tung-yang's elegance does not match Yüeh's structure and flow, . . . for words are the verbalization of one's mind."[22] Admiration and affection like this must be counted as the major factor explaining the uncritically positive assessment of *Lei-po tsa-yen*. On the contrary, the scholar who reviewed *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, having the advantage of not knowing its author, was able to speak in a free spirit on the book itself, though his comments on it are similarly unjust.

Another reason why the incomplete *Lei-po tsa-yen* was reviewed favorably may be due to regional affinities. Local pride often drove one to speak well of fellow districtmen. Although we do not know who wrote the abstract, we know that the *Catalogue*'s editor-in-chief, Chi Yün, who had actually modified the wording of the variously composed abstracts such that they carried his personal opinion,[23] was, like Yüeh Cheng, from Shun-t'ien

prefecture, though several centuries later.[24] Yüeh had been officially inducted as a "historical worthy of the locality" and was indeed a famous official, one of very few this locality produced in the Ming. Chi therefore might have allowed himself to be less critical in editing, or even writing, this disproportionately long and favorable abstract. Our point is further strengthened by the following official guidelines of compilation. *Lei-po tsa-yen* was not copied into the *Complete Library* because books of this kind, "although they are of [some] help to practical use—as they bear on the way of society and the mind of humanity—contain ideas that are commonplace, shallow, mistaken, and absurd."[25] But the same sort of compliments for the Notes also abounds in the critical abstract for Yüeh's literary works, *Lei-po kao*. Only a lack of objectivity on Chi Yün's part can explain this.

One has to conclude that inevitably the *Catalogue* was flawed. And there is good reason for this. Each entry in the *Catalogue* represents the abstract of a book processed for the *Complete Library*, whose Table of Contents in fact comprised 10,230 titles. The fact that the *Catalogue* was the product of "a multitude of hands produced under the stress of time limit"[26] resulted in the compilers' having to devote more time to textual emendation and collation than to discussion of a book's themes and import. Coupled with inadequate or unavailable reference resources, the abstract writers could not but "make do with what was available and write in a hurry."[27] The authoritative Yü Chia-hsi has discovered even worse: "Having insufficient time the compilers often without having finished reading a book picked an issue here or there desultorily to make their own point."[28] This practice was especially common for books written after the Yüan dynasty, for in the absence of historical judgment the compilers became even more arbitrary, reflecting their general inclination to discredit Ming scholarship.

Official compilations rarely could be the product of objective and penetrating research. Chi Yün's erudition and good prose in fact greatly improved many abstracts in the *Catalogue*, making them "the more detailed and clearer in terms of evidential research."[29] But it is impossible that he could at once single-handedly and decently scrutinize every one of the 170,000 plus chapters in the 10,000 plus books that were catalogued. No doubt he did not verify every abstract by his own research. Instead, as also pointed out by Yü Chia-hsi, "Chi, confident of his erudition often wrote without hesitation, to the effect that his errors were only increased thereby."[30] This arrogance, typical of many a self-proclaimed master with

official support, proved to be the undoing of his scholarship. Hence, even his recognized accomplishment in regularizing the format and balancing the content of the critical abstracts should be extended only to those titles that were copied into the library.

But all this is not to deny the strength of High Ch'ing bibliographic scholarship, much less to suggest that the *Catalogue* need not be anymore consulted. At least from the way books were classified in the *Complete Library* we have to recognize that on average the imperial compilers had attained a high level of scholarship. Their criteria are worth notice. Although the two books in our discussion are both found in the category of "miscellaneous philosophers," they are found in different subclassifications. As mentioned earlier, *Lei-po tsa-yen* is classified as belonging to "miscellaneous learning" and *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* as "miscellaneous theories." As the compilers defined it, "miscellaneous learning" is one that "traverses the nine [traditional] philosophies, touches upon Buddhist canonical teachings; has a multitude of basic ideas that could not be identified as belonging to any one school; [or] claims to be Confucian and is yet inconsistent in the expounding of [Confucian] principles, and in the discussion of events considers success and failure [instead of right and wrong], so that it does not sound Confucian."[31] Strictly speaking, the eighteen Notes that comprise *Lei-po tsa-yen* are of that nature. "Miscellaneous theories" include writings that "either speak of one's opinions, or correct commonly held errors, or recount one's learning, or summarize the ideas of old ages; which are [casually] put together according to one's own preference; without the limit of chapter and length, without [a rational] order; and written upon the author's inspiration."[32] The forty-seven Notes that comprise *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen*, except for the eighteen that can be otherwise classified, are within this range. It thus becomes clear that the reviewers of these books, although they differed in their intellectual inclinations, both had firm ground for their classification: they decided it on the entirety of the book with which they dealt. They at least upheld some shared bibliographic principles, and this is useful to us. The chapters in the *Catalogue* for books which were not copied into the *Complete Library* in fact cover some 6,800 titles. Using the critical abstracts in the *Catalogue* as our guide, we not only may have some sense of a book's content but also can have a knowledge of a book's nature, with reasonable confidence.

Our discussion shows that "evidential research" of the eighteenth cen-

tury is not a scholarship devoid of any defect. Individual scholars had their own intellectual, political, and emotional affinities, and they were trained differently. The case of the critical abstracts for the *Complete Library* displays the lack of unanimity in an official project. The strength of critical scholarship lies in the verifiability of the compilers' statements, but the evidence they presented is not always so free of error as to make all their comments fair and just. It demands an understanding of individual characteristics and prejudice to grasp the peculiar views affecting the evaluation a book was given. For this reason, we still need more case studies of the *Complete Library* in order to arrive at a better generalization about the intellectual history of the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. For a background of the points to be discussed in the following paragraphs, the reader is referred to Frederick W. Mote's article "Reflections on the First Complete Printing of the *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu*" in the present issue.
2. Books and articles on the *Complete Library* are too many to justify an enumeration here. Except those cited in this article and in F.W. Mote's, *op.cit.*, one can consult the bibliography in Chi Yün's (1724-1805) biography by Fang Chao-ying, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, 1943), p. 123; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, comp., *Ch'i-shih-liu nien shih-hsüeh shu-mu* (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'e-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1981), p. 201; Chinese Academy of Science, comp., *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh lun-wen so-yin* (Peking: K'e-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1957), Vol. 1, pp. 392-95; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, comp., *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh lun-wen so-yin* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1980), Vol. 1, pp. 322-23; National Central Library, comp., *Chung-kuo chin erh-shih nien wen-shih-che lun-wen fen-lei so-yin* (Taipei: National Central Library, 1970), pp. 688-89.
3. For the abstracts of these two books, see Yung Jung (1744-1790), Chi Yün *et al.*, eds., *Ch'in-ting Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* (Shanghai: Ta-tung shu-chü, 1926), 124:4a and 128:8a.
4. For an official biography of Yüeh Cheng, see Chang T'ing-yü (1672-1755) *et al.*, *Ming-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 176:4679-82. Both his "Epitaph" by Yeh Sheng (1420-1474) and "Supplemented Biography" by Li Tung-yang (1447-1516) are included in the front matter of the 1567 edition of *Lei-po kao* as well as in the "appendix" of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*

edition of it. For discussions about Yüeh's failure in this political struggle and related matters, see Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) and the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu*: Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-century China" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1984), pp. 365-69.

5. For the editing and publication of Yüeh's works, see Li Tung-yang's preface to them in 1486 and Wu K'uei's in 1539, both included in the 1567 edition of *Lei-po kao*. The last edition will be discussed in my "Notes" prepared for an annotated catalogue with critical abstracts of rare, Ming period works in the Gest Library.
6. *Ming-shih*, 98:2433.
7. For a discussion of "miscellany" as a category of Chinese writings, see Frederick W. Mote, "The *Ch'o Keng Lu*: A Fourteenth-century Miscellany," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 48, No. 3, Spring 1987.
8. This refers to Hsiao T'ien-shih, ed., *Tao-tsang ching-hua* (Taipei: Chih-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1976), Series number 14.5. The notes in this collection are a photographic facsimile of those of *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* as found in the Ming collectanea *Hsüeh-shan cheng-tao mi-shu*, which is itself a selection from the collectanea, *Pai-ling hsüeh-shan*. The quotation is from Hsiao's "Preface" to the series.
9. Fascimile reprints of the Lung-ch'ing period (1567-1572) edition of this collectanea compiled by Wang Wen-lu (fl. 1530-60) are included in both the *Yüan-Ming shan-pen ts'ung-shu* series (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1938; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1969) and the *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* series (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1967), Number 8.
10. Fascimile reprints of the late Wan-li period (1573-1619) edition of this collectanea compiled by Kao Ming-feng (fl. 1600) are included in both the above cited series published by Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan (Shanghai: 1937; Taipei: 1969) and I-wen yin-shu-kuan (Taipei: 1965), Number 6.
11. A reprint of this collectanea compiled by Ts'ao Jung (1613-1685) is included in the above cited series (Number 24) published by I-wen yin-shu-kuan; another one was issued by Wen-yüan shu-chü, Taipei, 1964.
12. This collectanea was compiled by T'ao T'ing and first published during the Shun-chih period (1644-1661). A facsimile reprint was issued by Hsin-hsing shu-chü, Taipei, 1964.
13. Hu Yü-chin, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao pu-cheng* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1964); Yü Chia-hsi, *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng* (reprint; Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1965).
14. See Note #9 above.
15. *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 969.
16. For a modern discussion of these systems, see Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (Derk Bodde, translator; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), Vol. II, pp. 454-64.
17. For the text of this "loose slip," see Wang Chung-min, *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 14.
18. For a bibliographic note to this copy, see Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library* (Taipei:

Yee-wen Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 316-17. For a photograph of the "loose slip" attached to this copy, see Illustration 2 in F.W. Mote's "Reflections on the First Complete Printing of the *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu*" in this issue.

19. *Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen* (*Chin-hsien hui-yen* edition), pp. 8a, 11a, 11b.
20. Kuo Po-kung, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsuan-hsiu k'ao* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1937), p. 222.
21. Jen Sung-ju, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu ta-wen* (Shanghai: Ch'i-chih shu-chü, 1934), p. 31.
22. See also *Ch'in-ting Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*, 170:9b.
23. For this point see Kuo Po-kung, *op.cit.*, p. 213.
24. See Chi Yün's biography in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp. 120-23.
25. Jen Sung-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 50.
26. Yü Chia-hsi, *Yü Chia-hsi lun-hsüeh tsa-chu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963), p. 588.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 589.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 590.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Jen Sung-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 147.
32. *Ibid.*

GLOSSARY

(Includes Glossary Terms for the Previous Article)

Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉
Chen-chih wen-tui (wen-ta) 針灸問對（問答）
Chi-fang 季方
Chi Yün 紀昀
Ch'i-shih-liu nien shih-hsüeh shu-mu 七十六年史學書目
Chih-pu-tsu Chai ts'ung-shu 知不足齋叢書
Chin-hua 金華
Chin-hsien hui-yen 今獻彙言
Ch'in-ting Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu 欽定四庫全書總目
ching 經
Ch'ing-tai chin-hui shu-mu yen-chiu 清代禁燬書目研究
Ch'iu Chün 丘濬
Ch'o Keng Lu 輟耕錄
Chou Tun-i 周敦頤
Chu Chang-wen 朱長文
Chu Hung-lam 朱鴻林
chu-lu ti-pen 著錄底本
Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里
Chung-kuo chin erh-shih nien wen-shih-che lun-wen fen-lei so-yin 中國近二十年文史哲論文分類索引
Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao 中國善本書提要
Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh lun-wen so-yin 中國史學論文索引
Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu 中國叢書綜錄
Fang Chao-ying 房兆楹
fei-ch'ien 飛鈐
Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭
Hsiang-yang 襄陽
Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石
[Hsin-k'an Yü-chai hsien-sheng piao-chu] Ch'ung-ku wen-chüeh 〔新刊近齋先生標註〕崇古文訣
Hsiu-chen hsiao-erh-fang 袖珍小兒方
Hsü Yung-hsüan 徐用宣
Hsüeh-hai lei-pien 學海類編
Hsüeh-shan cheng-tao mi-shu 學山證道秘書
Hu Yü-chin 胡玉縉
huang-chi ching-shih 皇極經世
Jen Sung-ju 任松如
Jih-pen fang-shu chih 日本訪書志
Kuo-hsien 掴縣
Kao Ming-feng 高鳴鳳
Ku-lien chi 古廉集
Ku-lien wen-chi 古廉文集
Kuo Po-kung 郭伯恭
Lei-po kao 類博稿
Lei-po tsa-yen 類博雜言
Li Hsien 李賢
Li Shih-mien 李時勉
Li Shu-ch'ang 黎庶昌
Li Tung-yang 李東陽
Liang Ting-fen 梁鼎芬
Lu Hsi-hsiung 陸錫熊
Meng-ch'uan tsa-yen 蒙泉雜言
Ming-shih 明史
Mo-ch'ih pien (ts'un) 墨池編〔存〕
Nan-Sung-shih yen-chiu 南宋史研究
Pai-ling hsüeh-shan 白陵學山
Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 百部叢書集成
"P'ing-hu sung" 平胡頌
"P'ing-pei sung" 平北頌
P'u-t'ien 莆田
Shao Yung 邵雍
shih 史
Shih Chung-wen Ku-lien wen-chi 謚忠文古廉文集
Shih-huo yüeh-k'an 食貨月刊
Shih-i 詩意
Shih-wu chi-yüan chi-lei 事物紀原集類
Shun-t'ien 順天
Shuo-fu hsü 說郛續

Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen ts'ung-shu 四庫全書珍本叢書
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu ta-wen 四庫全書答問
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsuan-hsiu k'ao 四庫全書纂修考
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao pu-cheng 四庫全書總目提要補正
Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證
Ssu-k'u ts'ai-chin shu-mu 四庫採進書目
Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu 大学衍義補
ta-yen 大衍
T'ao T'ing 陶珽
Tao-tsang ching-hua 道藏精華
ti-pen 底本
t'i-yao 提要
tsa-chia tsa-hsüeh 雜家雜學
tsa-chia tsa-shuo 雜家雜說
Ts'ao Jung 曹溶
ts'un-mu 存目
tzu 子
tzu-pu tsa-chia 子部雜家
Wang Chi 汪機
Wang Chung-min 王重民
Wang Wen-lu 王文禄
Wu Che-fu 吳哲夫
Wu K'uei 吳達
Wu Pang-chen 吳邦楨
Wu Pang-chieh 吳邦杰
Wu Wei-tsu 吳慰祖
Yao Nai 姚鼐
Yeh Sheng 葉盛
Yü Chia-hsi 余家錫
Yü Chia-hsi lun-hsüeh tsa-chu 余家錫論学雜著
Yüan-Ming shan-pen ts'ung-shu 元明善本叢書
yüeh 閱
Yüeh Cheng 岳正
Yung Jung 永瑢

Recent Books: Studies of Hu Shih in the People's Republic of China

CHIH-P'ING CHOU

During the past ten years, the study of Hu Shih (1891-1962),[1] one of the most influential and controversial intellectuals in modern Chinese history, has reached a new peak in the People's Republic of China. A considerable amount of original material, research papers, and books have been published nation-wide. Since 1976, owing to changes in China's political situation, Hu Shih has gradually emerged from disgrace and his reputation has been partially restored. Scholarly papers on his thought and works started to appear in academic journals and magazines after 1978, and the authors of these recent articles have generally agreed that the smear campaign against Hu Shih in the 1950s was biased and unfairly represented many of Hu Shih's accomplishments.[2]

The Institute of Modern Chinese History at the National Academy of Social Sciences (Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan chin-tai shih yen-chiu so) in Peking has contributed a great deal to this by editing and publishing the correspondence and diaries which Hu Shih left in Peking in December 1948 when he fled to Nanking. The three-volume collection of Hu Shih's correspondence was first published for restricted internal circulation in the People's Republic in 1979. This restriction was later lifted, and the collection was published again in Hong Kong in 1983.[3] This collection includes 1,346 letters covering the period from 1915 to 1948. Of these 1,346 letters, 139 were written by Hu Shih; the rest were written to him by his friends, col-

Hu Shih, April 1956. He wrote on the picture: I was not wearing glasses and I felt that I looked a little like my mother.

leagues, students, and contemporaries. Even though only ten percent of the letters were written by Hu Shih, this collection provides us with a rich source for studying Hu Shih's attitude toward many social issues and current events that were important during the period from the Pre-May Fourth Movement to the eve of the downfall of the Kuomintang government. Since this collection covers the most important period in Hu Shih's life and involves so many leading intellectuals, it is an indispensable source for the study of Hu Shih, and a useful reference for the students of modern Chinese intellectual history as well.

Hu Shih ti jih-chi (The Diary of Hu Shih) was published in 1985.[4] This two-volume collection covers several periods in Hu Shih's life:

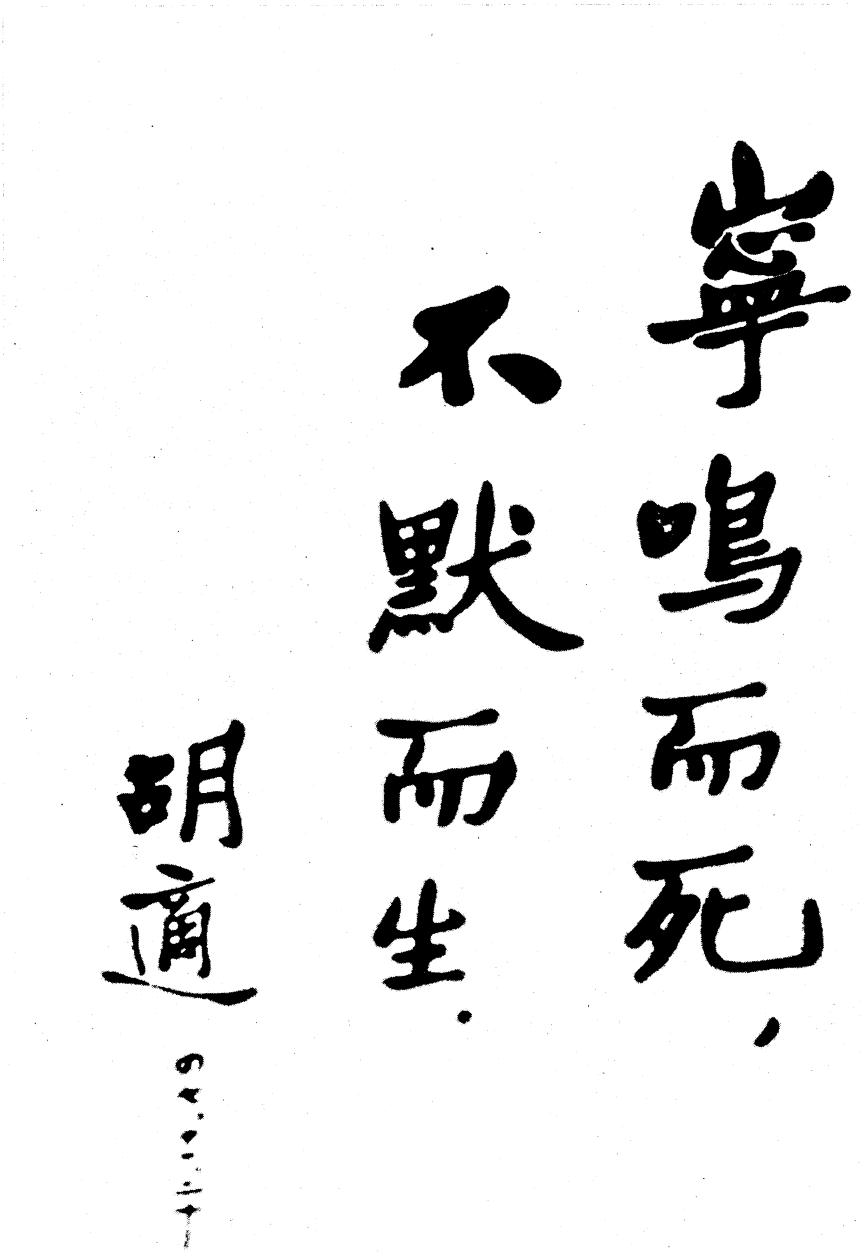
1. January 24 to March 23, 1910
2. April 27 to November 14, 1921
3. February 4 to November 23, 1922
4. January 1 to June 21; July 20 to August 2; September 7 to October 19, 1937
5. thirty-seven non-consecutive days in 1944.

The basic style of this collection is consistent with Hu-Shih's famous *Liu-hsüeh jih-chi (Hu Shih's Diary Kept While Studying Abroad)*, written when he was a student in the United States. Occasionally, Hu Shih did reveal his private sentiments in his diary, but this was by no means his common practice. Some parts of Hu Shih's diary remind me of the seventeenth century notebook *Jih-chih lu (A Record of Daily Learning)* written by Ku Yen-wu (1613-82), one of the leading late Ming and early Ch'ing scholars. Hu Shih's diary is not simply a record of what he did in a day; more important, it served as record of what he thought and studied. Hu Shih's many published articles were actually first drafted in his diary. Therefore, Hu's diary is an important source not only for studying his personal life, but also for understanding the methodology in his scholarship.

In addition, the Academy has also edited and published official telegrams between Hu Shih and the Kuomintang government sent during the period between September 1938 and September 1942, while he was the Chinese ambassador to the United States.[5] The publication of these telegrams has shed new light on Sino-American relations during these four years, and has brought to light Hu Shih's views on the Sino-Japanese war.

A very comprehensive index of Hu Shih's works was edited by Chi Wei-lung, a librarian of Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh, and published by Jen-min ch'u-pan she in Shanghai in 1984.[6] So far, this is the most complete and reliable index in Hu Shih's works. A major chronological biography (*nien-p'u*) of Hu Shih compiled by Chi Wei-lung and Ts'ao Po-yen is near completion and will be published by An-hui chiao-yü ch'u-pan she in the near future.[7] These new publications of Hu Shih's works show a growing interest among Chinese scholars in this formerly condemned intellectual.

One of the most significant events reflecting the new official policy of partially rehabilitating Hu Shih's reputation in the People's Republic was the publication in serial form of Hu Shih's biography in *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, one of the major official newspapers, from October 7 to November 3, 1986. In the conclusion of this series, Pai Chi-an, the author, recognized Hu Shih's scholarly contributions in the areas of Chinese philosophy, literature, and textual studies (*k'ao-cheng*), and praised him as the pioneer who opened new vistas and introduced new methodologies in these fields. However, Hu Shih was charged with being too conservative politically and not flexible enough in his "bourgeois liberalism." As the author put it, Hu Shih eventually stood on the opposite side of the people, and this is "the tragedy of his life."[8]



Hu Shih's calligraphy: "I will speak out and die, rather than remain silent and live." [Quoted from Fan Chung-yen's (989-1052) "Ling-wu fu."]

This conclusion more or less sums up the official view of Hu Shih: recognize his academic contributions, but condemn his politics. This official stance is perfectly realized in the following two books.

Keng Yün-chih's *Hu Shih yen-chiu lun-kao (Draft of Studies on Hu Shih)*,[9] published in 1985, is one of the most comprehensive scholarly works on Hu Shih published in the People's Republic of China since 1949. This book includes nine long articles, one appendix and a *nien-p'u*, or chronological biography. The first seven articles can be divided into three categories: (1) Hu Shih's influence on the vernacular literary movement and the new cultural movement, both of which took place in the late 1920s; (2) Hu Shih's scholarship, methodology, and philosophy; and (3) the change in Hu Shih's political attitude from the 1920s to the 1930s. Articles eight and nine are comparative studies of Hu Shih with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Hu Shih with Ch'en Tu-hsiu.

Slightly less than half of the entire book is devoted to Hu Shih's chronological biography. This *nien-p'u* is not as comprehensive as the ten-volume *Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao (First Draft of a Comprehensive Chronological Biography of Mr. Hu Shih-chih)*, compiled by Hu Sung-p'ing and published in Taipei in 1984.[10] However, it is selective and well-condensed. The *Ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao* is so comprehensive that it is almost a chronological summary of Hu Shih's complete works.

The quality of the *nien-p'u* in Keng's book, however, deteriorates with the advance in Hu Shih's age; this is particularly obvious for the period after Hu Shih left China in 1948. I suspect that this is due to the unavailability of the primary material on Hu Shih's later years in China. For Hu Shih's late years, especially the last four years that he spent in Taiwan as the Director of the Academia Sinica, the *Ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao* compiled by Hu Sung-p'ing provides a much fuller picture of Hu's life.

Since Keng Yün-chih is an associate researcher in the National Academy of Social Sciences in Peking and the Academy is the officially designated institute for editing Hu Shih's works, Keng has access to a great amount of Hu Shih's unpublished correspondence, diaries, and manuscripts. The author also has access to many newspapers and magazines published from the 1920's to the 1940's that are difficult to find in Taiwan and the United States. For instance, the author has quoted from several letters written by Hu Shih to his fiancée, Chiang Tung-hsiu, while he was still a graduate student in the United States. These letters, never before published, provide us with im-

portant information about Hu Shih's views on his own marriage and on his relation to Chiang Tung-hsiu.[11] The author's search for original material deserves great praise.

The interpretation that the author has adopted is clearly in accordance with official policy. In the conclusion of the first chapter, he contends:

> To sum up, we must do whatever we can to use Marxist dialectics to do the research. The dialectical method is the only proper method. Only with this method can we find the truth of history; no other methods will help us accomplish this goal.[12]

This passage underscores the rigidity of a communist scholar's frame of reference and the limited freedom that he has in his academic research. It is virtually impossible to give a fair assessment of Hu Shih's contributions on the basis of such a politically biased and limited point of view. Although the author discusses Hu Shih's political thought, he is unable to free himself from the dialectic of the struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Any ideas or opinions sympathetic to the Kuomintang are condemned as "counterrevolutionary" or "feudalistic." On the other hand, anyone who supported the Communist Party is praised as "progressive" or "revolutionary." Hu Shih's patriotism definitely transcended the limits of partisan politics, but communist scholars always try to misrepresent Hu as being loyal to the Kuomintang rather than to China.

Keng Yün-chih uses innumerable vaguely defined terms in his book, including "feudalism," "capitalism," "liberalism," "new democratic revolution," "old democratic revolution," and others. This is not just his personal style; but rather it is a common phenomenon among communist scholars in China. Such conventions often make scholars' papers sound like political propaganda tracts. The concept that academic research should have its own domain, and that it need not serve a political purpose is, to a certain extent, a fantasy in contemporary China. After almost forty years of communist education and a decade of severe and brutal persecution of intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution, academic independence has become an unattainable luxury for Chinese scholars in the People's Republic. While one may criticize their dogmatism, one must also be sympathetic to the political environment in which they have lived and in which they must continue to live and work.

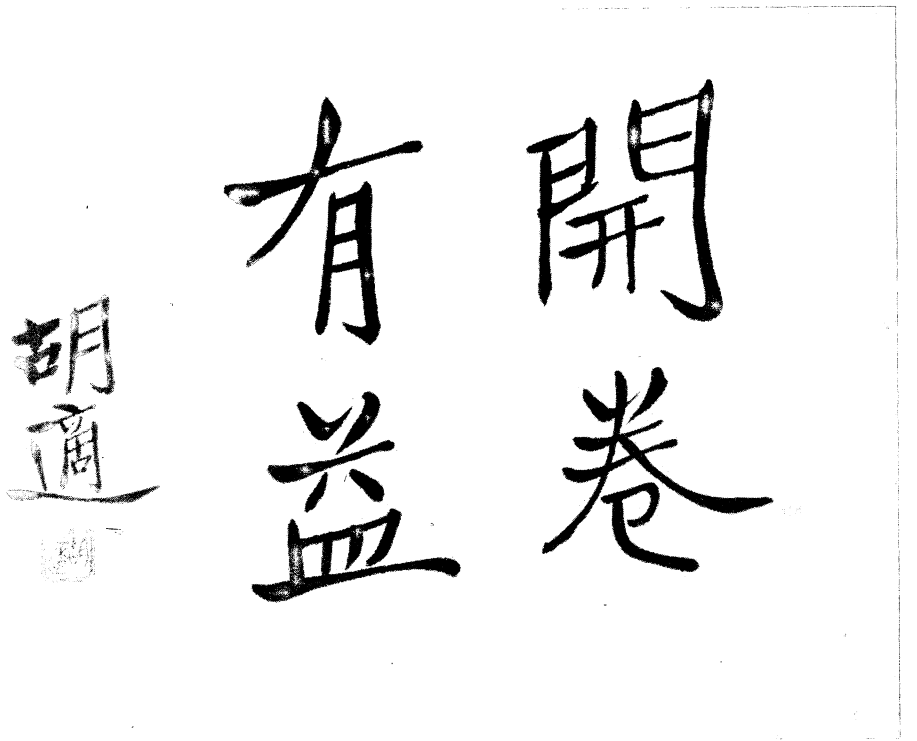
Shih Yüan-kao's *Hsien-hua Hu Shih (My Random Reflections on Hu Shih)*,

published by Jen-min ch'u-pan she in An-hui in 1985, is another book devoted solely to Hu Shih.[13] This is not a scholarly work, but rather a personal memoir. The author was a close relative of the Hu family and had a long association with Hu Shih and his wife. Compared to Keng's book, *Hsien-hua Hu Shih* is rather apolitical. However, as the author states in his postscript, he was very hesitant and apprehensive about publishing his memoir. Only after many of his friends encouraged him to write a book on Hu Shih did he free himself from the worry of "being burned by the fire" (that is, of being politically persecuted for his remarks).[14] This tells us that studying Hu Shih in China today is not without its risks. Since the author worries about being persecuted, he subtly added some remarks to protect himself. In the preface to Shih's book, Liu Hai-su, a well known artist and an acquaintance of Hu Shih, portrayed Hu as "a tragic character who died along with a corrupt regime."[15] Here, the "corrupt regime," of course, refers to the Kuomintang. Liu Hai-su also wrote that had Hu Shih returned to China in his late years, his mother country would have welcomed him.[16] Anyone with even the slightest knowledge of modern Chinese history would know that this is a bald-faced lie.

Although most of Shih Yüan-kao's interpretations and arguments are fair and apolitical, he still occasionally inserts some "party lines" in his writing. He argues that Hu Shih's motivation in publishing his scholarly paper, "Shuo-ju" (On [the origins and development of the concept] *ju*), was to show his support for the "New Life Movement" (Hsin sheng-huo yün-tung), which was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934.[17] It is beyond my comprehension that Hu Shih's motivation could have been political or that the publication of this article could have actually helped Chiang Kai-shek promote the "New Life Movement." However, it is quite understandable if we read these arguments as part of the author's attempt to protect himself by showing his loyalty to the Communist Party. In the chapter entitled "What kind of scholar was Hu Shih?" the political propaganda is no longer subtle but blatant: it echoes the recent government policies of "Four Modernizations" and the "Unification of China and Taiwan."[18]

While it is true that the current political situation in the People's Republic of China generally restricts such pursuits as the study of Hu Shih, on the other hand Taiwanese avenues of research are not themselves totally open and unlimited. Several of the publications mentioned above, including Hu Shih's correspondence and diary, are still only partially available in Taiwan

and are still sensitive documents. If Hu Shih was the most deadly enemy of the Communist Party, he was by no means the Kuomintang's darling. This is probably the true tragedy of Hu Shih.



Calligraphy of Dr. Hu Shih, written for the Gest Library. It reads: "Open a book and benefit."

NOTES

1. Hu Shih was appointed the Curator of the Gest Oriental Library on May 14, 1950. His official title was "Fellow of the University Library and Curator of the Gest Oriental Library with rank of full Professor." He held this position for two years, and continued to serve as Honorary Curator until his death. Hu Shih evaluated the Gest collection, and wrote several articles related to the Gest Oriental Library:

"My Early Association with the Gest Oriental Library," *Green Pyne Leaf*, vol. 6 (June 1951), pp. 1-3.

"Eleven Centuries of Chinese Printing: Introduction to an Exhibition of Books from the Gest Oriental Library." This article was not published but exhibited in the Gest Library in April, 1962.

"The Gest Oriental Library: The Eye Trouble of an Engineering Contractor Leads to a Rare Collection of 100,000 Volumes," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* (March 7, 1952), pp. 9-10.

"The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Spring, 1954), pp. 113-41. This article was translated by Ch'en Chi-ying, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Kai-ssu-t'e tung-fang shou-ts'ang* (Taipei: Ch'ung-kuang wen-i ch'u-pan she, 1965).

For Hu Shih's appointment, see Hu Shih, *Hu Shih kei Chao Yüan-jen ti hsin* (Taipei: Hao-wang-chiao, 1970), p. 36. For the Exhibition in the Gest Library, see Chuang Shen, "Chi P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ko-ssu-t'e tung-fang t'u-shu kuan chui-tao Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng chu-tso chan-lan hui chi ch'i hsiang-kuan chih shih-liao," *Ta-lu tsa-chih*, 24: 10 (May, 1962), pp. 18-24.

2. Most articles published during this smear campaign were collected in *Hu Shih ssu-hsiang p'i-p'an*, 8 vols. (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1955).
3. *Hu Shih lai-wang shu-hsin hsüan*. Ed. Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan, Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so, Chung-hua min-kuo shih yen-chiu shih. 3 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979; rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983).
4. *Hu Shih ti jih-chi*. Ed. Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan, Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so, Chung-hua min-kuo shih yen-chiu shih. 2 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-tien, 1985).
5. *Hu Shih jen chu-Mei ta-shih ch'i-chien wang-lai tien-kao* Ed. Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan, Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so Chung-hua min-kuo shih tsu. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1978).
6. *Hu Shih chu-i hsi-nien mu-lu yü fen-lei so-yin*. Ed. Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh t'u-shu kuan. (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1984).
7. For more information about the Hu Shih *so-yin* and *nien-p'u*, see Chi Wei-lung, "Kuan-yü Hu Shih chu-i hsi-nien mu-lu yü fen-lei so-yin ho Hu Shih nien-p'u pien-chih ching-kuo," *T'u-shu kuan tsa-chih*, No. 18 (June 1986), pp. 40-44.
8. Pai Chi-an, "Hu Shih chuan," *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, November 3, 1986.
9. Keng Yün-chih, *Hu Shih yen-chiu lun-kao* (Ssu-ch'uan: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1985), hereafter: Keng.

10. Hu Sung-p'ing, *Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao*, 10 vols. (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1984).
11. Keng, p. 334; p. 341; p. 346.
12. Keng, p. 36.
13. Shih Yüan-kao, *Hsien-hua Hu Shih* (An-hui: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1985), hereafter: Shih.
14. Shih, p. 208.
15. Shih, p. iii.
16. Shih, p. iii.
17. Shih, p. 173.
18. Shih, p. 44.

GLOSSARY

An-hui chiao-yü ch'u-pan she
安徽教育出版社
Ch'en Chi-ying 陳紀瀅
Chi P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ko-ssu-t'e tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chui-tao Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng chu-tso chan-lan hui chi ch'i hsiang-kuan chih shih-liao
記普林斯頓大學葛斯特東方圖書館追悼胡適之先生著作展覽會及其相關之史料
Chi Wei-lung 季維龍
Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石
Chuang Shen 莊申
Chung-hua min-kuo shih tsu
中華民國史組
Chung-hua min-kuo shih yen-chiu shih
中華民國史研究室
Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan, Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so
中國社會科學院近代史研究所
Hsien-hua Hu Shih 閒話胡適
Hsin sheng-huo yün-tung 新生活運動
Hu Shih 胡適
Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao
胡適之先生年譜長編初稿
Hu Shih chu-i hsi-nien mu-lu yü fen-lei so-yin
胡適著譯系年目錄與分類索引
Hu Shih chuan 胡適傳
Hu Shih jen chu-Mei ta-shih ch'i-chien wang-lai tien-kao
胡適任駐美大使期間往來電稿
Hu Shih kei Chao Yüan-jen ti hsin
胡適給趙元任的信
Hu Shih lai-wang shu-hsin hsüan
胡適來往書信選
Hu Shih ssu-hsiang p'i-p'an
胡適思想批判
Hu Shih ti jih-chi 胡適的日記
Hu Shih yen-chiu lun-kao
胡適研究論稿
Hu Sung-p'ing 胡頌平
Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh
華東師範大學
Jen-min ch'u-pan she 人民出版社
Jih-chih lu 日知錄
k'ao-cheng 考證
Keng Yün-chih 耿云志
Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武
Kuan-yü Hu Shih chu-i hsi-nien mu-lu yü fen-lei so-yin ho Hu Shih nien-p'u pien-chih ching-kuo
關於胡適著譯系年目錄與分類索引和胡適年譜編制經過
Kuang-ming jih-pao 光明日報
Kuomintang 國民黨

Liu Hai-su 劉海粟
Liu-hsüeh jih-chi 留學日記
nien-p'u 年譜
Pai Chi-an 白吉庵
P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Kai-ssu-t'e tung-fang shou-ts'ang
普林斯頓大學蓋斯特東方收藏
Shih Yüan-kao 石原皋
Shuo-ju 說儒
Ta-lu tsa-chih 大陸雜誌
Ts'ao Po-yen 曹伯言
T'u-shu kuan tsa-chih 圖書館雜誌

Table of Errata

Volume I, Number 1 (Winter 1986)

PAGE / LINE	ERROR	CORRECTION
"Table of Illus."/1	*ch'üan-chi*	*ch'üan-shu*
2/20	Toronto	Montreal
9/8	former	latter
20/1	*ch'üan-chi*	*ch'üan-shu*
55/2	Toronto	Montreal

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