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Calligraphy and the East Asian Book

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With the Collaboration of Ch'en Pao-chen,

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From the Editors

Announcements

Acquisitions

The Gest Library is continually in the process of acquiring new collections that will round out the research capabilities of the Chinese and Japanese holdings. A recent purchase adds enormous interest to Gest's already strong store of books on traditional Asian medicine. It is described in the News and Notes section.

The Upcoming Exhibit

It has long been announced and also long anticipated. But just the very appearance of this special catalogue seems to bring the exhibition into fruition. The photographs are ready, the labels are written, and the impetus is strong. Although the exact date of the exhibit cannot yet be determined because of the problems of construction, we are still scheduled for the Spring of 1989 — the first major exhibit to be mounted in the expanded galleries of the Art Museum at Princeton University. We hope that Friends of the Gest Library will make great use of the catalogue before they tour the museum; that is one of its major purposes.

Friends will be getting, sometime around November or December of this year, an announcement about the special opening reception and special tours for them. We are hoping that we can meet as many of you as possible on those occasions.

Finally, if you think that the catalogue is as useful and educational as we do, and if you would like to help the Friends, remember to spread the word about it to non-members and non-subscribers. It will be available to them as a back issue.

The Contributors

Professor Mote and Dr. Chu have been introduced before. We might only add that Prof. Mote is now emeritus, yet, as usual, he is frequently in town giving us advice, good cheer, and scholarly contributions. Dr. Chu, in addition to his duties for the *Journal*, is completing an analytical bibliography with abstracts for the valuable Hishi Collection, acquired in 1968. It will constitute one of the most useful and rich guides to the *belle lettre* writings of late imperial scholars, poets, and essayists yet published in the West.

New to us are Ch'en Pao-chen, W.F. Anita Siu, and Richard Kent. Pao-chen received her Ph.D. in 1987 with a dissertation on early Chinese narrative painting. She is currently the Curator of the Far Eastern Seminar in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton, and Assistant Curator of Far Eastern Art at the Art Museum, Princeton University. Anita has her B.A. from the University of Hong Kong and worked on special art publishing projects at the University of Arizona. She is currently a graduate student at the Art and Archaeology Department, specializing in Chinese painting and calligraphy. Rick Kent has a B.A. from Oberlin and has taught at Tung-hai University in Taipei. He is writing a dissertation on Shih T'ao, a famous painter of Buddhist themes in the seventeenth century. He is a Mellon fellow, conducting research at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, and is responsible for the photography in the present catalogue.

News and Notes from the Gest Library

A chance meeting in 1948 in China between Frederick W. Mote and Richard Rudolph, now emeritus professor at UCLA, proved instrumental forty years later in Gest Library's recent acquisition of an extraordinary collection of Chinese and Japanese books. Over the years Professor Rudolph built his personal library and kept in touch with Professor Mote. When the latter was told last year that part of the collection (mostly dealing with traditional Asian medicine and Buddhism) was available, he informed Gest Library, which was only too happy to add these works to its collection. This lot of about fifty works, a portion of Rudolph's library, shows the careful selection made over an extended period of time. A small number of fine Japanese woodblock prints, mostly relating to medicine, were included, in addition to the books. While Gest Library does not acquire graphics as a matter of course, the East Asian Studies Program generously supported the purchase of these prints, which illustrate smallpox, pregnancy, and other areas of medicine.

Oldest in the collection of books are two Sung and Yüan printed fragments of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sutra. In accordian bindings, these woodblock printed works originated at the K'ai–yüan Temple in Fu-chou. Also of special note is a rare dated copy of *Tsung ching lu*, a work on Buddhist doctrine written by the tenth-century monk Yen-shou. This copy, from a Northern Sung edition of the Tung-ch'an Temple Tripitaka edition is also bound in accordian fashion. Beside the date of 1108 found in the text, the names of the block carvers and the printer also appear.

A single sheet of *inbutsu* (printed Buddhas) is the earliest Japanese work in the collection. The sheet contains 100 images of Amida Buddha printed in the eleventh century from a single block. It was found in the Joruri Temple near Nara after the Second World War with other similar prints.

Also included in the collection are very rare manuscripts written by the priest Kaien from 1265-70, nineteenth-century Japanese pictorial descriptions of scenic places, works on botany, and a number of Japanese medical books, many of which are reprints or translations of works originally in Chinese and other languages, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. These are the first rare Japanese materials on medicine bought for Gest Library. They will form the beginning of a complementary branch to the outstanding collection of Chinese traditional medicine books Guion M. Gest bought in the early decades of this century. Some other Sung and Yüan printings, a Manchu-Chinese edition of *The Four Books*, and other works round out this exceptional acquisition.

A Guide to Citation and Labeling Style

Notes are given at the ends of sections or section parts. The authors have handled note citations differently. Miss Siu's writing is attached directly to her labels and does not contain notes. Dr. Ch'en has given references to scholarly literature in art history at various places throughout her essays. Dr. Chu has gathered together general bibliographical and biographical references under one note in each discussion of an illustration (but occasionally related to a group of illustrations, as seen in Section 5). At the end of the book there is a complete bibliography of all secondary works cited.

Glossary A lists the Chinese and Japanese renderings of words and phrases given in transliteration in the text: such things as technical expressions, minor place names, reign names, publishing studios, and the like. Glossary B lists the same for names of art items, artists, and calligraphers stated in the labels and the text. (This includes many titles of published books and their authors or compilers; they are not in the bibliography, as they are considered primary sources.) Glossary B also includes the names (with dates where appropriate) of all other persons discussed in the text.

The labels state "Source" only where a photograph has had to be taken directly from a previously published collection of art illustrations. The reader is asked to refer to that source (it will be given again in the bibliography) for detailed information about the artwork. Without "Source," please assume that the illustration used in the discussion was photographed directly from the stated "Collection."

Ironically in a history of calligraphers, inscribers, and blockcutters, almost all are unknown, reflecting to some degree the nature of Chinese society. When we do have such information, in a few cases, we state "Calligrapher," sometimes indicating an uncertain attribution. Also, the text throughout discusses the types or models of calligraphy followed in the

illustrated works. These schools of calligraphy are a main part of its history, but often the facts are not neat enough to create a separate category within the label data for them.

The "Author" category refers to authors of texts, not to calligraphers or inscribers. This is encountered in the labels mostly for the calligraphy of the later periods, when the discussion turns to printed books. Where "Author" is not listed, the original author (perhaps of a standard early classic, or a recently discovered archaeological fragment) is not pertinent or is unknown.

"Date" always refers to the execution of the art illustrated, or publication of the book illustrated. It is not a reference to the date of the writing of the original text.

Special Abbreviations Used in Notes, Labels, and Bibliography

Chung-kuo pan-k'o	*Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu*, Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, comp.
DMB	*Dictionary of Ming Biography*, Goodrich & Fang, eds.
ECCP	*Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Hummel, ed.
Ming-jen	*Ming-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin*, Kuo-li chung-yang . . . , comp.
Ō-Bei shūzō	*Ō-Bei shūzō Chūgoku hōsho meiseki shū*, Nakata & Fu, eds.
SKTY	*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*, Chi Yün, ed.
Shodō	*Shodō zenshū*, Kanda, ed.
T'ai-wan shu-ming so-yin	*T'ai-wan kung-ts'ang shan-pen shu-mu shu-ming so-yin*, Kuo-li chung-yang . . . , comp.

Special Acknowledgments

Those who have prepared this catalogue issue of *The Gest Library Journal* must acknowledge their indebtedness to many persons, including colleagues on the scene and scholars past and present. Especially to be mentioned are two teachers who have taught the history of Chinese printing and the history and aesthetics of Chinese calligraphy at Princeton. First is the late Professor Ch'ü Wan-li of the Academia Sinica, Taiwan, whose stirring seminar on the history of Chinese printing at Princeton in the spring semester, 1977, is remembered in gratitude by many of us. Professor Ch'ü's *Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library* (Taipei, 1974) is cited throughout this exhibition catalogue. Second is Professor Wen C. Fong, whose seminar on Chinese calligraphy, offered several times in recent years, has been the fountainhead of knowledge for a generation of experts. His advice and encouragement to the compilers of this catalogue have been of inestimable value.

During early stages of preparation for the present catalogue we were greatly aided by Mr. Shen Jin, Associate Curator for Rare Books and Special Collections, Shanghai Municipal Library. Mr. Shen gave unstintingly of his immense knowledge during two visits to Princeton in 1986-87.

Among recent publications concerning the history of printing, the following have been indispensable: Denis Twitchett's *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China* (London: The Wynken De Worde Soc., 1983), Sören Edgren's *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute in America, 1985), and Tsien Tsuen-hsuin's *Paper and Printing*, in Vol. V, Part 1 of J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1985). In the field of Chinese calligraphy we have relied on Shen C. Y. Fu's, *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale U. Art Gallery, 1977), Professor Fong's, "Images of the Mind," in Fong et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Paintings at the Art Museum, Princeton University*. (Princeton: The Art Museum, Prince-

ton U., 1984), pp. 1-212, and Shen Fu, Glenn D. Lowry, and Anne Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Inst., 1986).

Most importantly, the compilers are indebted to Princeton's Gest Oriental Research Library, Diane Perushek, its Curator, and the University Art Museum. The rich holdings of these institutions and their expert curatorial staffs make possible undertakings of this kind. The farsighted and generous donors who have given to these two repositories of art and learning challenge us to respond to their benefactions. The present exhibition and catalogue are gestures in that direction.

Finally, we must acknowledge generous gifts of materials, including recent scholarly publications as well as facsimile reproductions of early printed books and collections of calligraphic masterpieces, donated by National Palace Museum, Taipei, and the National Central Library, Taipei. These valuable gifts, intended for reference in preparing the exhibition and catalogue, have become part of the permanent holdings of Gest Library.

F. W. MOTE
H. L. CHU

Calligraphy and the East Asian Book

Preface: Calligraphy and Books —Their Evolving Relationship Through Chinese History

FREDERICK W. MOTE

Chinese civilization presents innumerable problems of understanding, some of which have intrigued Westerners, who often think that by reason of their sympathetic inclination toward things Chinese they consequently have penetrated the culture, or have gained a measure of Chinese understanding. On analyzing such matters closely, however, we may discover that although we have made satisfying associations, we have not really understood. In fact, many Chinese themselves may fail to go beyond familiar intuitions, seeing little reason to be analytical about their own civilization. Comprehending calligraphy as high art is one of those difficult problems.

This essay will not attempt to probe deeply into the aesthetic content of that art form, but it will attempt to show that a genuine problem of understanding exists, and to clarify its boundaries. Doing so will at least help us in looking at and thinking about the items selected for an exhibition called "Calligraphy and the East Asian Book." In fact, two problems, not one, confront us: first we must understand what made calligraphy so important in East Asia; second, we must see what part it played in the long history of the Chinese and East Asian book. Of course, it is also perfectly valid simply to enjoy the items displayed for their direct appeal to the senses without going further. Neither course is intrinsically more appropriate than the other. Yet the latter course may generate the most common and the most

crippling of errors we can make when observing a civilization from the outside: assuming analogies that do not exist. Let us at least go as far as to show that Chinese calligraphy is quite unlike calligraphy in our Western traditions.

We can get to the crux of the matter by posing a comparison. The facts are well known. China's long tradition in the graphic arts has produced its succession of creative geniuses — its Botticellis, Michelangelos, Rembrandts, and Picassos. As analogues, we might name such Chinese masters as Li Kung-lin, who died in the twelfth century, Ni Tsan of the fourteenth, Wen Cheng-ming of the sixteenth, and Chang Ta-ch'ien of the twentieth. All of these great painters, like their European counterparts, devoted the principal energies of their lives to their painting brushes. Yet not one of the European artists mentioned, or any others whose names come to mind, was a calligrapher, nor did they consider calligraphers to be artists like themselves. We might leap to the conclusion that the reason lay with their painting brushes. The Western painters' brush was not a writing instrument. The Chinese painters' brush was the same as that used by all literate persons for writing; in addition, the Chinese painter painted primarily on the same paper, with the same ink, used for calligraphy. Thus in the European case the material factors of painting were not shared with calligraphy, while in the Chinese case they were. But if we are looking for what caused calligraphy in China to become a high art, this will not do. Brush, ink, paper, and the shared skills of their use provide nothing more than material and efficient causes; they have nothing to do with the final cause, the ultimate reason for calligraphy to be regarded as the supreme expressive art. All the Chinese masters named above and fundamentally all other Chinese painters shared the view that their calligraphy, or other artists' calligraphy, was so important that painting was at best its handmaiden. It is unthinkable that calligraphy as known in the West could have assumed such importance in the minds of Western painters. Although they could greatly admire the beauty of medieval manuscripts or of Roman epigraphy, they did not acknowledge any calligrapher as a great creative figure in the traditions of their own art. Why? The answer does not lie with the materials or the skills of the practitioners of calligraphy, or of typeface design when that became the related minor art in the fifteenth century. The answer lies in the nature of the Chinese script itself.

Our intuitions as admirers of East Asian art can carry us this far. Can we go beyond that and press for a more analytical understanding of the ways in which the script itself could serve as the subject matter of art, to provide the "intrinsic meaning," the content of an art "expressive of human feelings?"[1] Calligraphers in China gave form to the intrinsic meaning conveyed by the script, as they also did (and as Western painters exclusively did) with rocks and trees and human figures, all the elements of nature that form the subject matter of painting. If we do not know Chinese, the script can be seen as abstract forms, but it is not abstract. To a Chinese calligrapher, no matter how radically he may reduce and simplify, or (less typically) ornament and complicate, calligraphy must be legible at some level of perception; it must convey words. The same may be said of Western calligraphy. The difference lies in the nature of the Chinese script itself: its forms are capable of a vast range of extension and variation, subject to the discipline of traditions and the inventiveness of personal styles, for which alphabetic scripts in the Western tradition offer no counterpart. (Islamic calligraphy is excluded here because it is inadequately understood by this writer.)[2]

That is not to denegrate Western calligraphy. Artistic elements of rhythm, balance, and design often were superbly used by the great writing masters to create pages of striking beauty. Their skill in using stylus or pen is often astounding, the elaborate flourishes they loved to add at beginnings and endings can be marvels of perfectly executed, intricately contrived design. A lifetime of practice, a steady hand, and an acute eye for relationships can be discerned in the work of the best calligraphers of their tradition, extending from late Roman times to the present. Their art stressed above all the skill to duplicate strokes with almost machine-like precision, yet precision lightened by the subtle variations that the human hand could impart. It serves no purpose here to evaluate their achievement as greater or lesser than that of East Asian calligraphers. It does, however, serve to describe Western calligraphy more precisely, to note that its place in the self-conscious tradition of Western art was quite different from the subjectively perceived place of calligraphy in East Asia. The calligraphers thought of themselves as doing different things, and were granted different places in their artistic traditions because of that.

One can go a step further in analyzing the character of calligraphy and point out why the artistic act of writing was different, East and West. Again

the difference must be traced to the different natures of the scripts themselves. The most obvious difference is that the graphic symbols, the individual letters of Western scripts number only from twenty to thirty; with capitals, plus lower case letters and nine numerals, they comprise a set of about sixty units. They must be repeated many times on a page, and thus both ideally and practically, must become highly standardized in the process of constant repetition. A good Western calligrapher is one who can repeat the model endlessly with uniformity. Graceful variation comes from subtle elements, such as the positioning of letters in word-units, from mere nuances of individuality in essentially repetitive strokes, from the format of the page, and the like. The range of variation is controlled by the small number of distinctive units — the letters comprising the script. Those letters must be repeated with fluent evenness, letters all of similar height (even though a few extend above the line and a few below, those extensions are similar), the same stroke always thicker or thinner in the same way, all letters either precisely vertical or all inclined in the same way, creating a forward-moving rhythm of repetition. Initial capitals and flourishes of penmanship of a stylized kind allow bits of flamboyance in defiance of that repetition, thereby serving to call attention to it more strongly. Within those conditions six or eight standard styles have prevailed, all derived either from classical inscriptions or from medieval manuscripts, none from the impulses and creative vision of great artists active in the fields of painting or graphic arts. The great artists of Western tradition were doing other things. They were creating forms based on the forms of nature, the subject matter of their paintings and sculptures and drawings. The calligrapher, in contrast, was confined to the simple set of letter shapes that in turn formed word units matching the sounds of speech, as transcribed in twenty or thirty phonetic symbols. The calligrapher-artist had but the most limited degree of control over the forms that he used. They were not reflections of nature. Neither were they ideal creations of his mind. They were symbolic representations of phonemes, the constituent elements of speech. Morphemes or words, with their attendant ideas and their greater stimulus to thought, were a quite secondary preoccupation of the calligrapher.

Chinese script in contrast is one of multiplicity of forms. Instead of the fifty or sixty repeated symbols of the alphabetic scripts, Chinese script makes regular use of literally thousands of characters. To be sure, some one or two hundred of those are of high frequency, yet repetition is not the

dominant feature of the script. It does not demand the constant repetition of a few basic elements that we take for granted in alphabetic scripts. Moreover its units are linear symbols of complete syllables that can be read as words, as semantic units; they are not semantically empty letters. The meaning of the word is in the mind of the calligrapher as he writes it, not secondarily but immediately. He assembles its parts and designs its structure as he writes it so that it will be distinct from the 50,000 other characters that it would be possible to write. The words are not pictures, though in many cases are remotely derived from pictures. Thus it is difficult to say that they are "reflections of nature" to a significantly greater degree than are letters of an alphabet. To a significant degree, however, they could be ideal creations of the artist's mind. That is to say, his freedom to adjust the relationships of the parts, the balance of the elements, the angles and thicknesses of the lines, the links from one character to another, is so vastly greater than that involving elements of alphabetic scripts that, while bearing in mind to whatever degree he might wish the semantic content of the character, he could create an ideal expression from the linear elements composing the symbol. Thus, both from the fact that its units are morphemes and from the fact that the lines composing each character unit are many and varied and that the writer can make innumerable expressive choices in the way he shapes and assembles those lines, the Chinese script is fundamentally dissimilar to Western scripts.

The total outsider to the Chinese language and script, unless he is an experienced viewer of Chinese art, may think he sees explanations for the high place of calligraphy in the arts on analogy to beautiful writing in Western scripts. He will almost certainly be wrong. Almost nothing we can accurately say about Western calligraphy conveys significance for the understanding of Chinese calligraphy as high art. On the other hand, any serious student of Chinese or East Asian civilizations who knows the language and has learned to write the script may be so totally fascinated by the curious appeal of the Chinese characters that he will think he knows why. He may or may not be able to put his reasons into words.

How did the linear symbols standing for the more or less fifty thousand morphemes of the Chinese language acquire their overriding importance as art? It was the result of a process of artistic development that probably began during the Han dynasty, two thousand years ago. It coincided with the widespread use of paper for writing, and the adaptation to paper of the

much older Chinese ink and writing brush. This material factor is not unimportant, but it is but one element in the history of that development. Theoretical considerations of aesthetics also date from about that time. Literature of imagination also flourished. And new facile script styles were replacing older, clumsier ones — clumsier in the sense of being less readily written, no matter how beautiful they were. All of these developments occurred together. The importance attached to literacy and to literary learning involved the entire upper stratum of Chinese society in the daily use of writing. At that time, something most unusual in the history of civilizations occurred in China. The literary and graphic arts acquired maturity under conditions that made the entire literate elite both performer and audience, both producer and consumer of all their arts, that is, the higher arts of that cultural milieu. Primarily those were arts performed with brush, ink, and paper — poetry, calligraphy, and other literary and artistic forms. Music was their only artistic activity of high importance to them that lay beyond brush and ink. Chinese elite society did not hire its artists from other sectors or cultivate its poets among eccentric specialists, as almost all other societies have done. All cultivated men took part both in creating and in appreciating. That meant that the artists' inner secrets of creation were in some measure accessible to all. Because calligraphy assumed such significance and benefited from such widely shared participation, it developed very rapidly. It was a central fixation of the civilization because everyone, as performer himself, could grasp the import of the great masters' achievements, even when he could not equal those. Between the end of the Han dynasty in the third century and the beginning of the T'ang in the seventh, a succession of great calligraphers defined the norms of calligraphy for all later ages. They gave calligraphy its creative scope and made it the premier art throughout East Asia.

From that time to the present, scholars have studied the art historical problems of Chinese calligraphy. They tend to write for each other, as specialists who know what calligraphy is. When they discuss what has been referred to above as the "aesthetic content" of calligraphy, they invariably invoke artful metaphors intended to reveal the special qualities of the great masters. They often speak of "visual energy and excitement," or the "impulse, momentum, poise, and interplay of forces as in dance," in describing a masterwork. Metaphors of movement best convey the qualities that the connoisseur values in this art. Yet it is also common to say that calligra-

phy's inspiration lies in nature, which may be true, but which becomes misleading when developed to the point of declaring that each stroke, each dot, is alive like a living twig or other living thing. A useful metaphor, unless it implies actual imitation of nature in calligraphy. The brushwork of some painters is called "calligraphic," but that implies the opposite, not that brush strokes imitate twigs but that twigs are drawn as if they were brush strokes. In that, twigs are reduced to symbols, symbols are not elaborated to become twigs.

The aesthetic content of calligraphy lies beyond the present concern and, in any case, would be a problem for experts in East Asian art to pursue. The purpose of this essay up to this point has been to show how the particular nature of the Chinese script made it possible for it to become something more than "beautiful writing" (the literal meaning of calligraphy), to serve as the vehicle for the most highly honored of the Chinese arts. While the art historical problems have scarcely been touched upon here, we may at least have gained a sense that the calligraphy utilizing the Chinese script is not just a separate species within the genus "calligraphia" to which Western calligraphy belongs, but should be classified under a different genus, or even under another order, in the taxonomy we might devise for written symbol systems. Despite analogy of function, they spring from different origins.

When we go on to discuss the utilization of scripts in making books, first manuscript and later printed books, that analogy of function becomes a focus of our attention. Both scripts, the alphabetic and the morphemic character script, served in their different ways to record speech in standardized systems. Eventually scripts were used to preserve great quantities of words, that is, the texts produced by the writers and the recorders of their civilizations. Thus books came into being. Before printing was devised for quickly multiplying identical copies of books, both in the East and in the West handwritten books had long existed and had achieved artistic as well as practical characteristics; they were beautiful as well as usable objects. Printing came into being as an alternate way of doing the same thing. The early makers of printed books felt themselves under great pressure to imitate existing manuscript books, adapting their standards as convincingly as possible to the requirements of printing technology. That was true both East and West. But the historical experience surrounding the development

of books was quite different, East from West. Thus, much of what we see exhibited here is a record of the historical experience in East Asia.

We have already established that the scripts, or the calligraphy, which had to be adapted to the technology of printing in both cases worked in quite different ways. Equally important, the new technology of printing that arose in T'ang dynasty China also was quite different from techniques developed (whether independently invented or borrowed) when Europeans began printing seven or eight centuries later. These general explanations — the nature of the scripts and the technology of printing — help explain how the evolving relationship between calligraphy and the printed book went by different routes in China and in Europe.

Only a few salient points need be raised about the early history of European printing to show the contrasts. Paper making and ink manufacture traveled from China to Western Asia, thence into the Mediterranean world, by the eleventh century. Printing pictures and textiles from wooden blocks was known in Europe for centuries before Gutenberg's time and probably was independently invented there. But block printing in Europe had not led to making block-printed books. The technological breakthrough that produced the beginning of printing in Europe, that is to say, the manufacture of books by printing, was that of typography. Typography means printing from movable, in this case cast metal, type. The Chinese had made movable type from ceramic materials and from wood by the eleventh century. The Koreans appear to have greatly developed the techniques for casting type in bronze, iron, and various alloys and may well have invented those techniques. In short, a technology long present in East Asia began to be used in Europe in the mid-fifteenth century; whether it was independently invented there or diffused from East Asia is of secondary importance.

The explosive rapidity of printing's adoption in Europe and consequent social impact allows historians to label it "revolutionary." It made books vastly cheaper and more common than they had been, and that came at a time when the Renaissance was in the bud. The contribution of books to that rebirth of classical learning and the broadening of intellectual horizons was of the greatest importance. Some European historians therefore feel compelled to regard printing as necessarily a European innovation in all of human history, for they know of no parallel stimulus to change elsewhere. One such scholar once said to the present writer: "Well, perhaps it is true in some sense that the Chinese invented printing centuries before Guten-

berg, but it really did not matter until it happened in Europe." That is both amusingly and all too familiarly parochial-minded, and at the same time genuinely revealing of a difference in the patterns of cultural history East and West. In China the availability of books had long been at a higher level. An ordinary scholar's library was relatively much larger and its cost lower, and the application of printing techniques to making books was but another incremental step in gradually increasing the circulation of books in society, not an explosively intrusive new force in history.[3]

Typography perfectly suited the demands of Western alphabetic scripts, and its appearance in the fifteenth century came at a time when European society possessed the capacity for rapid mechanization of the process. The scripts in use there needed only a small number of different type to encompass the alphabet and other needed signs; a font could be cast from a mere sixty bronze matrices, which in turn could be manufactured from a set of the same number of steel punches, designed by an artist and engraved by a master craftsman. The "invention of printing" to which Gutenberg appears to have made crucial contributions consisted of assembling a number of known techniques and adding important refinements, for example in devising alloys for casting, in the design of molds for holding matrices when casting, in the press, and the oil-fast ink. At first the effort to imitate the calligraphy of fine manuscript books went so far that insignificant variations in the forms of letters and their connections in words were cast in type, but in the interests of economy those features were quickly abandoned. Those who made the first fonts of type in the fifteenth century have been called the world's first industrial designers. From the first, European printing was an industry more than a craft; its processes demanded simplification, uniformity, standardization. Within those limits the new typefaces could be very beautiful, but they could not wholly transcend the mechanical dullness resulting from endless repetition of identical forms. Printing induces an expectation of legibility and simplicity. Most readers probably are not highly aware of the differences in the typefaces they encounter in their reading. They feel no loss in the virtual exclusion of aesthetic considerations or, in the best of cases, in the dulling of the aesthetic impact, that typography inevitably induces. The point to be drawn from this is that standardization, routinization, the tendencies toward dull uniformity, were already present in the nature of alphabetic scripts, so there was no great wrench when handwritten pages were superseded by typography. In the

West, despite a brief initial phase of continuing influence, the links between calligraphy and the book were rather quickly and easily broken when printing intervened.

When we look at the parallel experience starting in the seventh century in China, we can discern a long-range trend toward a similar standardization, culminating in the widespread use of typography only within the last century. The relationship of calligraphy to the book was deeper and far more enduring. The nature of the Chinese script succeeded in imposing its demands on the forms of printing technology in East Asia. At the same time, the artistic considerations kept alive by the society's broad involvement with calligraphy as high art found expression in the design of books. This aspect of printing in East Asia gives it an important place in the history of art.

The Chinese, unlike their later European counterparts, adapted woodblock printing technology to the manufacture of books and produced books in that way for several centuries before they began to experiment with typography. Even after discovering that alternate technique in the eleventh century, they found that the expense of manufacturing fonts requiring a minimum of several thousand characters (not to mention arranging and storing, cleaning, and re-sorting after use) made typography a less desirable option. It remained an interesting, though peripheral, alternate technology until recent times. Carving wooden blocks, from each side of which one double page could be printed, was cheaper and more practical. The blocks could be stored, repaired if necessary, even edited for errors, and reused over hundreds of years. That being so, the art of block-printing reigned. The complexity of the script dictated its being the practical method; the artistic component of calligraphy took advantage of the flexibility it offered.

The preparation of blocks for printing has been succinctly described by Tsien Tsuen-hsuin:

> In the preparation for engraving and printing, the manuscript is transcribed on thin sheets of paper by a professional calligrapher. To do this a blank sheet is ruled into columns and spaces with a center line in head column known as a variegated space (*hua ko*); this is used as a guide for writing the characters within each space in a balanced arrangement. The paper is waxed lightly and

> smoothed with a stone burnisher to make the surface easier to write on with a brush. The transcript is placed, written side down, on a block over which a thin layer of rice paste has been evenly spread. . . . The back of the paper is then rubbed with a flat palm-fiber brush . . . so that a clear impression of the inked area is transferred to the block. When the paper has dried, its upper layer is rubbed away with finger tips and brush to expose a fine mirror image of the characters or designs which have been applied to the block, looking as if they had been inscribed directly on it. The block is then ready for carving.[4]

Quite simply, anything that the calligrapher writes can be transferred precisely to the block and, depending on the skill of the carvers, can then be printed as written. All the idiosyncratic and stylistic variations of the calligrapher's hand—his high art—could be duplicated in woodblock printing. Yet that is not what usually happened.

A fine calligrapher, or an ordinary one, when writing a letter to a friend or transcribing a poem or essay, normally did not write on paper ruled into vertical columns or allot the same space to each character. He had wide latitude to vary shapes, sizes, and placements. On the other hand, when writing the text of a proclamation or an inscription, or preparing the text of a book he had authored or submitting a memorial or report as an official act, he would restrict himself to a more formal style neatly formatted on the page. That formality probably derived from chancery practice; government documents from early imperial times demanded it. From the fourth century onward, surviving Buddhist sutras copied by professional scribes also exhibit meticulous formatting requirements: heads of columns precisely aligned and the same number of characters (usually seventeen or nineteen) to each column. That facilitated counting the number of characters in each text to assure that nothing had been omitted; the total number often was written at the end of the text. Scroll books in use before T'ang times exhibit those elements of uniformity and standardization.

Printing began in one of the great ages of calligraphy. The T'ang masters, such as Ou-yang Hsün and Yen Chen-ch'ing (discussed below), impressed their distinctive styles on the calligraphy of their times. While they did not themselves (insofar as we know) write out texts for carving on printing blocks, calligraphers writing in their styles did so. Such calligra-

pher-copyists could use as their models the rubbings of monumental inscriptions, in which the great masters wrote standard script (*k'ai-shu*) and observed the precise format of equal space for each character in ruled verticle columns. Great calligraphy was not incompatible with those restrictions. Thus the calligraphy transferred to printing blocks tended to be, at its best, the fairly close echoes of the distinctive monumental styles of a few great T'ang calligraphers. Good professional calligraphers were capable of that. The norm continued to be observed throughout Sung, and into Yüan and early Ming. The great calligraphers whose models were followed varied, and in the thirteenth century the calligraphy of the last of the great individualistic stylists, Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), for a time swept away competing traditions to dominate printing for a century or more. Throughout, the intimate relationship with calligraphy of the highest standards persisted. The quality of the craftsmen calligraphers hired for writing out the texts to be printed might vary considerably, as could the care and skill of the carvers. Yet standards were upheld. In Sung times some of the greatest calligraphers themselves deigned to transcribe texts for carving.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the standards of printing declined as volume swelled. Some excellent calligraphers performed for book printers, especially for the imperial printery in the capitals where the so-called palace editions (*tien pen, nei-fu pen*) were produced. But much printing did not observe the high standards established in the Sung. More often than not the distinctive features of the great school traditions in calligraphy were lost; craftsmen reduced those models to routinized derivations that are called "craftsmen's style" characters (*chiang-t'i tzu*). Whereas the calligrapher or the calligraphy tradition that underlay the style in any Sung book usually is quite obvious, craftsmen's characters are essentially without style. Still, they are calligraphy, not mechanically duplicated cast metal typography. (Even typography, which had a certain vogue in the Ming, mostly favored individually carved, wooden movable type, not metal type all cast from the same matrix.) Printing somewhat reduced individuality and weakened the liveliness of the original art of which it was a duplicated image, but it did not deprive Chinese books of their individuality, despite tendencies to standardize and to merge distinctive styles into more uniform "Sung dynasty characters."

As if in opposition to those degenerative trends in Ming printing at its

most ordinary, one can observe signs of the effort to reassert the importance of calligraphy in books. At first the trend appeared in the best books produced by connoisseurs, then became a fashion imitated by trade publishers. One practise was to devote the opening section of a book (sometimes the entire first volume in a larger work) to prefaces written often in the less formal scripts (*hsing-shu*, even *ts'ao-shu*) and carved in facsimile of the named calligrapher's own hand. Carving of informal or non-regularized calligraphy is called "*hsieh k'o*" (carved as written) and was by no means new. In fact, all printing blocks are carved as written, but the implication of the term is that the writing is not that of nameless craftsmen calligraphers, but conveys the immediate sense of the known writer's personal hand. This was taken up in middle and later Ming times with a new enthusiasm. The duller the routinized characters of the text became under the publishing trends of the day, the more the need may have been felt to insert personality and artistic tone into the frontmatter. Sometimes marginalia were added throughout a book, printed in a cursive hand with personal comments and asides, imitating the way a scholar might annotate the margins of his book as he read it. The actual annotated copy of a book that belonged to a famous scholar might be duplicated in facsimile, but in many cases those annotated books were simulated, the calligraphy and pungent comment lending flavor to attract the buyer. The fashion also grew in Ming and Ch'ing times to print an entire book in the real or simulated calligraphy of a great master, for example, the poetry collection of T'ao Ch'ien (365-427) as transcribed in the eminent calligraphy of Su Shih (1036-1101), or the *Four Books* in facsimile of the eccentric calligrapher Cheng Hsieh (1693-1765). We see calligraphy being drawn upon in many ways from mid-Ming times on, through the Ch'ing dynasty at least into the nineteenth century, to add liveliness and interest to books, and to transmit to the ever expanding readership of books a direct reminder of calligraphy's high claims on their aesthetic sensibilities. All of this was possible as long as woodblock printing technology prevailed.

First lithography, in the early nineteenth century, then before the end of that century the advanced European methods of typography entered China from the West. Although the particular demands of the Chinese script pose ever fewer problems for modern technology, the distinctive art of the Chinese book has become a thing of the past, to be treasured by antiquarians and studied by historians. It will amply reward those who pause to

examine the magnificent objects displayed in the exhibition for which this is the catalogue.

NOTES TO THE PREFACE

1. The terms in quotation marks, originally drawn from Erwin Panofsky and Susan Langer, are used in a different context by Max Loehr, "Chinese Landscape Painting and Its Real Content," *Rice University Studies* 59.4 (Fall 1973), p. 68.
2. The interested reader may turn to the essay "Introduction to Islamic Calligraphy" by Glenn D. Lowry, in Shen Fu, Glenn D. Lowry, and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1986), pp. 102-09.
3. Joseph Needham has commented in a somewhat similar vein on Francis Bacon's well-known observation of the three most significant inventions "of obscure and inglorious origins"—namely printing, gunpowder, and the magnet (or magnetic compass, all three in fact Chinese inventions)—that "have changed the whole state and face of things throughout the world." See Joseph Needham, "Science and China's Influence on the World," first published in Raymond Dawson, ed., *The Legacy of China*, reprinted in Needham, *The Grand Titration*, 1969.
4. T. H. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, in vol. 5.1 of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985), p. 197.

1. From the Earliest Writing to the Earliest Book

Part A. Early Forms of Writing

Writing has been independently invented perhaps four or five times in human history, yet only two of those inventions led to mature script systems capable of writing down the full range of speech and literary expression. One was the interrelated writing systems of the ancient Mediterranean world, of about six thousand years ago, from which eventually emerged the first phonetic alphabet. What we know today as Minoan Linear B probably was that script. It appeared sometime after 2000 B.C. and led to the alphabetic scripts used throughout the world. In East Asia those include the Tibetan, Uighur, Mongolian, Manchu, and possibly the Hangul phonetic script adapted to Korean in the fifteenth century — if the speculation that it was derived from thirteenth-century Phags-pa script is correct.

The other major system of writing is that invented within the Chinese culture sphere. The earliest known physical remains of early Chinese script are inscribed tortoise shells (*chia*) and animal bones (*ku*) used for divination. "Oracle bone script" (*chia-ku-wen*) was not known until discovered archaeologically early in the present century, and until last year the earliest known examples dated from about 1600 B.C. Examples of oracle bone fragments with incised writing from that period are shown here. Early in 1987 the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences, Beijing, announced an important discovery: inscribed oracle bones found near Sian in 1986 have been dated to the period 3000-2500 B.C. The characters they bear have not yet been fully deciphered, but they clearly are from an earlier phase in the development of oracle-bone script. Until further evidence is found one can only hypothesize about the place and time of this script's invention.

From the time of oracle-bone script onward, Chinese writing went

through continuous development. During the formative period of the imperial era, roughly the third century B. C. to the third and fourth centuries A.D., the forms of Chinese writing were standardized. Our material evidence for this period of development comes from bronze vessels dating to Shang and Chou times (ca. 1700 to 250 B.C.), bronze seals from Han, writing done with brush and ink on strips of bamboo and wood (*chien*), and writing done with brush and ink on silk (*po*) for the period before the invention of paper in Former Han dynasty times (204 B.C. to A.D. 9). With *chien* and *po* writings one can begin to speak of "books." Examples of the script in several of these forms, showing a millennium of development, are included in this portion of the exhibit.

The following essay and the accompanying label for no. 1 are by Ch'en; labels no. 4-11 are by Siu; and labels no. 2-3 by Goodman.

Discovered at Hsiao-t'un, Honan, at the turn of this century, oracle-bone inscriptions (*chia-ku-wen*; see no. 1a) are the fragments of divination records kept by the Shang people of the An-yang period (ca. 14th-11th centuries B. C.).[1] Consequently, the inscriptions are the single most important source for the documentation of the Shang civilization. The contents of the inscriptions cover a wide range: from matters of statecraft to the personal concerns of kings.[2] As the oracle bones attest, through an involved process of scapulimancy diviners would seek verification of predictions regarding political and court matters.

As far as archaeologists can reconstruct, the divining process took several steps. First, the preparatory diviner (*pu-jen*) would drill a series of shallow indentations in the back of a prepared ox scapula (shoulder blade) or turtle plastron (shell). He then would apply a hot brand to each indentation, causing cracks to appear on the front surface of the bone or shell.

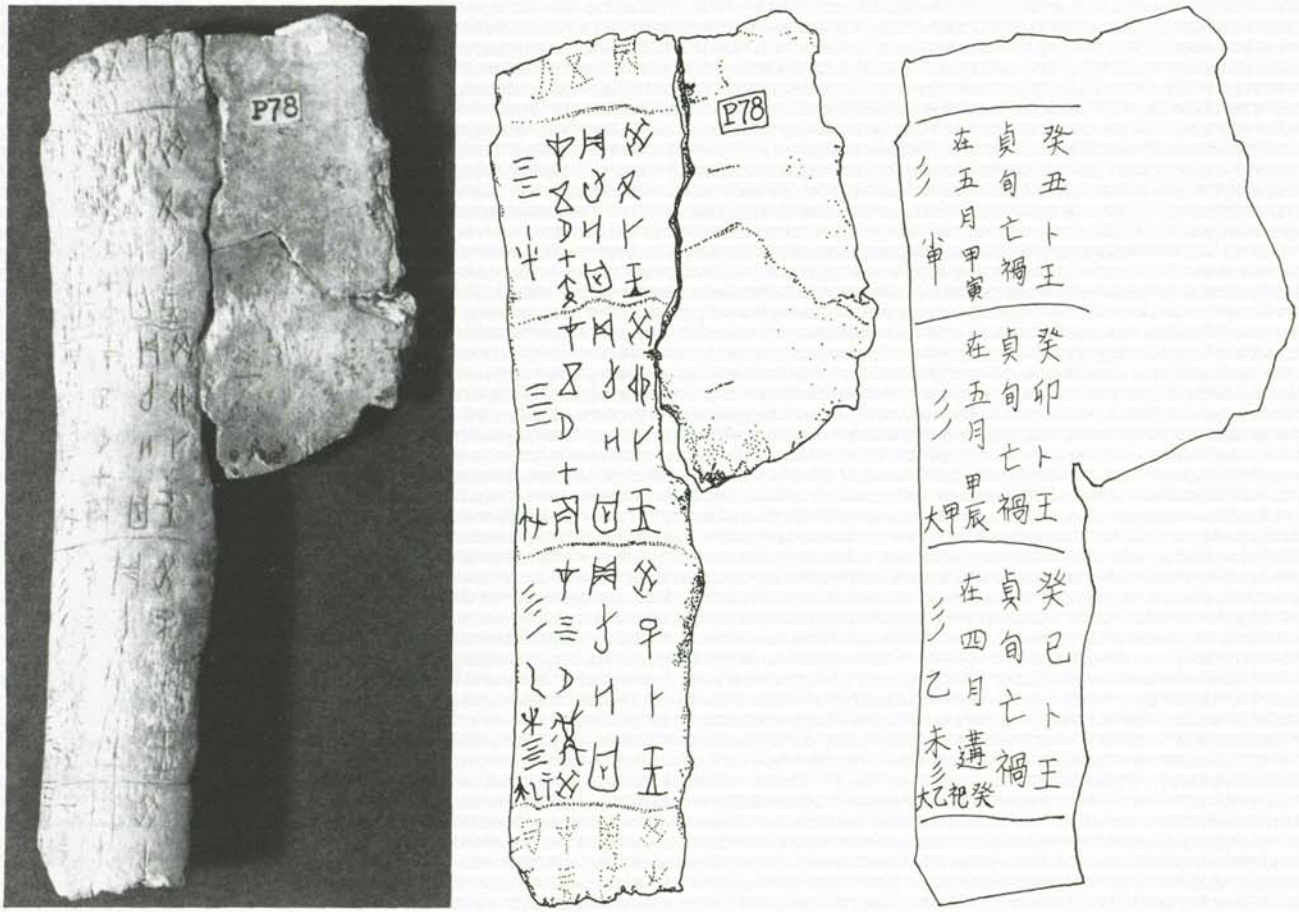
1a-b. *Chia-ku-wen*. Inscribed characters on bone (a); modern transcription of text by Howard L. Goodman (b).

Date: 13th c. B.C., Shang dynasty, An-yang period.

Dimensions: 12.07 x 5.41 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library (P. 78).

1b.



Thereupon, another diviner would pose questions.[3] The first diviner would then read the cracks and interpret the patterns; his "readings" would be written beside the cracks with a brush dipped in ink or in vermilion pigment. Sometimes the actual outcome of the divined event would later also be recorded as appended marginalia to the given interpretation. In most cases, the written text was likely to have been incised on the spot with a sharp bronze knife.[4]

The text of most of the oracle-bone inscriptions is succinct and formulaic, as exemplified by three inscriptions on the bone fragment in the collection of the Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University (no. 1a).[5] The inscription begins with a preface, which includes the specific date of divination. (The date is always expressed in the traditional sexagenary cycle, or *kan-chih*.) Following this, the name of the diviner (*chen-jen*) is given. Afterwards, the topic in question appears. And finally, a planned event is mentioned. The first inscription, which appears at the bottom of the shell, reads (see no. 1b for transcriptions into modern Chinese):

> On the day *kuei-ssu* a divination took place. The king himself came to inquire: "Will any misfortune happen within this coming ten days?" This divination occurred in the fourth lunar month. The day (*kuei-ssu*) happened to be the exact day scheduled for a *shan*[6] ritual ceremony to worship the deceased king, Ssu-kuei. On the day *i-wei*, there will be another *shan* ceremony given to worship another deceased ancestor, Ta-i.[7]

The second inscription, located in the middle, reads:

> On the day *kuei-mao* a divination took place. The king himself came to inquire: "Will any misfortune happen within this coming ten days?" This divination occurred in the fifth lunar month. On the day *chia-ch'en* there will be a *shan* ritual ceremony given to worship the deceased king Ta-chia.[8]

The third inscription, at the top, reads:

> On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, a divination took place. The king himself came to inquire: "Will any misfortune happen within this coming ten days?" This divination occurred in the fifth lunar month. On the day *chia-yin* there will be a *shan* ceremony given to worship the deceased king Hsiao-chia.

These three inscriptions are the records of three routine divinations known as *pu-hsün*,[9] which were held every ten days during the fourth and fifth lunar months of the same year.[10] They show common characteristics of form, grammatical structure, and calligraphic style datable to the reign (ca. 13th c. B.C.) of King Tsu-chia, the third to rule in An-yang. (This would be Period II of Tung Tso-pin's five-period scheme of the evolution of orcale-bone inscriptions.)[11] The graphic form of the character for king (*wang*) in these inscriptions is uniformally written with an extra horizontal stroke on top of the conventional shape found in most other Period I inscriptions.[12] In terms of grammatical structure, an extra character, *tsai* (meaning "in"), is found preceding each specified month of the divination; Period I inscriptions with the same context eliminate the character.[13] In terms of calligraphic style, all the characters in these three inscriptions are small, even, carefully carved, and

tightly arranged into a neat and organized composition. Such characteristics contrast with those of Period I, in which characters look large, yet uneven in size, and loosely spaced and not well-ordered.[14]

The graphic change, the grammatical readjustment, and the calligraphic evolution, according to Tung Tso-pin, might have resulted from a ritual and political reform initiated by King Tsu-chia after succeeding his elder brother Tsu-keng to the throne.[15]

Also according to Tung's determination that the *shan* ceremony for Ta-chia in the fifth lunar month (second inscription) was the only one in Tsu-chia's reign, the specific date for the execution of our second inscription should be the eleventh reign year (probably 1258 B.C.).[16] If acceptable, the year would apply to the other two inscriptions, because the three were executed consecutively, all in one month.

Notes to Section 1
Part A

1. For a survey of oracle-bone research, see Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku hsüeh liu-shih nien* [Sixty Years of Oracle-bone Studies] (Taipei: I-wen, 1965), pp. 14–45 and the extensive bibliography. There are over 150,000 pieces of oracle bones in public and private collections. They are of different sizes and only some bear inscriptions. Only about 2,000 characters have been identified by scholars in the past 85 years. Important lexical references and dictionaries of these inscriptions are Shima Kunio, *In kyo bokuji sōrui* (Tokyo: Dai'an, 1967), Sun Hai-p'o, *Chia-ku-wen pien* (Kowloon: Chung-hua, 1978), and Ch'en Meng-chia, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u tsung-shu* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan, 1956).
2. On the importance of oracle-bone inscriptions to the reconstruction of Shang civilization, see Shirakawa Shizuka, *Kōkotsumon no sekai* [The World of Oracle-bone Inscriptions] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), including an appended bibliography covering 1900–1970; David Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (Los Angeles: U. of California P., 1978); and Kwang-chih Chang, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1980), pp. 99–105, 329.
3. Tung Tso-pin was the first scholar to discover the names of different diviners and their active periods. See his *Chia-ku hsüeh*, pp. 63–70.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
5. A literal copy of these three inscriptions was published in Frank H. Chalfant and Roswell Britton, *Seven Collections of Inscribed Oracle Bones* (New York: n.p., 1938), Princeton U. section, #78. There are 119 oracle-bone pieces in The Gest Library Collection.
6. The *shan* ceremony is characterized by the use of a drum-like musical instrument; see Tung, *Chia-ku hsüeh*, p. 113.
7. After his death, the king was referred to by a name that corresponded to a day in the *kan-chih* cycle.
8. This inscription was identified and discussed in *ibid.*, p. 110.
9. The *pu-hsün* divination was, as expected, held on every last day (the *kuei*-day) of a ten-day cycle (*hsün*) throughout the An-yang period. For more examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 95–98.
10. Based on the ten-day factor in the *kan-*

chih calendrical system, *kuei-ssu, kuei-mao*, and *kuei-ch'ou* follow one another directly.

11. For Tung Tso-pin's five-period scheme and the ten criteria, see his *Chia-ku-wen tuan tai yen-chiu li* [Examples of the Periodization of the Evolution of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions] (Peking: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan, 1933). For comments and reference to other dating schemes, see Keightley, *Shang Sources*, pp. 91–132.
12. Tung, *Chia-ku hsüeh*, p. 115.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–02; also see his *Yen-chiu li*. See also Keightley, *Shang Sources*, pp. 104–09.
15. Tung, *Chia-ku hsüeh*, pp. 103–18.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

2a-b. *Yu (Wine vessel).* Casting in bronze (a); inscription (b).

2b.

Date: Shang dynasty, An-yang period (14th-11th c. B.C.).

Dimensions: 31.5 x 16 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University. (1965-5).

In this very early example of cast metal calligraphy, the meanings of the four characters themselves are unclear. However, they are still pictographic: notice the shapes of a bow and quiver. This contrasts starkly with the later cast characters (see no. 3b) of the Chou period, which are more abstracted in order to meet standards of writing.

3b.

3a-b. *Yu (Wine vessel).* Casting in bronze (a); inscription (b).

Date: Western Chou period, ca. 10th c. B.C.

Dimensions: 21.1 x 21.2 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University. (1965-6).

The inscription, cast inside the vessel and its lid, consists of 48 characters, some of which explain that when the owner was rewarded for military merit, the vessel was cast to honor his deceased father. This is an important document of Western Chou history. The characters are different from the previous example in their rectiform and regularized appearance. Uniformity of composition and size came with the decrease in pictorial representation.

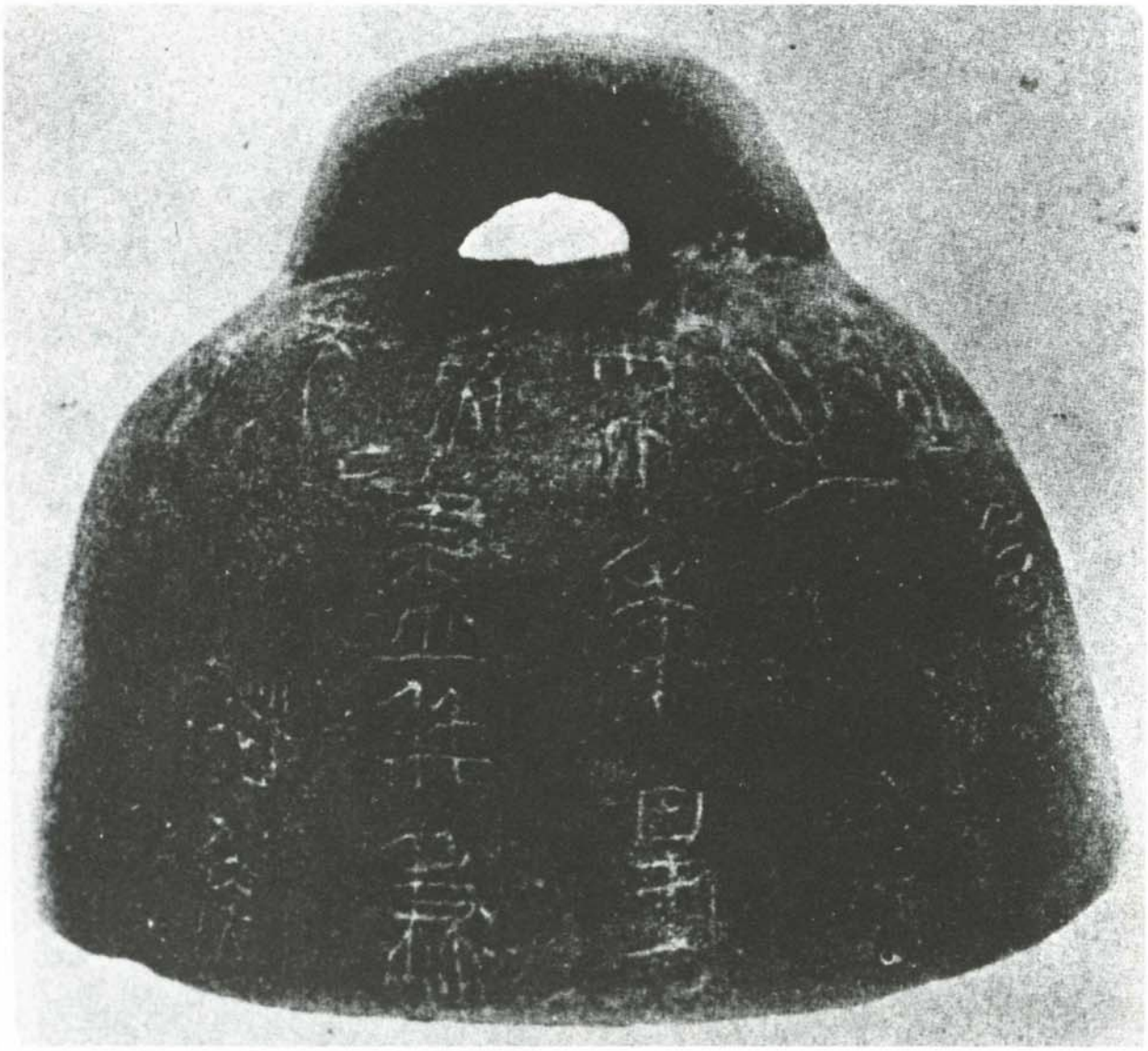
> 4a-b. *Standard measure.* Casting (a); rubbing of inscription in small-seal script (b).

Date: Ch'in dynasty, early 3rd c. B.C.

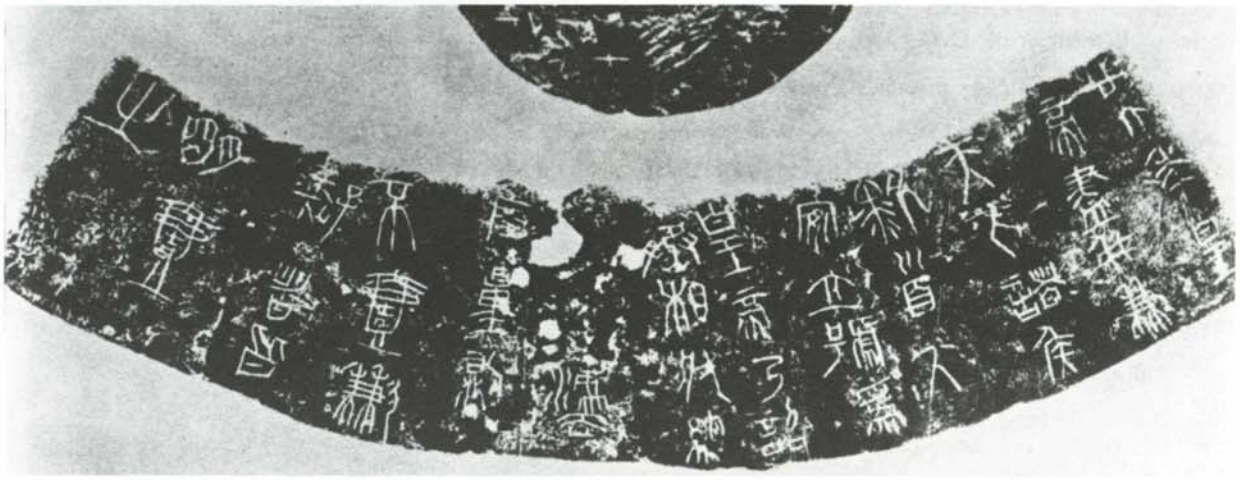
Dimensions: 31 cm in width.

Source: Kanda Kiichirō et al., *Shodō zenshū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1958), vol. 1, no. 138.

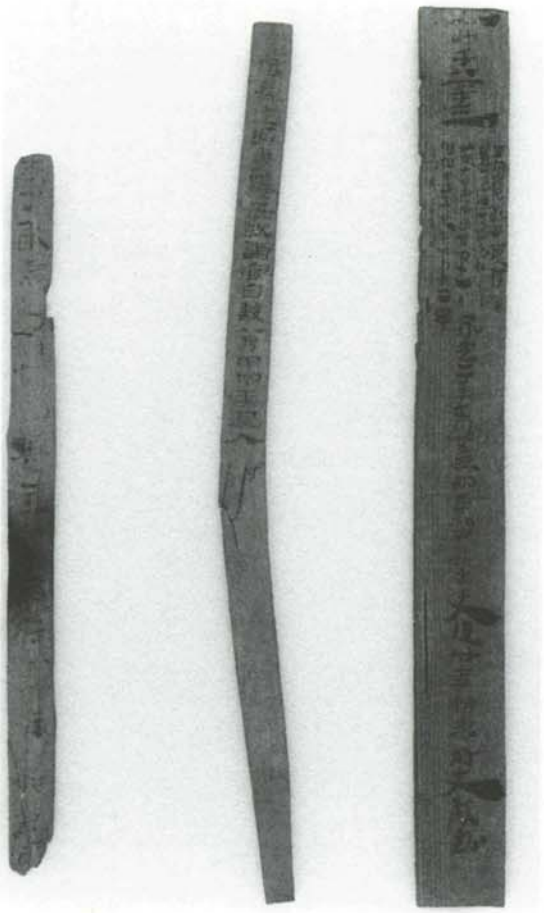
Inscribed on an official standard measure of weight in the Ch'in dynasty, the small seal script, a simplified seal script, represented here is unadorned and utilitarian in function. The elongated form is matched by a rectilinear configuration and thin consistent strokes. The unarticulated placement of characters conveys a primitive feeling.



4a.



4b.



5. *Wooden tablets.* Ink on wooden strips in clerical script.

Date: rt. strip, 42 B.C.; ctr. and left, mid-1st c. B.C.

Dimensions: 18.7 to 23.5 cm high.

Collection: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Inst., Washington, D.C.

Source: Fu et al., *Asian and Islamic Calligraphy*, p. 23.

The text on these wooden strips served a daily practical function and was written in a casual manner with a concern for expediency. The arrangement of characters does not follow rigid rules. Nevertheless, the rhythmic pauses and random accentuations create a sense of grace and gravity.

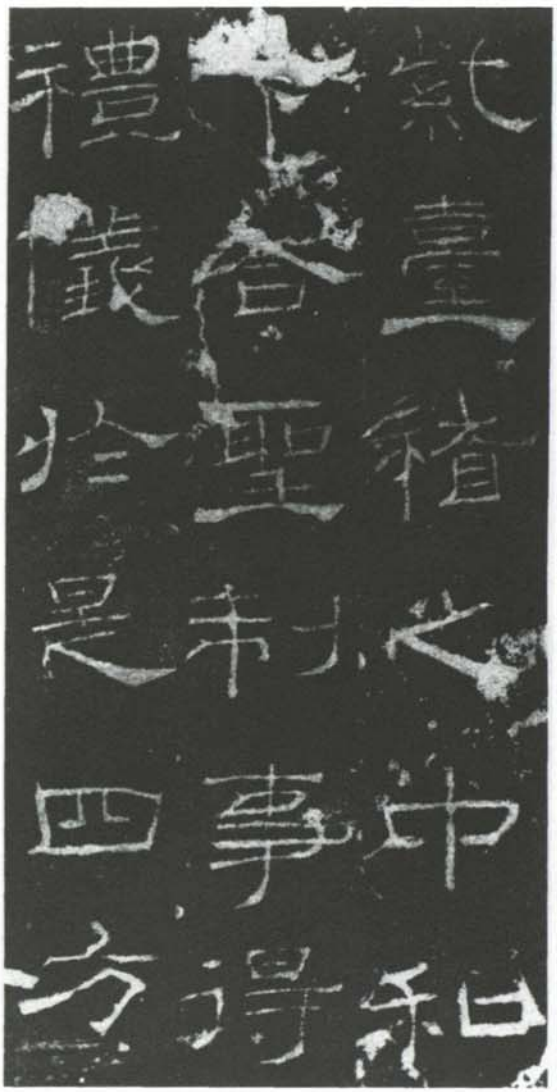
6. *Stele of ritual vessel (Li-ch'i pei).* Rubbing of inscription in clerical script.

Date: 156 A.D.

Dimensions: 25.75 x 13 cm.

Source: *Shodō* 2, no. 85 (stele located in Ch'ü-fu, Shantung).

This text is in a ceremonial form of clerical script, and the rectilinear script is tightly composed and proportioned for a dignified appearance. Overall restraint is displayed in the parallel arrangement of horizontal strokes and consistent thickness, except where the shape of the strokes varies to stabilize the individual characters.



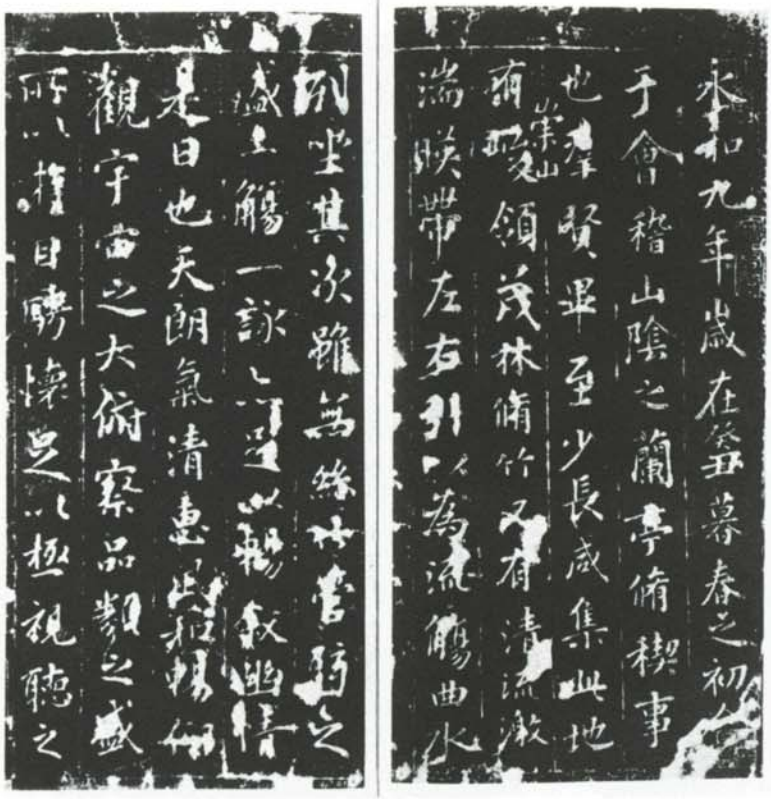
7. *Tomb epitaph of Ku Lang, Governor of Chiu-chen prefecture (Chiu-chen t'ai-shou Ku Lang pei).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

Date: 272 A.D.

Dimensions: 25.5 x 15 cm.

Collection: Professor F. W. Mote.

The evolving regular script breaks away from the disciplined proportion and emphatic accentuation required of monumental clerical script. The strokes are evenly spaced in an easy manner within the grid and assume greater freedom. As an example of the incipient regular script, it has an awkwardness and crudity which would gradually disappear in later times.



8a.

8b.

8a-b. *Preface to the Orchid Pavilion gathering (Lan-t'ing chi hsü).*

a: Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

Calligrapher: attr. Ou-yang Hsün (551-641).

Date: *Ting-wu* rubbing version, carved ca. 998-1061.

Source: *Shodō* 4, nos. 24-25.

b: Ink on paper in regular script.

Calligrapher: attr. Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658).

Collection: Saitō family, Japan.

Source: *Shodō* 4, no. 12.

The fully developed regular script is represented here by two T'ang dynasty copies of Wang Hsi-chih's exemplary work. The original passage was composed and written in the ninth year of Yung-ho (354) as a preface to a collection of poems composed for a literary gathering. Wang Hsi-chih's calligraphy is traditionally cited as the best model of elegance, formal beauty, and visual balance.

9. *Thousand-word essay in regular and cursive script (Chen-ts'ao ch'ien-tzu-wen).*

Calligrapher: Monk Chih-yung (late 6th-early 7th c.).

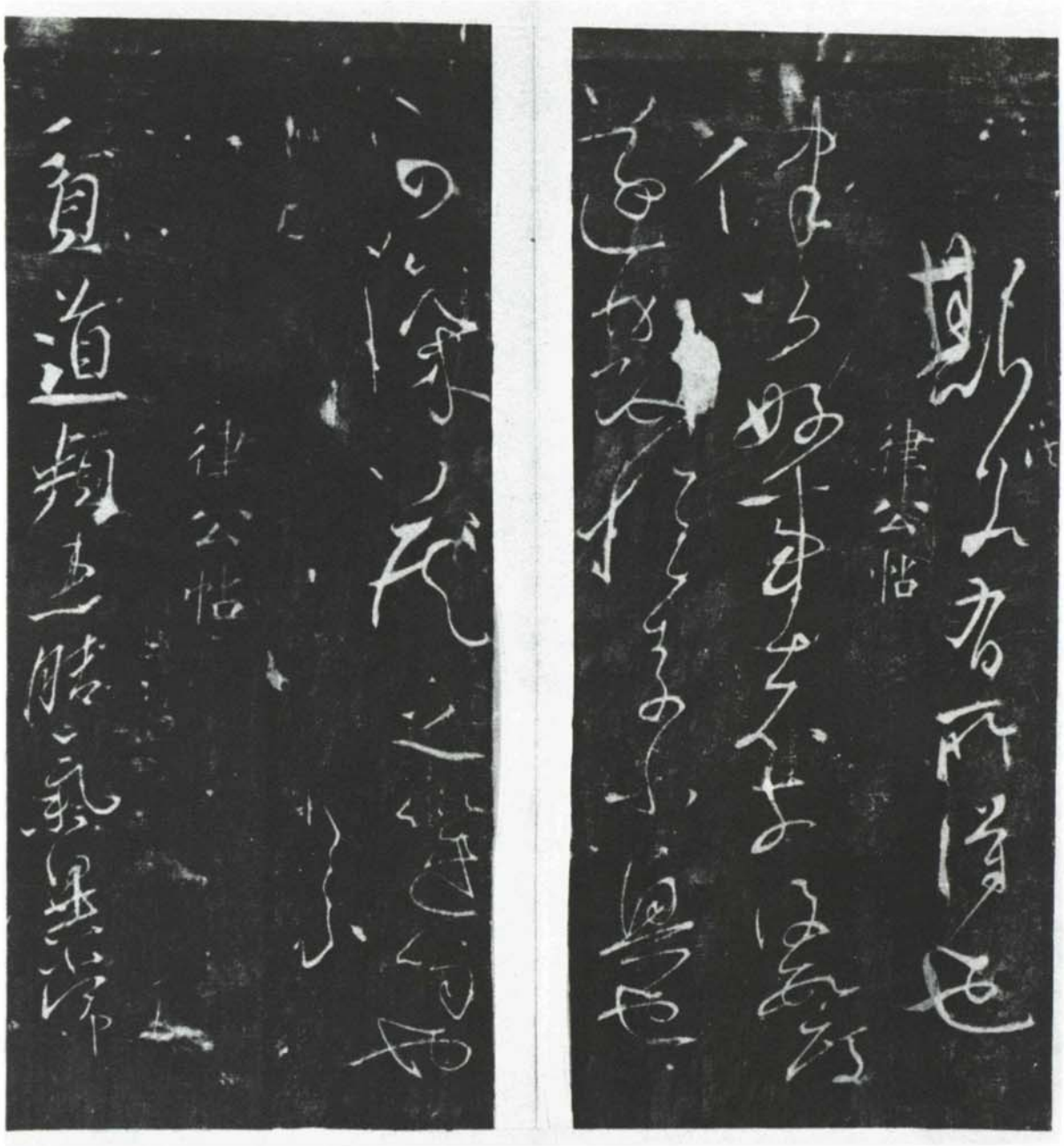
Date: early 7th century.

Dimensions: 25.5 x 11.3 cm.

Collection: Ogawa family, Japan.

Source: *Shodō* 5, nos. 74 and 75.

The "Thousand-word essay" is a source book of one thousand characters written in both the regular and cursive styles in the format of paired vertical columns. The graceful balance of the regular script in the Wang Hsi-chih tradition now conforms in general to a squarish structure. The cursive script, executed in the *chang-ts'ao* style, has an internal structure built upon complex abbreviations that employ such elements as spiraling strokes, short individual strokes, and multi-functional dots.



10. *Lü-kung manuscript (Lü-kung t'ieh).* Rubbing of inscription in cursive script.

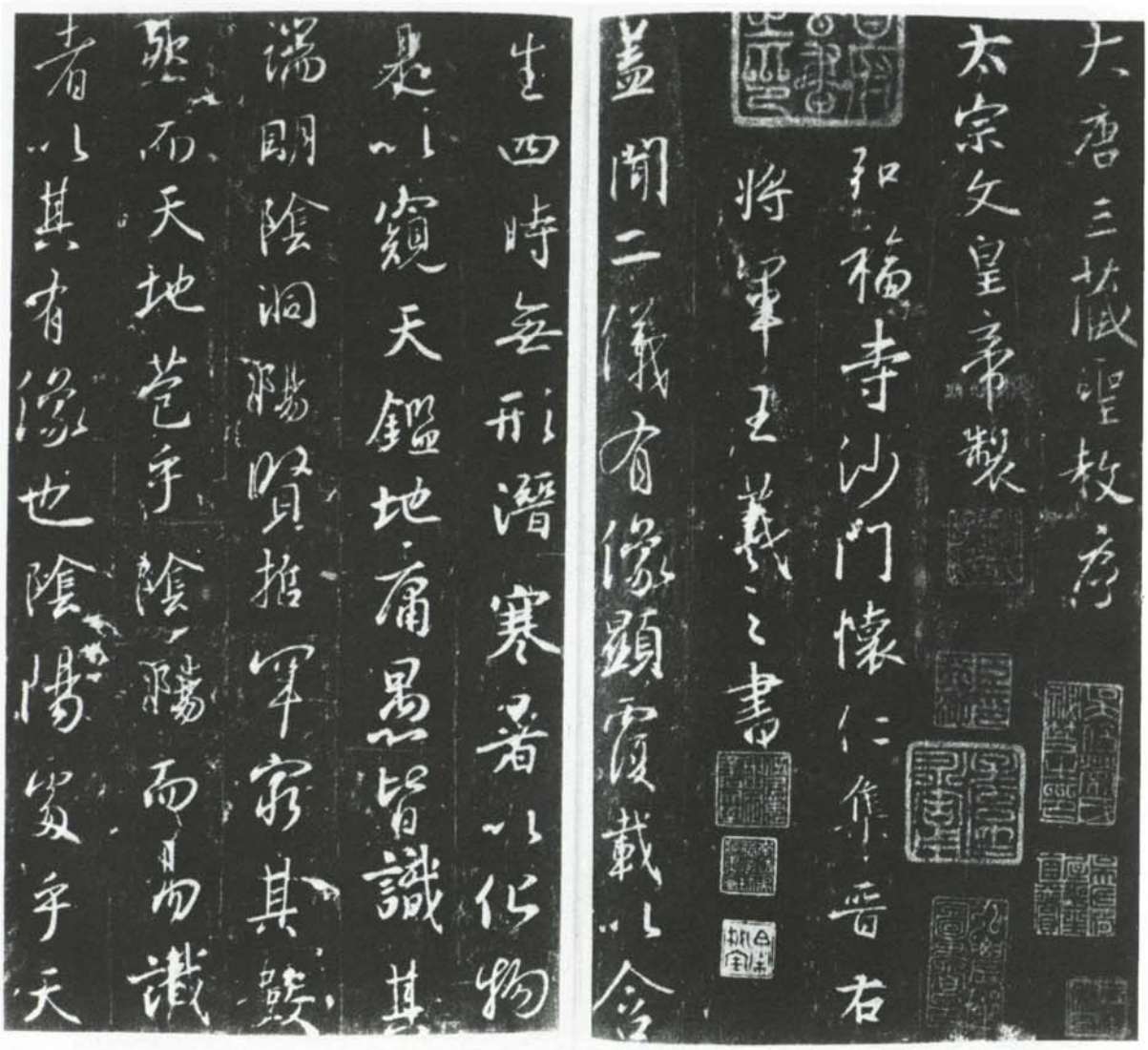
Calligrapher: Monk Huai-su (late 8th c.).

Date: undated.

Dimensions: 26.5 x 11.5 cm.

Source: *T'ang Huai-su fa-t'ieh*, pp. 2b-3a.

Also called "crazy cursive," the cursive style of Huai-su exhibits an uninhibited immediacy and creativity that take form in slender, sinuous, and fluently winding strokes. The whimsical composition contains unbroken, energized movement.



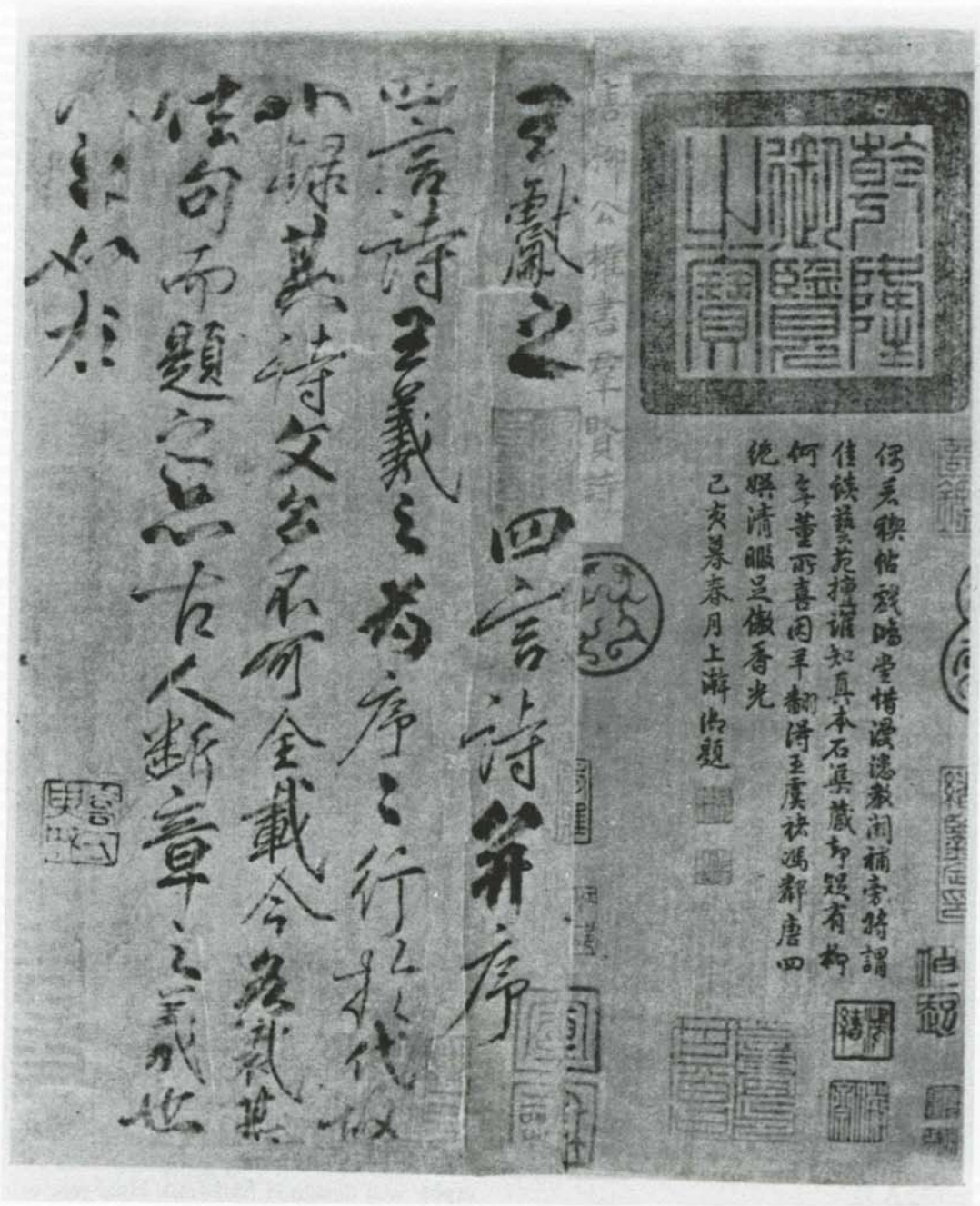
11a. *Preface to the sacred teaching of Monk San-tsang of the T'ang dynasty (Ta T'ang San-tsang sheng-chiao hsü).* Rubbing of inscription in running script.

Date: 672 A.D.

Dimensions: 26 x 14 cm.

Source: *Shodō* 8, nos. 50-51.

Running script is characterized by expediency of execution and its inclination to partial abbreviation. The linking strokes often betray the inner movement within the characters that is usually concealed in regular script. This calligraphy was designed by Monk Huai-jen, using elements of that of Wang Hsi-chih (321-379).



11b. *Orchid pavilion poems (Lan-t'ing shih).* Ink on silk in running script.

Calligrapher: Liu Kung-ch'üan (778-865).

Date: undated.

Dimensions: 26.5 cm long.

Collection: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Source: *T'ang Liu Kung-ch'üan shu Lan-t'ing shih.*

Liu's running style is also modeled on that of Wang Hsi-chih, but he leaves his personal touches—the casual alternation between the neatly executed characters with slender strokes and the heavy ones with a deliberate roughness.

Part B. Scripts and Artistic Traditions Preserved in Epigraphy

During the Han period (204 B.C.-220 A.D.) the writing materials used by calligraphers reached their final stage of development. The writer's brush and ink, although already in use for over a millennium, were refined and improved, and by the third century A.D. a relatively recent invention, high quality paper, virtually displaced silk. These material factors led to changes in script styles. The small seal form (*hsiao-chuan*) standardized in the third century B.C. gave way to the simpler and more fluid clerical script (*li*). It in turn was modified, in pursuit of the speed and fluency made possible by the use of brush on paper. Cursive adaptations of scripts were already used occasionally in the texts written on wooden strips and on silk. In the Han period when clerical script was the dominant form of writing, cursive adaptations of it led to the beginnings of what is called *chang ts'ao*, which may be translated "draft cursive." Another modification of clerical script called *pa-fen* style was written with deliberate grace, appropriate to monumental uses. Writing was in a period of fluid, creative development when forms proliferated and individual styles could bring fame to their creators. Calligraphy was emerging as high art.

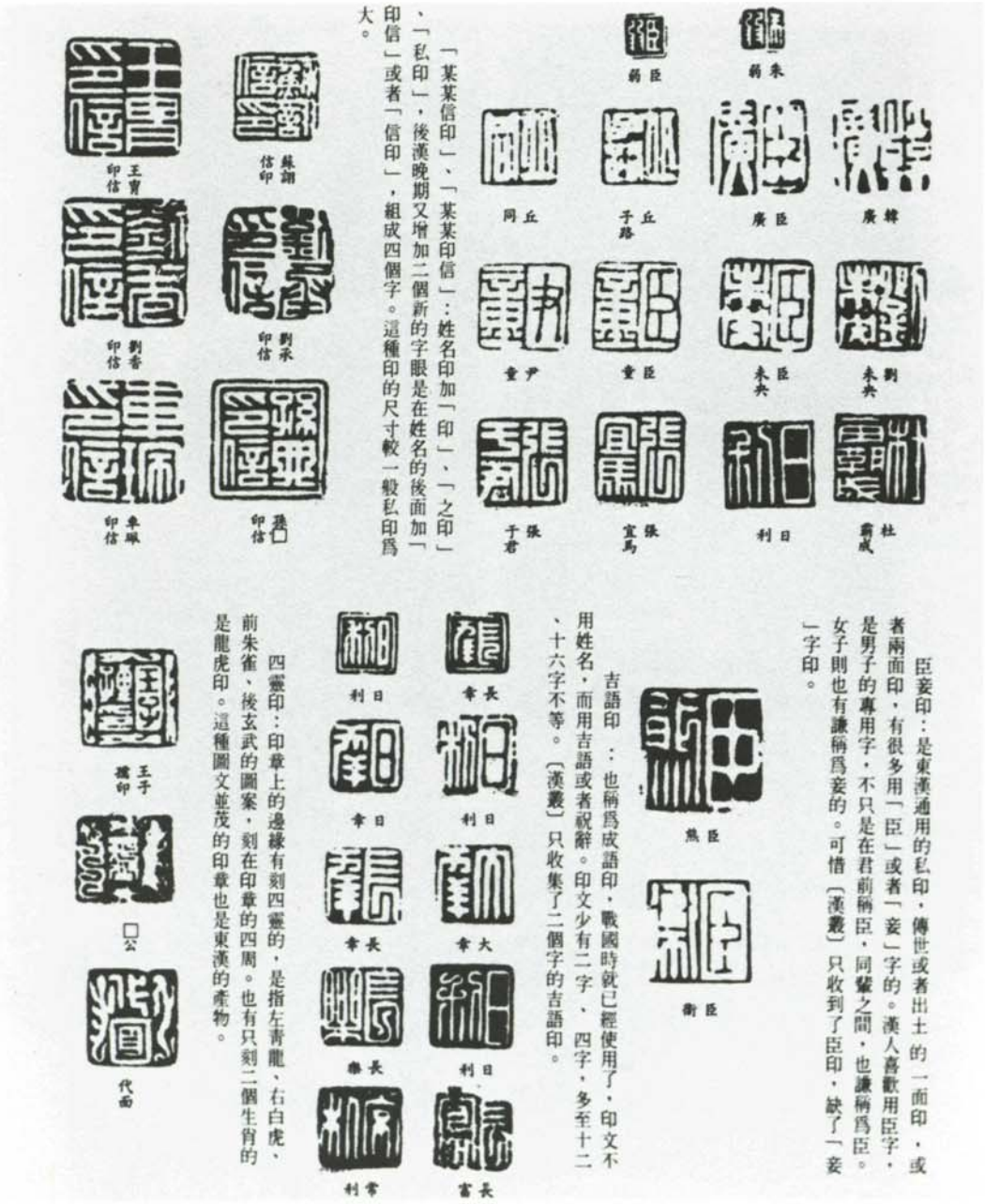
By the end of the Han period three new forms of calligraphy were being differentiated and standardized. The cursive forms were differentiated as *hsing* ("running script") and *ts'ao* ("grass writing"). A new and simpler standard script also took shape, to become known as *chen* or *k'ai* ("model script"). This is the standard script still used today. By the fourth and fifth centuries all of these ways of writing Chinese had acquired their distinctive norms.

Unfortunately, the original works of this period's great calligraphy masters are with very few exceptions no longer extant. Our material evidence for their achievements is found principally in epigraphy. The calligraphy of noted writers, often important political or ritual statements, was carefully traced onto smooth stone surfaces and engraved. Some stones from the Han, and even earlier periods still exist. But for the most part we have copies descended from rubbings of engraved stones (stelae) or wooden tablets that no longer exist. The technique of making rubbings (ink squeezes, ink prints) from inscriptions dates from no later than the fifth or sixth century A.D. This permitted relatively accurate copies to be widely disseminated. Nonetheless, our epigraphic evidence often is engravings from re-tracings of tracings, or from freehand copies of copies. Although the evidence is not often direct, it has not diminished in its importance for the transmission of forms and styles. Historically, the period from the Han to the end of the Six Dynasties (late sixth century) created the mature forms of calligraphy and transmitted the models by transferring them to stone and duplicating the images as rubbings, in Chinese called *t'o-pen*. Such copies have been the focus of intense artistic involvement for close to two thousand years. They constitute the fountainhead of China's premier artistic tradition.

As we take note of the importance for art history of this technique for preserving the achievements of the early calligraphers, we must also note that rubbings are a form of printing. Texts so duplicated functioned as books. Lengthy Confucian classics were engraved on stone as early as the second century A.D. Other secular and religious texts also were engraved, as were mortuary inscriptions, government notices, and other kinds of writings. Rubbings were made of all of these, whether because the calligraphic art was valued or the text was important. In many cases both elements were present. Thus from the beginnings, calligraphy and printing have been intimately linked in China. Although the technology of printing changed after the seventh century, these links remained.

Here we see two groups of rubbings providing evidence for the development of calligraphy: one group preserves items originally produced from the third to the sixth centuries when the forms of writing were being standardized; the second group represents great calligraphers from the seventh to the eleventh centuries.

All of the labels in this part are written by Siu.

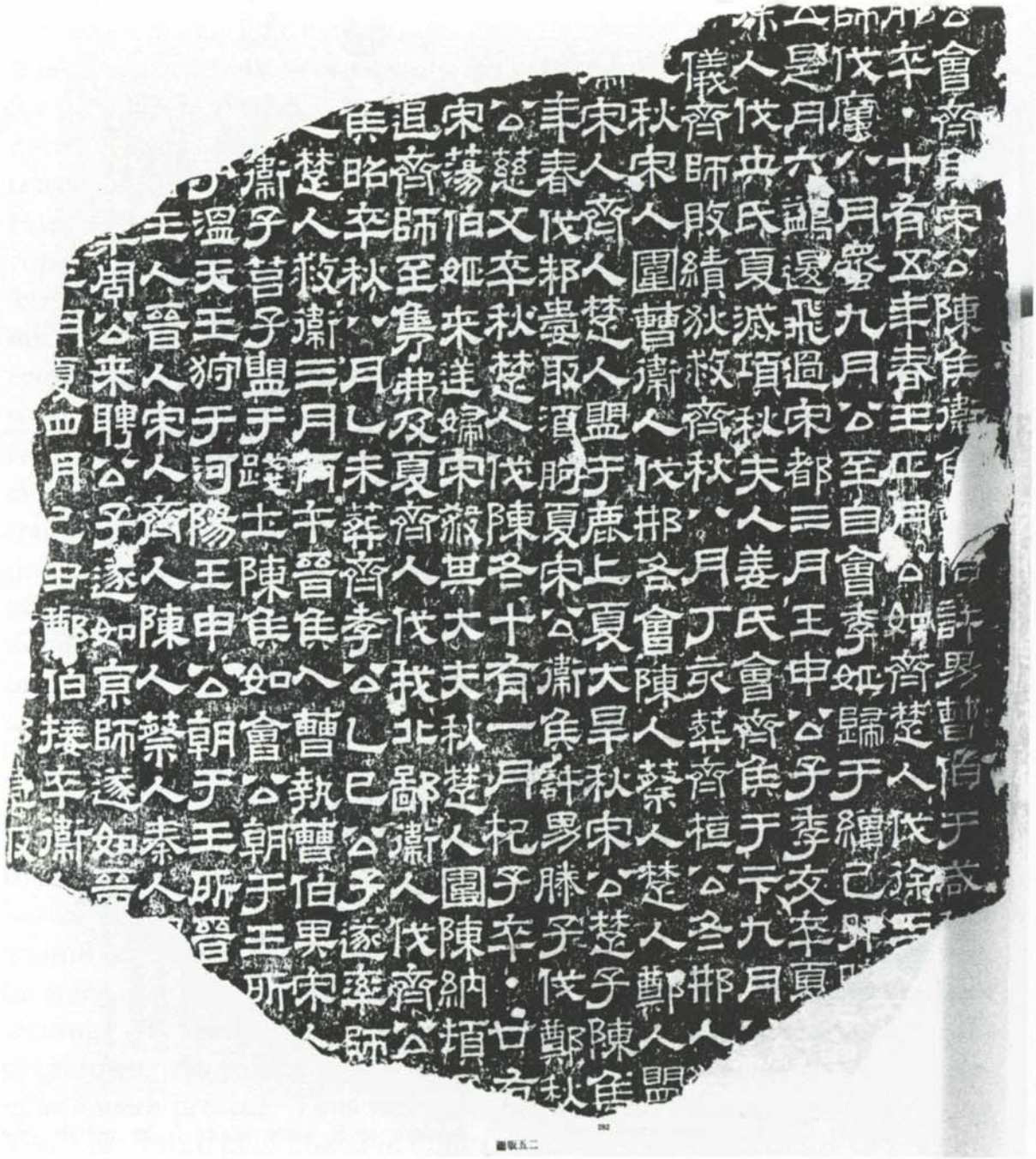


12. *Copper seals.* Seal impression in seal script.

Date: Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.).

Source: Kuo-li ku-kung po-wu-yüan pien-chi wei-yüan-hui, comp., *Wen-wu kuang-hua* (Taipei: Nat. Palace Museum, 1984), p. 271.

Ancient seals were made from metals like bronze, copper, silver, gold, or from jade, stone, bone, and pottery. Since the Warring States Period (403-221 B.C.), seals had been used for practical purposes as well as authorization of official status. The designs on copper seals were either cast in clay molds or cut into the seal. Conceived basically as a surface design, seal script was adapted to the shape of the seal surface, and sometimes further embellished with pictorial designs.



13. *Stone classics of Hsi-p'ing (Hsi-p'ing shih-ching)*. Rubbing of inscription in clerical script.

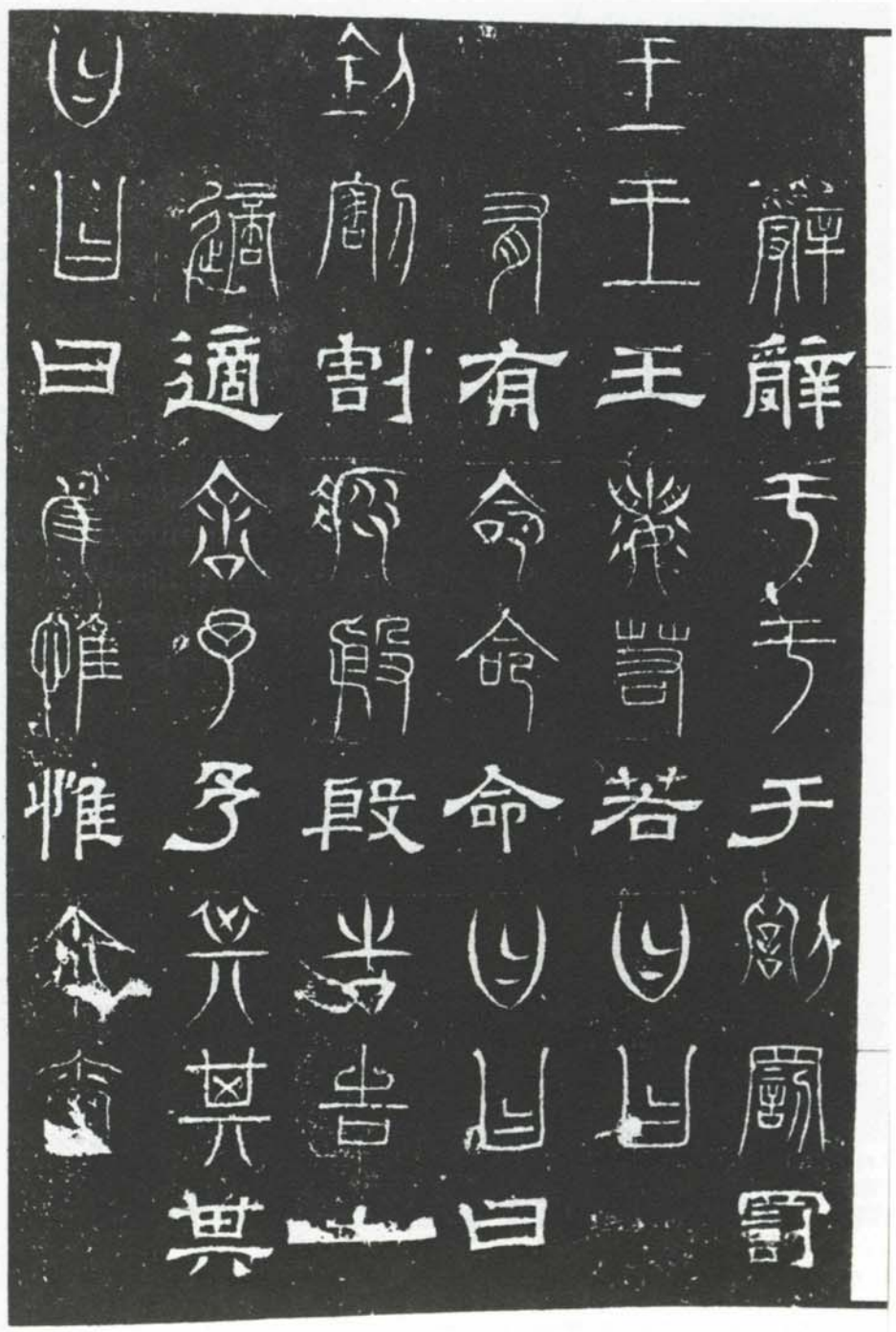
Calligrapher: attr. Ts'ai Yung (132-192).

Date: 175-183.

Dimensions: 52 x 46 cm.

Source: Ma Heng, *Han shih-ching chi-chuan* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan, 1957) 2, p. 52.

Stone tablets engraved with the texts of the classics were erected as imperial standards of Confucian teaching, serving as monumental textbooks. Some horizontal and diagonal strokes attempt to convey grace, but the squarish characters in general identify with the grid space, rather than with the suggested undulatory movement.



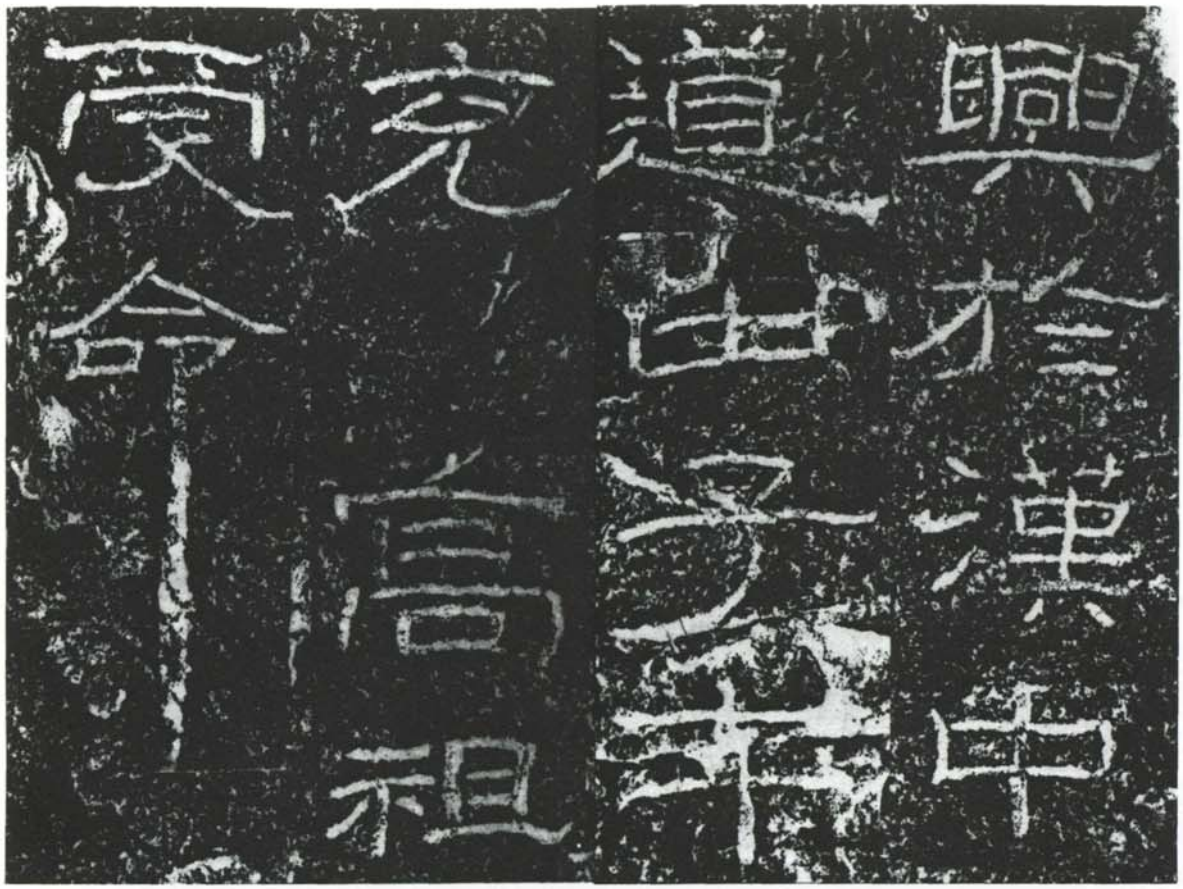
14. *Stone classics in three styles (San-tzu shih-ching).* Rubbing of inscription in seal and clerical scripts.

Date: 240-248.

Dimensions: 25 x 16.5 cm.

Source: Sun Hai-p'o, *Wei san-tzu shih-ching chi-lu* (rpt. Taipei: I-wen, 1975), pp. 4b-5a.

This official stone engraving of the Confucian classics was based on an older edition that had escaped the burning of books in the Ch'in dynasty. The text was written in three collated scripts: two seal scripts, both a fancy, Ch'in dynasty archaic style and the small seal style, and a rigidly composed clerical script. The overall tone is one of ornamentation.



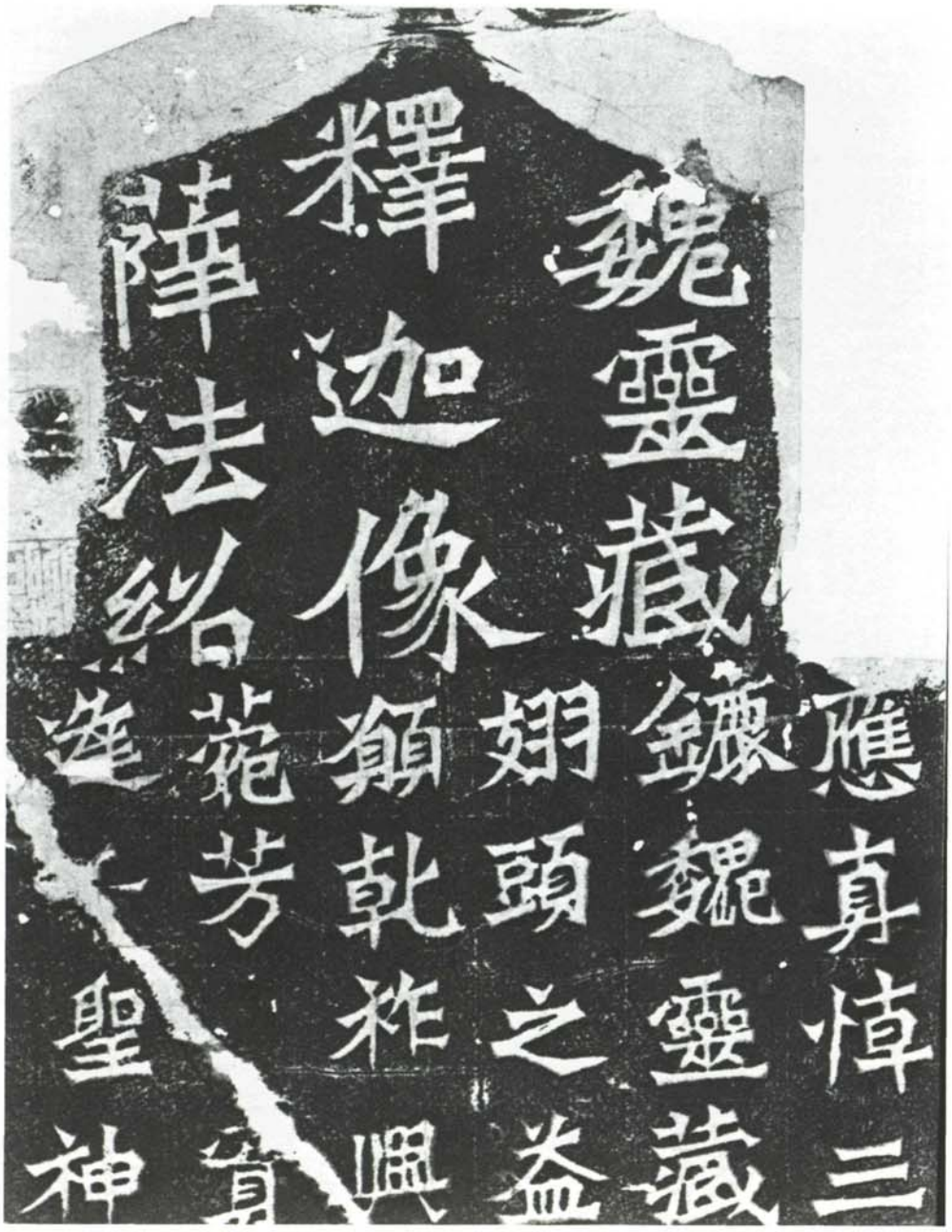
15. *The eulogy at Stone Gate (Shih-men sung).* Rubbing of inscription in clerical script.

Date: 148 A.D.

Dimensions: 26.4 x 17.6 cm.

Source: *Shodō* 2, nos. 80-81; original inscription in Pao-ch'eng, Shensi.

Inscribed on a natural rock cliff located on an ancient highway in Shensi province, this is a masterpiece of *mo-yai*, or cliff epigraphy. We see an already regularized clerical script in harmony with the natural rock surface. The strokes are rounded and the wavy movement is subtly pleasing without being ornamental or contrived. The elongated and thickened final stroke of the character "*ming*" (the last character in the illustration) lends unexpected variety to the work.



16. *Buddhist votive stele dedicated by Wei Ling-ts'ang (Wei Ling-ts'ang tsao-hsiang chi).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

Date: early 6th century.

Dimensions: 28 x 21.75 cm.

Source: Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, comp. *Lung-men ssu-p'in* (Peking: Wen–wu, 1979), p. 40; inscriptions located in Ku-yang Cave, Lung-men Grotto, Lo-yang, Honan province.

This Ku-yang Cave inscription was a dedicatory text commemorating the carving of Buddhist images. It represents the northern stele tradition, with regular scripts that reveal graphic awareness. The heavy, blunt, and weighty structure, the angular corners and wedge-shaped strokes all contribute to a primitive and forceful feeling.

17. *Stele from a Confucian temple (K'ung-tzu miao-t'ang pei).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

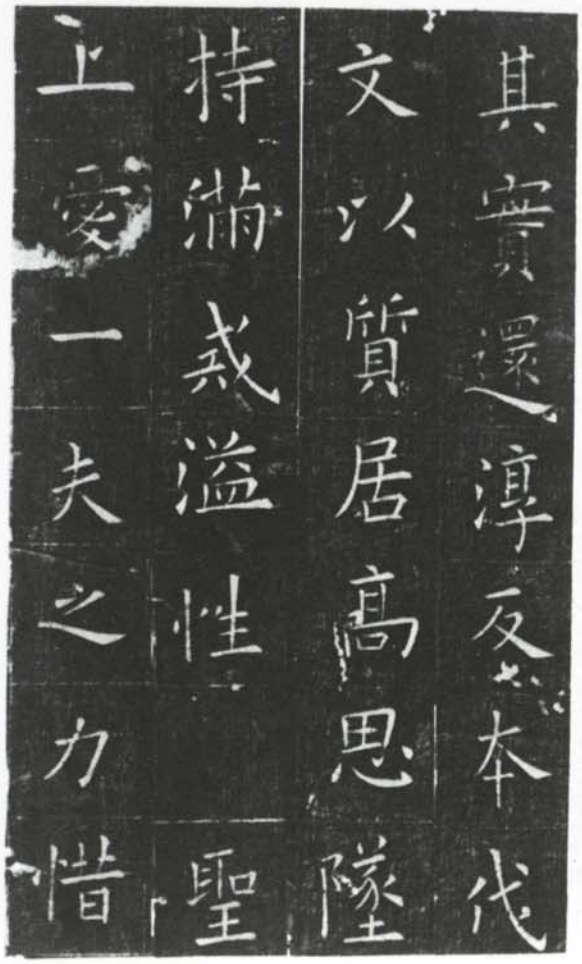
Calligrapher: Yü Shih-nan (558-638).

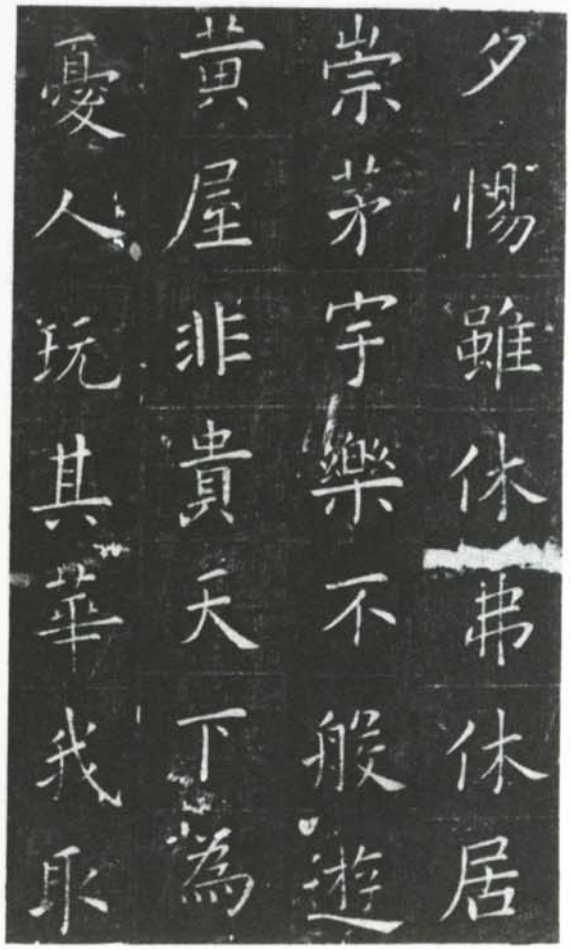
Date: 627 A.D.

Dimensions: 25 x 16.5 cm.

Sources: *Miao-t'ang pei* 1, pp. 1, 2a; *Shodō* 7, nos. 69-76.

Modeled on the Wang Hsi-chih tradition, Yü Shih-nan faithfully adapted the former's elegant style to create a stately and ceremonial calmness. The rubbing represented here is a later recarved edition. (A rubbing of the original stele, which was destroyed, is in the Mitsui Collection in Japan).





18. *Eulogy to the sweet spring at Chiu-ch'eng palace (Chiu-ch'eng-kung li-ch'üan ming).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

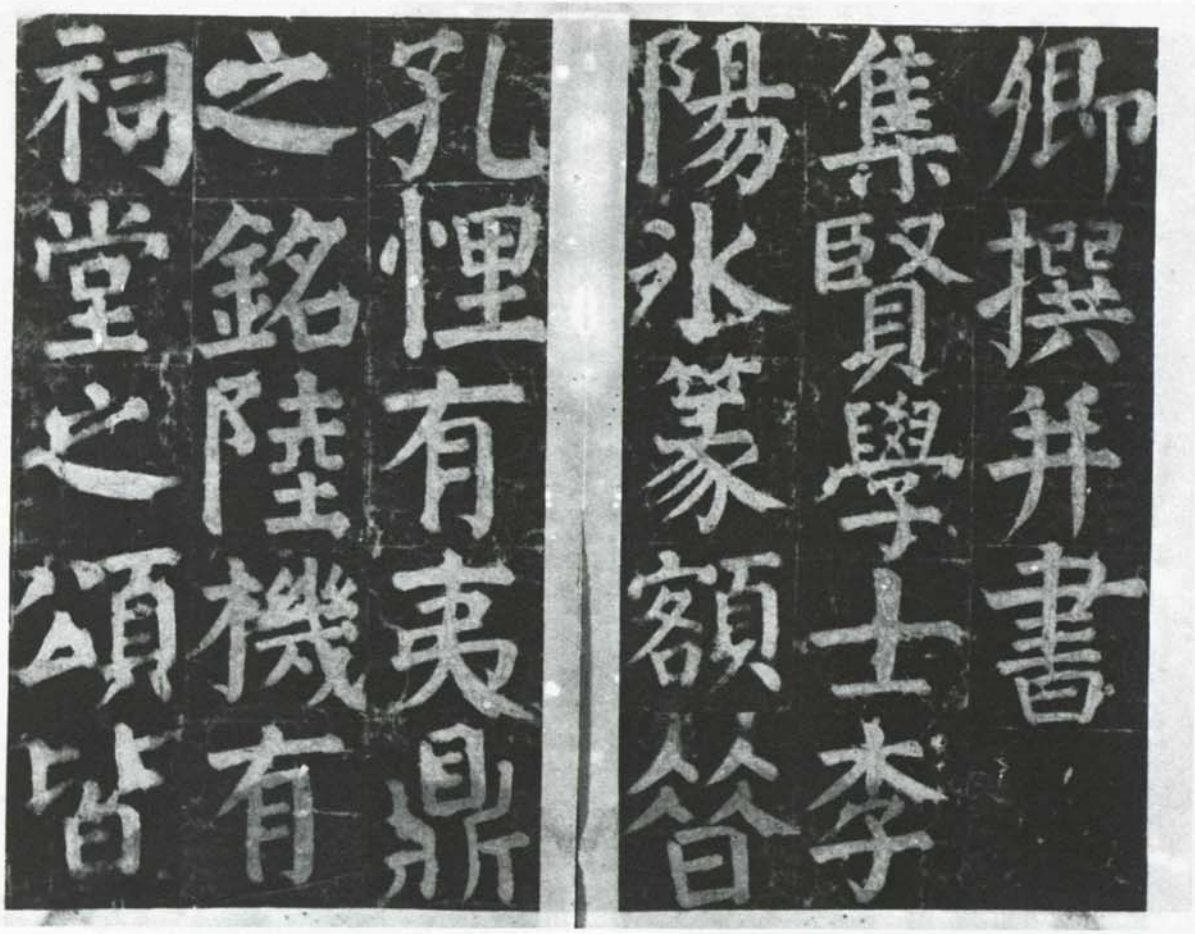
Calligrapher: Ou-yang Hsün (557-641).

Date: 632 A.D.

Dimensions: 24.25 x 14.25 cm.

Source: *Chiu-ch'eng-kung li-ch'üan ming*, pp. 1b-2a; original stele in Sian, Shensi.

Ou-yang Hsün has successfully captured the solidity and angularity of northern stele writing in this work. The characters were composed according to the Wang Hsi-chih tradition, with Ou-yang's unique, slender configuration.



19. *Stele of the Yen family shrine (Yen-shih chia-miao pei).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

Author: Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785).

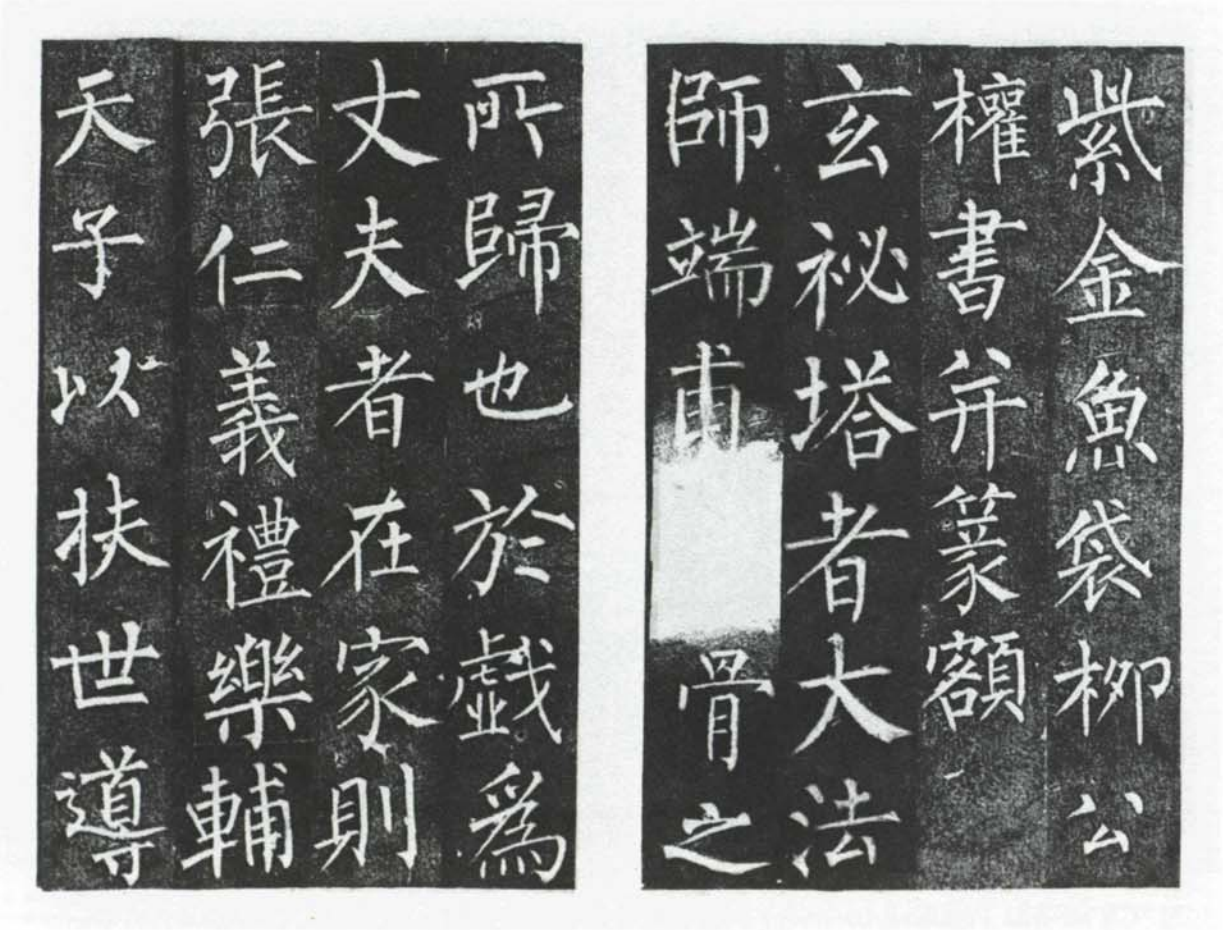
Calligrapher: Yen Chen-ch'ing.

Date: 780 A.D.

Dimensions: 25.5 x 15 cm.

Source: *Yen-chia-miao pei*, pp. 2b-3a.

Yen Chen-ch'ing created a new model in Chinese calligraphy with his monumental boldness and expansiveness. The smooth corners and the fullness of his strokes (simulating the stroke quality of ancient seal script) indicate the aim to archaize and simplify. Ingeniously, he created energetic hooks to enliven the heaviness of his style.



20. *The Tower of Dark Mystery of Monk Ta-ta (Ta-ta fa-shih hsüan-pi-t'a pei).* Rubbing of inscription in regular script.

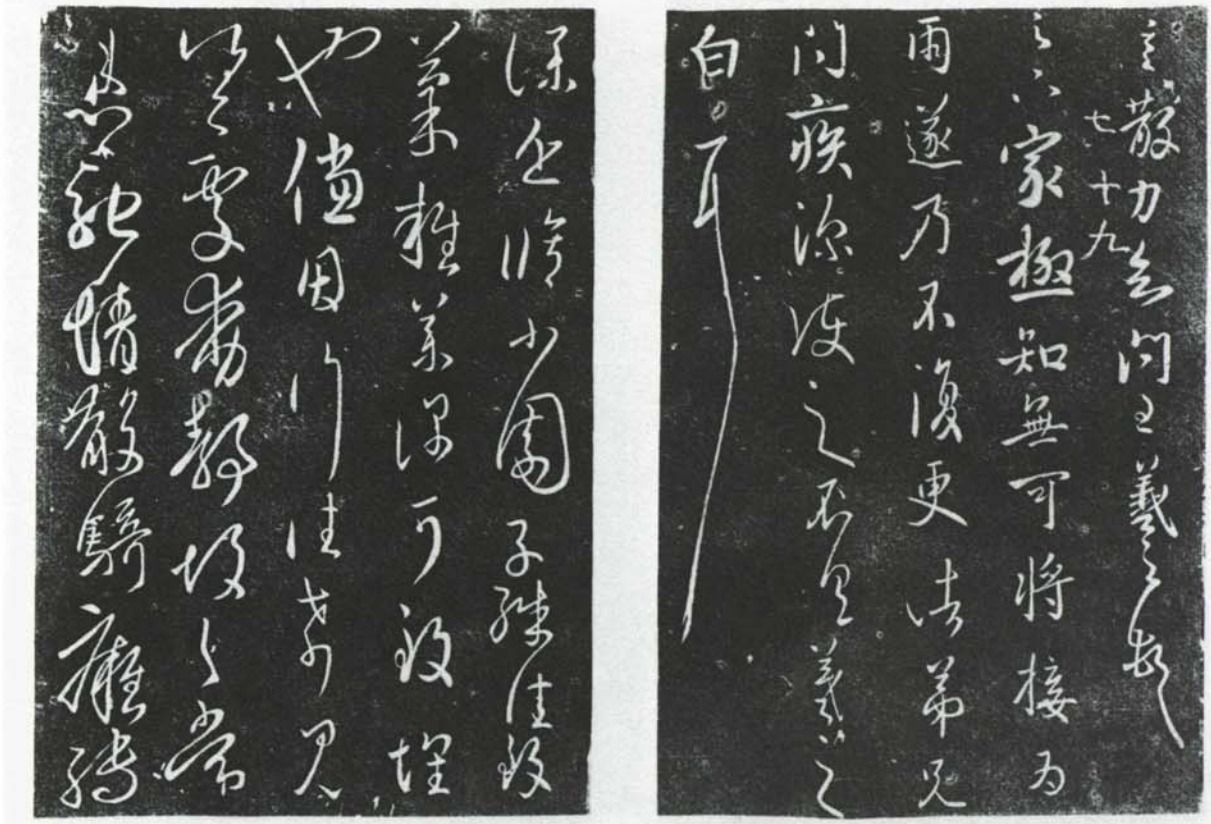
Calligrapher: Liu Kung-ch'üan (778-865).

Date: 841 A.D.

Dimensions: 26.5 x 17 cm.

Source: *Hsüan-pi-t'a pei*, pp. 3b-4a.

Liu's calligraphy shared Yen Chen-ch'ing's expansive and heroic proportion, but enjoyed at the same time an angular and spacious elegance.



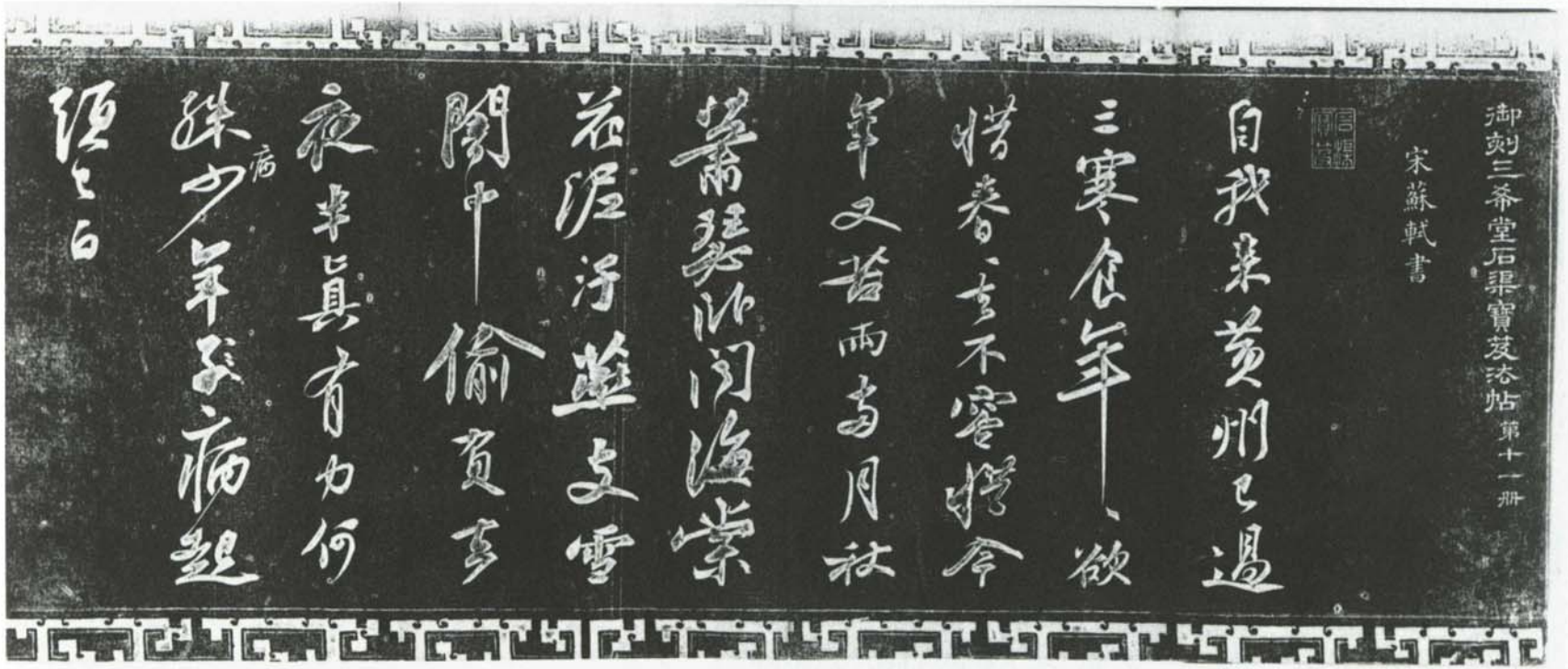
21. *Ch'un–hua Pavilion Anthology (Ch'un-hua-ko t'ieh).* Rubbing of inscription in cursive style.

Date: 992 A.D.

Dimensions: 24 x 16.25 cm.

Source: *Ch'un–hua-ko t'ieh* 7, pp. 19b-20a.

Published by imperial command in 992, this anthology compiled by Wang Chu initiated the tradition of *t'ieh*, calligraphical manuscripts reproduced by carved stone slabs or woodblocks as models for calligraphy students. The cursive style (seen here) is but one of several styles represented in the anthology. Materials were selected from the imperial collection, but their authenticity and authority have been questioned ever since initial publication. The selection also emphasized heavily the Wang Hsi-chih tradition, an example of which is represented here. Through imperial promotion, the Wang school's predominant position in Chinese calligraphy was further strengthened.



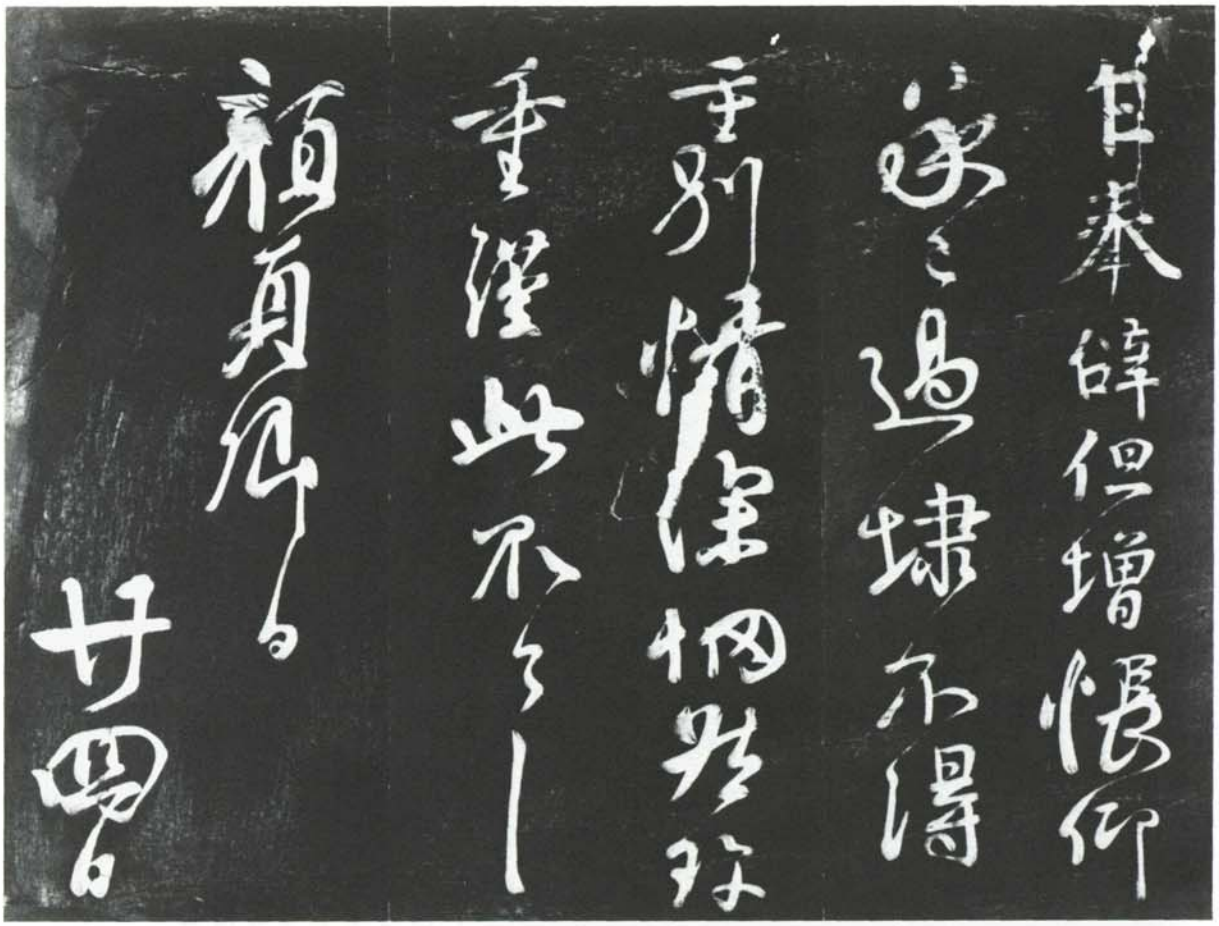
22. *Anthology of the Hall of Three Rarities (San-hsi-t'ang fa-t'ieh)*. Rubbing of inscription in cursive script.

Date: 1747.

Dimensions: 30 x 71 cm.

Source: Liang Shih-cheng et al., comps., *Yü-k'o san-hsi-t'ang shih-ch'ü-pao-chi fa-t'ieh* 11, pp. 1-3a.

In 1747 the Ch'ien-lung emperor sponsored a project to publish calligraphy anthologies like *Ch'un-hua-ko t'ieh*. The title of the anthology was taken from the emperor's studio. Represented here is a rubbing of "Huang-chou han-shih t'ieh" written by Su Shih, whose calligraphic style was characterized by a tightly interlocked internal structure and a free spirit of execution.



23. *Anthology of the Hall of Early Snow (K'uai-hsüeh-t'ang fa-t'ieh).* Rubbing of inscription.

Date: 1779.

Dimensions: 28.5 x 40 cm.

Source: Feng Ch'üan, *K'uai-hsüeh-t'ang fa-shu* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 20a-21a.

This is from the second calligraphy anthology sponsored by the Ch'ien-lung emperor. To hold the carved stone slabs a special hall was constructed. The example shown here is a rubbing of Yen Chen-ch'ing's cursive style, with a quite forceful momentum.

2. Handwritten Books Before and After the Invention of Printing

Part A. The Early Scroll Book

In China as in the ancient Mediterranean world, the earliest books were handwritten on long strips of soft material that could be rolled, making convenient units for carrying about, reading, and storing. In the Mediterranean world the material was papyrus, fundamentally different from paper, although from it our word for paper is derived. In ancient China the material was silk. During Roman times papyrus gave way to parchment and vellum, treated animal skins that could more readily be cut into rectangular sheets than joined into long strips, so the papyrus roll gave way to the codex, a stack of parchment sheets fastened together at one side. In China, silk began to give way to paper in the third century A.D. (although it was never fully displaced for calligraphy or painting). Paper could be rolled as easily as silk, and the roll or "scroll book" (*chüan*) continued to be the standard format for the book for many centuries. It was not until printing from wooden blocks was introduced in the seventh or eighth century that a new material factor, the practical limits on the size of wooden blocks, imposed shape and size on pages. That is when the roll gave way to stacks of pages stitched together to form a *ts'e*, or volume. Thus the new form of the book in China came to resemble the somewhat earlier new form of the book in Europe, the codex. The implications for design of the shift from long strips to rectangular page-size units have intrigued art historians East and West. In China, before that change occurred the scroll book had achieved a long history of high artistic significance. As in the West when printing finally appeared there in the fifteenth century, the venerated traditions of the hand-copied book were slowly and reluctantly displaced; they set the standards for the early printed "imitations."

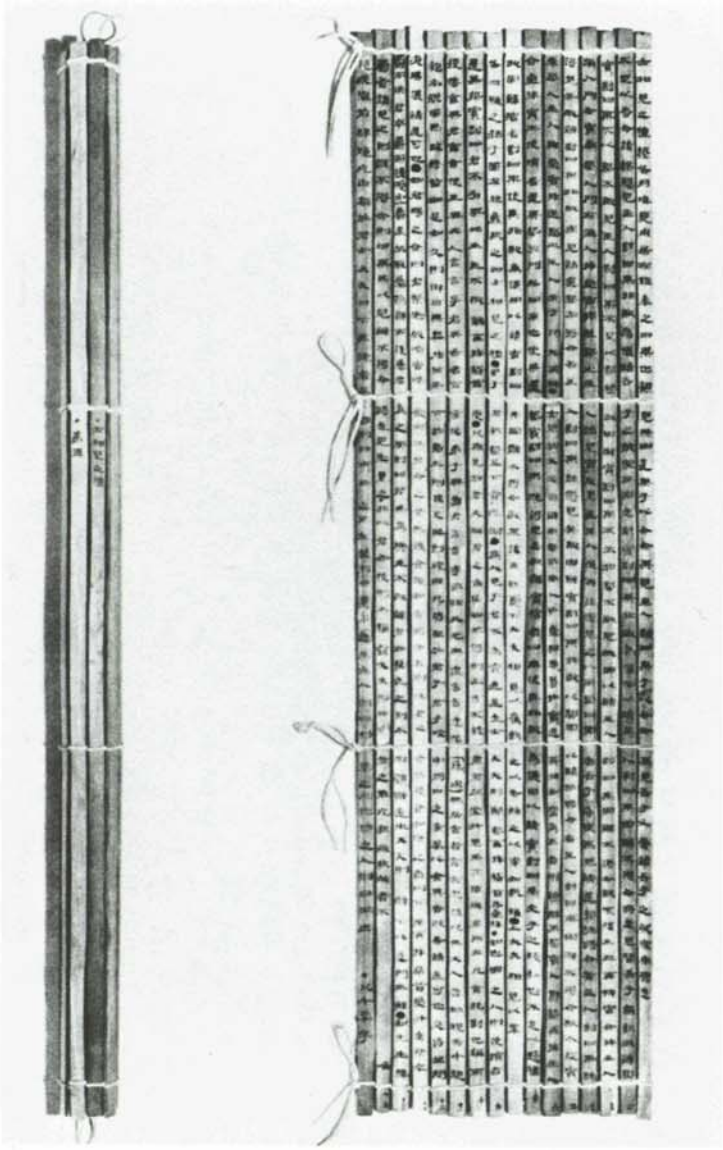
The history of that hand-written scroll book thus goes back to the *po-shu*, the books written on silk, known from literary records as having com-

menced as early as the seventh century B.C. (although the earlier form of the book written on strips of wood or bamboo continued to be used through Han times). A few beautiful examples from pre-imperial times have been found. The most extensive finds however are from early Han, from a pair of tombs excavated at Ma-wang-tui near the Hunan city of Ch'ang-sha in 1972. Dating from about 190 B.C., they contained many objects in perfect state of preservation, including a dozen or more extensive pre-Han texts written on silk. We have no example of *po-shu* to display here.

Here we see a number of important hand-written scroll books all written on paper. Of greatest historic interest is the scroll written by So Tan, signed and dated to a date corresponding to 270 A.D. It contains the latter forty percent of the famous Taoist text, the *Lao Tzu* (or *Tao-te Ching*). It may be the earliest scroll book written in ink on paper anywhere in the world. It was preserved in the cache at Tun-huang discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907. It can be compared with photographs of the Ma-wang-tui *po-shu*, or silk manuscript, of the *Tao-te Ching* written about 190 B.C. These texts, about 450 years apart, are the two earliest known versions of the famous Taoist work. Note the development of the calligraphy and the continuities of format.

With the coming of Buddhism to China during the Han period, there were many reasons for making copies of Buddhist writings, the sutras. A distinct style of standard script developed, as skilled copyists, whose names we usually do not know, standardized the copying of sutras. The style of their calligraphy is often called "*hsieh-ching-t'i*" or sutra-writing style. It has its own logic, stressing smooth uniformity, varying in artistic quality but recognizably of one genre. Here we see a number of outstanding examples of sutras, mostly from Tun-huang and dating from the sixth through the ninth centuries.

Labels no. 24-25 are by Siu. The essays and all remaining labels are by Ch'en.



24. *Formal ceremonies at a meeting of scholars (Shih hsiang-chien chih li).* Replica of wooden strips in clerical script.

Date: early 1st c. B.C.

Dimensions: 55.5 cm long.

Source: Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so, comp., *Wu-wei Han-chien* (Peking: Wen-wu, 1964), p. 24; excavated from M5, Mo-tsui-tzu, Kansu.

Although paper had already come into use by the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), wooden and bamboo strips were still widely used as an inexpensive material for writing until the third century. Classical texts written on such strips and bound into a set, as shown here, constituted an early form of the book. With the individual strips fastened in a fixed sequence, the text was kept in the right order. Before an inscription was executed with a brush in black pigment, the writing surface had to be polished and sometimes covered with a coating. For binding, notches were cut onto the side of the strips where they were to be fastened with hemp or leather string. On this set of wood strips is preserved a text on scholarly ritual and decorum. The brushwork is highly finished and the composition gracefully balanced. The spacious arrangement adds to our visual enjoyment.

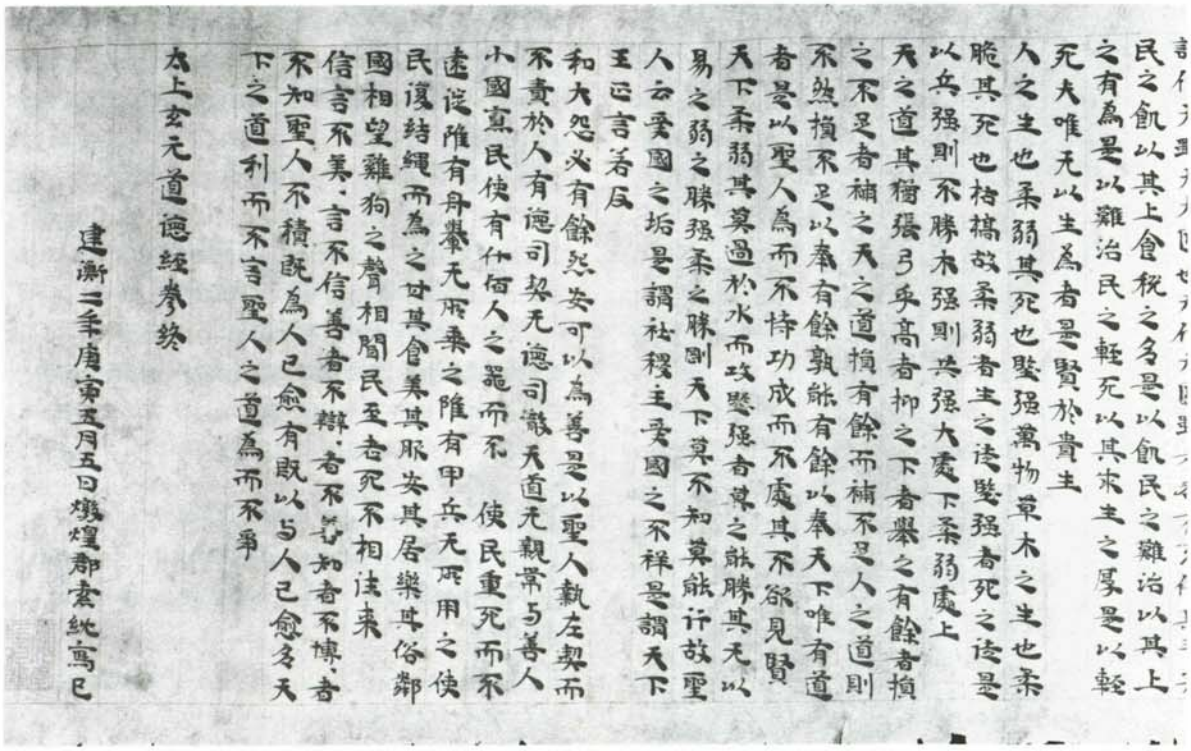
25. *Lao-tzu*. Ink on silk in seal script.

Date: early 3rd c. B.C.

Dimensions: 18 cm wide.

Source: Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu cheng-li hsiao-tsu, comp., *Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu Lao-tzu* (Peking: Wen-wu, 1976), fig. 1; excavated from M3, Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, in 1974-5.

Ancient texts preserved on silk manuscript were an early form of the book. Written on this partially deteriorated manuscript are two Taoist classics, the *Te-ching* and the *Tao-ching*, and four other ancient texts dealing with moral issues and military affairs. The text is executed in small-seal script, which had already undergone a partial evolution to clerical script. The pictographic nature of the seal script here has been adjusted to quicker, more regularized writing, as seen in the pausing and thickening of rightward diagonals and the emphatic left-turning sweeps. The vertical columnar format, marked with fine ink lines, derives from bamboo strips. Found in a tomb datable to 168 B.C., this silk manuscript was probably acquired during the lifetime of the tomb's deceased and cherished as a rare and antique item.



26. *Transcription of the Tao-te ching.* Detail of handscroll in clerical script, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: So Tan (ca.250 - ca.325 A.D.).

Date: 270 A.D.

Dimensions: 30.8 cm high.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1985.52)

Important archaeological finds in China at the turn of this century occurred during the exploration of the Sutra-storage Cave (*ts'ang-ching tung*) at Tun-huang in Kansu province. The collection in the cave consists of a great variety of historical documents that touch upon almost every aspect of Chinese culture from the third to the eleventh century. The documents include both religious and secular themes; and the media include visual and literary forms, mostly preserved on silk and paper scrolls. A large proportion of these scrolls are manuscripts of Buddhist sutras and Confucian or Taoist classics, among which the earliest work is a copy of the *Tao-te ching* (no. 26), dated 270 A.D. and transcribed by So Tan (ca. 250-ca.325).[1] It is now in the John B. Elliott Collection on loan to the Art Museum, Princeton University.

So Tan was born into a literary family at Tun-huang. His uncle So Ching (239-303) was a scholar, geomancer, and talented calligrapher who specialized in the cursive-script style. In 264, So Ching and his four cousins entered the Imperial Academy (T'ai-hsüeh) in Lo-yang, then the capital of the Wei Kingdom (220-265 A.D.), and became famous as the "Five Dragons from Tun-huang." Possibly the young So Tan joined his uncles in the Imperial Academy at this time. In Lo-yang

he became interested in Taoism, which probably was introduced to him by his friends from southeast China, then the center of the religion. Probably through their connections he moved to Nanking, the capital of the Wu Kingdom (221-280), and adopted the calendar year of the Wu reign to date his works. He finished the transcription of the Princeton *Tao-te ching* in 270.[2] At the end of the scroll, he inscribed: "On the fifth day of the fifth month of the *keng-yin* year, the second year of the Chien-heng reign, So Tan from Tun-huang Commandery finished writing this" (*Chien-heng erh nien keng-yin wu-yüeh wu-jih Tun-huang chün So Tan hsieh i*). The extant manuscript in Princeton offers but a fragment of the original classic, attributed to Lao Tan (active ca. 5th c. B.C.). The characters are written within 118 ink-ruled columns on fragile yellowish paper. According to Professor Jao Tsung-i, the So Tan manuscript was primarily based on an ancient version of the *Tao-te ching* with commentary by Ho-shang-kung (fl. ca. 3rd c. A.D.) and is different from another version with commentary by Wang Pi (226-249).[3]

The calligraphic style of the So Tan manuscript demonstrates a relationship

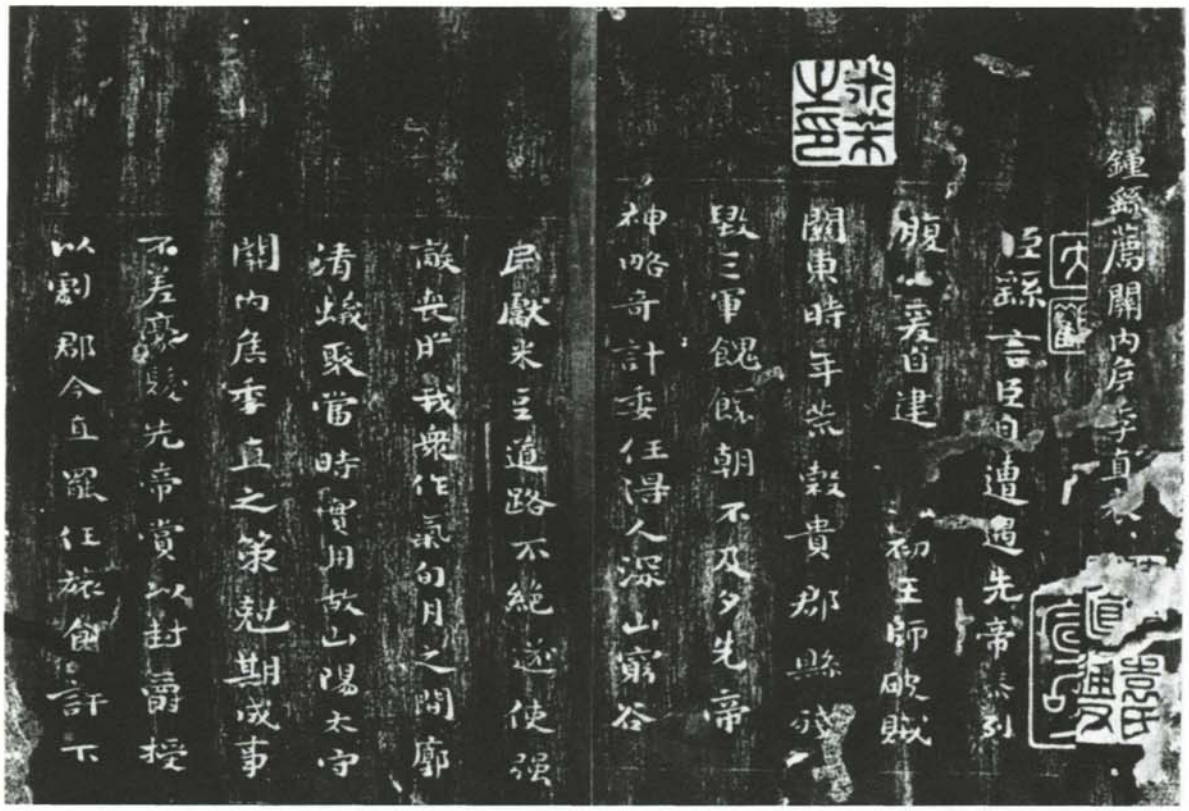
27. *Chien Kuan-nei hou Chi-chih piao (Memorial to recommend Chi-chih, Marquis of Kuan-nei)*. Detail of rubbing, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: attr. Chung Yu (ca.170 - 230).

Date: original rubbing from N. Sung (960-1127).

Dimensions: 13.7 x 25.7 cm.

Source: *Shodō* 3, no. 111.



with that of the great calligrapher Chung Yu (ca. 170-230). Squat in shape, each character shows elements of clerical-script (*li-shu*), characterized by wavy horizontal strokes (*p'o*) and strongly accented flaring diagonals (*chieh*, or *na*). The stress on these flaring diagonal strokes gives each character a stable base and balances the composition. Each stroke has a smooth silhouette, which results from the steady movement of a soft brush controlled by a highly trained hand. In its overall effect, the calligraphy looks natural, relaxed, and rhythmical. These characteristics, including squat composition, emphatic diagonal strokes, relaxed brushwork, and an unembellished manner reflect the calligraphic style of Chung Yu, as seen in the "Memorial to Recommend Chi-chih, the Marquis of Kuan-nei" (Chien Kuan-nei hou Chi-chih piao) attributed to him (no. 27). It was not surprising that So Tan adopted Chung Yu's calligraphic style during his stay in Lo-yang, since Chung had been an influential statesman and calligrapher there until his death in 230.

Another example with aesthetic principles similar to those of the So Tan manuscript is a fragment discovered in Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, from *Records of the Wu Kingdom (Wu chih)*, datable to ca. 300 A.D. (no. 28). The calligraphic style represented by the So Tan manuscript, moreover, became a convention for transcribing Buddhist sutras in the Six Dynasties Period (220-589) known as *Liu-ch'ao hsieh-ching t'i*. One of the best examples of this category is a manuscript entitled "Formula to Be Recited at the Ceremony of Receiving the Commandments" (Shih sung pi-ch'iu chieh pen), dated 406, now in the collection of the British Library (no. 29).[4]

Conventionally, the term *hsieh ching* has

28. *Wu-chih ts'an chüan (Fragment from 'Records of the Wu Kingdom').*

Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Author: Ch'en Shou (233-297).

Date: ca. 300.

Dimensions: 25.7 cm high.

Source: *Shodō* 3, no. 127.

referred only to the production of Buddhist sutras. But since it literally means a transcription either of the texts of sutras or of classics, then naturally it should also include transcriptions of Buddhist *tripitaka*, Taoist scriptures, and Confucian classics. Although the tradition of sutra transcrip-

29. *Shih sung pi-ch'iu chieh-pen (Formula to be recited at the ceremony of receiving the commandments).* Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Date: 406.

Dimensions: entire scroll 24.5 x 710 cm.

Collection: British Library (S. 797).

Source: Asahi Shinbunsha, *Dai'ei toshokan shūzō Tonkō Rōran kobunsho ten* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1983), p. 56, pl. 32.

tion has remained alive since Buddhism came to China in the first century A.D., there is no single persistent calligraphic style specifically designed for this category. The so-called "sutra transcription style" (*hsieh ching t'i*) is a vague term referring to the text being transcribed, rather than to a calligraphic style.

In fact, the many sutra transcriptions executed throughout the centuries can be distinguished by different period styles, each reflecting a variety of sources and aesthetic concerns. For example, the "Six Dynasties Sutra Transcription Style" bespeaks its primary relationship with the style of Chung Yu, characterized by formal simplicity (see above concerning the So Tan manuscript). In contrast, the unique calligraphic style of the "T'ang Sutra Transcription" category clearly differs from works of the Six Dynasties. This point can be illustrated by a stylistic analysis of a scroll entitled "Mo–ho po-jo p'o-lo-mi-to ching" (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā*)[5] by an anonymous T'ang calligrapher (no. 30) from the Sutra-storage Cave at Tun-huang.

This scroll consists of only one chapter from the original sutra entitled "Pien-hsüeh p'in." The characters are written within ink-ruled columns on yellowish paper. The format consists of columns of seventeen characters, except in a few cases where the number of characters ranges from eighteen to twenty-two. The calligraphy of this scroll clearly contains elements of regular script (*k'ai-shu*), characterized by sophisticated brushwork, architectonic composition, and tight, even spacing.

The horizontal and vertical brush strokes are of similar width; dots and hooks are evident; and the flaring diagonals prominent in clerical script are less pronounced. Each stroke represents the subtle and complicated modulations that result from skillful shifts of the pressing-and-lifting movement of the brush. These sophisticated strokes are compressed into a square composition to form each character. They are tightly spaced from top to bottom in each column, but an open space is left between columns. This arrangement brings to the entire composition a

sense of rectitude and regularity. (Such characteristics are also found in three other Buddhist sutra scrolls datable to the same period: "Mo-ho po-jo p'o-lo-mi fang-kuang ching kung-yang p'in," "Ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen shou-chi-p'in," and "San-mi-ti-pu lun."[6] (See nos. 31-33.)

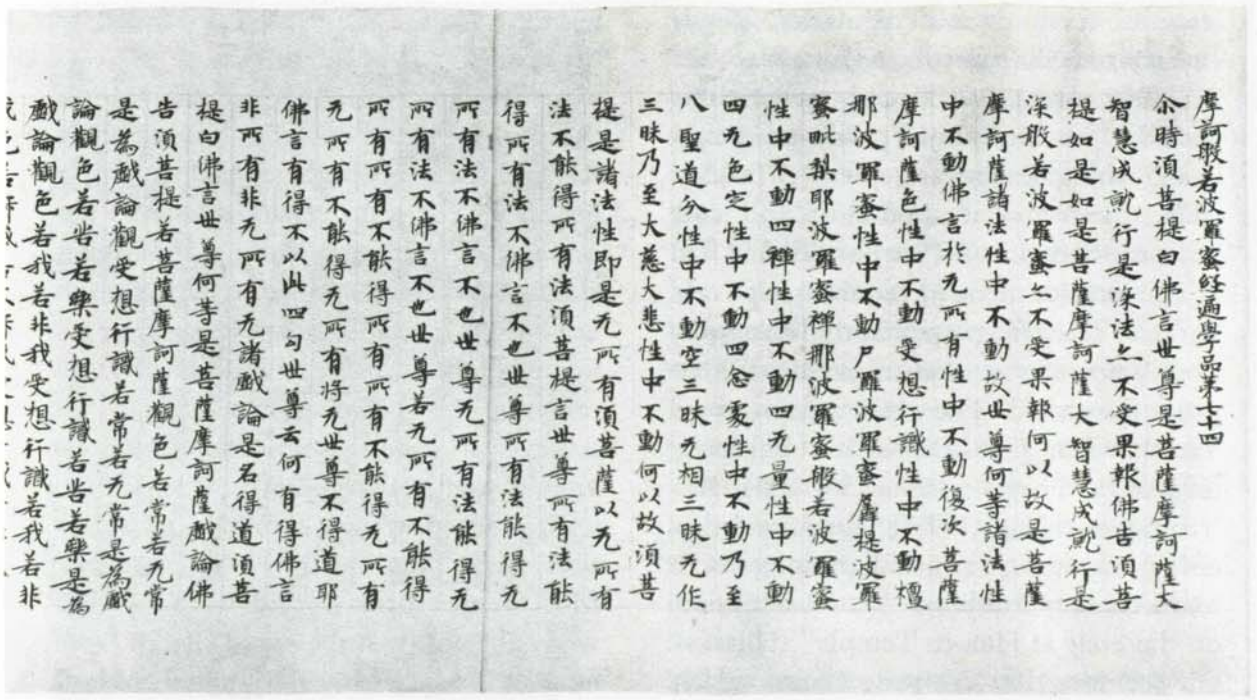
The development of regular-script calligraphy reached its apex in the T'ang period, when new aesthetic formulae in this genre flourished. The great masters were Yü shih-nan (558-638), Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658), Ou-yang Hsün (557-641), and Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785), whose influence was widespread and prolonged. A ninth-century rubbing, "An Inscription on the Stele at Hua-tu Temple" (Hua-tu-ssu pei ming) by Ou-yang Hsün, which was discovered at the Sutra-storage Cave at Tun-huang,[7] indicates that calligraphers in the Tun-huang Buddhist scriptoria knew and adopted the formulae of these masters.

Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced from China to Japan by Paekche monks in the mid-sixth century. Patronized by Prince Shōtoku (572-621), the new religion began to flourish nationwide. Based on Chinese models, numerous Buddhist temples were erected, statues created, and sutras transcribed. Transcription of Buddhist sutras in Japan had by the twelfth century undergone a three-stage artistic evolution. In the Nara period (645-710), sutra transcription was primarily carried out by monks. Most sutras executed in this period were written in ink on plain paper; occasionally they were transcribed in gold paste on indigo paper. In the early Heian period (794-897) these practices began to change: the sutras copied in this period were often transcribed in gold or silver ink on colored paper and were accompanied by illustrations, either preceding the text as frontispieces, or paralleling the text.[8]

In the late Heian period (897-1185), the development of sutra transcription reached its apex, both in quality and in quantity. The transcription of sutras became a new fashion among the ruling class. Aristocrats saw sutra transcription not only as a means of expressing their religious piety, but also as a means of accumulating the personal merit needed to achieve salvation. Motivated by this conviction, some of them initiated projects to transcribe enormous numbers of sutras that were then dedicated to temples.[9] Most of the sutras copied in this period were physically embellished in the Japanese style known as "Decorated Sutras" (*soshoku-gyō*), with text written in gold or silver paste on colored paper and preceded by a frontispiece and a floral-decor cover on the reverse.[10]

The most distinctive groups of such sutra include the Jingoji Sutras (*Jingoji-kyō*) dedicated by the imperial family to the Jingo Temple in 1141,[11] the Chūsonji sutras (*Chūsonji-kyō*) dedicated by the Fujiwara family to Chūsonji late in the twelfth century, and the "Sutras Dedicated by the Taira Family to the Itsukushima Shrine" in 1164. The latter are known as the Heike-nō-gyō.[12] In terms of decoration, the Jingoji and Heike-nō-gyō sutras represent a drastic contrast in aesthetic taste. Most of the decor on the latter is colorful and innovative — an appropriate reflection of the character of the Taira family, then overwhelming the country with wealth and political success. In contrast, the decoration on the Jingoji sutras is more conservative. Its simple, refined, and elegantly restrained quality reflects an older tradition of sutra illustration.[13]

The Jingoji sutras clearly show formal



30. *Mo-ho po-jo p'o–lo-mi ching (Prajñāpāramitā sūtra)*. Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Date: T'ang period (618-907).

Dimensions: 27.3 cm high.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1986.104b).

affinities to T'ang models, as seen in a scroll entitled "Kompon setsu issai ubu binaya" (Ken-pen-shuo i-ch'ieh yu-pu pi-na-yeh; Sanskrit: *Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya vinaya sūtra*)[14] now in the collection of the Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 34). The scroll consists of two main parts: the text of the sutra and a frontispiece, which shows the Buddha preaching under Vulture Peak. The physical relationship between the text and the frontispiece as such is a formal adoption of the T'ang mode, as seen in the *Diamond Sutra* (Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra), dated 868, in the British Museum (no. 35). Both the text and the painting of the Jingoji scroll are executed in gold and silver paste on indigo paper — the same media popularly used in the T'ang period.[15] The text is arranged into columns defined by silver lines. In most cases, each column comprises seventeen characters, the number commonly used in most Japanese sutra scrolls. This style also can be regarded as a T'ang influence, and is represented by the Buddhist sutras found at Tun-huang.

In the text such characters as *erh* and *o* were written in archaic forms. Archaic scripts of this kind were used formulaically in T'ang sutra writings, and thus show how faithfully the Jingoji sutra preserved the T'ang model. In terms of calligraphy, the characters of the Jingoji scroll are written in refined regular-script style, neatly configured, and evenly

31. *Mo-ho po-jo p'o-lo-mi fang-kuang ching kung-yang p'in.* Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

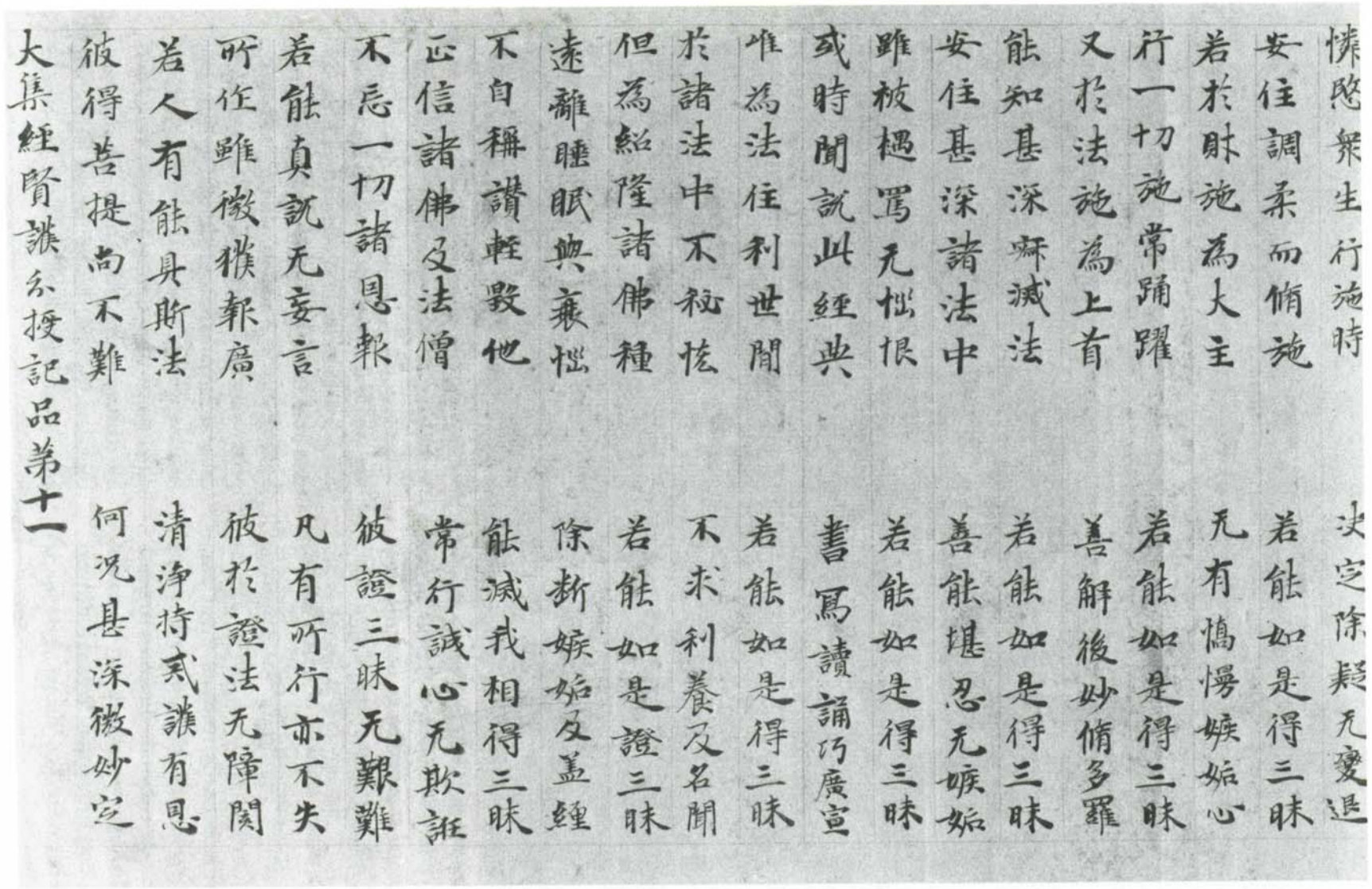
Date: early T'ang period (ca. early 7th c).

Dimensions: entire scroll 25.73 x 466.73 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

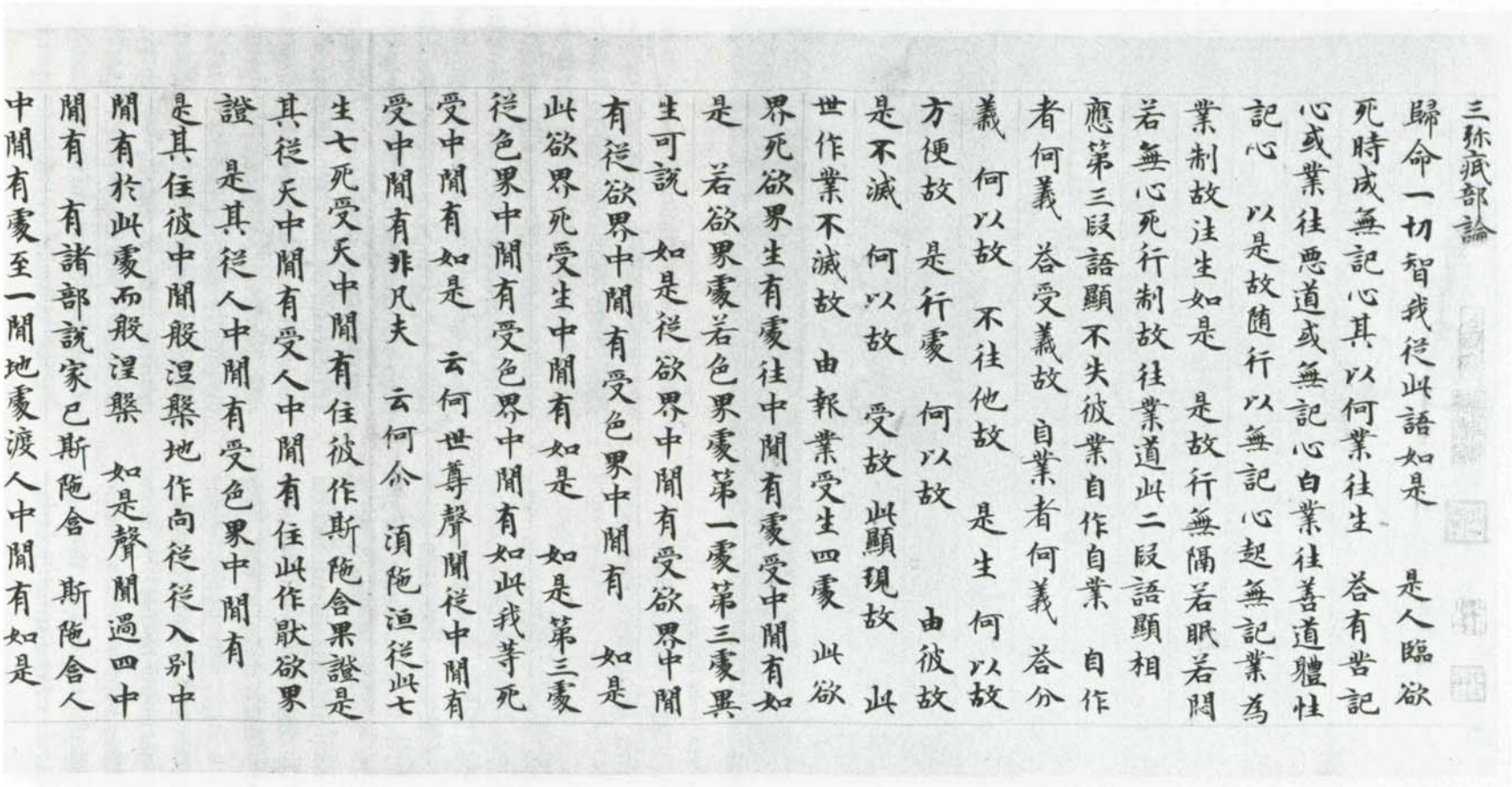
spaced. This is reminiscent of the T'ang sutra writings seen in nos. 30-33. The stylistic affinity between the Jingoji sutra and its T'ang sources proves that T'ang culture remained influential in Japan during the Heian period.

Esoteric Buddhism entered Japan during the Nara period (710-794) because of constant cultural contact with China. It was at that time regarded as a mystery religion (*mikkyō*), and initially gained little prominence. During Heian, however, this religion began to flourish, and eventually became one of the most influential Buddhist sects, dominating Japanese religious life throughout the period. The florescence of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan has been accredited to the "Eight Masters,"



32. *Ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen shou-chi-p'in.* Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.
Date: T'ang period (618-907).

Dimensions: entire scroll 25.72 x 93.35 cm.
Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


三彌底部論
歸命一切智我從此語如是　是人臨欲
死時成無記心其以何業往生　答有昔記
心或業往惡道或無記心白業往善道體性
記心　以是故隨行以無記心起無記業為
業制故注生如是　是故行無隔若眠若悶
若無心死行制故往業道此二段語顯相
應第三段語顯不失彼業自作自業　自作
者何義　答受義故　自業者何義　答分
義　何以故　不往他故　是生　何以故
方便故　是行處　何以故　由彼故
是不滅　何以故　受故　此顯現故　此
世作業不滅故　由報業受生四處　此欲
界死欲界生有處往中間有處受中間有如
是　若欲界處若色界處第一處第三處異
生可說　如是從欲界中間有受欲界中間
有從欲界中間有受色界中間有　如是
此欲界死受生中間有如是　如是第三處
從色界中間有受色界中間有如此我等死
受中間有如是　云何世尊聲聞從中間有
受中間有非凡夫　云何答　須陀洹從此七
生七死受天中間有住彼作斯陀含果證是
其從天中間有受人中間有住此作歌欲界
證　是其從人中間有受色界中間有
是其住彼中間般涅槃地作向從從入別中
間有於此處而般涅槃　如是聲聞過四中
間有　有諸部說家已斯陀含　斯陀含人
中間有處至一間地處渡人中間有如是

33. *San-mi-ti-pu lun*. Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Date: T'ang period (618-907).

Dimensions: 23.3 cm high.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1986.61).

34. *Komponsetsu issai ubu binaya (Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya vinaya sūtra).* Detail of handscroll, gold and silver on indigo paper.

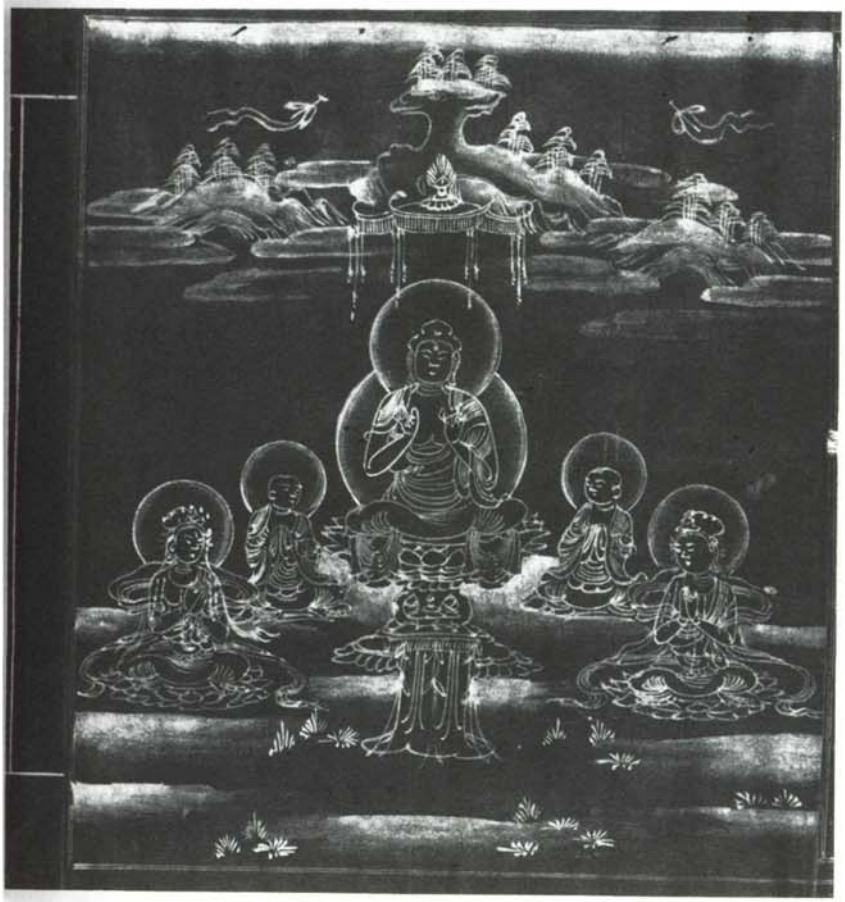
Date: Late Heian period (ca. 1150).

Dimensions: painting, 25.9 x 21.2 cm; calligraphy, 25.9 cm high.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University (1959-121).

who included such important monks as Kūkai (774-835), Ennin (794-864), and Enchin (814-891). Each traveled to China and brought back large numbers of Esoteric Buddhist icons and scriptures edited in the K'ai-yüan period (714-741).[16]

Esoteric Buddhists believed that the only way to reach enlightenment is through the ceaseless practice of chanting Esoteric sutras and meditating on Esoteric deities to the accompaniment of ritual gestures. Each deity was believed to hold a certain power to help followers quell emotional turmoil and reach eternal peace. The pictorial representations of these deities are based strictly on iconographic descriptions appearing in sutras. Depending on their nature, status, and power deities are represented either in merciful or in fearful appearances, and accompanied by attributes and emblems symbolizing their specific powers. They can be represented individually as independent icons, or shown hierarchically grouped in a schematic diagram called a *mandala*, which symbolizes each one's influence over a specific sphere of the Buddhist universe. Considered as pivotal vehicles to enlightenment, the Es-



oteric icons thus are important in both public and private rituals. In the Heian period, due to the popular expansion of religion, Esoteric icons were constantly copied with great accuracy and precision from earlier models. One of the most important works of this period is the "Ten Scrolls of Esoteric Icons" (Zuzō jikan shō) compiled by Byōdōbō Yōgen (some say by Shōjōbō Ejō) around 1135.[17]

The Ten Scrolls are an encyclopedic compilation of extant Esoteric icons, and became standards for copies in later periods. As preserved in later copies, the Ten Scrolls consist of ten categories of icon arranged in hierarchical order: starting with buddhas, bodhisattvas, and heavenly kings, and ending with celestial beings. Each icon is accompanied by a passage of text that serves as an iconographic reference. It includes the sutra on which the icon is based, the original Sanskrit name of the icon, an emblematic Sanskrit character as insignia for the deity, and specific *mudra*, weapon, and vehicle by which the deity is identified.[18] The best example of these characteristics is a fragment showing the ninth of the Ten Scrolls copied by an Esoteric Buddhist monk, Konkōshi Ryōshō, in 1321.[19] The fragment, mounted as a handscroll, is now in the collection of the Art Museum, Princeton University.

The Princeton fragment is missing the scroll's first five icons and text. It consists in total of seventeen sections of icons of heavenly kings, each accompanied on the right by its text, providing a strict formula

35. *Frontispiece to Chin-kang ching (Prajñāpāramitā sūtra).* Detail of handscroll, blockprint on paper.

Date: T'ang period (618-907).

Dimensions: 23.7 x 28.5 cm.

Collection: The British Library (P.2. Ch. ciii. 0014).

Source: Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia* 2, fig. 144.

for the execution of the icon. In some cases an annotation is added at the end of the text to give more iconographical references, as seen in the thirteen columns of writing immediately to the right of the Four Heavenly Kings in the middle of the fragment (no. 36). The annotation indicates that the coloration for the Four Heavenly Kings is as follows: the King of the North (*Vaiśravana*), dark blue; the King of the East (*Dhṛtarāṣṭra*), light blue; the King of the South (*Virūḍhaka*), red; and the King of the West (*Virūpākṣa*), white. It further explains that this formula was adopted from that for another set of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Great Eastern Temple (Tōdaiji), and the formulation of such color-cardinal relationships was borrowed from Chinese geomancy (*yin-yang chia*), rather than from traditional Esoteric iconography.

By the end of the ninth century, the Chinese had already applied woodblock printing technique to the reproduction of Buddhist sutras and illustrations. The most important extant works of this category are the scroll of the *Diamond Sutra*

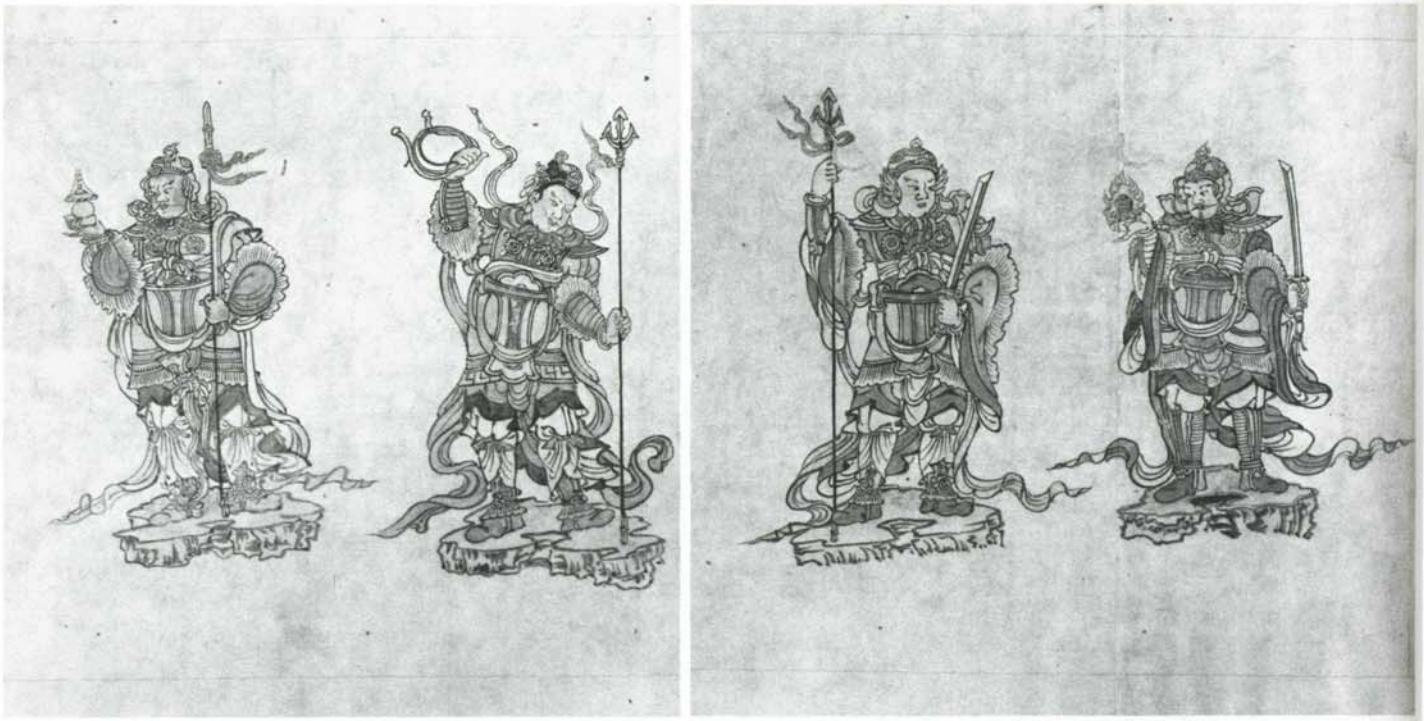
(Chin-kang ching), dated 868, the "Image of Pi-sha-men t'ien" (Vaiśravana), dated 947, and the "Image of Bodhisattva" (Wen-shu p'u-sa; Sanskrit: *mañjuśrī*), datable to the mid-10th century, all in the British Museum (nos. 37-38).[20]

A remarkable breakthrough in the technique of woodblock printing took place in the eleventh century, when Pi Sheng, a Northern Sung (960-1127) official, invented movable type (*huo-tzu-pan yin-shua-shu*). This technological innovation can be considered the origin of modern typesetting. This efficient method of printing spurred the proliferation of books and Buddhist sutras from then on, and Buddhist scriptoria probably began to lose their importance as centers for reproducing sutras. Even so, highly developed printing techniques did not terminate the long history of sutra transcription. In fact, pious Buddhist calligraphers in later periods never ceased to transcribe sutras so as to incur blessings on special occasions. One of the best examples of this category is the *Diamond Sutra* copied by Chang Chi-chih (1186-1263), now in the John B. Elliott Collection (nos. 39a-b).[21]

Chang was brought up in Li-yang, Anhui, in a family famous for political and scholarly achievement, and he became a renowned calligrapher. His uncle Hsiao-hsiang (1132-1170) was a high-ranking official and esteemed calligrapher, who employed the writing style of Yen Chen-ch'ing. His father, Hsiao-po (c.s. 1163), was also a successful offical. Chang Chi-chih himself passed the *chin-shih* examination and became the tutor to the crown prince. He completed this copy of the *Diamond Sutra* in memory of his father's death on the first day of the sixth lunar month of 1246 (indicated in the colophon at the end of the text, no. 39b). Written on gridded paper, the calligraphy was originally mounted as a handscroll, then converted into an album in 1664.[22] The present album consists of 128 leaves;[23] each leaf contains four columns, each usually of ten medium-sized characters in regular-script style.

The calligraphy strongly demonstrates Chang's personal style: taut economic brushwork and open spacing. The dynamic aesthetic quality results from his synthesis of the brush techniques and compositional ideas of his predecessors, including Chung Yu, Wang Hsi-chih (321-379), Ch'u Sui-liang, Yen Chen-ch'ing, Li Yung (678-747), Sung emperor Hui-tsung (r.1100-1125), Su Shih (1036-1101), and Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105).

The brushwork of the *Diamond Sutra* is extremely sophisticated (no. 39a). Each stroke contains internal variations in width, resulting from the shifts of pressure from the brush movements. These variations are most clearly seen in the horizontal strokes, each one of which looks thicker at its beginning on the lower left and thinner at its end on the upper right. This slightly tilting arrangement creates a sense of dynamic movement. The device originated in the "Epitaph for General Li Ssu-hsün" (Yün-fei chiang-chün Li Ssu-hsün pei) by Li Yung. Another technique, in which the termination of the horizontal stroke is short and abrupt, can be traced back to Wang Hsi-chih, as seen in his "Letter on the Seventeenth Day" (Shih-ch'i t'ieh). But in other cases, the horizontal stroke is terminated with a sharp thin hook moving in a reverse direction. This device recalls the brush idiom of Sung emperor Hui-tsung, famous for his "slender-golden style" (*shou-chin t'i*). To balance these tilting, undulating horizontal



36. *Esoteric Buddhist icons.* Detail of handscroll fragment, ink and colors on paper.

Artist: Konkōshi Ryōshō.

Date: 1321.

Dimensions: 30 cm high.

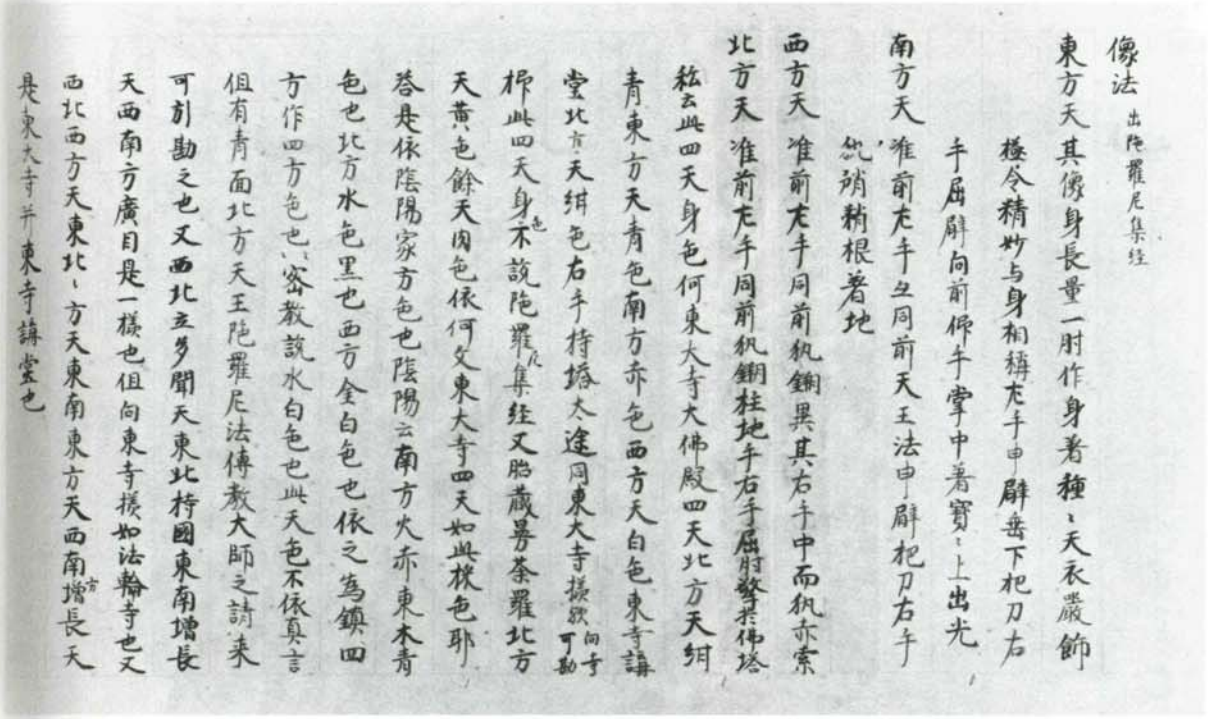
Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University (1958-42).

strokes, most of the vertical strokes are thin, rectilinear, and relatively even in width.

Most of the diagonal strokes extending from upper right to lower left look thin and simple in shape, but their strong force counterbalances the tilting. Here Chang is influenced by Huang T'ing-chien, particularly his "Letter to Chang Ta-t'ung" (Tseng Chang Ta-t'ung ku-wen t'i-chi). In contrast, the diagonals extending from upper left to the lower right are graceful in shape but complicated in brushwork. They appear slender and elegant in the beginning but become thick and brisk at the end — a feature reminiscent of the brush idiom of Ch'u Sui-liang.

The configuration of the individual character is square and self-balanced, reflecting the aesthetic ideas of Yen Chen-ch'ing — those concerned with formal dignity and correctness. Yen's style was highly praised among Sung scholars, who considered calligraphy to be the imprint of the mind and the reflection of the artist's personality. Probably Chang Chi-chih adopted Yen's style through the teachings of his uncle Hsiao-hsiang.

The most notable aspect in Chang's composition is the sense of spaciousness. Although the idea of creating large spaces within small characters comes from Su Shih, Chang Chi-chih made his own interpretation. First, he often allowed space between strokes, especially in the



upper-left corner of an enclosure (such a device can be traced back to Chung Yu, in his "Memorial to Recommend Chi-chih"; see no. 27). Secondly, he usually combined two diverging strokes into a brief hook and left more open space in the character composition. And thirdly, he placed shortened and sharpened dots at a certain distance from the character proper in order to enlarge the space between them.

As we have seen, all the versatile devices in brushwork, composition, and spacing bring to the writing of the *Diamond Sutra* the open, lively, and dynamic quality of Sung calligraphy.[24]

37. *Pi-sha-men t'ien (Vaiśravana).* Album leaf, blockprint on paper.

Date: 947.

Dimensions: 40 x 26.5 cm.

Collection: The British Museum (Stein painting 245).

Source: Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia* 2, fig. 153.

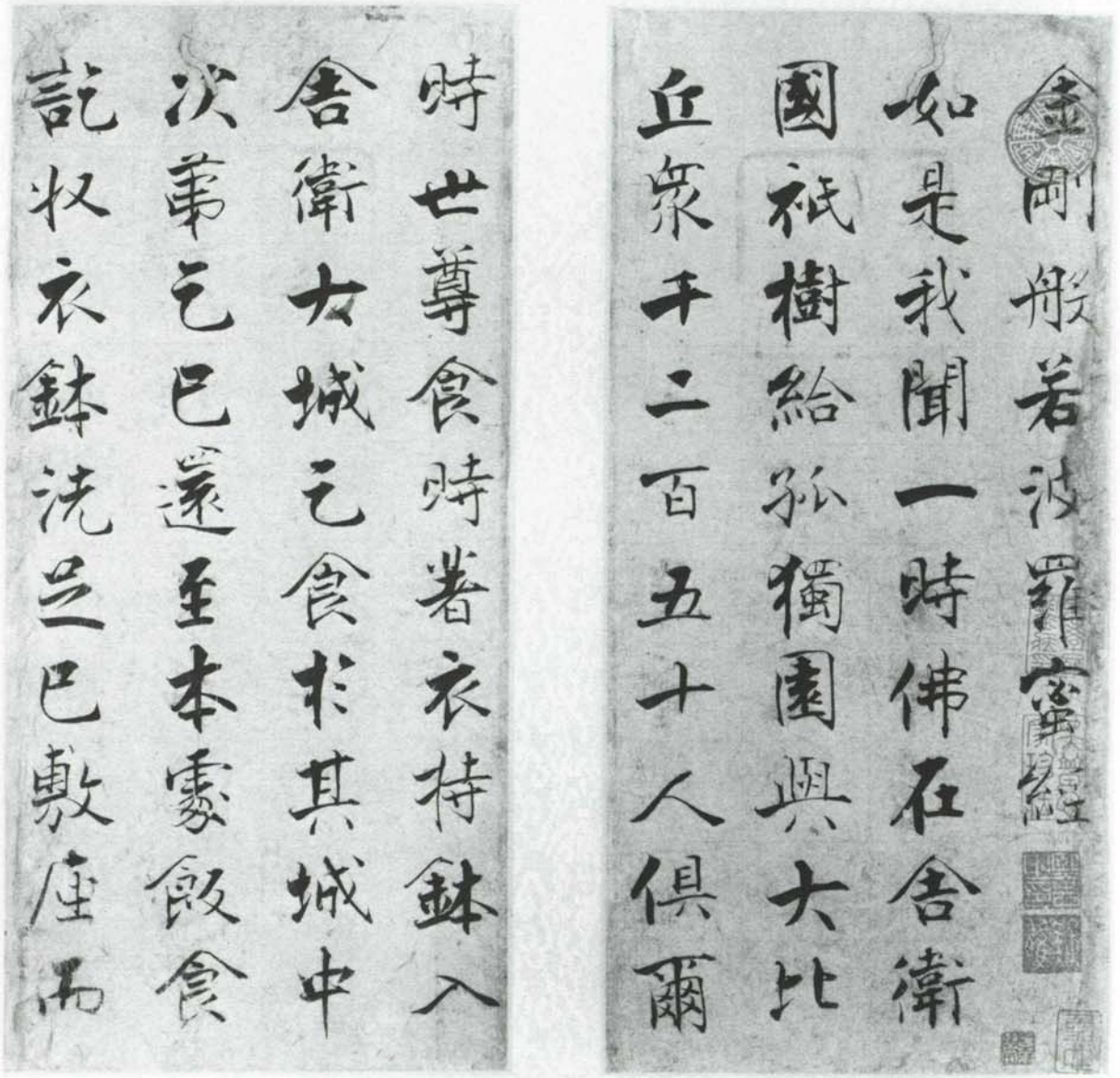
38. *Wen-shu p'u-sa (Bodhisattva mañjuśrī).* Album leaf, block print on paper.

Date: ca. mid-10th c.

Dimensions: 27.9 x 16.8 cm.

Collection: The British Museum (Stein painting 237).

Source: Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia* 2, fig. 142.



39a-b. *Chin-kang ching (The Diamond Sutra)*. Album leaves, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: Chang Chi-chih (1186-1263).

Date: 1246.

Dimensions: each leaf, 29.3 x 13.7 cm.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1970.177a-c).

39b.

Notes to Section 2

Part A

1. For further references to the So Tan Manuscript, see Jao Tsung-i, "Wu Chien-heng erh nien So Tan hsieh pen Tao-te ching ts'an chüan k'ao-cheng" [The So Tan Manuscript Fragment of the Tao-te ching, A.D. 270], *Journal of Oriental Studies* 2.1 (January 1955), pp. 1-30, English summary, pp. 68-71; Jao Tsung-i and Hibino Jōbu, "Taijō gengen dōtoku-kyō" [The So Tan Manuscript], in *Shodō* 3, pp. 187-188, pls. 119-120; and Frederick Mote, "The Oldest Chinese Book at Princeton," *The Gest Library Journal* 1.1 (Winter 1986), pp. 34-44.
2. Jao, "So Tan Manuscript," p. 2; also see Mote, "The Oldest Chinese Book," pp. 37-38.
3. Jao "So Tan Manuscript," pp. 13-15; see Mote, "The Oldest Chinese Book," pp. 40-41. The authentication of this scroll is primarily based on Jao Tsung-i, "So Tan Manuscript," an extensive textual study of different versions of the *Tao-te-ching*. However, the title at the end of the scroll, reading: "*T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan Lao-tzu Tao-te-ching*," raises a question about dating it to 270. The honorific title "*T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang-ti*" was first granted in 666 to Lao-tzu by the T'ang emperor Kao-tsung (r.649-783). (For further reference to the study of Lao-tzu see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan Wa jiten* (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1958), vol. 9, pp. 145-47.
4. The manuscript (S. 797) is catalogued in Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1957), pp. 132-133. It is a long hand-scroll, measuring 24.5 x 710 cm. Both sides of the scroll are covered with characters. The text was transcribed by many hands, each in an individual calligraphic style. The section selected here is located near the end of the back of the scroll.
5. The sutra was translated from Sanskrit to Chinese by the Indian monk Kumārajīva (Chiu-mo-lo-shih; 344-413) in Ch'ang-an. For more references to the sutra see Ono Gemmyō et al., eds., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* [Bibliographical Dictionary of Buddhist Texts] (1935; rpt. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1964-66), vol. 10, pp. 270-71.
6. Concerning these sutras, see Ono, *Bussho* 4, p. 123; 5, p. 258; 10, p. 274.
7. The photographic reproduction of this work was published in Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum* (Tokyo and London: Kodansha Intl., 1983) 2, fig. 97.
8. The latter is exemplified by the "Illustrated Sutras of Cause and Effect Past and Present" (E-Inga-kyō). For general information on sutra transcription in Japan prior to the twelfth century, see Komatsu Shigemi, *Heike-nō-gyō no kenkyū* [Study of the Illuminated Buddhist Sutras Dedicated by the Taira Family to the Itsukushima Shrine in the Last Years of the Heian Period] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976) 1, pp. 46-51, 74-105. For reference to E-Inga-kyō see Itō Takuji, "Shakyō yori mita Kakō Genzai Ingakyō gakan" [Research on Old Cop-

ies of the Kakō Genzai Ingakyō Sutras: A Textual Study], *Bijutsu kenkyū* 4.149 (August, 1958), pp. 1-29; 4.150 (October, 1958), pp. 21-49.

9. See Komatsu, *Heike-nō-gyō* 1, pp. 78-79.
10. For further reference, see Egami Yashushi, "Jinkō-in zō Shishi ginji Shingyō sōgenga no sansui hyōgen" [Landscape Depiction in the Frontispiece of Hannya Haramita Shingyō Owned by the Jinkō-in], *Bijutsu kenkyū* 3.301 (September 1975), pp. 1-15; Sudō Hirotoshi, "Kodai to Ajia no kyō-e: Enryakuji zō konshi ginji Hokkekyō o meggute" [Paintings Embellishing Sutra Scrolls of Ancient East Asia, Centering on the Lotus Sutra Copied in Silver on Dark-blue Paper, Owned by the Enryaku-ji], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 172 (May 1987), pp. 48-89; and Kameda Tsutomu, "Shinkō-in zō shishi gindei Hannya shingyō no mikaeshi-e" [A Frontispiece Painting of the Sutra in the Shinkōin Collection], *Yamato bunka* 6 (April 1952), pp. 55-57.
11. The Japanese imperial family dedicated about 2,317 scrolls to the Jingoji Temple in 1141. On the background of the Jingoji sutras, see Manabe Shunshō, "Konshi kinji Issai-kyō" [The Buddhist Tripitaka Written in Gold Paste on Indigo Paper], in Shōgakkan, comp., *Nihon meihō shiten* [Dictionary of Famous Art Treasures in Japan] (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1971), pp. 266–67; see also Komatsu, *Heike-nō-gyō* 1, pp. 78-79. Besides Jingoji, the imperial family also dedicated sutra scrolls to other temples, among which the most famous is Kunōji; see Shimada Shūjirō, "Kunōji-kyō" [Frontispiece Painting of the Hokkekyō Sutra in the Collection of Mr. Kinta Muto], *Yamato bunka* 10 (June 1953), pp. 43-47.
12. The Taira family dedicated 32 scrolls to the Itsukushima shrine in 1164. For details, see Komatsu, *Heike-nō-gyō*, vol. 2.
13. The aesthetic contrast in decorations between the Heike-nō-gyō and the Kunōji sutras was mentioned in Shimada, "Kunōji-kyō." For the background of the transcription of the Buddhist Tripitaka in the Heian period, see Komatsu, *Heike-nō-gyō* 1, pp. 74–77.
14. The sutra was translated from Sanskrit to Chinese by the monk I-ching (635-713); see Ono, *Bussho* 3, p. 533.
15. The application of gold and silver paste on indigo paper as media for Buddhist sutras was popular in the T'ang, as mentioned in the diary of Ennin (794-864), a Japanese monk who from 838-839 traveled in China to pay homage to famous temples. The reference was quoted in Komatsu, *Heike-nō-gyō* 1, p. 79.
16. For the general background of the development of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan, see Ono Gemmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu oyobi rekishi* [The Art and History of Buddhism] (Tokyo: Bussho kenkyūkai, 1916), pp. 706-40, 971-1009; Manabe Shunshō, *Mikkyō bijutsu jisetsu* [An Introduction to the Art of Esoteric Buddhism] (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1986).
17. See also Sawa Ryūken, *Butsuzō zuten* [Buddhist Iconography] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1961), pp. 1-16, esp. 13-14.
18. Matsunaga Shōdō, *Mikkyō daijiten*

[Encyclopedia of Esoteric Buddhism] (1931; rpt. Kyoto: Mikkyō jiten henkai, 1945) 2, pp. 1327-28.

19. An inscription by the monk Konkōshi Ryōshō appears at the end of the scroll. In it he says that he copied and collated the text from a model "on the 9th day of the 4th month in the year *hsin-yu*, the 5th year of the Genkyō era [1321-1323]." "5th year" may be his mistake for "1st year," to which *hsin-yu* correctly corresponds in that cycle.
20. For photographic reproductions of these three objects and many others, see Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, 2, figs. 142-153.
21. For further information about the history of this work, see Fu Shen, "Chin-kang po-jo p'o-lo-mi-to ching ping t'i-pa" [The Calligraphy of the *Diamond Sutra* and its Colophons], in Nakata Yūjirō and Fu Shen, eds., *Ō-Bei shūzō Chūgoku hōsho meiseki shū* [Masterpieces of Chinese Calligraphy in American and European Collections] (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1981) 2, pp. 148-151.
22. See Pi Ting-ch'en's colophon attached to the calligraphy.
23. The text included in this album is incomplete, with 248 characters missing; see Hsü Yüeh-shen's colophon (dated 1884) at the end of the album; see also Fu, "Chin-kang," p. 151.
24. Chang Chi-chih's calligraphic style can hardly be related to the Buddhist scripture tradition, although he adopted many archaic scripts of the Six Dynasties.

Part B. Handwritten Books After the Invention of Printing

The T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) has been called the formative period in the history of Chinese printing. It was then that woodblock printing became a fully developed technology. By the end of the T'ang, printing had become widely used throughout many regions of China as well as Korea and Japan, neighboring countries which shared China's civilization. The fullscale development of printing was at hand. During the tenth century large sets, such as the complete Confucian classics and the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, running to hundreds of thousands of pages, were printed. In Northern Sung times (960-1125) China experienced a golden age of printing. It might seem that thereafter there would be little practical reason to continue making manuscript copies of books. Printed books were inexpensive, and well-edited printed texts could establish a standard of scholarly accuracy. A few purely utilitarian reasons for making manuscript books nonetheless remained: Some might borrow a book to make a manuscript copy when booksellers could not supply one for sale, or when the borrower could not afford to buy a copy. Or, an owner of an incomplete set might have replacement pages or volumes carefully handwritten and inserted when the book was rebound. And of course, there were some books that were never printed, for one reason or another, so were circulated only in manuscript copies. In the main, however, the Chinese printed book was relatively cheaper, lighter, more convenient to produce and to use than was the early European printed book. Quite gradually, over a period of two or three centuries, the spread of printing brought printed books to all corners of China and printed texts became generally available in Sung times.

Those facts notwithstanding, the tradition of the manuscript book continued to have a life of its own, long after the widespread use of printing. The reasons for that are aesthetic and devotional, often both. The aesthetics of calligraphy, which flourished greatly in the T'ang period, not only influenced the design of printed books, but also found still more direct expression in the creation of manuscript books. The role of the professional copyist declined as the utilitarian need simply to produce books was reduced by the availability of printing. On the other hand, superior calligraphers seem to have been all the more drawn to creating handwritten books as works of art.

That aesthetic impulse was matched by the devotional. Duplicating Buddhist scriptures was regarded as an act of merit. Although that merit also could be gained by paying for the printing of religious texts, special merit was seen to lie in the careful copying of such texts as a devotional act. Humble monks, lay devotees among the literati, even emperors did this. The pious conception underlying this Buddhist act was extended to copying Taoist and other kinds of texts having magical or meditative value. Many of the most famed calligraphers copied texts, their copies valued for reasons inextricably intertwining devotional, aesthetic, and philosophical motives. Some favorite texts, such as the *Tao-te Ching*, the *Diamond Sutra*, the *Heart Sutra*, were written many times by some of the great calligraphers. Sometimes those original works of art were subsequently engraved on stone or wood in careful tracings of the original, not in reverse for printing, but face up for making rubbings. So the practice came full circle — unique works of art becoming duplicated facsimiles.[1] Here we see examples of books in the calligraphy of great artists, or in that of very skilled calligrapher copyists; some are in scroll book format, others in album or stitched volume format. They illustrate the continuing tradition of the handwritten book.

This part is written by Hung-lam Chu.

Although handwritten Buddhist sutras arose originally as an active expression of religious devotion, there were cases of practical necessity, such as the replacement of missing printed texts in the famous *Chi-sha pan ta-tsang-ching* (no. 40). This was a Buddhist canon in Chinese translation, so called because it was printed in the Buddhist monastery Yen-sheng yüan, in Chi-sha, an island in a lake east of the city of Soochow. Started as early as ca. 1225 during the Southern Sung period, the cutting and printing of the entire set of 1,532 sutras in 6,362 *chüan* was not completed until 1349, well into the last reign of the Yüan dynasty. The present set was acquired from Peking by Guion M. Gest's agent and advisor Commander I.V. Gillis in 1928 or 1929, before the Chinese unearthed another partial set in 1931. Although already not in complete form when it was acquired, this set still contains 1,479 sutras, comprising 6,014 *chüan* of text in 5,359 characteristic sutra-binding volumes — roughly ninety-five per cent of both the original numbers of titles and *chüan*.

According to the late Ch'ü Wan-li, who examined the entire set and added to Hu Shih's earlier report, 698 of the extant volumes were printed during the Sung, 1,632 during the Yüan, and 868 during the Ming, the latter being replacements for missing originals, taken from two other sets of the Buddhist canon that were cut and printed during the Ming. The remaining 2,161 volumes were all hand copied during the Ming Wan-li period, according to Hu Shih.[2]

Here we see a typical example of those handwritten Ming replacement volumes. The black-inked illustration preceding the text is also a Ming painting or tracing. Note that the last folio of this illustration displays a salutation to the throne: "Long, long live the Emperor." Either imperial patronage of Buddhism or Buddhist solicitation of patronage accounted for this banal expression; in fact, the Ming imperial family and eunuchs often were involved in the printing and reissuing of Buddhist canons. For this reason, it is possible that these handwritten replacements were made with imperial funds and under eunuch direction, if not necessarily in the palace establishments. In any event, the calligraphy demonstrates a remarkable similarity to printed pages of the Sung original (no. 49), showing a style that originated from the calligraphy of Yen Chen-ch'ing of the T'ang. Such integrity by unknown scribes in facsimile reproduction suggests that devotion was in no way absent, even though the primary intention was utilitarian.

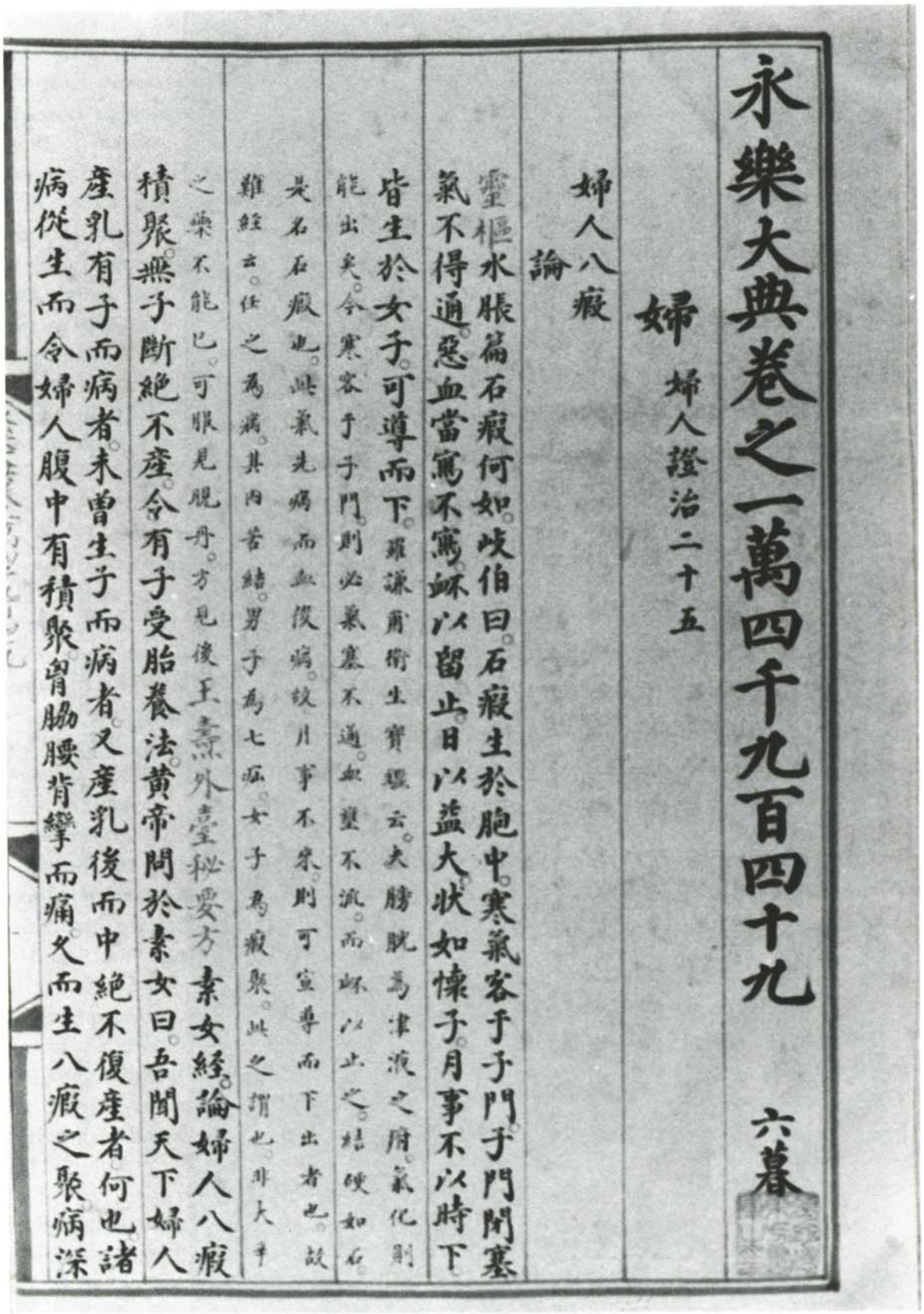
Yung-lo ta-tien (no. 41) is an example of books that were hand written not mainly because of financial considerations, but because of their specific nature and their intended audience. It was imperially commissioned in 1403, with a staff of 147 scholar assistants — compilers, scribes, proofreaders — under the general directorship of its initial proponent, Hsieh Chin (1369-1415) from Chi-shui, Kiangsi. The project was reinforced in the following year by other co-directors and some 2,180 more scholars. When completed in 1408 the *Yung-lo ta-tien* comprised 22,877 *chüan*, making it the largest collectanea the world had yet known. But whether the compilation was due to the Yung-lo emperor's effort to preserve all known literature up to his day, or as a device to quiet restless literati who despised his usurpation, the fact remains that the huge project was not initially conceived for the purpose of cultural dissemination, nor for making

40. *Chi-sha pan ta-tsang ching*. 6,014 *ch*. (5,359 vols.) extant.

Date: ca. 1225-1349; handwritten replacement, 1573-1620.

Dimensions: 6 cols. of 17 chars.; block, 24.7 x 11.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



永樂大典卷之一萬四千九百四十九　六暮

婦　婦人證治二十五

婦人八瘕

論

靈樞水脹篇石瘕何如岐伯曰石瘕生於胞中寒氣客于子門子門閉塞氣不得通惡血當寫不寫衄以留止日以益大狀如懷子月事不以時下皆生於女子可導而下雷公請問衛生寶鑑云夫膀胱爲津液之府氣化則能出矣今寒客于子門則必氣塞不通血壅不流而衄以止之結硬如石是名石瘕也此氣先病而血後病故月事不來則可宣導而下出者也故難經云任之爲病其內苦結男子爲七瘕女子爲瘕聚此之謂也非大半之藥不能已可服見脫丹方見後玉壺外臺秘要方素女經論婦人八瘕積聚無子斷絕不產令有子受胎養法黃帝問於素女曰吾聞天下婦人產乳有子而病者未曾生子而病者又產乳後而中絕不復產者何也諸病從生而令婦人腹中有積聚胃脇腰背攣而痛久而生八瘕之聚病深

knowledge accessible to all the educated. Rather it was compiled mainly for a highly limited audience, as a reference library for emperors and their intimate literary officials at court. Since it was meant to be kept in the palace, publication was out of the question from the very beginning.

Late in the Chia-ching reign a palace fire prompted the emperor to order a facsimile copy of the original set to be made in the palace establishments. The original set has since been lost and this facsimile, started in 1562 and completed in 1567, under the directorship of such eminent officials as Chang Chü-cheng (1525-1582) and Kao Kung (1512-1578), is the only surviving set and, unfortunately, is quite incomplete. The Gest Collection holds two volumes.

The volume illustrated constitutes *chüan* 14,949 of the collectanea. It bears the text of the book *Fu-jen cheng-chih*, a medical discourse on female diseases and their treatments. The sources cited in the discourse and the characters on the center of the "block" are written in red. Also red-inked are all the column lines, double border lines, and such conventional margin marks as "fish tails" and "block mouths." Carefully executed, the calligraphy for characters of both sizes displays a style that often can be found in other handwritten books by imperial order. Written on large pages of high quality white paper, this volume and the other are still bound in the original light-yellow cover paper, typical of Ming palace books.

Princeton's other volume (constituting *chüan* 20,573) has pasted at the end of the text a slip bearing the names of the proofreaders, copyists, and punctuators. The chief proofreader, Ch'in Ming-lei (1518-1593), bears the title of a vice-minister. Ch'in's biography shows that in 1566 he was appointed vice-minister of Personnel and charged with supervising the proofreading of the new copy of *Yung-lo ta-tien*. Since we know it took five years for the copying to be completed, and since presumably some 4,600 *chüan* would have been copied each year, then the year 1566 and the *chüan* number of 20,573 seem to fit. Applying this rate, the volume illustrated was probably copied in 1565.[3]

Another reason for handwritten books was to pursue the recording of forbidden information. Gest Library's incomplete set of the *Ta-Ming shih-lu* (Veritable Records of the Ming; see no. 42) includes the official records of nine of the sixteen Ming reigns. They appear under eight separate titles, each of which uses the temple name of the emperor to whose reign the records belong: T'ai-tsu (including both the Hung-wu and Chien-wen emperors), originally compiled in 1418; T'ai-tsung (Yung-lo emperor), compiled in 1430; Hsüan-tsung (Hsüan-te) in 1438; Ying-tsung (including his Cheng-t'ung and T'ien-shun reigns as well as Ching-t'ai under the emperor Ching-ti) in 1467; Hsien-tsung (Ch'eng-hua) in 1491; Hsiao-tsung (Hung-chih) in 1509; Wu-tsung (Cheng-te) in 1525; and Shih-tsung (Chia-ching) in 1577.

The compilation of each ruler's Veritable Records was imperially commissioned at the beginning of the succeeding reign.

< 41. *Yung-lo ta-tien*. 2 *ch*. (2 vols.) extant.

Date: 1562-67 (Peking).

Dimensions: 16 cols. of 28 small chars.; border, 35.3 x 23.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

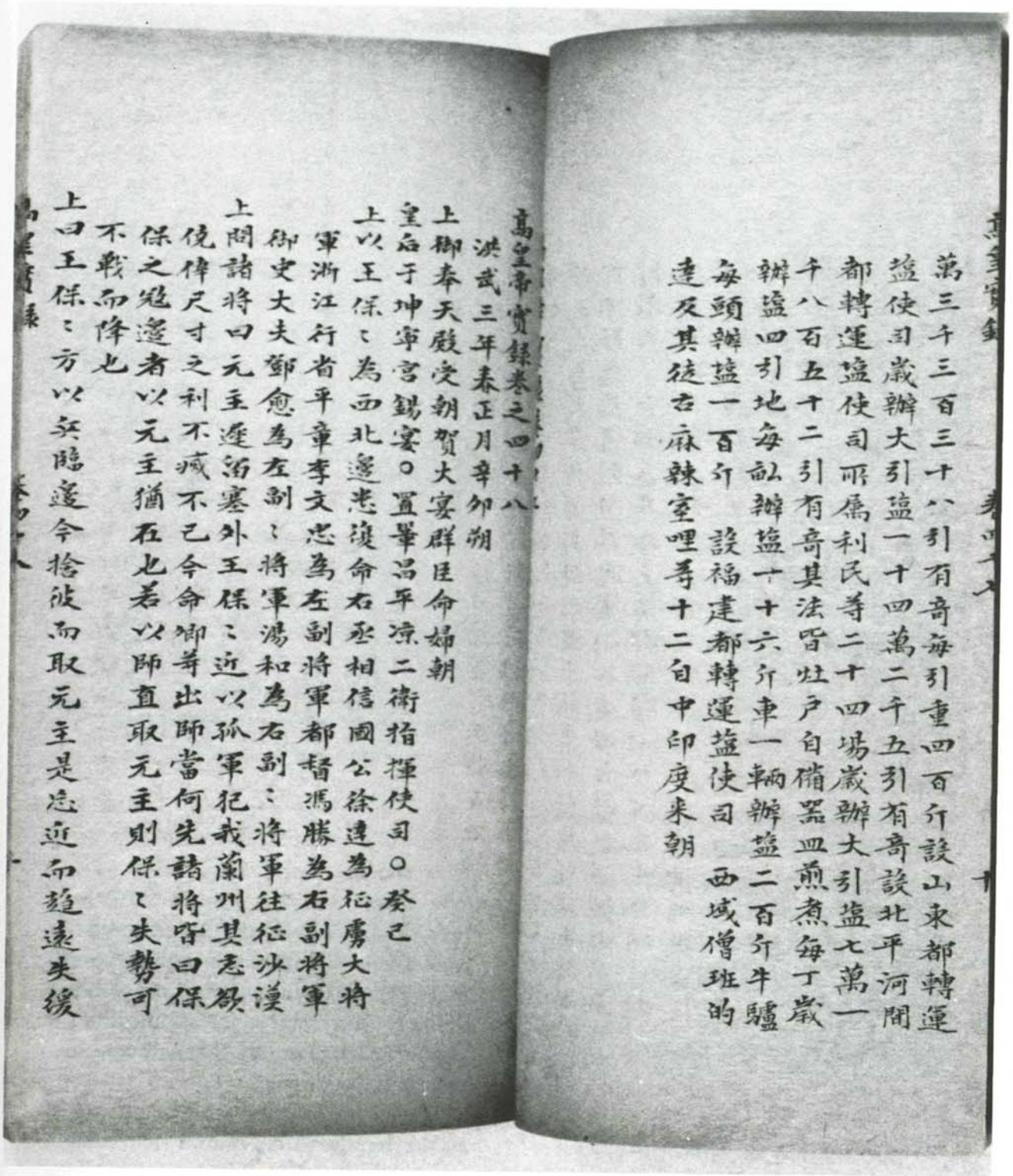
These records were officially designed to be read by the emperors and the official compilers. As a rule, two original copies were made for each reign, one to be placed inside the palace and the other to be deposited in the Grand Secretariat, and the working manuscript was ceremoniously burnt when the originals were formally presented. Like the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, the Veritable Records were not intended for circulation; in fact it was against the law that they be read by unauthorized persons. But as Ming imperial vigor waned and bureaucratic malpractice prevailed after the middle of the sixteenth century, unauthorized officials were able to consult the copies in the Grand Secretariat, and eventually they even hired scribes to copy them for their own libraries. Thanks to such illegal practice, these records still survive in manuscript form, although their originals had long since disappeared.

The Gest set was secured from the family of Chang Chih-tung, the famous nineteenth-century governor-general of Hu-kuang. But as its two ownership seals indicate, it was originally owned by Sung Yün (1681-1760), a native of Shang-ch'iu, Honan, the youngest son of an eminent scholar and official, Sung Lao, a vice-governor of Feng-t'ien fu. Ch'ü Wan-li compared the Gest's manuscript with another, the Pao-ching lou version held by the Academia Sinica. He noted that because of their textual closeness both versions might have been based on the same source, if the Gest version was not directly copied from the latter. He further noted that the Gest manuscripts were either copied during late Ming times or during early Ch'ing, and that Sung Yün might have been responsible for the copying.[4]

The page illustrated (no. 42) is taken from the last page of *chüan* 47 and first page of *chüan* 48 of the Hung-wu reign. Note that the calligraphy is neatly and carefully executed, showing stylistic excellence that is not to be found in many second- or third-hand manuscripts. However, in some other volumes the calligraphy is so poor that one must imagine its copyist as an underpaid, work-a-day scribe.

Ch'in-ting kuo-shih ta-ch'en lieh-chuan (no. 43) is a Ch'ing period example of imperially commissioned books intended for the imperial archives as a source for future historical compilation. It is the Chinese version of a huge collection of biographies of high officials. The biographies had been composed and presented between 1796 and 1835. (Gest also has 24 *chüan* of the Manchu version in 24 volumes.) Preceding the text is an 1846 memorial for the presentation of the collection. From it we know that the project was supervised by two of the highest officials at the court of the Tao-kuang emperor. The leading one was Mu-chang-a, a member of the Manchu Bordered Blue Banner and grand secretary at the time of the compilation, but later cashiered for corruption. His Chinese counterpart was P'an Shih-en (1770-1854), an *optimus* from Wu-hsien, Kiangsu, who was then grand secretary and Grand Councilor of State.

Compilation of this kind was commissioned for the first time by the Ch'ien-lung emperor in 1765. When the second compilation took place in 1811, during the Chia-ch'ing reign, it was announced that thereafter a new compilation was to be made every ten years. But then nothing happened until the present, third compilation, which was to include some 4,200 biographies. When text copying was done late in 1846, the new collection was presented to the throne, and at least one copy

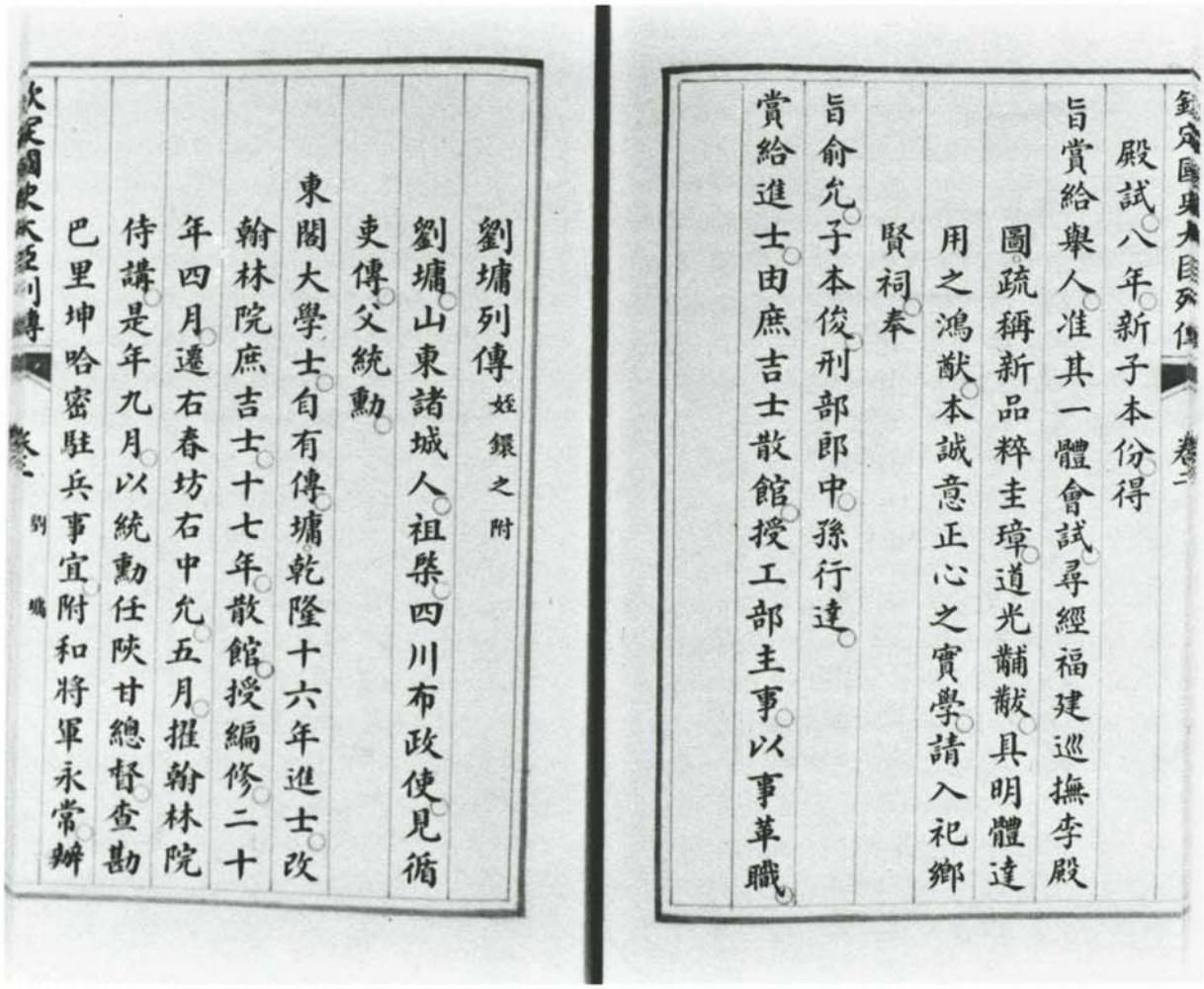


42. *Ta-Ming shih-lu*. 1,492 *ch*. (173 vols.) extant.

Date: 17th century.

Dimensions: 11-12 cols. of 23-25 chars.; 21.3 x 12.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



43. *Ch'in-ting kuo-shih ta-ch'en lieh-chuan.* 144 *ch.* (156 vols.) extant.

Author: Mu-chang-a (1782-1856) et al., comps.

Date: 1848 (Peking).

Dimensions: 7 cols. of 18 chars.; border, 29.3 x 18 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

was to be forwarded to the State Archives (Huang shih-ch'eng).

It is not known how many original copies were made. During the Ch'ing an emperor would usually bestow such important books on Manchu princes and selected court favorites. Since the copy exhibited does not bear an imperial seal, it is unlikely that it was originally held in the palace. But it is a copy that had been presented to the throne.[5]

The pages illustrated (no. 43) are texts of the biographies of Ts'ai Hsin (1707-1800?), a grand secretary from Chang-p'u, Fukien (right), and Liu Yung (1720-1805), a grand secretary from Chu-ch'eng, Shantung (left). All the column lines, double border lines, and margin marks for block-

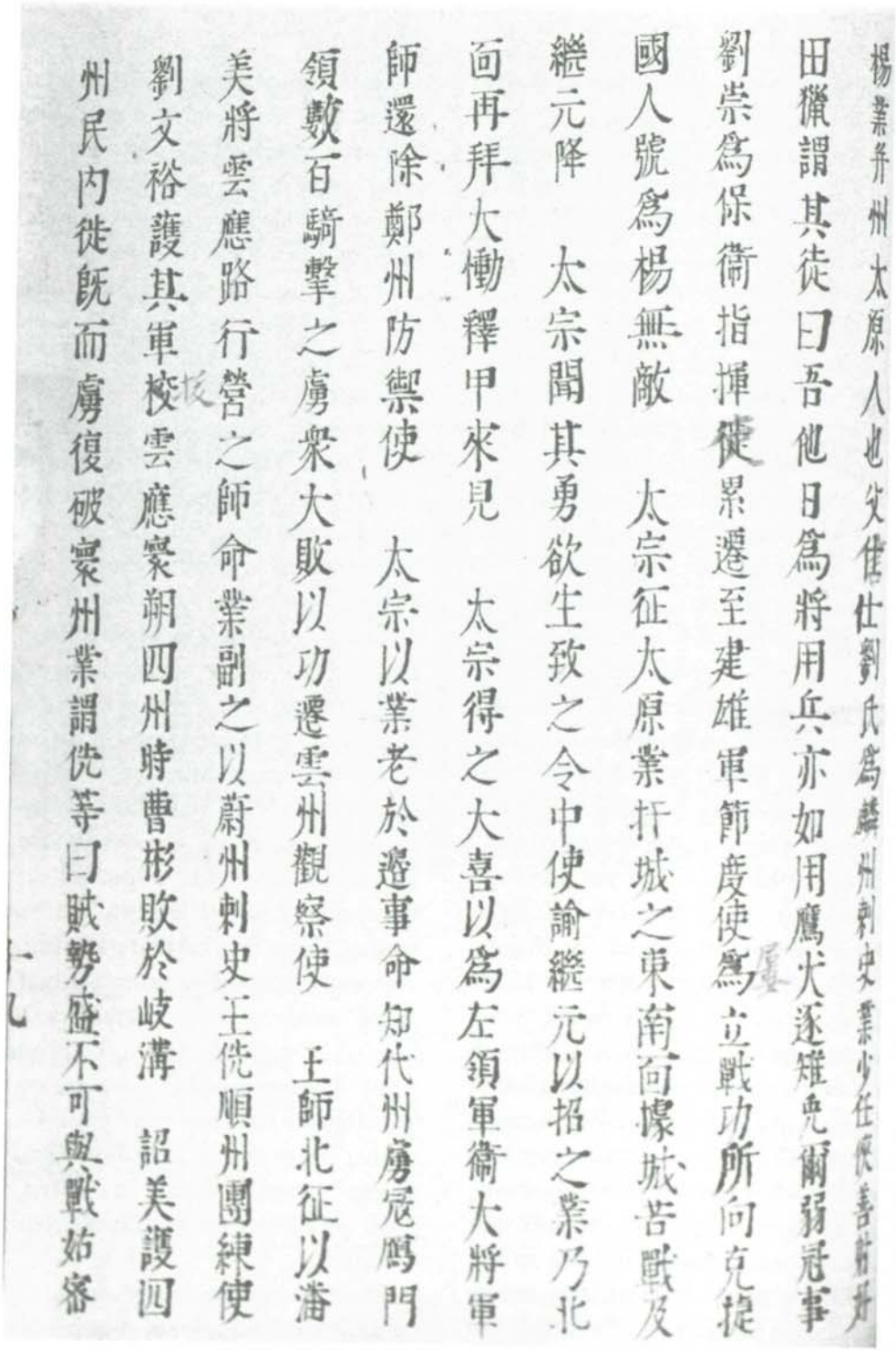
printed books on the copy are red-inked. The calligraphy bears a style most endorsed by the Ch'ing emperors and their court erudites in the Hanlin Academy — elegantly derived from both Yen Chen-ch'ing and Ou-yang Hsün — and appropriately dubbed the "Hanlin style." This copy, as all others in the set, is bound with brocade in imperial yellow.

Handwritten books were created sometimes because of the rarity of the printed originals. Our late Ming (or early Ch'ing) copy of *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* (nos. 44a-b) represents an important work on the history of the Northern Sung dynasty by Wang Ch'eng. It was first written and published during the Southern Sung but rarely circulated in subsequent dynasties. Wang Ch'eng was a native of Mei-chou, Szechwan, and has been hailed as one of the three greatest Sung historians to write about the history of his own dynasty, the others being Li T'ao (1115-1184), author of *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* (for Northern Sung), and Li Hsin-ch'uan (1167-1244), author of *Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu* (for early Southern Sung). Since the biographical record for Wang Ch'eng is so slim, modern scholars have ascertained merely that his work was based on that of his father, Wang Shang, who had been a compiler of the Sung Veritable Records during the Shao-hsing period (1131-1162). However that may be, *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* is an important source of Sung history and a good history per se, appropriate in its narrative and fair in its opinion. But despite its importance, it was rarely accessible in the past. Even the famous erudite scholar and book collector Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664) could not obtain a copy until 1623, when he managed to borrow a handwritten copy from a vice-minister in Peking and made a duplicate.[6]

The original version of this book comprises 130 *chüan*, including writings in the three categories of dynastic annals, hereditary households, and biographies. The extant 83 *chüan* in Gest cover only the biographies. But, for reasons unknown, not only the page that should have borne the title of the book is missing, but pasted on a blank page preceding the text is a slip on which the title, evidently written by a former owner, appears as "Li-tai ming-jen lieh-chuan" (Biographies of Eminent Men of the Ages). On this slip is also a line noting that the copy was hand written by a famous person during the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722).

The illustrations are taken from page 1 and page 19 of the first volume. Both the calligraphy and the editorial format of this copy show it to be a faithful facsimile of a Sung printing. Slightly rectangular in shape, with well-balanced and sharply defined strokes, the characters are in so-called "Sung style," typically developed for printed books during the Sung dynasty. There was careful collation done to this copy, appearing in red-inked corrections made beside characters wrongly copied or wrongly cut in the original (no. 44b). The large seal of a former owner appearing on the first page (no. 44a, lower right) bears the inscriptions "Seal of calligraphy and painting treasured by the Hall of Illustrious Goodness (Ming-shan t'ang)."

Huang Ming Su-huang wai-shih (no. 45) is another example of books that were hand copied because of their rarity. The book is an unofficial annalistic history of the reign (1522-1566) of the Chia-ching emperor of the Ming. It was written by a



楊業并州太原人也父信仕劉氏爲麟州刺史業少任俠善騎射
田獵謂其徒曰吾他日爲將用兵亦如用鷹犬逐雉兔爾弱冠事
劉崇爲保衛指揮使累遷至建雄軍節度使爲立戰功所向克捷
國人號爲楊無敵　太宗征太原業扞城之東南向據城苦戰及
繼元降　太宗聞其勇欲生致之令中使諭繼元以招之業乃北
面再拜大慟釋甲來見　太宗得之大喜以爲左領軍衛大將軍
師還除鄭州防禦使　太宗以業老於邊事命知代州虜寇鴈門
領數百騎擊之虜衆大敗以功遷雲州觀察使　王師北征以潘
美將雲應路行營之師命業副之以蔚州刺史王侁順州團練使
劉文裕護其軍校雲應寰朔四州時曹彬敗於岐溝　詔美護四
州民內徙既而虜復破寰州業謂侁等曰賊勢盛不可與戰姑容

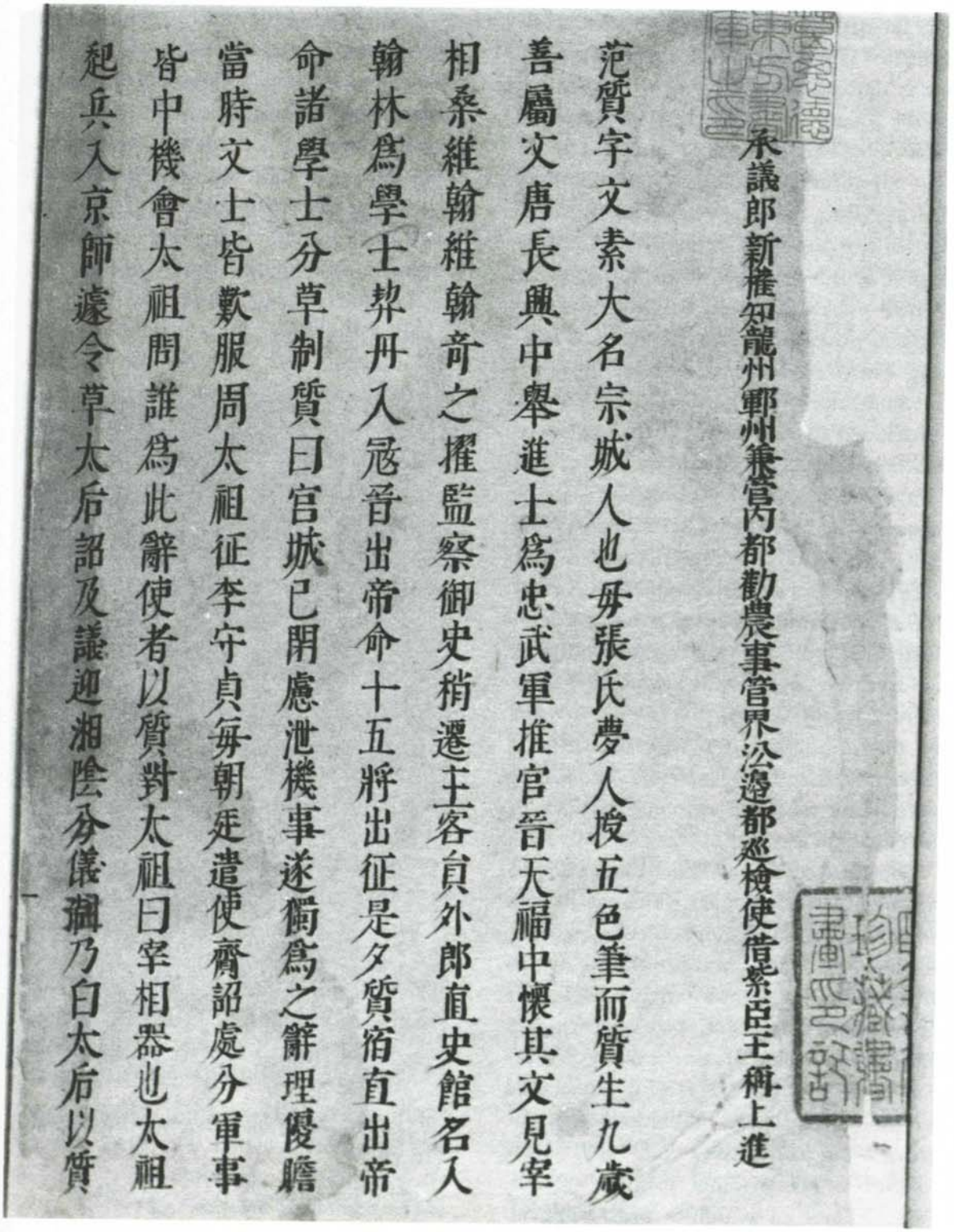
44a-b. *Tung-tu shih-lüeh*. 83 *ch*. (22 vols.) extant.

Author: Wang Ch'eng (fl. 1140-60).

Date: 17th century.

Dimensions: 11 cols. of 25 chars.; 25.6 x 20.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



承議郎新權知龍州軍州兼管內都勸農事管界沿邊都巡檢使借紫臣王稱上進

范質字文素大名宗城人也母張氏夢人授五色筆而質生九歲
善屬文唐長興中舉進士爲忠武軍推官晉天福中懷其文見宰
相桑維翰維翰奇之擢監察御史稍遷主客員外郎直史館名人
翰林爲學士執丹入寇晉出帝命十五將出征是夕質宿直出帝
命諸學士分草制質曰宮城已閉慮泄機事遂獨爲之辭理優贍
當時文士皆歎服周太祖征李守貞每朝廷遣使齎詔處分軍事
皆中機會太祖問誰爲此辭使者以質對太祖曰宰相器也太祖
起兵入京師遽令草太后詔及議迎湘陰公儀禠乃白太后以質

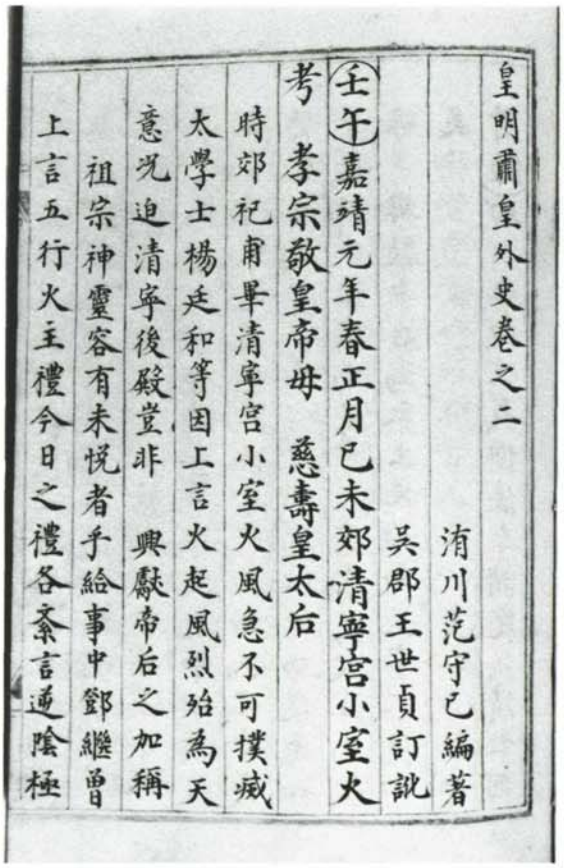
44a.

scholar-official, Fan Shou-chi, who was a native of Wei-ch'uan, Honan, and its preface is dated 1582. The work drew much on the then still rarely accessible Veritable Records of the Chia-ching emperor, and it also supposedly employed some material not included therein. Following the format of the popular *Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, a historical work attributed to Chu Hsi, this book is noteworthy for its detailed content, but has been criticized for its unrefined narrative.

Included in rearranged form as part of another, larger, work on the history of Ming published in Nanking in 1602 — *Huang Ming ta-cheng chi* compiled by Lei Li — Fan's book seems never to have been printed as an individual work. In any event, no printed copy of it has been reported, and there is only another complete handwritten copy, in the library of Peking University. That copy was once owned by the eminent late Ming official and thinker Lü K'un (1536-1618). An incomplete Ming handwritten copy is held by the National Central Library in Taiwan.[7]

The Gest copy is also a Ming product, typified by the peculiar editorial format as well as by the blue-inked column lines, border lines, and margin marks of its pages. The calligraphy here displays a degree of similarity to that appearing in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* volume introduced earlier. It is no doubt a carefully executed facsimile. The page illustrated lists the great Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590) as the collator of an original printed version, the existence of which is problematical. The occasional black-inked commentaries written in the upper margins of folios found elsewhere in this copy, however, are most likely the work of another person. An ownership seal bears an unidentifiable name, Hsi-yen.

To have a clear manuscript for printing was another important reason for making handwritten books. An example is our manuscript of the voluminous *P'ei-wen yün-fu*, the famous phrase dictionary commissioned by the K'ang-hsi emperor in 1704, completed in 1711, and printed


皇明肅皇外史卷之二

浦川范守己編著

吳郡王世貞訂說

壬午嘉靖元年春正月己未郊清寧宮小室火

考 孝宗敬皇帝毋 慈壽皇太后

時郊祀甫畢清寧宮小室火風急不可撲滅

太學士楊廷和等因上言火起風烈殆為天

意況迫清寧後殿豈非 興獻帝后之加稱

祖宗神靈容有未悅者乎給事中鄧繼曾

上言五行火主禮今日之禮各案言通陰極

45. *Huang Ming Su-huang wai-shih*. 46 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: Fan Shou-chi (1542 - ca. 1611).

Date: 1582-1644.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 18 chars.; border, 20.3 x 13.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

in 1713 by Ts'ao Yin (1658-1712) in Yangchow. The dictionary was named after the emperor's study, P'ei-wen chai. The compiler-in-chief, Chang Yü-shu, an eminent scholar-official from Tan-t'u, Kiangsu, was also the director-general for the equally famous dictionary, *K'ang-hsi tzu-tien*.

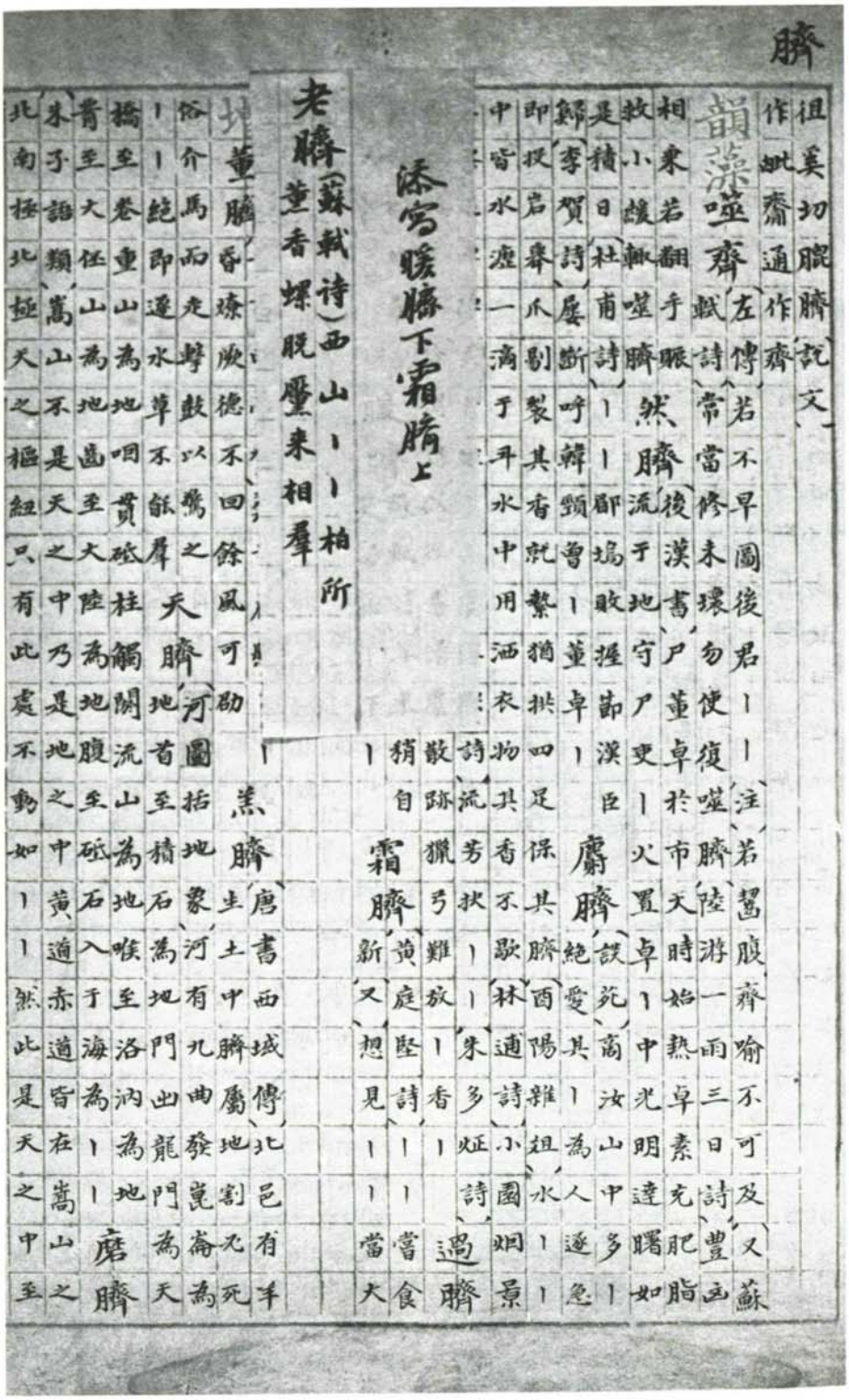
Arranged according to the traditional sequence of rhymes, phrases which share a master word are grouped under the last character of each and every phrase. The master word, always appears singly at the beginning of a group, along with its pronunciation and basic meaning. The phrases are arranged in order of the number of words that composed them. The sources of each usage are arranged under the sequence of the Confucian classics, histories, and philosophical and literary works. Memorable poetic lines and couplets, if available, then follow. (No. 46a; the master word is the only one written above the top margin.)

The present copy is the final, working manuscript of this phrase dictionary. As the illustration shows (no. 46b), many corrections, emendations, supplements, and editorial instructions written on separate slips are pasted onto the appropriate place for the guidance of the printer. It is amazing to see that even in a preparatory manuscript the calligraphy was elegantly executed. Two ownership seals (not shown here) indicate that this manuscript was owned by Ying-ho (1771-1839) of the Socolo clan, an eminent Manchu official and writer. A colophon autographed by Ying-ho in 1800 appears at the end of the text. He mentions in it that he purchased the book in Peking in the spring of 1799. He further notes that this was the very one collated by Hanlin officials and daily presented to the emperor for his personal perusal, and that the subsequently printed version was substantially different.[8]

A manuscript entitled *Tsai-hsü ming-i lei-an* (no. 47) is probably the only surviving text of a book intended for publication and never printed. It is a medical case study written by an eminent nineteenth-century scholar-physician, Lu I-t'ien of T'ung-hsiang, Chekiang. Preceding the text is a preface by Lu himself, dated the sixth month of 1863, and an eleven-entry *fan-li*, or guideline for compilation.

According to the preface, Lu wrote this work when he was serving as instructor in the government school at Hangchow. It took him twelve years to complete a first draft, sometime around 1852, but soon half of the manuscript was lost as a result of Hangchow's capture by the Taiping rebels. It was not until a full decade later, when he resided in Shanghai, that he was able to resume his compilation with new material. He modeled his book upon, and intended it as, a continuation of two other works in the same genre by a Mr. Chiang and a Mr. Wei. The Chiang was no doubt Chiang K'uan (1503-1565), a scholar of She-hsien, Anhwei, who wrote the *Ming-i lei-an* (12 *chüan*) in 1552. Likewise, the Wei was Wei Chih-hsiu (1722-1772), a famous physician from Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang, who wrote the 60-*chüan* continuation, *Hsü ming-i lei-an*, in 1770, which, however, was published in 36 *chüan*. Lu's work thus became the second continuation, hence its title, translated as Another Continuation of Medical Cases by Famous Physicians.

Lu was famous not for this work (no. 47), but rather for his *Leng-lu i-hua*, a 5-*chüan* work on medical theories, texts, and cases. The work illustrated here is not mentioned even in the most up-to-date



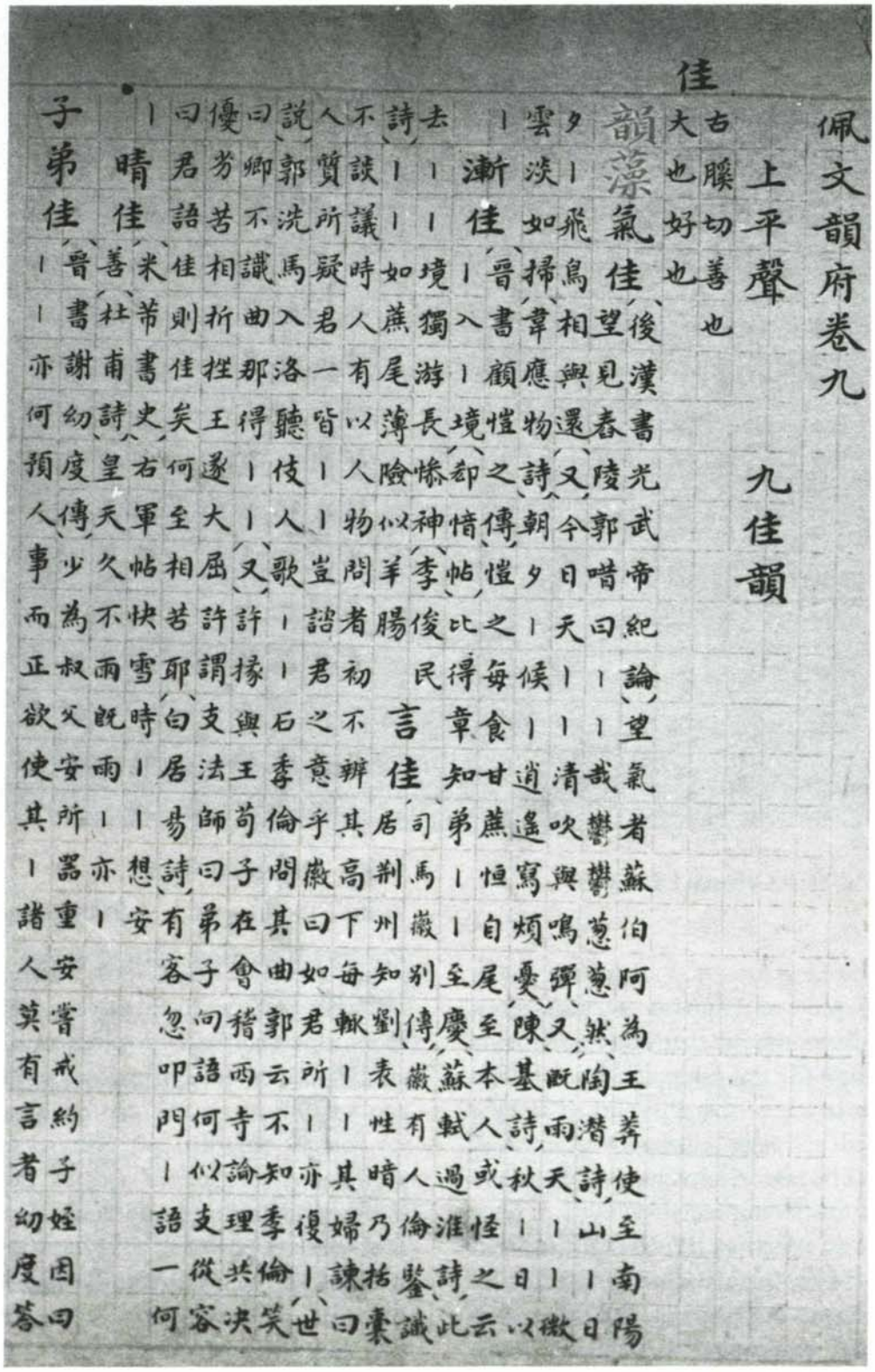
46a-b. *P'ei-wen yün-fu.* 444 *ch.* (104 vols.).

Author: Chang Yü-shu (1642-1711) et al., comps.

Date: 1704-1711.

Dimensions: 24 cols. of 25 small chars.; border, 23.5 x 16.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



佩文韻府卷九

上平聲　九佳韻

佳

古膎切善也大也好也

韻藻

氣佳　後漢書光武帝紀論望氣者蘇伯阿為王莽使至南陽望見舂陵郭嗜曰丨丨哉鬱鬱葱葱然陶潛詩山丨日夕丨飛鳥相與還又今日天丨丨清吹與鳴彈又既雨天丨丨微雲淡如掃韋應物詩朝夕丨候丨逍遙寫煩憂陳基詩秋丨日以丨

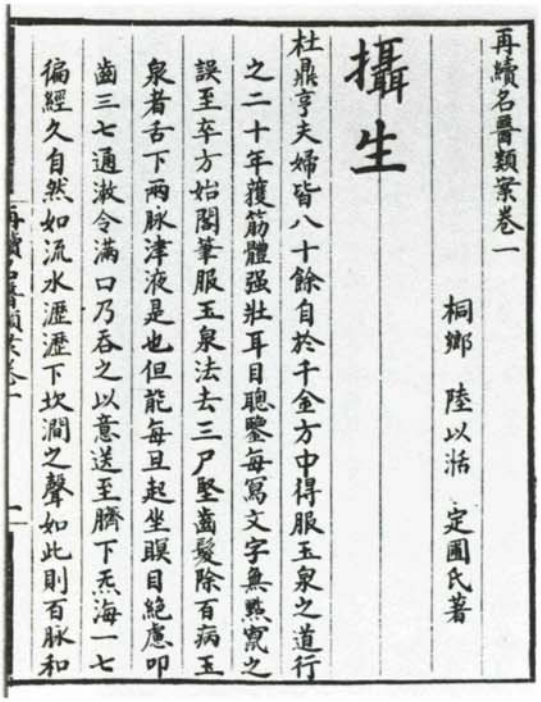
漸佳　晉書顧愷之傳愷之每食甘蔗恒自尾至本人或怪之云丨入丨境卻惜帖比得章知弟丨丨至慶蘇軾過淮詩此去丨丨境獨游長慘神李俊民詩丨丨如蔗尾薄險似羊腸

言佳　司馬徽別傳徽有人倫鑒識居荊州知劉表性暗乃括囊不談議時人有以人物問者初不辨其高下每輒丨丨其婦諫曰人質所疑君一皆丨丨豈諮君之意乎徽曰如君所丨亦復丨世說郭洗馬入洛聽伎人歌丨丨石季倫問其曲郭云不知季倫笑曰卿不識曲那得丨丨又許掾與王苟子在會稽西寺論理共決優劣苦相折挫王遂大屈許謂支法師曰弟子向語何似支從容曰君語佳則佳矣何至相苦耶白居易詩有客忽叩門丨語一何丨

晴佳　米芾書史右軍帖快雪時丨丨想安善杜甫詩皇天久不雨既雨丨亦丨

子弟佳　晉書謝幼度傳少為叔父安所器重安嘗戒約子姪因曰丨丨亦何預人事而正欲使其丨諸人莫有言者幼度答

46a.


再續名醫類案卷一

攝生

桐鄉 陸以湉 定圃氏著

杜鼎亭夫婦皆八十餘自於千金方中得服玉泉之道行之二十年腰筋體强壯耳目聰鑒每寫文字無熙寘之誤至卒方始閣筆服玉泉法去三尸堅齒髮除百病玉泉者舌下兩脉津液是也但能每旦起坐瞑目絕慮叩齒三七通漱令滿口乃吞之以意送至臍下炁海一七徧經久自然如流水瀝瀝下坎澗之聲如此則百脉和

47. *Tsai-hsü ming-i lei-an.* 16 *ch.* (12 vols.).

Author: Lu I-t'ien (fl. 1840-70).

Date: ca. 1863.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 22 chars.; border, 17.5 x 13.7 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

子母礮長五尺八寸未加木柄以加字推之似柄係另件而柄長無數目又不應作另件計圖內係連柄統計五尺八寸未知是要請鈞示以便改繪

子母礮

48a-b. *Wu-pei t'u.* 4 vols.

Author: Li Ching-yü (c.s. 1890), comp.

Painter: Ch'en Hsing-yüan (fl. 1890s).

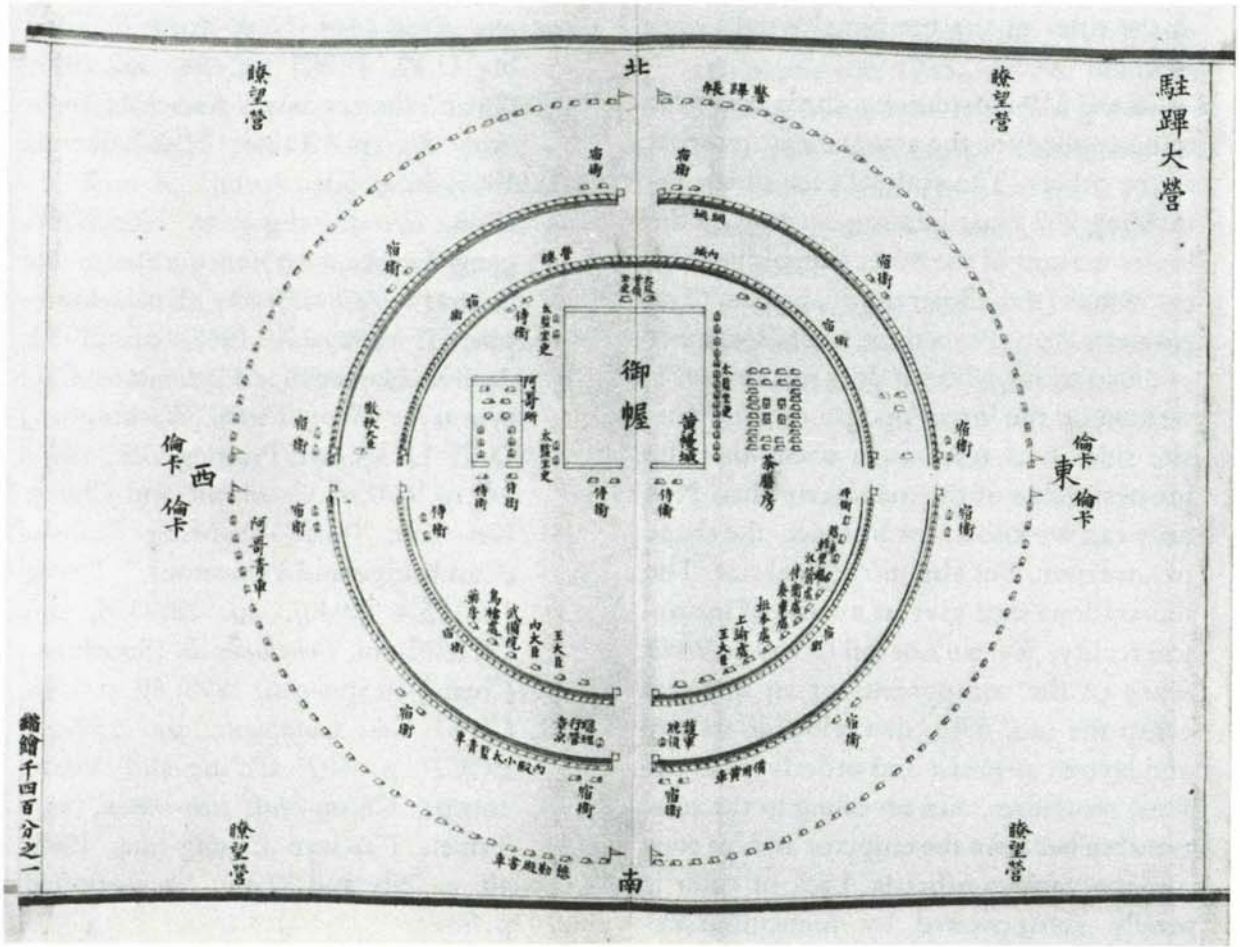
Date: late 1890s.

Dimensions: border, 24.5 x 17 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

bibliography of Chinese medical texts. The format suggests that this was a make-ready copy for the printer. But in all likelihood it has never been published and has remained virtually unknown in medical circles. The historical value of this manuscript is readily appreciated.[9]

Our last selection, *Wu-pei t'u* (no. 48a-b), is a black ink manuscript of illustrations of armors, weapons, and other sorts of military equipment that existed (if not actually used) in late nineteenth-century China. It contains 210 illustrations, all most meticulously painted with the finest brush and ink. There is no descriptive text for the illustrations, and neither is there a preface or a postface. Only at the end of the table of contents, on the first page of the first volume, are there written the names of three persons responsible for this manuscript. They are "the compiler official, Li Ching-yü; the proofreading official, Kan Ta-chang; the painter and student of the National Academy, Ch'en



48b.

Hsing-yüan." Obviously, it is the manuscript of a court-commissioned work. But it does not appear to have been printed or sufficiently known to scholars and libraries. Pasted on top of several illustrations are slips bearing the painter's learned request for further instruction concerning accuracy (no. 48a); obviously this was a mature manuscript prepared for printing. But because no printing ever occurred, it is probably the only extant copy.[10]

The proofreader and the painter are obscure figures; but thanks to the name of the compiler, we may make a decent guess of the date of this manuscript. Li Ching-yü, a native of Ho-fei, Anhwei, was the eldest son of Li Han-chang (1821-1899), governor-general of Kwangtung-Kwangsi and elder brother of the well-known statesman Li Hung-chang (1823-1901). Li passed his *chin-shih* degree examination in 1890 and became a Hanlin bachelor. According to an imperial communication issued in 1899 upon the death of his father, Li was at that time a compiler in the Hanlin Academy. Since it had taken him several years to be promoted to compiler and since he was to be promoted again after his mourning period, he could only have been involved in the compilation of this work in the late 1890s. The place where the work was done might well be Peking,

as the titles of the personnel would suggest.

Of the 210 illustrations, three are scales to be applied for the actual measurements of the others. The scale of each of the remaining 207 illustrations is written on the lower margin of the outer side of the folio on which the illustration appears. The painter's name, except in a small number of illustrations where it does not appear, is written on the lower margin of the opposite side. It is from such scales that the greatest value of the manuscript lies. Not only can we know, for instance, the shape of a weapon, but also its original size. The illustrations thus give us a sense of historical reality. We can not fail to have a vivid sense of the components of an imperial camp site (no. 48b), marvelous in its size and layout, majestic and orderly in its defense structures, and revealing in the relationship between the emperor and his sons and the various officials. Lack of color is amply compensated by meticulousness and accuracy; the illustrations are tools for practical purposes.

Notes to Section 2 Part B

1. Making printing blocks by carving careful tracings of fine calligraphy, so that an entire text could be printed in the image of handwriting, was called *hsieh-k'o*; that is another matter, one that will be illustrated elsewhere.
2. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 387-89.
3. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 326; Wang Chung-min, *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 367; L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography: 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1976), pp. 54, 362, 819; Chiao Hung, comp., *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu* (rpt. Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng, 1965) 36, p. 73a.
4. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 126; Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History* (Kuala Lumpur: U. Malaya P., 1968), pp. 29-32; Arthur Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Off., 1943-44), p. 690; A.C. Moule and Chung Kei-won, "The Ta-Ming Shih-lu (Cambridge and Princeton)," *T'oung Pao* 35.4 (1940), pp. 289-328; and Ch'ien I-chi, *Pei-chuan chi* (Soochow: Chiang-su shu-chü, 1893) 69, p. 19b.
5. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 159-60; *ECCP*, p. 607; Ch'ing-shih kuan, comp., *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* (rpt. Taipei: T'ai-wan Chung-hua, 1962) 40, p. 29b; and Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 88.
6. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 106; Chi Yun et al., eds., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (rpt. Shanghai: Ta-tung shu-chü, 1926) 50, p. 4a; Ch'ang Pi-te et al., eds., *Sung-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1984), p. 205; Ch'en Su, "Tung-tu shih-lüeh tsuan-jen Wang Shang [Wang] Ch'eng fu-tzu," *Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 8 (1939.10); and Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, *Mu-chai ch'u-hsüeh chi* (SPTK edn.) 85, p. 4b.
7. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 146; *SKTY* 54, p. 1b; *DMB*, pp. 425-26; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 122; Franke, *Ming Sources*, p. 42; and Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, comp., *T'ai-wan kung-ts'ang shan-pen shu-mu shu-ming so-yin*

(Taipei: Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, 1971), p. 888.

8. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 78; *ECCP*, pp. 66, 931; and *SKTY* 136, p. 5b.
9. Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, comp., *Ming-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* (Taipei: Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, 1965-66), p. 118; Ch'en Pang-hsien and Yen Ling-chou, comps., *Chung-kuo i-hsüeh jen-ming chih* (Peking: Jen-min wei-sheng ch'u-pan-she, 1955), pp. 36, 162, 238; and Chung-i ta-tz'u-tien pien-chi wei-yüan-hui, comp., *Chung-kuo ta-tz'u-tien: I-shih wen-hsien fen-ts'e* (Peking: Jen-min wei-sheng, 1981), pp. 82, 232.
10. Li Han-chang, *Ho-fei Li Ch'in-k'o kung cheng-shu* (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1967), frontmatter.

5. Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing

3. The Highpoint of Printing in the Sung and Yüan Dynasties

5. Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing

Part A. General Trends

Traditionally, most bibliophiles, judging by the standards of art and scholarly editing, have considered the Northern and Southern Sung (960-1125-1279), and to a lesser degree the following Yüan (1279-1368), to be a golden age of printed book production. Today Sung and Yüan books are very rare and are immensely valuable; most of those still in existence are in public collections in East Asia. Many have been photographically reprinted in recent times.

The Gest collection possesses about 2,400 volumes (*ts'e*) printed in Sung and Yüan times, or printed during the early Ming from blocks cut in the Sung and Yüan. Although that may seem a large number, most of those belong to a few large sets. They are not fully representative of the best in Sung and Yüan printing. Some modern facsimile reprintings therefore are included to show calligraphy's influences on printing.

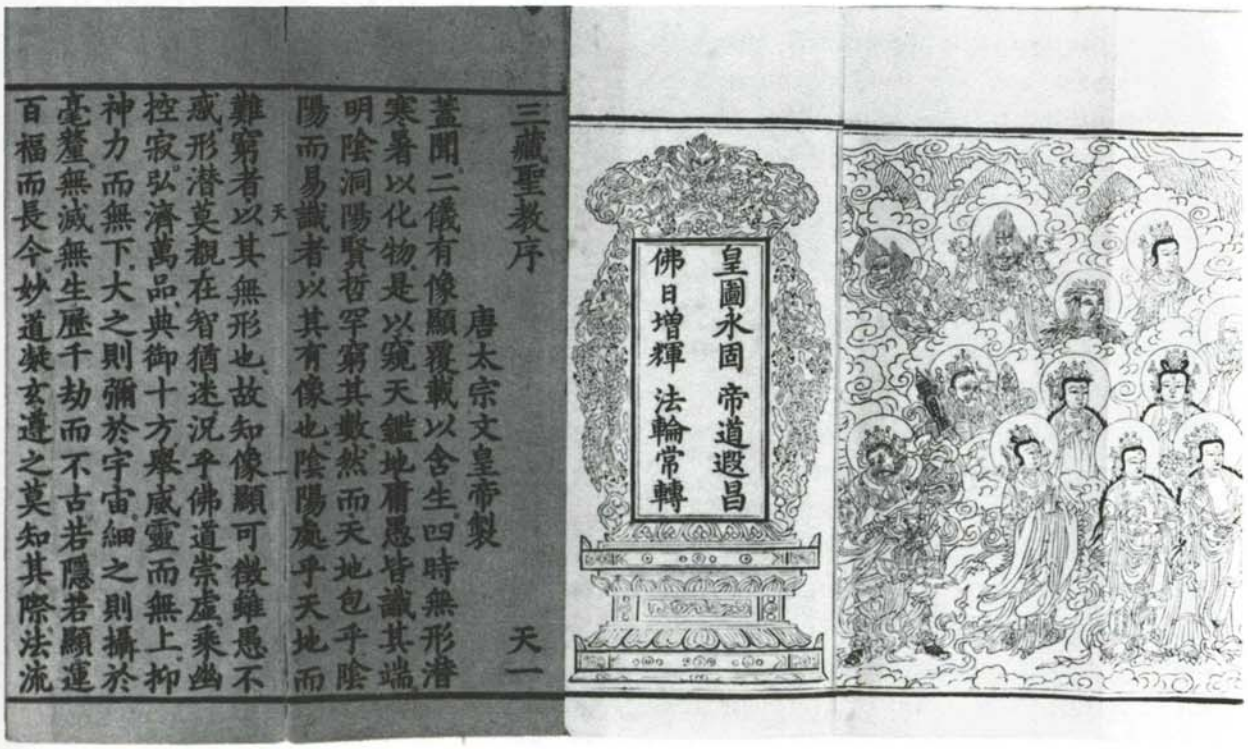
For those influences we must look to the creative master calligraphers of the T'ang, and particularly to those most noted for their standard or model (*k'ai*) script. The last of the three basic script styles (*ts'ao*, *hsing*, and *k'ai*) to take form in the post-Han centuries, the standard script underwent great development during the T'ang for use in monumental stelae. Rubbings of a few of those have been widely used as models for calligraphy practice from that time to the present. The standard (*k'ai*) script also became the norm for printed books. Three T'ang calligraphers, among dozens of great masters, set the distinctive and most influential styles for writing standard script in calligraphy generally and in printing. They are Ou-yang Hsün (557-641), Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785), and Liu Kung-ch'üan (778-865). Throughout the Sung and Yüan, until the impact of the last of the great innovative calligraphy stylists, Chao Meng-fu (died 1322), the characters seen in most printed books can be identified with one or the other of those three styles, or with the merging of Ou-yang's and Yen's calligraphy. In printing of this period the influence of the calligrapher was direct and obvious, even though the calligraphy actually used for carving the blocks was

written by distant followers of those models, and the processes of tracing and carving imposed a further screen between the resulting printed page and its distant prototype. Yet, so important were the elements of calligraphy and its transfer to the printing blocks that in Sung and Yüan times the best books carry the names of the calligraphers in the front matter, and the carvers added their names to the edges of the blocks. Those practices were not characteristic of later printing.

This part is written by Chu.

The Buddhist printing of the *Tripitaka* began only a decade after the Sung dynasty was founded in 960 A.D. By the end of the dynasty in 1279 five different editions had been printed and a sixth was underway. This last one, which would be completed in about 1321 during the Yüan dynasty, was the Chi-sha edition, from which our present selection is made. We have discussed the Gest copy of this edition in some detail in a previous entry (no. 40). The following remarks focus upon the calligraphy engraved on the printing blocks.

The page of the text illustrated (no. 49) belongs to the part of the sutra that was printed during the late Sung.[1] (The drawing was an addition made during the Ming.) The style of the calligraphy is that of Yen Chen-ch'ing, judging from a generally muscular, rigid, and broad composition with thick and heavy strokes. At a glance it appears different from most other Sung printings with a calligraphic style ascribed to Yen because the horizontal strokes are less inclined and their edges rounder. However, the weighty force infusing the strokes and the equally square sizes of the characters point to a fundamental characteristic of Yen. The slight lack of elegance in individual characters is compensated by a unifying structural dignity, smooth yet imposing. Yen's style is said to have been most popularly adopted during the Sung by printers in Szechwan and Fukien. In fact, it can even be said that Yen's was adopted as a "basic" or "master" style, often blended with qualities and touches of such other popular styles in printing as Liu Kung-ch'üan's. Because the Chi-sha edition of the *Tripitaka* was engraved and printed in the Soochow



49. *Chi-sha pan ta-tsang ching.* (See no. 40).

area, we can see that Yen's style — although here in a modified form — obviously had an even wider base of acceptance.

Mei-shan, a name used generally for the Chengtu area in Szechwan, was the cultural center of west China during the Sung, and in fact Sung printing flourished there first before it developed in Hangchow and Fukien. Scholars have agreed that Chengtu printers showed a preference for Liu Kung-ch'üan's style of calligraphy, which is characterized as a compromise between the well-balanced and slender style of Ou-yang Hsün and the muscular and broad style of Yen Chench'ing. It uses neat and forceful strokes in elongated or perpendicular shapes in addition to a tight and square composition of individual characters. To be sure, books printed in other centers, such as those from the Hangchow and Fukien areas in later Sung times, also present an expression of the Liu style. In general, though, the Ou-yang and Yen styles dominated.

Illustration no. 50 is taken from a page of the annotated Confucian classic, the *Book of Rites*, printed in Chengtu in early Southern Sung times. Judging from the above characterization of Liu Kung-ch'üan's brushwork, the calligraphy of this book obviously is considerably influenced by the Liu style. No complete copy exists of this edition, which is considered to belong to the prestigious series of twelve Confucian classics published by the government school of Chengtu. In any event, the great skill in engraving and the high quality of ink displayed in this copy have led authorities to regard it as the best of Szechwan printing in the Sung.[2]

Hsin-pien shih-wen lei-chü han-mo ta-ch'üan (no. 51) is an encyclopedia of model writings (prose, poetry, letters, and others) printed in the latter half of the Yüan dynasty. The author, Liu Ying-li, was a native of Chien-yang, Fukien, who passed his *chin-shih* examination during the Sung dynasty, in 1250. When the Sung was ended, he declined official service and returned home to establish a private academy, together with the famous Confucian scholar Hsiung Ho (1253-1312), teaching local students. It was Hsiung who wrote the preface to this book in 1307. There are several versions of this work that are extant, but the present edition is so rare that it is not recorded in almost all available bibliographies. As the ownership seals indicated, this copy was once the property of the Manchu Prince of Kuo.[3]

The impressive quality both in block engraving and printing shows that this is an excellent product of Yüan times. The "black mouths," the double-line borders, and the general format betray a style that bespeaks the typical skill in Yüan printing. The calligraphy of the text is especially noteworthy. Though the characters are small, their strokes are so charmingly clear and forceful. It shows a combination of styles of which those of Ou-yang Hsün and Chao Meng-fu appear to be relatively prominent.

Hsüan-ho po-ku t'u-lu (Illustrated Record of Ancient Objects in the Hsüan-ho Pal-

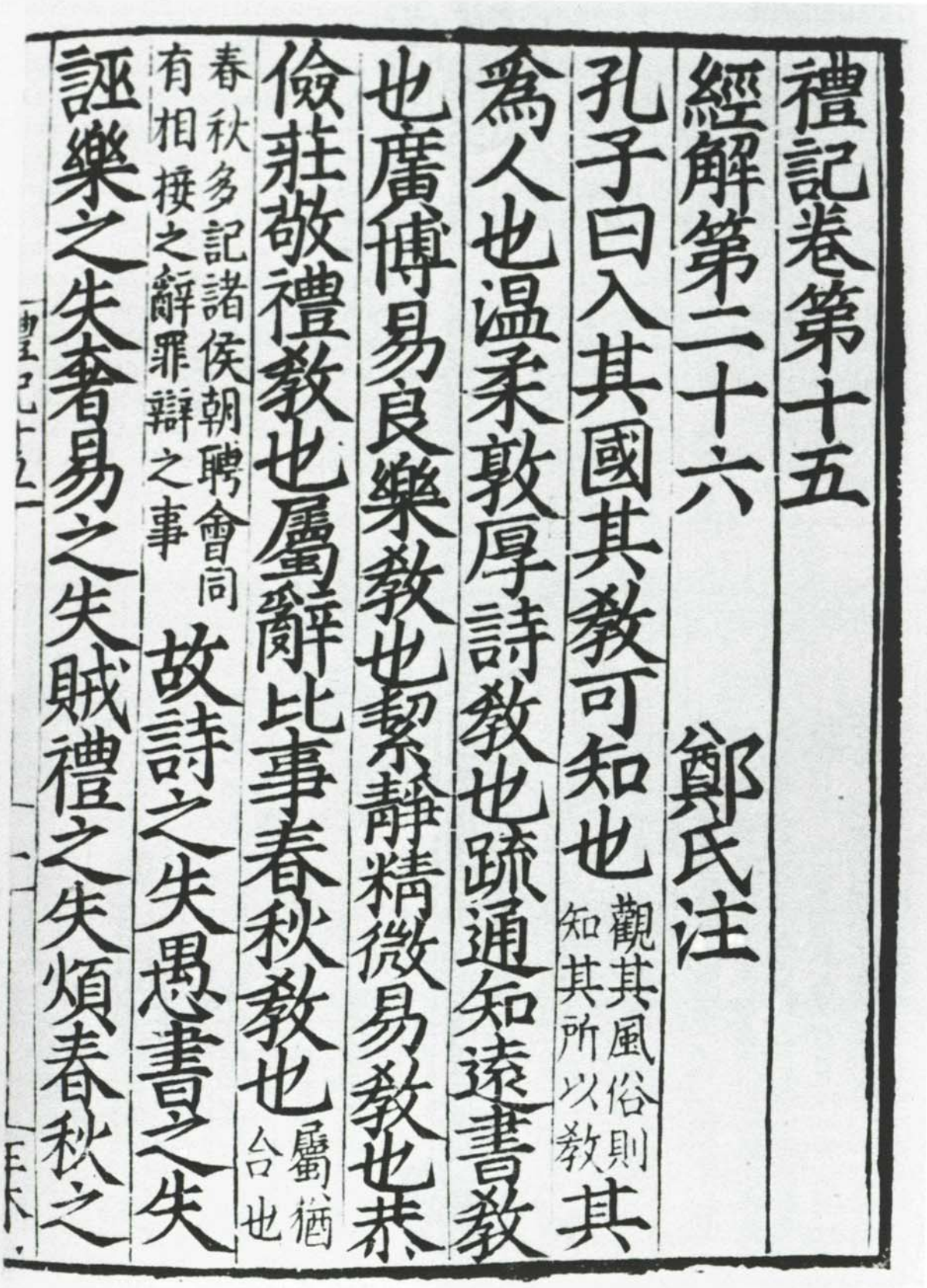
> 50. *Li-chi chu.* 15 *ch.* extant.

Author: Cheng Hsüan (127–200).

Date: 12th century.

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 16 chars. (16 of 21 small chars.); block, 23.4 x 16.1 cm.

Source: Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, comp., *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu* (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1961), Illus. 222.



禮記卷第十五

經解第二十六　鄭氏注

孔子曰入其國其教可知也觀其風俗則知其所以教其為人也溫柔敦厚詩教也疏通知遠書教也廣博易良樂教也絜靜精微易教也恭儉莊敬禮教也屬辭比事春秋教也屬猶合也

春秋多記諸侯朝聘會同有相接之辭罪辯之事故詩之失愚書之失誣樂之失奢易之失賊禮之失煩春秋之

ace) is an illustrated catalogue of some 600 bronzes of pre-Ch'in times compiled by Wang Fu of Hsiang-fu (Kaifeng). Wang was an influential collaborator of the notorious prime minister Ts'ai Ching (1047-1126).

The term "Hsüan-ho" in the title has often been erroneously equated with the Hsüan-ho reign (1119-1127) of the Sung emperor Hui-tsung. According to a note by Ts'ai T'ao (fl. 1120s), Ts'ai Ching's son and an acquaintance of the author, the book was written during the early part of the Cheng-ho reign (1107-1110), and the term Hsüan-ho was actually the name of a palace in the imperial city. The *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* reviewers upheld the reliability of this note and pointed out that the mistake was first made by the Southern Sung erudite Hung Mai (1123-1202). The present edition, as noted by the added words of the title, was engraved and printed during the Chih-ta reign period (1308-1312) of the emperor Wu-tsung of Yüan. The

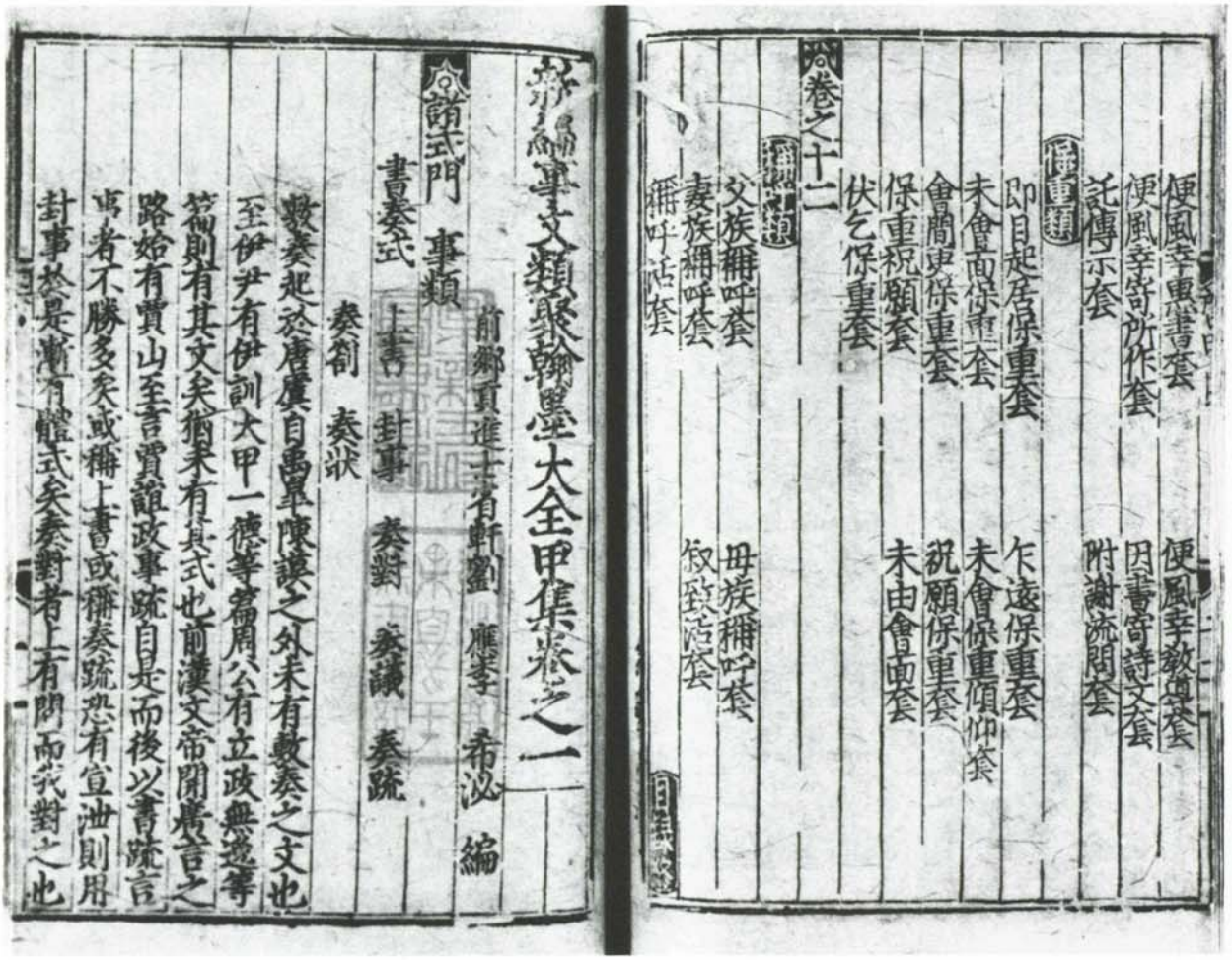
51. *Hsin-pien shih-wen lei-chü han-mo ta-ch'üan*. 145 *ch*. (60 vols.).

Author: Liu Ying-li (d. 1308).

Date: 1307-1367.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 24 chars.; block, 15.2 x 10 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



通蓋高六寸二分耳高二寸二分闊一寸八
分深三寸八分口徑五寸三分腹徑六寸容
三升五合共重三斤一兩三足無銘
右二器足既如牛復設三犧於蓋書傳言三
牲曰牛一羊一豕一則犧乃三牲之最者蓋
古人於天地之祭宗廟之享賓客之奉用以
行其精純者非此不可此漢器也而有周之
遺意焉

52. *Chih-ta ch'ung-hsiu hsüan-ho po-ku t'u-lu.* 30 *ch.* (30 vols.).

Author: Wang Fu (1079-1126).

Date: 1308-1312.

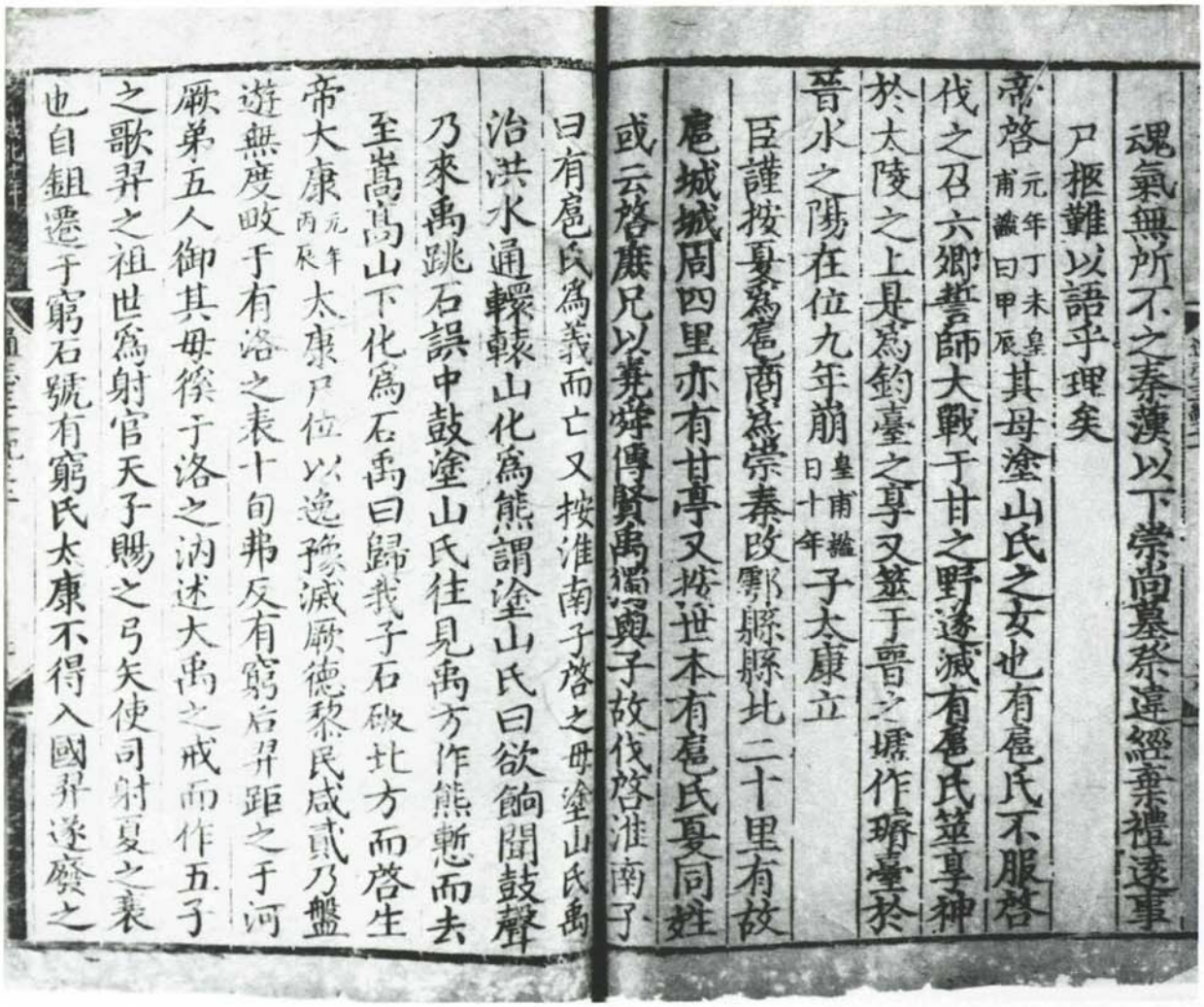
Dimensions: 8 cols. of 17 chars.; block, 29.3 x 22.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

present copy (no. 52) is actually a Ming printing; the many blurred spots that mutilate both the text and the illustrations indicate that the blocks were in rather bad condition by the time of this printing.[4]

The characters of the text, as can be seen from the illustrated page, are of a calligraphic style typical of Ou-yang Hsün. Notice the neatness of the entire brushwork, the well-balanced composition of the characters, the elegantly even and slender strokes — unmistakable characteristics of the Ou-yang style in printed books. The generous spacing between the characters creates a further appearance of calmness and meticulousness, making the entire page a most refined example of the Ou-yang style of calligraphy in Sung and Yüan books.

Ou-yang Hsün was by far the most influential calligrapher in printed books from the Sung to the Ming. But like those of Yen Chen-ch'ing and Liu Kung-ch'üan, his style was intermingled with others in the course of book printing. This is shown in our edition of *T'ung-chih* (no. 53), the famous historical work by Cheng Ch'iao, a great Sung scholar from P'u-t'ien, Fukien. This book was first printed in 1322 by the government school of Foochow. The present copy is a Ming print-



53. *T'ung-chih*. 200 *ch*. (240 vols.).

Author: Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162).

Date: 1322 (Foochow).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 29 x 19.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

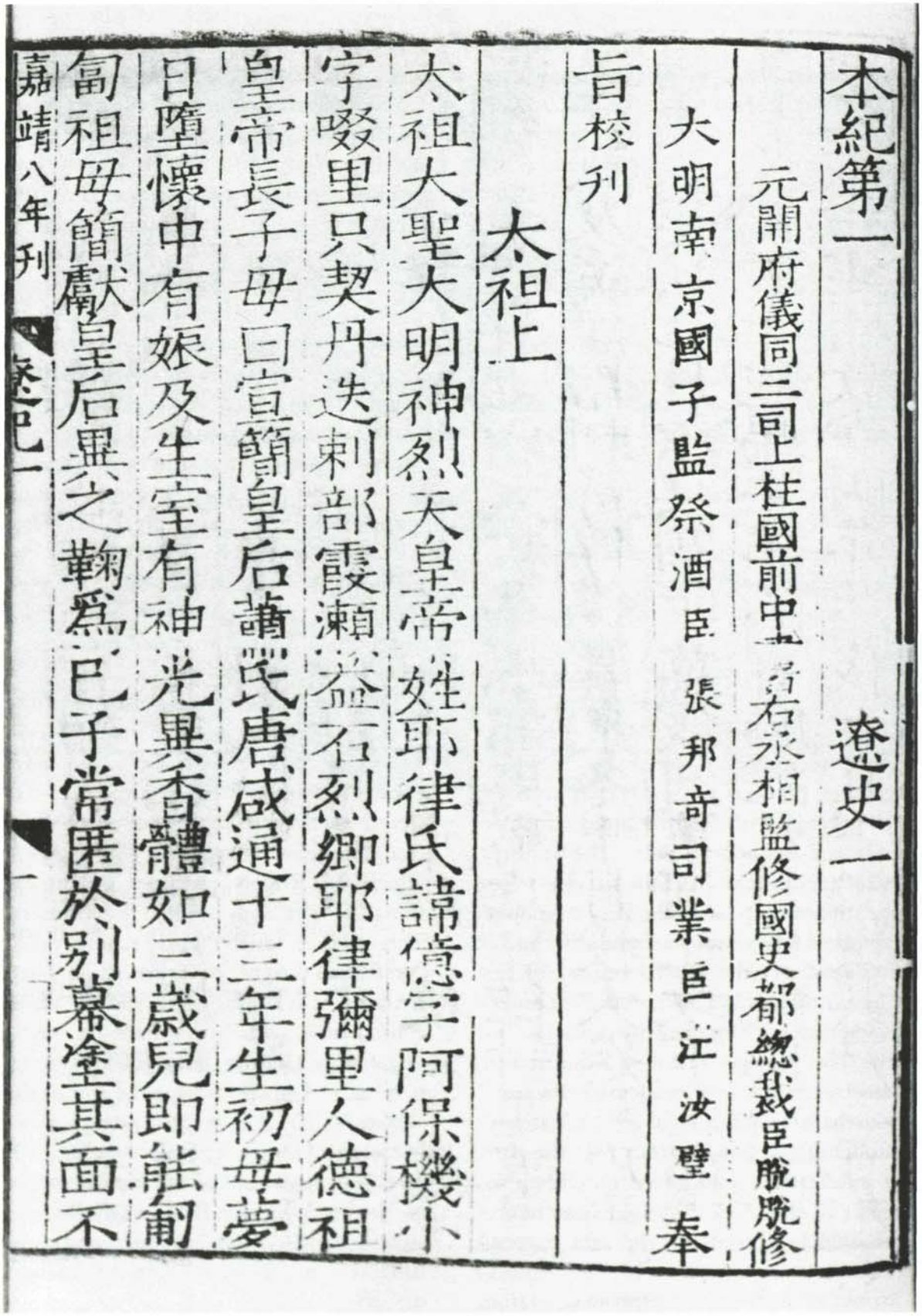
ing from blocks of the original edition that were repaired in 1474. The repair and the printing were both done by the Ministry of Personnel, although the blocks were under the custody of the National Academy at Nanking.[5] The repaired blocks, as can be seen from the left-hand folio of the illustrated page, have the date of the repair engraved on the upper center of the block, appearing as the unobtrusive intaglio characters in the upper-left margin (no. 53). To make the distinction between old and new more obvious, so as to avoid any hint of deception, the "black mouth" page format was observed in the new blocks. (See the black portions of the left margin.) Compare the illustrated folios with each other, and it becomes clear that the Ming block cutters had tried to be faithful to the calligraphic style of the original edition.

Our edition of *Liao-shih* (no. 54), the standard *History of the Liao Dynasty* (907-1125), originally compiled in 1344, was engraved and printed by the National

Academy at Nanking.[6] As the third line of the illustrated page shows, this edition was made by imperial order, and the officials responsible for the publication were the chancellor of the Academy, Chang Pang-ch'i (1484-1544) of Yin-hsien, Chekiang, and his deputy, Chiang Ju-pi (1486-1558) of Kuei-hsi, Kiangsi. The date of publication, 1529, is engraved on the upper center of the block, appearing at the upper-left margin of the folio. Both the National Academy at Nanking and the National Academy at Peking were major government presses in the Ming and were famous for reprinting important texts of the past. Often the same book would be reprinted by both institutions, hence the designation of "Northern" and "Southern" National Academy editions. The present book belongs to the latter. Such reprints were normally collated and revised by the teachers and students of the Academies. The blocks, being government properties, were also under the custody of these institutions. The characters of the present text still display obvious qualities of the Ou-yang Hsün style of calligraphy, with well-balanced structure and well-defined strokes. The slightly rectangular shape of the characters, frequently seen in Sung books, was quite typical of fine printing around this time.

Chou-shu is the official history of the Chou dynasty (557-581), compiled in 636 by the early T'ang historian Ling-hu Te-fen. The present edition was printed in 1604 by the National Academy at Peking.[7] Like the *Liao-shih* printed by the National Academy at Nanking (no. 54), the date of publication is engraved on the upper center of the block and the names of the responsible officials on the first page of the text. The chancellor and vice-chancellor supervising this reprint were Hsiao Yün-chü (*chin-shih* 1586) of Hsüan-hua, Kwangsi, and Li T'eng-fang (*chin-shih* 1592) of Hsiang-t'an, Hunan. Judging from the quality of ink and the great clarity of the engraved characters and lines, the present copy (no. 55) is one of the first printings from the new blocks. The characters in the text, although having a slightly elongated shape, are still of an Ou-yang style of calligraphy. By the time of this publication, the Ou-yang style in printed books had in general given way to the so-called Sung style of calligraphy, that is, one in which a rigid uniformity in shape and strokes is assumed in each and every character of a text. The calligraphy of the scripts in the present book, though markedly different in its overall appearance from that in books printed by the National Academy at Nanking, still possesses a refined style to distinguish it from the cheap and mass-produced products of commercial printers.

The individually distinguishable styles of calligraphy that added flavor to books printed in Sung and Yüan times were gradually standardized after the mid-sixteenth century. They became an easily recognizable stereotype, the "Sung style," which was widely practiced by professional scribes and adopted by printers. This style is often appropriately called "craftsman script." As Tsuen-hsuin Tsien remarks, it is "more rigid and square in construction with heavy lines for vertical strokes, lighter lines for horizontal strokes, and a heavy tail at the end of the strokes."[8] These features may be best illustrated by the present selection (no. 56), an abridged version of the literary works of the well-known Ming scholar and statesman, Ch'iu Chün, edited and published by seventh-generation descendants of Ch'iu.



本紀第一　遼史一

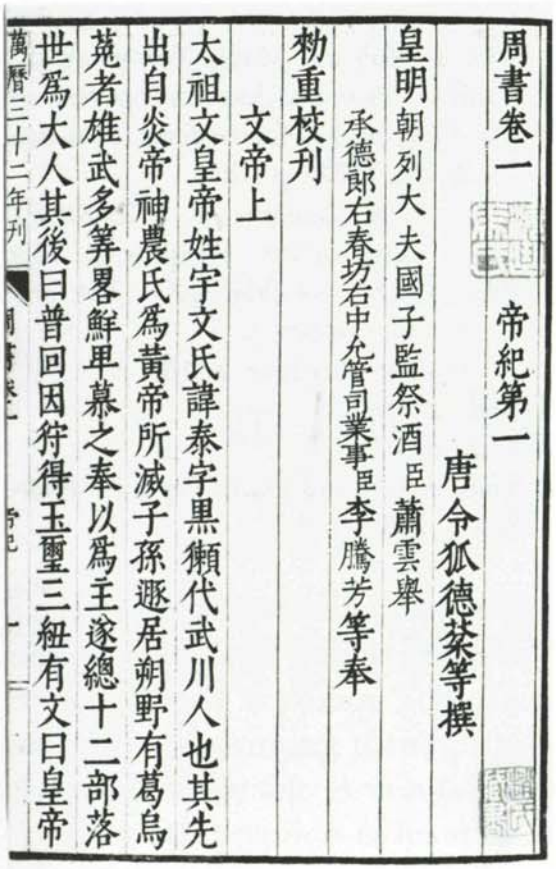
元開府儀同三司上柱國前中書右丞相監修國史都總裁臣脫脫修

大明南京國子監祭酒臣張邦奇司業臣江汝璧奉

旨校刊

太祖上

太祖大聖大明神烈天皇帝姓耶律氏諱億字阿保機小字啜里只契丹迭剌部霞瀚益石烈鄉耶律彌里人德祖皇帝長子母曰宣簡皇后蕭氏唐咸通十三年生初母夢日墮懷中有娠及生室有神光異香體如三歲兒即能匍匐祖母簡獻皇后異之鞠爲己子常匿於別幕塗其面不


周書卷一　帝紀第一
唐令狐德棻等撰
皇明朝列大夫國子監祭酒臣蕭雲舉
承德郎右春坊右中允管司業事臣李騰芳等奉
勑重校刊
文帝上
太祖文皇帝姓宇文氏諱泰字黑獺代武川人也其先
出自炎帝神農氏爲黃帝所滅子孫遯居朔野有葛烏
菟者雄武多筭畧鮮卑慕之奉以爲主遂總十二部落
世爲大人其後曰普回因狩得玉璽三紐有文曰皇帝
萬曆三十二年刊

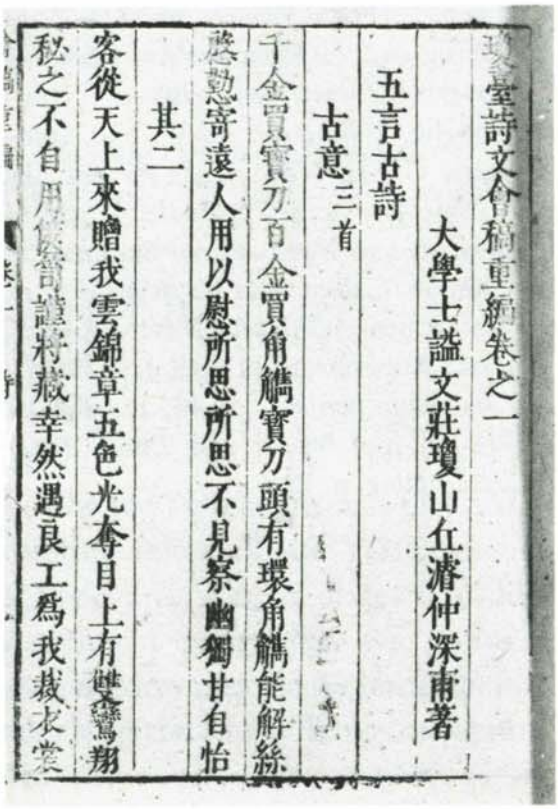
55. *Chou-shu*. 50 *ch*. (10 vols.).

Author: Ling-hu Te-fen (583-666).

Date: 1604 (Peking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 22.8 x 14 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


瓊臺詩文會稿重編卷之一
大學士謚文莊瓊山丘濬仲深甫著
五言古詩
古意三首
千金買寶刀百金買角觿寶刀頭有環角觿能解絲
慇懃寄遠人用以慰所思所思不見察幽獨甘自怡
其二
客從天上來贈我雲錦章五色光奪目上有雙鸞翔
秘之不自用俟笥謹將藏幸然遇良工爲我裁衣裳

56. *Ch'iung-t'ai shih-wen hui-kao ch'ung-pien*. 24 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495).

Date: 1621.

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 20 x 13.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

< 54. *Liao-shih*. 116 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: Toghto (1314-1355) et al.

Date: 1529 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 21.6 x 15 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

Notes to Section 3
Part A

1. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 224–25; Li Ch'ing-chih, *Ku-shu pan-pen chien-ting yen-chiu* (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1986), pp. 36–38; and Soto-yama Gunzi, "Yen Chen-ch'ing: His Calligraphy and Personality," paper presented to International Seminar on Chinese Calligraphy in Memory of Yen Chen-ch'ing's 1,200th Posthumous Anniversary, Taipei, [ca. 1985].
2. *Chung-kuo pan-k'o*, p. 43; Li, *Ku-shu pan-pen*, pp. 38–39; and Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 224.
3. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 324; *SKTY* 135, p. 8b; and Wang Teh-yi et al., comps., *Yüan-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1982), p. 1858.
4. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 272; *SKTY* 115, p. 2b; Ch'ang, *Sung-jen*, p. 233; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 224; and Li, *Ku-shu pan-pen*, p. 37.
5. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 105.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 445; and Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 225.

Part B. The Impact of Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322) in Late Yüan and Ming

Chao Meng-fu is sometimes called the last of the "Eight Princes of Calligraphy" (*shu-fa pa-wang*). He was the towering talent of the Yüan period, equally famed as painter and calligrapher, poet and scholar-statesman. His influence on printing through his many styles of calligraphy was quickly and profoundly felt. A number of his younger contemporaries became outstanding calligraphers in his style, particularly in the lower Yangtze region, which dominated art and scholarship in the fourteenth century. Two brothers of early Ming, Shen Tu (1357–1434) and Shen Ts'an (1379–1453), who wrote in the Chao style, were patronized by the Yung-lo emperor and his successors in the early fifteenth century. That established the Chao style at court, where they drafted important documents. The Shens also wrote out the full texts of books, or the prefaces of books, to be printed in facsimile (*hsieh-k'o*) by the palace printing works. The prestige of the Chao style thus extended beyond the court. Yet we can find holdovers of Sung traditions in calligraphy and in printing, especially away from the early Ming court.

For T'ang and earlier calligraphers we are essentially limited to the evidence of epigraphy through rubbings, except for the mostly nameless sutra copyists. There are very few reliable exceptions. From Sung times onward we begin to have a corpus of original calligraphic works. From the time of Chao Meng-fu onward we can assemble photographs of many examples of actual works in museums and private collections around the world. At Princeton we are fortunate in having a number of original masterworks by Chao and his followers. In this section of the exhibition we have the rare

opportunity to display the art of Chao Meng-fu and some of his followers in original masterworks, and in tandem with their calligraphy, a number of finely printed books showing varying degrees of Chao's impact on book design.

The first two essays, on Chao Meng-fu and Sung K'o, respectively, along with labels no. 57-61 are by Ch'en. The remainder is by Chu.

THE IMPACT OF CHAO MENG-FU

Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322) was one of the most accomplished artists in the Yüan period (1260–1368). He was a scion of the Sung imperial household, and was born at Wu-hsing in 1254.[1] By the time the Southern Sung dynasty fell to the Mongols in 1279, he had finished his education and obtained a position as imperial guard, serving at the Southern Sung court in Hangchow and in the Kiangsu area. The downfall of the Southern Sung dynasty kept him at Wu-hsing, in Chekiang, until 1287, when Ch'eng Chü-fu (1249–1318), a censor from the Yüan court in Peking, discovered and recommended him as one of the "Eight Talented Young Men of Wu-hsing" (*Wu-hsing pa chün*) to the Yüan emperor Shih-tsu, better known as Kublai Khan (r. 1260–1293). Chao's talents in administration and in art immediately attracted the emperor's attention. Soon he became a favorite official and was given governorships in various locales. He was posthumously honored as the Duke of Wei (Wei-kuo kung) in 1322.

A talented artist, Chao Meng-fu acquired his knowledge of art from three main sources: an eclectic education in his early years; imperial and private collections in Peking and other areas where he served as governor; and masterpieces in his own collection. The works by past masters in the imperial and in private collections must have served as models for his painting and calligraphy as they developed later.[2] His paintings encompass a wide range of categories, including those of figure, animal, landscape, and bird-and-flower. They are represented in three major styles: archaic blue-green for narratives, plain-line drawings for figures and horses, and expressive style for landscape and tree-and-rock paintings.[3] Many of the subjects of his paintings conveyed specific references to the society and political world of his day, like the bamboos and orchid as symbols of the gentleman (*chün-tzu*). Most of his works were executed with calligraphic brush technique. He is the first artist who not only verbally claimed the close relationship between painting and calligraphy, but also applied calligraphic brushwork in embodying pictorial forms. His high achievement in painting is directly attributable to his training in calligraphy.

The stylistic development of Chao Meng-fu's calligraphy experienced three stages: early, middle, and late; each stage shows its own characteristic, having been influenced by specific masters of the Sung, T'ang, and Six Dynasties.[4] The calligraphy of his early stage (before 1290) shows squat shapes and smooth undulating strokes with sharp, pointed beginnings and endings; this reveals the stylistic influence of the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (r. 1127–1162). In the second stage (throughout the 1290s), his writing exhibits elongated architectonic structure and modulated strokes, which represent the influence of T'ang masters like Ou-yang Hsün, Ch'u Sui-liang, Li Yung (678–747), and Yen Chen-ch'ing. In the late stage (after 1300), his autograph assumes the relaxed and natural manner of the "Preface to the Gathering at Orchid Pavilion" (Lan-t'ing chi hsü) by Wang Hsi-chih (321–379). It is also in this stage that he successfully synthesized the styles of all his models, as exemplified by the "Record of the Miao-yen Monastery" (Hu-chou Miao-yen-ssu chi) in the John B. Elliott Collection on loan to the Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 57).

The text of the Record was composed by Mou Hsien (1227–1311), a renowned Confucian scholar from Wu-hsing, and

57. *Record of the Miao-yen Monastery (Hu-chou Miao-yen ssu chi)*. Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322).

Date: ca. 1309 - ca.1310.

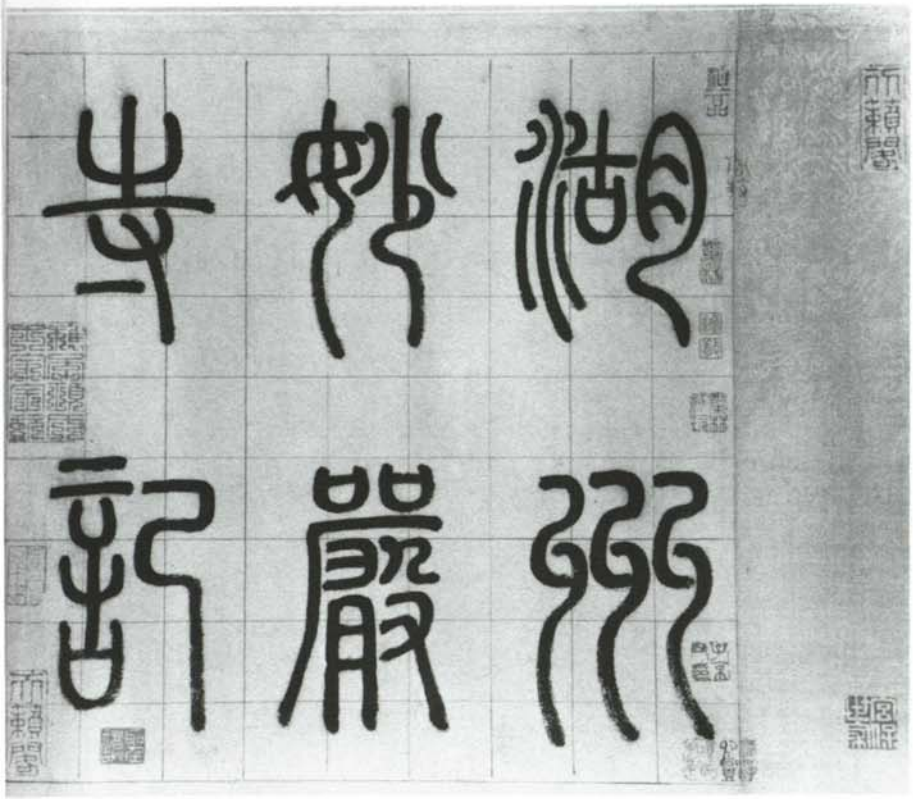
Dimensions: 34.2 x 364.5 cm.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1970.178).

was transcribed by Chao Meng-fu around 1309-1310. Except for a six-character title written in seal script, the entire text is written in medium-size regular script, each measuring about one square inch, within grids. Characters, in smooth silhouette, are composed with a square shape in the style of Wang Hsi-chih and Yen Chen-ch'ing.

The brushwork, however, shows stylistic influence from many other masters, including Ch'u Sui-liang, Li Yung, and Huang T'ing-chien.[5] In many cases the diagonals are stressed to create dynamic force — a reminiscence of the brush technique of Li Yung and Huang T'ing-chien; while most of the hooks look sharp, short, and elegant — the brush idiom of Ch'u Sui-liang. Nevertheless, through Chao Meng-fu's simplification and reinterpretation, these sources are synthesized into an integral entity characterized by formal ease and elegance.

Chao's calligraphic style received wide recognition in his own time and was influential among calligraphers prior to the nineteenth century, when *chin-shih hsüeh* flourished — a new aesthetic movement led by Pao Shih-ch'en (1775-1855), Juan Yüan (1764-1849), and Chao Chih-ch'ien (1829-1884), who preferred the calli-



graphic models derived from archaeological finds to those of the Wang Hsi-chih tradition. In the Yüan period, the most noticeable calligrapher among Chao's immediate followers was his nephew Yü Ho (1309-1382). Yü's brush style resembles his uncle's so closely (see Yü's "Yüeh I lun," no. 58) that some of his extant works were misattributed to the great master.[6]

In the Ming period, Chao's regular-script style overwhelmed scholars of the imperial academy, who gradually developed a rigid, standardized Chao style called "Imperial Academic style" (*t'ai-ko t'i*), as shown in writings by Shen Tu (1357-1434; see no. 61) and his younger brother Shen Ts'an (1379-1453). This tradition was carried down to the Ch'ing period (1644-1911).

In fact, Chao's regular-script style, like that of Yen Chen-ch'ing and Ou-yang Hsün, has become a primary calligraphic model for Chinese bookprint since the fourteenth century.

Although inevitably schematized when reaching printed form, the three styles are nonetheless distinguishable. The Yen style (called *Yen t'i*) shows a monumental quality, characterized by square composition, robust silhouette, knuckled corners, and bulging vertical strokes (nos. 106a-b); Ou-yang style (*Ou t'i*) demonstrates a dignified appearance, characterized by tight spacing, oblong composition, and angular brushwork (no. 122); and Chao style (*Chao t'i*) has an elegance based on a more proportional composition, rounded silhouette, and smoothly undulating brushwork (no. 59).

58. *Transcription of 'Yüeh-i lun' by Hsia-hou T'ai-ch'u.* Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: Yü Ho (1309-1382).

Date: ca. 1360s.

Dimensions: 24.7 x 68.5 cm.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1970.254).

Sung K'o (1327-1387) was one of the most important calligraphers in the fourteenth century. He was born into a wealthy family at Ch'ang-chou (i.e., Soochow), and was talented in painting, calligraphy, and literature. His knowledge, furthermore, in strategic policies found him a position as "military advisor" (*chün-tsu*) in Hopei for a short time at the end of the Yüan period. Before returning to Soochow sometime around 1356 he traveled widely. In Soochow he was engaged in literatus activities, and was known as one of the "Ten Friends of the North Wall" (*Pei-kuo shih-yu*). The group included famous poets and painters of the area like Kao Ch'i (1336-1374) and Hsü Pen (1335-1380). During Chang Shih-ch'eng's occupation of the city, Sung K'o tactfully kept himself away from any political involvement and concentrated on poetry and calligraphy. In the early Ming period, he was first assigned a position as calligrapher-in-waiting in the Peking Hanlin Academy, and, subsequently, as deputy prefect of

Feng-hsiang, in Shensi. He died at his post in 1387.[7]

As a calligrapher, Sung K'o excelled in four script styles: small regular, running, cursive, and draft-cursive. His calligraphy models include masters of various periods: for small regular and running scripts he modeled himself on Jao Chieh (d. 1367), Chao Meng-fu, Wang Hsi-chih, and Chung Yu; for cursive he followed the style of Huai-su and Sun Kuo-t'ing (648-703); and for archaic draft-cursive — Huang Hsiang (304-361).[8] By means of copying different masters, Sung K'o learned the different brush techniques.[9] Eventually he created his own calligraphic style, unified by sharp and angular brushwork. It is apparent in "Transcription of Sun Kuo-t'ing's 'Shu-p'u' "[10] in the John B. Elliott Collection (no. 60).[11]

The Princeton *Shu-p'u* includes approximately two-thirds of the original text on eight folding leaves of yellowish lined paper.[12] Each leaf shows sixteen columns of text rendered in three script styles: regular, running, and draft-cursive, alternating column by column; sometimes a shift of script styles happens within the same column. For example, the last leaf shows three and a half columns of regular script in the beginning, six-and-half columns of draft-cursive in the middle, and six columns of regular combined with running script in the end. (See no. 60; the middle

59. *Record of Mt. Mao (Mao-shan chih).* Detail of blockprint, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: Chang Yü (1283-1350).

Date: ca. 1328.

Collection: National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Source: *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 10.6 (Jan.-Feb. 1976), p. 5.

columns begin on the right folio and end on the left.) The formal contrast among these passages is obvious: the text in regular script gives a static atmosphere, resulting from stabilized composition and refined brushwork; the passage in draft-cursive, however, has a dynamic quality arising from unevenly modulated strokes and abbreviated forms. The formal juxtaposition of styles increases the visual effect of the calligraphy.

In the early fifteenth century, Sung's calligraphic style influenced calligraphers of the Sung-chiang area like Shen Tu and his younger brother Shen Ts'an.[13] During the Yung-lo reign (1403-1422) the Shen brothers were serving at the Ming court in Peking as instructor and reader, respectively, for the heir apparent. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu praised them as the calligrapher-sages of the Ming period.

Because of Sung K'o's influence the Shen brothers were skilled at various script styles. In particular, Shen Tu excelled in regular and draft-cursive styles, and Shen Ts'an in cursive.[14] Shen Tu's self-consciousness as imitator of Sung K'o's style is noticed easily in, for example, his "Transcription of Chu Hsi's poems 'Expressing One's Feelings' " (Shu Chu Hsi Kan-yü shih) in the John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 61).[15] The calligraphy comprises nine passages of text written in various styles. The preface is written in small regular script, and is followed by seven poems in eight passages[16] written in regular, cursive, and draft-cursive styles, alternating with each other. This alternating and juxtaposing shows an aesthetic affinity with the *Shu-p'u* by Sung K'o, just mentioned. Despite the differences in script styles, the calligraphy of all these poems has characteristics in common with Sung K'o: squat composition and sharp angular brushwork. But starting from Sung K'o as his primary model, Shen Tu was able to branch off into his own style, which is characterized by triangular entering strokes and sharp

elongated hooks. Such characteristics, carried by his popularity, were clearly preserved in woodblock printed books of the Ming period (nos. 107a-b).

Of Chao Meng-fu's regular script, which is typified by a soft, lively and charming touch, Wen Fong writes that it "not only has beautifully modulated and well-balanced features, but also displays an easily recognized and repeatable array of brushstrokes. Chao's was the first new regular script since Yen Chen-ch'ing's that could be adapted successfully to both small and large writing." Being so attractive and so imitable, it is no wonder that the Chao script style was to have great impact, even on printed books. What is especially remarkable is the speed of this impact. With *Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao* (nos. 62a-b) we have an excellent example, in a book printed only eight years after Chao's death, of the pervasiveness of his influence.

Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao is a selected annotation of the Confucian *Four Books*, drawing on exegeses of Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and his disciples. The author, Liu Yin, was a great eremitic Confucian scholar of the Yüan period, generally considered to be of the school of Chu Hsi but

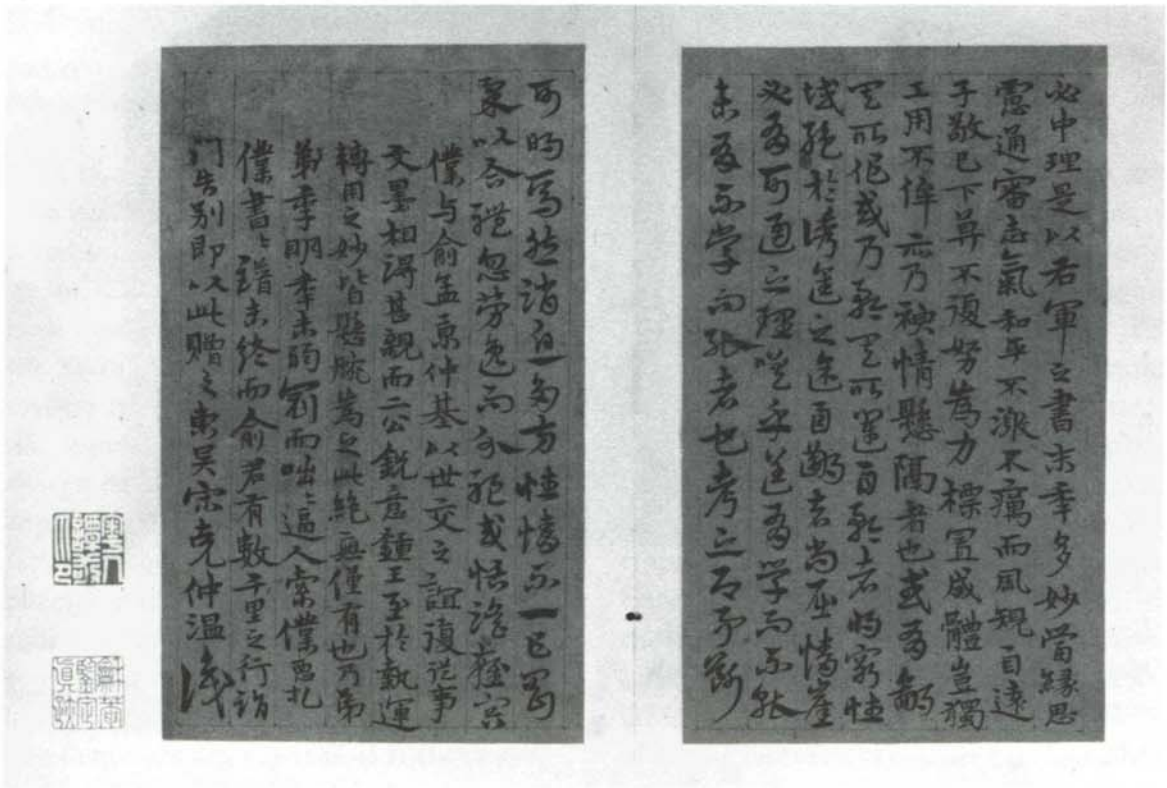
60. *Transcription of Sun Kuo-t'ing's 'Shu-p'u'*. Detail of last of seven album double-leaves, ink on paper.

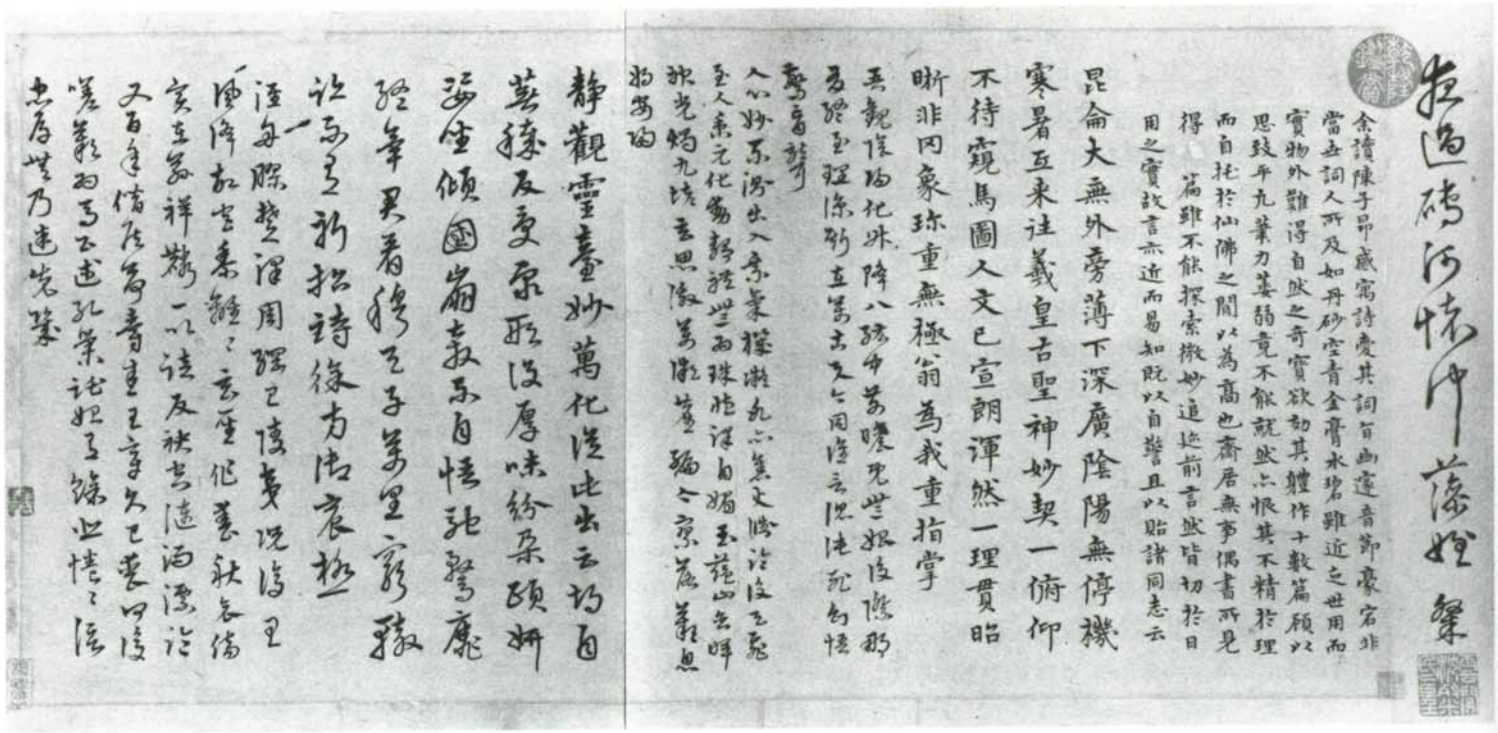
Calligrapher: Sung K'o (1327-1387).

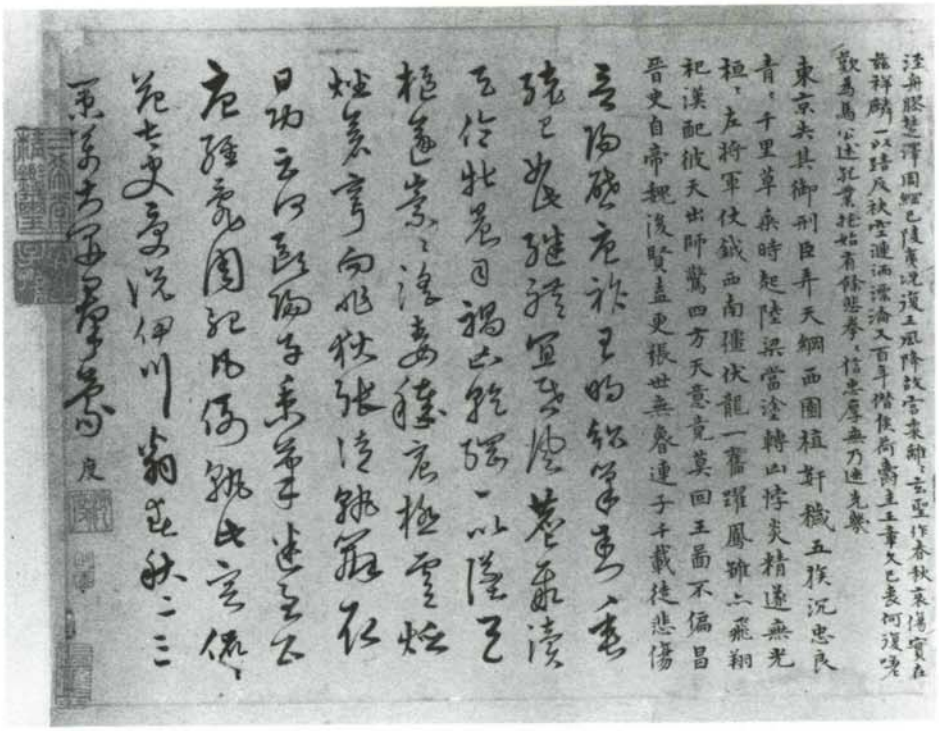
Date: ca. 1380s.

Dimensions: each leaf 20.3 x 12.4 cm.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1987.46).







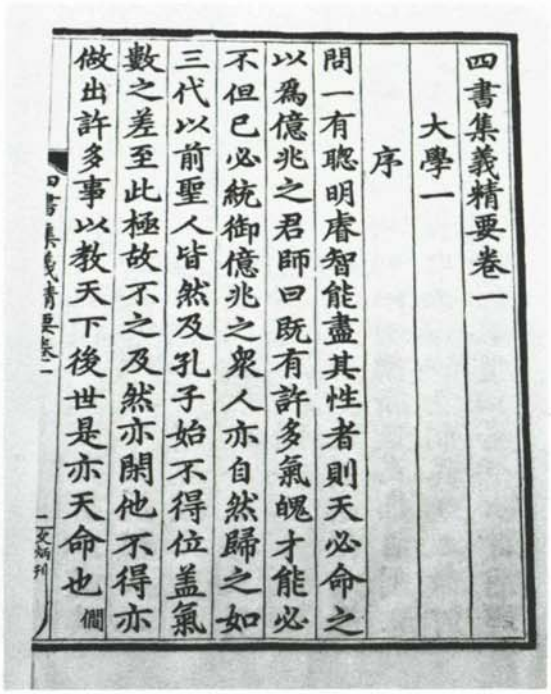
61. *Transcription of Chu Hsi's poems 'Expressing One's Feelings' (Shu Chu Hsi 'Kan-yü shih')*. Detail of handscroll, ink on paper.

Calligrapher: Shen Tu (1353-1434).

Date: ca. early 15th century.

Dimensions: 29 cm high.

Collection: The John B. Elliott Collection on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (L1970.184).

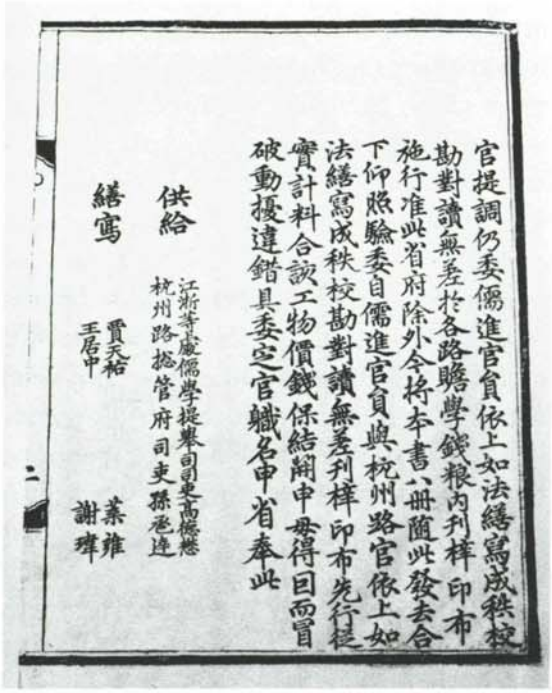


四書集義精要卷一

大學一

序

問一有聰明睿智能盡其性者則天必命之以爲億兆之君師曰既有許多氣魄才能必不但已必統御億兆之衆人亦自然歸之如三代以前聖人皆然及孔子始不得位盖氣數之差至此極故不之及然亦閑他不得亦做出許多事以教天下後世是亦天命也 僩



官提調仍委儒進官員依上如法繕寫成秩校勘對讀無差於各路贍學錢粮內刊梓印布施行准此省府除外今將本書八冊隨此發去合下仰照驗委自儒進官員與杭州路官依上如法繕寫成秩校勘對讀無差刊梓印布先行從實計料合該工物價錢保結開申毋得因而冒破動擾違錯具委定官職名申省奉此

供給 江浙等處儒學提舉司司吏高德懋 杭州路揔管府司吏孫彥達

繕寫 賈天祐 王居中 葉雍 謝瑋

62a-b. *Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao*. 36 *ch*. (6 vols.).

Author: Liu Yin (1249-1293).

Date: 1330 (Hangchow).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 17 chars.; block, 28.7 x 21.6 cm.

Source: photographic rpt. of original in Nat. Palace Museum, Taipei.

62b.

with insightful independent judgements. The book itself was a government sponsored publication, printed by the authority of Chiang-che Province. Typical of high quality and responsible printings of the Yüan period, the names of the proofreaders and block cutters, not to mention the supervising officials and officials in charge of the publication, are all clearly engraved. Even more remarkable is the fact that the names of the four calligraphers for the text are also given, which shows among other things that they took pride in having mastered this style of calligraphy (no. 62b). Their superb execution demonstrates a liveliness and a beauty of the characters to a degree seldom attained by others in the Chao style. The present copy is probably the only complete extant copy of the book. Thanks to the reprint by the National Palace Museum, the contemporary influence of Chao Meng-fu's style is clearly revealed.[17]

Chao Meng-fu served the Mongols and thus fared rather badly in the judgment of Ming historians, who as Wen Fong puts it, "seized upon his sensuous calligraphic style as evidence of moral weakness." Yet the influence of that style on printed books in the Ming was nothing save tremendous. It was all-pervasive before the close of the fifteenth century, and it lingered long thereafter. The Chao style was patronized by the Yung-lo emperor, whose taste in that direction was reinforced by the admirable executions of his favorite court calligraphers, the brothers Shen Tu (1357-1434) and Shen Ts'an (1379-1453) of Hua-t'ing, modern Kiangsu. The Shen

brothers were versatile in their styles, but it was their regular script style, modeled upon Chao Meng-fu, through Sung K'o, that appears to have been most appreciated. The great influence of the Chao style was carried by the Shen brothers in court circles. They penned official copies of many important rescripts and documents of the first several decades of the fifteenth century, especially Shen Tu. Imperial prefaces to books produced by the printing works of the palace or of the eunuch Directorate of Ceremonial, were also written by them. It is even possible that they transcribed the text of some of such books. In any event, the Chao style was the standard style for palace books throughout the Ming, although the degree of faithfulness tended to diminish as time went by.

Illustration no. 63 is taken from the "imperial preface" to the book *Sheng-hsüeh hsin-fa* (Methods for Cultivating the Mind for Sagely [Confucian] Learning), a moral instruction the Yung-lo emperor wrote for the benefit of his descendants. The beautifully modulated and well-balanced features of this piece of regular script unmistakenly reflect the soft, even effeminate, style of Chao. The calligrapher most probably was Shen Tu. The book draws authority from the Confucian classics, histories, philosophical works, and the sayings of Sung Neo-Confucians. By all agreement, it was composed by the emperor himself; and so was the preface to it, which contains more than 5,000 characters.[18]

Hsiao-shun shih-shih (Deeds of Filial Piety) was printed in 1420 by the eunuch printing office and distributed to government schools at all levels. It was one of those books compiled by the order of the Yung-lo emperor, partly for students preparing for civil service examinations and partly for the purpose of exhorting people to live virtuous lives. The book includes 207 instructive biographies of historical figures known for their filial piety.[19] Each biography is followed by a moralistic comment and a couple of poems for hortatory purposes. While the biographies were compiled by the Hanlin officials, it was emphatically stated that the comments and poems were written by the emperor. Be that as it may, they were no doubt refined by the literati officials.

The calligraphy of the text, as illustrated (no. 64), is utterly beautiful. It represents the best phase in Ming palace books that replicated Chao's large regular script. The design of this book is also typical of Ming palace books. Spacious column lines, double-line borders, large "black mouths" in the center of the block, large characters, consistent punctuation — all engraved on large blocks to make it the standard, if not the trademark, of imperially issued books.

Chu-fo shih-tsun ju-lai p'u-sa tsun-che shen-seng ming-ching (no. 65), a palace book on the names of Buddhist deities, was also ascribed to the Yung-lo emperor. The preface and postface are dated 1417, and the book has a total of 202 double leaves printed from extra large blocks and is bound into twelve stitched volumes.[20]

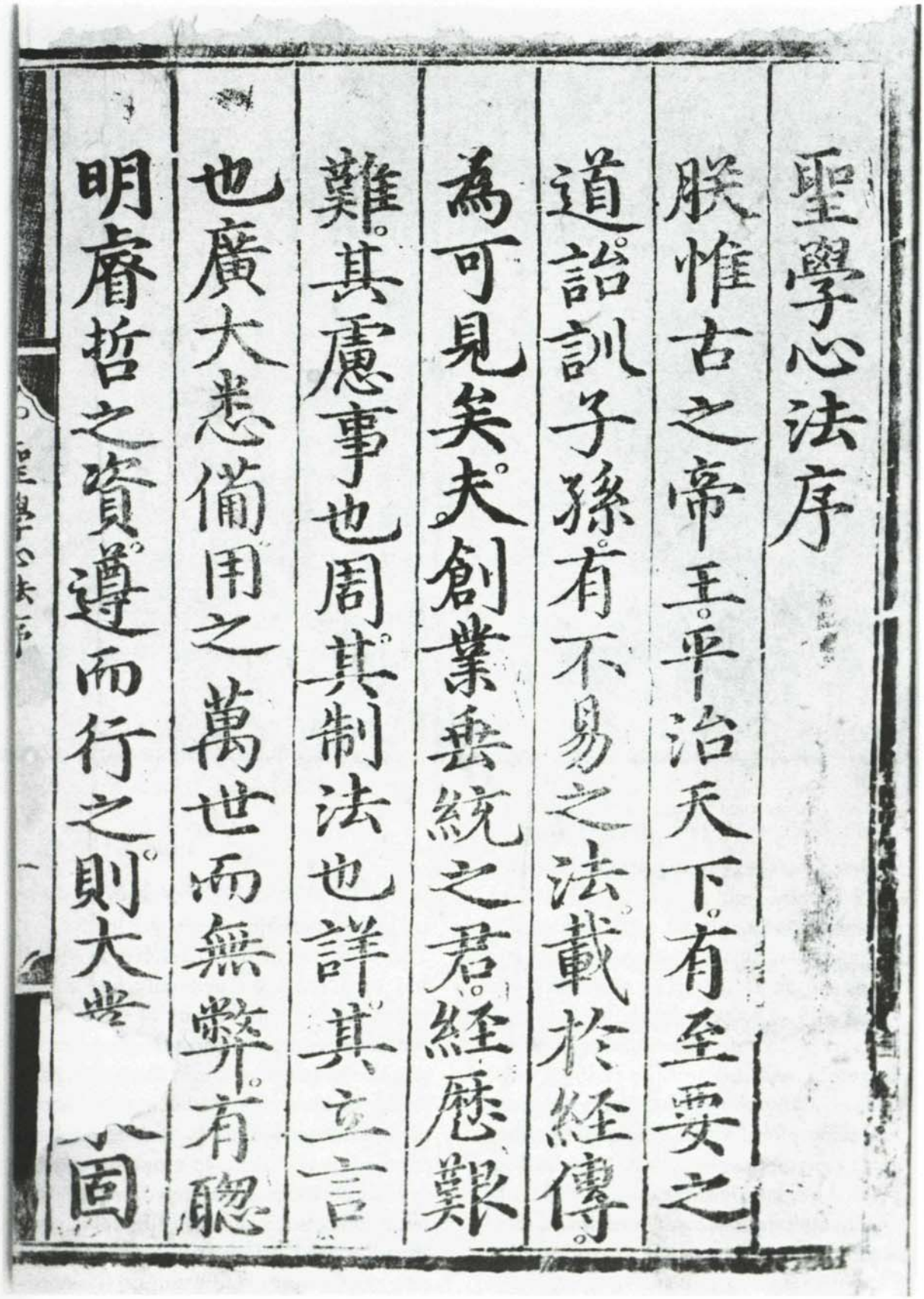
> 63. *Sheng-hsüeh hsin-fa*. 4 *ch*. (10 vols.).

Author: Chu Ti (Yung-lo emperor, 1360-1424).

Date: 1409 (Peking).

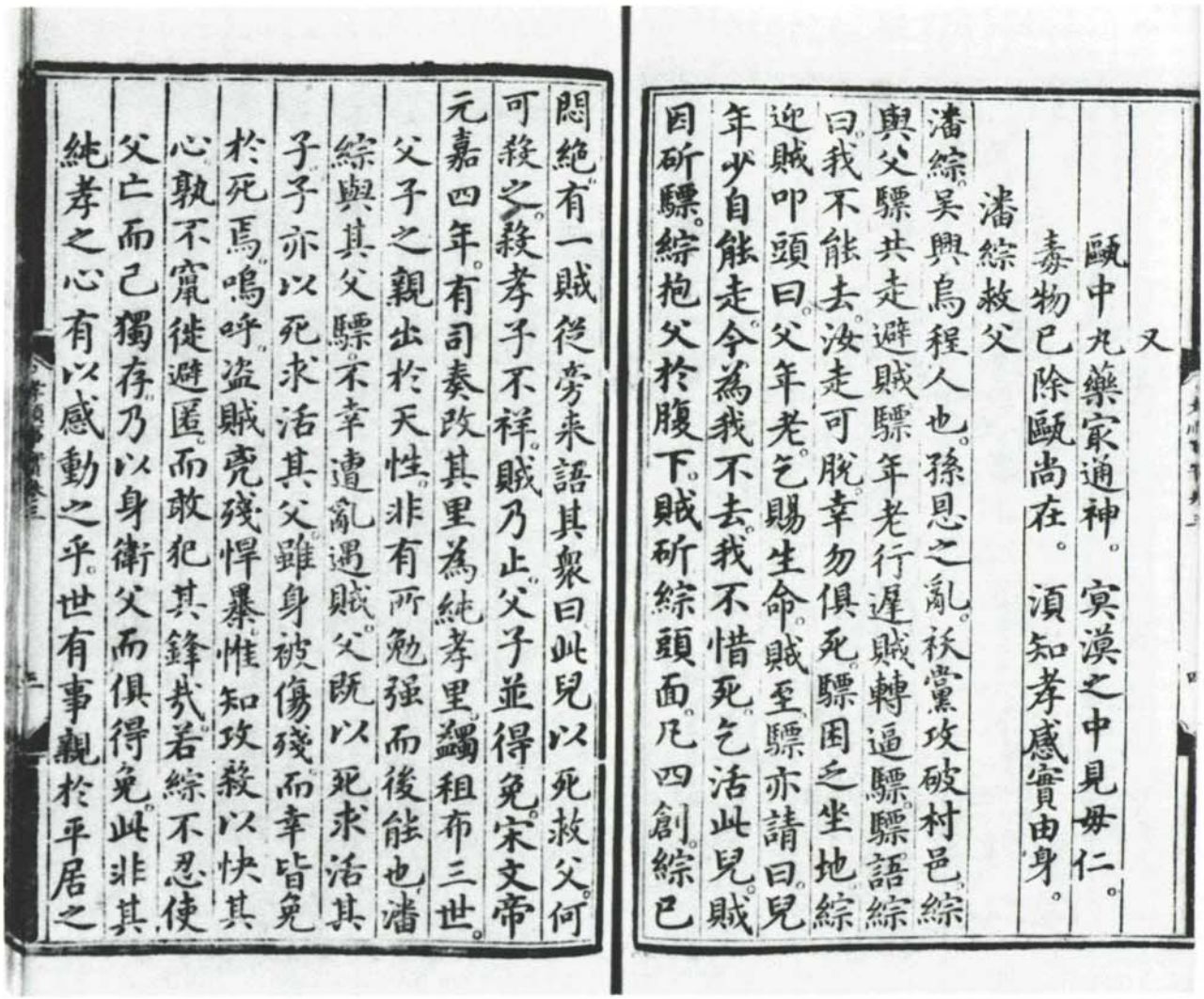
Dimensions: 10 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 24.8 x 17.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



聖學心法序

朕惟古之帝王。平治天下。有至要之道。詒訓子孫。有不易之法。載於經傳。為可見矣。夫創業垂統之君。經歷艱難。其慮事也周。其制法也詳。其立言也廣。大悉備用之。萬世而無弊。有聰明睿哲之資。遵而行之。則大典



64. *Hsiao-shun shih-shih.* 10 *ch.* (10 vols.).

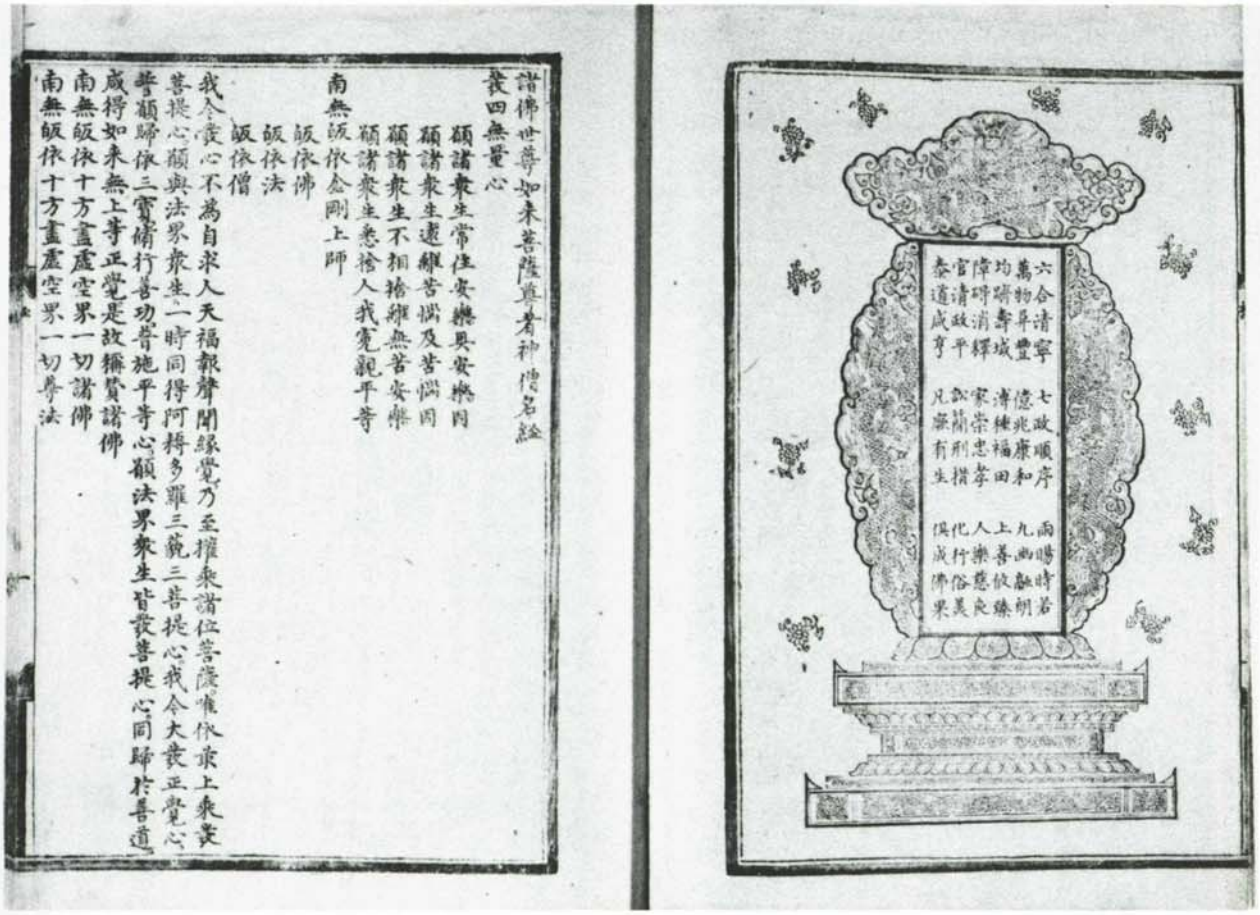
Author: Chu Ti (Yung-lo emperor, 1360-1424) et al.

Date: 1420 (Peking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 19 chars.; block, 26.5 x 16.9 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

The calligraphy of the text is an excellent example of Chao Meng-fu's refined small regular script that appeared in printed books. Describing an earlier work of Chao's in small regular script, a transcription of a religious text, *The Daoist [Taoist] Sutra of Constant Purity and Tranquility*, Fu Shen writes, "the brush strokes are soft yet elastic, steady yet lively. . . . The structure of the characters is broad, and each character generally has a base wider than its top." Many of these qualities are also apparent in the characters of this book. In some ways, the calligraphy in this book is truer to Chao than that in the previous example. In another book attributed to the Yung-lo emperor, a book of Buddhist chants engraved in 1419, the same block format and calligraphic style are adopted. It seems that there was a pattern in which imperially authored and pal-



65. *Chu-fo shih-tsun ju-lai p'u-sa tsun-che shen-sheng ming-ching*. (12 vols.).

Author: attr. Chu Ti (Yung-lo emperor, 1360–1424).

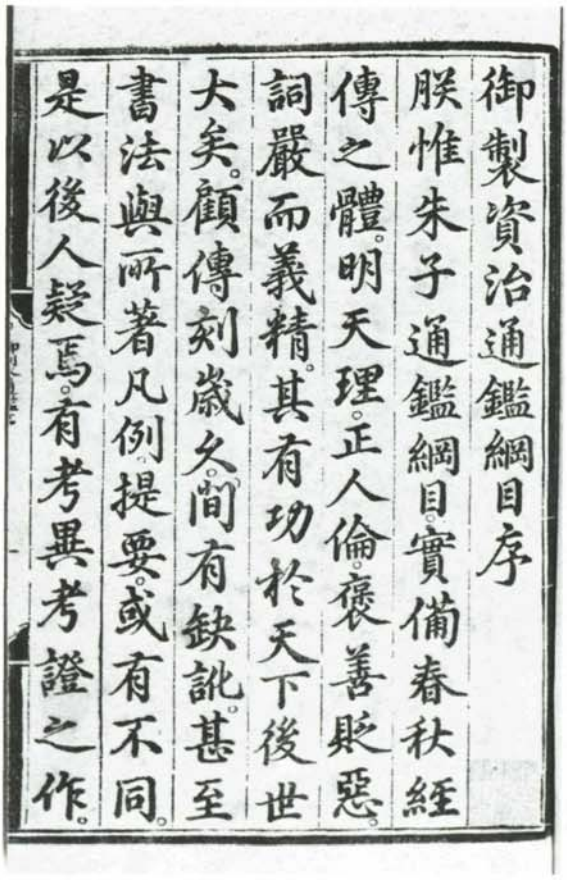
Date: 1417 (Peking).

Dimensions: 16 cols. of 30 chars.; block, 28.7 x 18.3 cm.

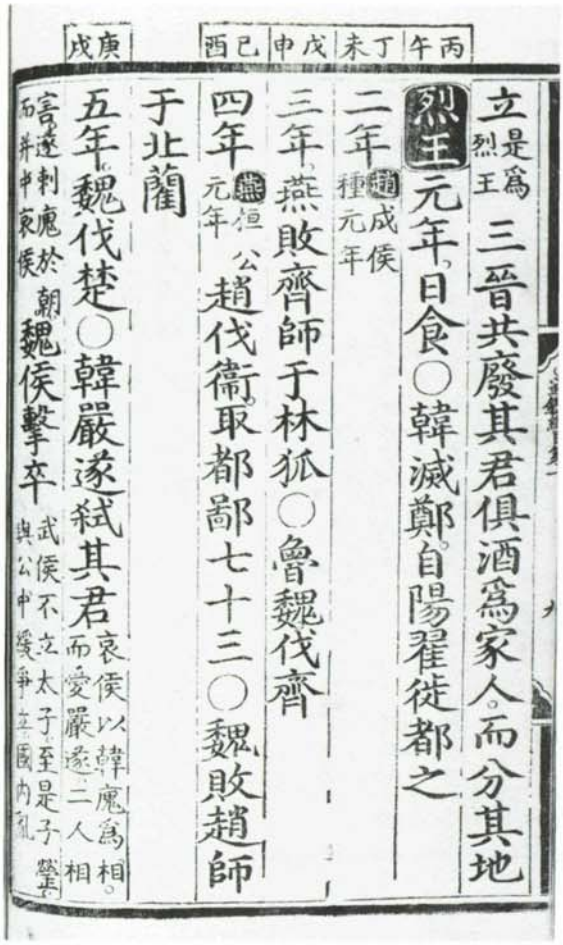
Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

ace-printed religious texts were inscribed in Chao's small regular-script style. In any event, this phenomenon itself is ample evidence of the impact of Chao on the palace audience.

Fifty years after the end of the Yung-lo reign the style of Chao Meng-fu, through the influence of the Shen brothers, still dominated the calligraphy of palace books. This can be seen in nos. 66a-b, a collated edition of the government-sponsored chronological history ascribed to Chu Hsi, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu* (Outline of The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government). It was engraved and printed in 1473.[21] This book's block style and calligraphy make it a good example of palace books, one often referred to by scholars of Ming printing. Compare the preface to this book (no. 66a) with that to *Sheng-hsüeh hsin-fa* (no. 63) and the text (no. 66b) with that of *Hsiao-shun shih-shih* (no. 64). Despite the relatively rigid brushwork in *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu*, the flow of the strokes and the structure of the characters in all these books are



御製資治通鑑綱目序
朕惟朱子通鑑綱目實備春秋經
傳之體明天理正人倫褒善貶惡
詞嚴而義精其有功於天下後世
大矣顧傳刻歲久間有缺訛甚至
書法與所著凡例提要或有不同
是以後人疑焉有考異考證之作



丙午 丁未 戊申 己酉 庚戌

立是爲烈王三晉共廢其君俱酒爲家人而分其地
烈王元年日食○韓滅鄭自陽翟徙都之
二年趙成侯種元年
三年燕敗齊師于林狐○魯魏伐齊
四年燕桓公元年趙伐衛取都鄙七十三○魏敗趙師
于北藺
五年魏伐楚○韓嚴遂弒其君哀侯以韓廆爲相而愛嚴遂二人相
害遂刺廆於朝而并中哀侯魏侯擊卒武侯不立太子至是子罃與公中緩爭立國內亂

66a-b. *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu*. 59 *ch*. (30 vols.).

Author: Chu Hsi (1130-1200).

Date: 1473 (Peking).

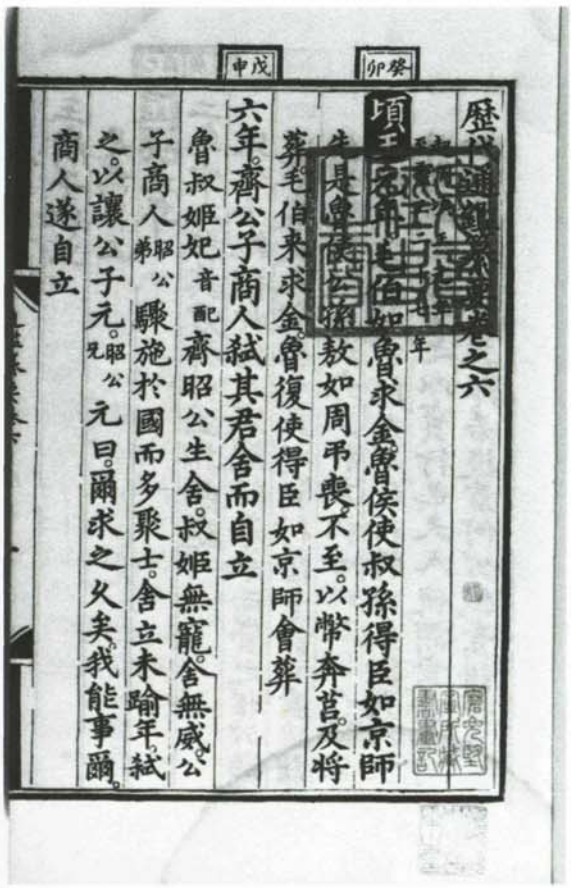
Dimensions: 8 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 26.3 x 17 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

66b.

still basically the same. The comparatively less elegant appearance of the *Kang-mu* is due to poorer execution, not to a change in style. In general, respect for the Chao style remained, while the devotion to practice and skill declined. Or put another way, the later the time the more the Shen style was felt, at the expense of the original style of the Shen brothers' acknowledged model.

An abridged version of Chinese history to the end of the Yüan dynasty (1368), written in the style of Chu Hsi's *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu* (mentioned above), was compiled by Hanlin officials under the directorship of grand secretary Li Tung-yang and printed by the eunuch agency, the Directorate of Ceremonial. It was printed in 1507, during the reign of the Cheng-te emperor, whose father the Hung-chih emperor (reigned 1488-1505) was an aspiring calligrapher and a great admirer of Shen Tu. Hung-chih's admiration for Shen's calligraphy was so great



67. *Li-tai t'ung-chien tsuan-yao*. 92 *ch*. (60 vols.).

Author: Li Tung-yang (1447-1516) et al., comps.

Date: 1507 (Peking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 24.2 x 15.8 cm.

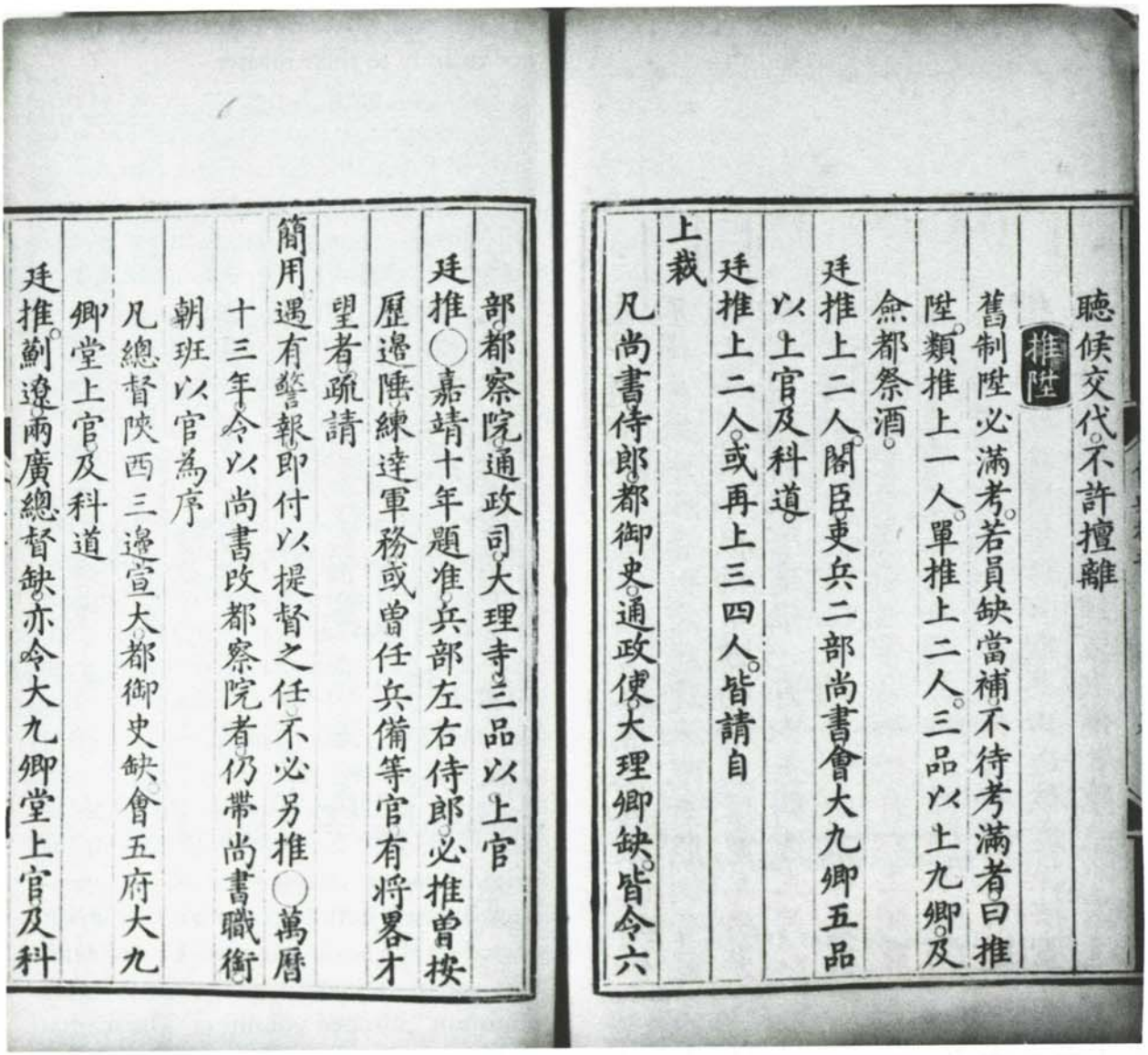
Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

that he sought out Shen's descendants for official appointments. Because of such continuing patronage, the Shen style prospered at the expense of the Chao style, from which it derived. As can be seen from the illustrated page (no. 67), only a slight touch of the early Ming Chao style was still preserved. It is now closer to what would be called the Hanlin style of calligraphy, a tribute to the Shens, and not entirely to their master.

The book itself, however, deserves further comment. It shows excellence in both ink and paper, thus qualifying it as one of the best editions printed by the eunuch Directorate. The present edition is also quite rare; extant copies belong mostly to a later edition printed in Fukien in 1519.[22]

The *Ta Ming hui-tien* (Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty), as Wolfgang Franke noted, "is the most important source for the official organization and administration of the Ming empire, based on the original laws and instructions of the Hung-wu period (1368-1398), and containing additional regulations of the later periods."[23] An earlier compilation appeared in 1511 and the present one, a revised and expanded version, compiled under the directorship of grand secretary Shen Shih-hsing, was printed in 1587 by the eunuch Directorate of Ceremonial. The Gest copy (no. 68) still exists in the original *pao-pei chuang* form — wrapped-back binding with two edges of the leaves pasted on the book spine and backed with stiff paper — instead of the much more common "stitched volumes." The format and block style of the book is still typical of Ming palace books, but the calligraphy is now far removed from the charming and lively Chao style that was practiced in the early fifteenth century. It has become the Hanlin style — neat and smooth but uniform and monotonous.

Chao Meng-fu's mature style of regular script also had impact on local branches of the imperial clan. At least by the last quarter of the fifteenth century, local princes still vigorously practiced that style and the effect was felt in printed books. *Wen-han lei-hsüan ta-ch'eng* is a huge anthology of poems by both Ming and ear-



聽候交代不許擅離

推陞

舊制陞必滿考若員缺當補不待考滿者曰推陞類推上一人單推上二人三品以上九卿及僉都祭酒

廷推上二人閣臣吏兵二部尚書會大九卿五品以上官及科道

廷推上二人或再上三四人皆請自上裁

凡尚書侍郎都御史通政使大理卿缺皆令六部都察院通政司大理寺三品以上官

廷推○嘉靖十年題准兵部左右侍郎必推曾按歷邊陲練達軍務或曾任兵備等官有將畧才望者疏請

簡用遇有警報即付以提督之任不必另推○萬曆十三年令以尚書改都察院者仍帶尚書職銜朝班以官為序

凡總督陝西三邊宣大都御史缺會五府大九卿堂上官及科道

廷推劉遠兩廣總督缺亦令大九卿堂上官及科

68. *Ta Ming hui-tien*. 228 *ch*. (139 vols.).

Author: Shen Shih-hsing (1535-1614) et al., comps.

Date: 1587 (Peking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 24.2 x 16.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

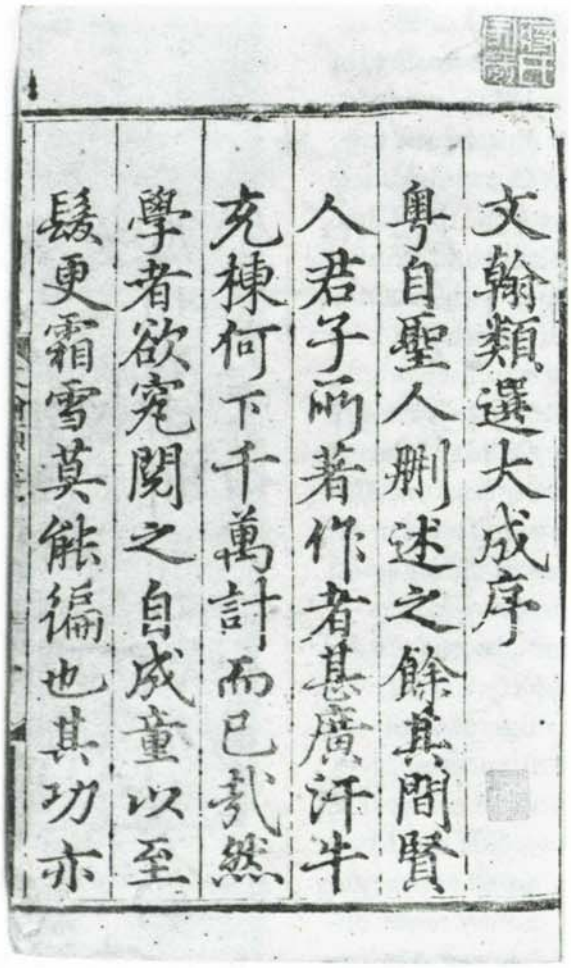
> 69a-b. *Wen-han lei-hsüan ta-ch'eng*. 163 *ch*. (100 vols.).

Author: Li Po-yü (1406-1473).

Date: 1472 (Jao-chou, Kiangsi).

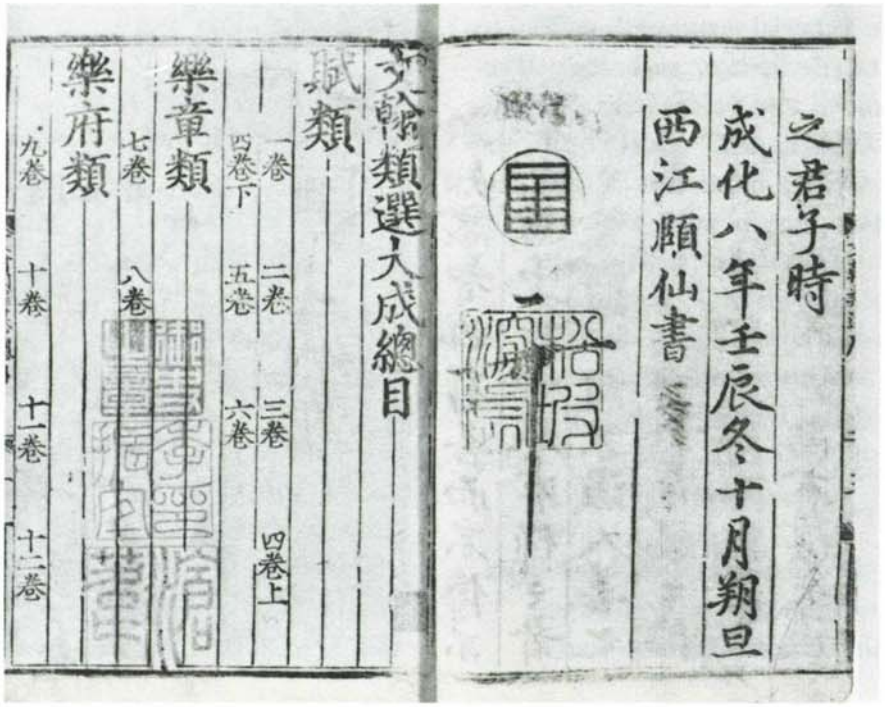
Dimensions: 12 cols. of 23 chars.; block, 22 x 14.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



文翰類選大成序

粵自聖人刪述之餘其間賢
人君子所著作者甚廣汗牛
充棟何下千萬計而已哉然
學者欲究閱之自成童以至
鬚叟霜雪莫能徧也其功亦



之君子時
成化八年壬辰冬十月朔旦
西江順仙書

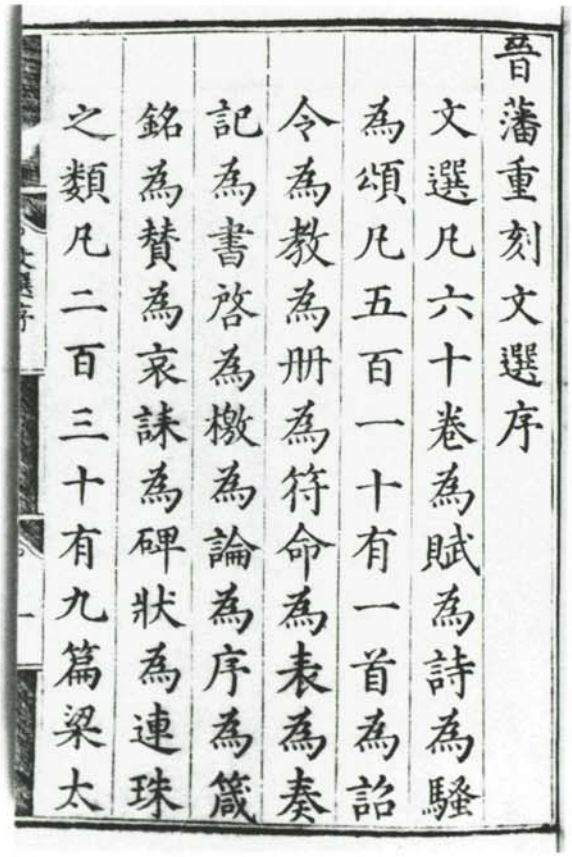
文翰類選大成總目

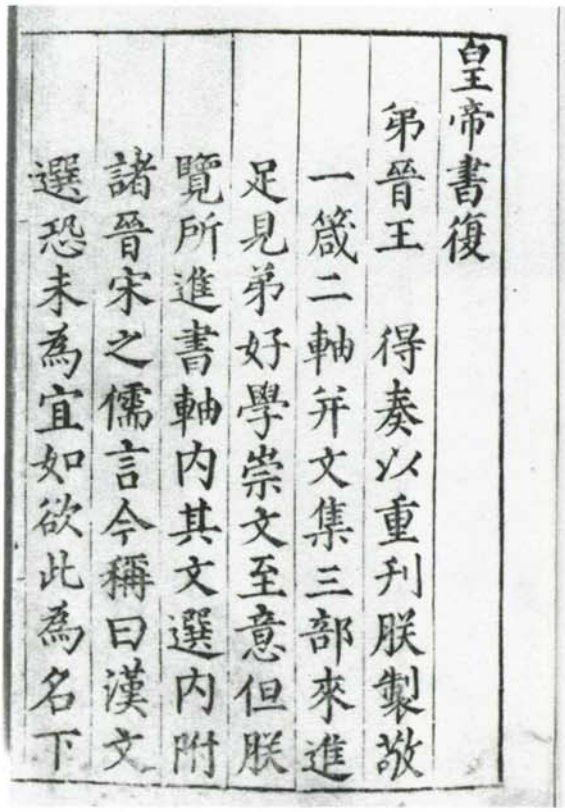
賦類
一卷　二卷　三卷　四卷上
四卷下　五卷　六卷
樂章類
七卷　八卷
樂府類
九卷　十卷　十一卷　十二卷

69b.

lier poets compiled by Li Po-yü of Shanghai, administrator of the principality of Huai in Jao-chou, Kiangsi. Li's compilation was by order of the Prince of Huai, Chu Ch'i-ch'üan (died 1502), whose uncle the Hsüan-te emperor loved the Chao style. When it was completed and printed in 1472, the prince graced it with an autographed preface, parts of which are here illustrated (nos. 69a-b). The present copy, however, is a reprint of 1546. It was once owned by a famous early Ch'ing collector and bibliophile, Chi Chen-i (born 1630).[24]

The calligraphy in this preface can be best compared with that in *Sheng-hsüeh hsin-fa* (no. 63). All the elegant qualities — lively strokes and charming composition — of the early Ming sample are still faithfully preserved. The calligraphy of the text, however, belongs to another style. This suggests the continuation of a sort of family tradition on the part of the Ming imperial princes. But even that appears to be a matter of personal choice, more obviously so as the Ming advanced. For example, in both the princely preface (no. 70a) and the imperial response (no. 70b) to an edition of the literary anthology *Wen-hsüan*, engraved and printed by the principality of Chin in 1527 (Gest copy), the calligraphy is very much not of the Chao style, but is close to the style of Yen Chen-ch'ing.


晉藩重刻文選序
文選凡六十卷為賦為詩為騷
為頌凡五百一十有一首為詔
令為教為冊為符命為表為奏
記為書啓為檄為論為序為箴
銘為贊為哀誄為碑狀為連珠
之類凡二百三十有九篇梁太


皇帝書復
弟晉王　得奏以重刊朕製敬
一篋二軸并文集三部來進
足見弟好學崇文至意但朕
覽所進書軸內其文選內附
諸晉宋之儒言今稱曰漢文
選恐未為宜如欲此為名下

70b.

70a-b. *Wen-hsüan*. 60 *ch*. (36 vols.).

Author: Hsiao T'ung (501-531), comp.

Date: 1527 (T'ai-yüan).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 22 x 14.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

Notes to Section 3 Part B

1. Li Chu-tsing suggests that Chao Meng-fu was probably born in Nanking; see Li Chu-tsing, "Chao Meng-fu chih yen-chiu" [Chao Meng-fu Studies], *The National Palace Museum Quarterly* 16.3 (Spring 1982), p. 1.
2. For a study of Chao's biography and his artistic activities, see Li Chu-tsing, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1965); see also his *The Freer Sheep and Goat and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1968).
3. An example of the blue-green style is "Mind Landscape" in The Art Museum, Princeton University; for the plain-line drawings, "Portrait of Su Shih" and "Pasturing Horse" in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; and for the expressive style, "Twin Pines in Flat Distance" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and "Bamboo and Rock" in the National Palace Museum.
4. For a detailed discussion of Chao's calligraphy, see Fong, "Images of the Mind," pp. 94-102; and Fu Shen, "Gendai zenki no shohō" [The Calligraphy of the Early Yüan Period] in *Ō-Bei shūzō* 3, pp. 125-27.
5. See Fong "Images of the Mind," pp. 99-101.
6. For a detailed study of the "Yüeh I lun" transcribed by Yü Ho, see Chang Kuang-pin, "Ts'ung Wang Yu-chün shu Yüeh I lun ch'uan-yen pien Sung jen mo Chu ts'e" [Interpolations on the Various Calligraphic Versions of the "Yüeh I lun"], *The National Palace Museum Quarterly* 14.4 (Summer 1980), pp. 41-62; English summary, pp. 1-5.
7. See James J.Y. Liu, "The Biography of Sung K'o," in *DMB* 2, pp. 1122-24.
8. For further references to Sung K'o's calligraphy, see Ma Kuo-ch'üan, "Sung K'o sheng-p'ing shu-fa lüeh-lun" [A General Discussion of Sung K'o's Life and Calligraphy], *Shu-p'u* 6.73 (1986), pp. 14-28; see also Mitamura Taisuke, "Sōkoku Rihaku Kōronan" [Sung K'o's Transcription of Li Po's Poem 'Difficulty in Traveling'] in *Shodō* 17, pp. 168-69.
9. For example, his self-conscious study of Chao Meng-fu resulted in his "Copy of Chao's 'Thirteen Colophons to the Orchid Pavilion Gathering' " (Lin Chao Meng-fu Lan-t'ing shih-san pa), dated 1370. In the copy, Sung carefully imitates Chao's style with cautious and refined brushwork.
10. The original text of *Shu-p'u* by Sun Kuo-t'ing was written in cursive-script style, and is now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. For further information, see Chu Chien-hsin, *Sun Kuo-t'ing Shu-p'u chien-cheng* [Annotation to the Art of Calligraphy by Sun Kuo-t'ing] (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1963); Ma Kuo-ch'üan, *Shu-p'u i-chu* (Kowloon: Shao-hua wen-hua fu-wu-she, n.d.); and Roger Goepper, *Shu-p'u: Der Traktat zur Schriftkunst des Sun Kuo-t'ing* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1974).
11. Sung K'o had transcribed many copies of the *Shu-p'u* in different formats. There are at least two copies known

to us: the one in the Elliott Collection is on album leaves and was once published by Yu-chen shu-chü, Shanghai, 1947, and in Ma, "Sung K'o," p. 25; the other one was mounted as a long handscroll and was partially published in Meng Heng, "Sung K'o te ssu-t'i Shu-p'u ch'ang-chüan" [The Long Handscroll of *Shu-p'u* Written in Four Script Styles by Sung K'o], *Shu-p'u* 6.3 (1986), pp. 29-30.

12. The original text by Sun Kuo-t'ing includes over 3600 characters; however, the Elliott version comprises over 2000 characters, with sections in the beginning and in the middle missing, and a long passage at the end unfinished.
13. See Liu Lin-sheng, "The Biography of Shen Tu," in *DMB* 2, pp. 1191-92.
14. For further reference to the calligraphy of the Shen brothers, see Fu Shen, "Gen matsu Min sho no shohō" [The Calligraphy of the Late Yüan-Early Ming Period], in *Ō-Bei shūzō* 4, pp. 122-36; Hibino Takeo, "Shindo Chōkan bo katsumei kō" [The Epitaph for Chang Huan by Shen Tu], in *Shodō* 17, p. 169; and Nakata Yūjirō, "Shinsan Ryō no butei sōshojō" [Shen Ts'an's Transcription of the 'Essay on Cursive-script Style' by Liang emperor Wu-ti], in *Shodō* 17, pp. 169-70.
15. See Nakata Yūjirō, "Shinsan Sōshoshi Shindo Shuki Kangu shi gokan" [The Handscroll of Shen Ts'an's Poems in Cursive-script Style and Shen Tu's Transcription of Chu Hsi's Poems, Entitled 'Expressing One's Feelings'], in *Ō-Bei shūzō* 4, pp. 163-65.
16. The fifth poem was transcribed twice, first in draft-cursive and then regular-script.
17. Fong, "Images of the Mind," p. 102; and Wu Che-fu, "Pa Yüan Chih-shun pen Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao," in [*Ying-yin Yüan pen*] *Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977), colophon to the reprint.
18. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 222; *SKTY* 95, p. 8b; Fong, "Images of the Mind," p. 102; Li, *Ku-shu pan-pen*, pp. 62-72; and Ch'ü Wan-li and Ch'ang Pi-te, *T'u-shu pan-pen hsüeh yao-lüeh* (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan hui, 1953), p. 75.
19. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 150; *DMB*, pp. 643-44; Li, *Ku-shu pan-pen*, p. 71; and Li Chin-hua, *Ming-tai ch'ih-chuan shu k'ao* (Peiping: Yenching ta-hsüeh t'u-shu kuan, 1932), p. 37.
20. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 383; and Fu et al., *Asian and Islamic Calligraphy*, p. 30.
21. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 117; and P'an Ch'eng-pi and Ku T'ing-lung, *Ming-tai pan-k'o t'u-lu ch'u-pien*, (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1971), pp. 165-66.
22. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 121-22; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, pp. 97-98; and *DMB*, p. 1191.
23. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 186; Franke, *Ming Sources*, p. 178; and Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 229, 231.
24. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 505; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu* p. 443; *Ming-jen*, p. 198; and Chang T'ing-yü, comp., *Ming-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974), p. 3633.

4. New Dimensions in Ming Printing

5. Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing

T. H. Tsien has called a section of his recent book "New Dimensions in Ming Printing." He explains this very apt characterization as follows:

> "Ming printing was distinguished by the extended scope of its subject-matter and by its technical innovations and artistic refinement. In contrast to that of previous periods, the printing under the Ming included not only the traditional works in classics, history, religion, and literary collections, but also such new subject-fields as popular novels, music, industrial arts, accounts of ocean voyages, shipbuilding, and scientific treatises from the West which had never before been seen in print in China. Significant increases were also noted in printing of dramatic texts, medical writings, records of foreign countries, especially of south and southeast Asia, local gazetteers, and such large compilations as collectanea and encyclopedias. In technique, the Ming printers introduced metal typography, improved the multi-colour process of block printing, refined the woodcut for book illustrations, and used xylography for facsimile reproductions of old editions. Both in content and technology, then, printing in the Ming was distinguished in many respects."[1]

Tsien also describes the great expansion of the printing industry and the rapid growth in the numbers of private publishers. With quantity came an overall decline in quality; many books were cheaply produced for a mass market after 1500, with consequent poor editing, plagiarism and forgery, and falsely attributed authorship. Yet steady activity in high quality printing persisted at the same time.

The Gest Collection and the East Asian Library are particularly rich in their Ming editions, holding more than 25,000 volumes from that age. Here we draw on those holdings to illustrate various facets of the "new dimensions."

This entire section is by Chu.

Woodcut pictorial illustrations are an important dimension in Ming printing. Not merely a form of graphic art, such woodcuts served purposes both utilitarian and aesthetic. Woodcut illustrations in books can be dated back at least to the ninth century; but it was, as Tsuen-hsuin Tsien writes, "during the Ming dynasty, especially in the latter part of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth century [that they] reached their highest degree of excellence in Chinese history. In both quality and quantity, they not only surpassed anything in the past but have never since been equalled." The subject matter of such illustrations is rich. As Tsien also writes, "the books most frequently illustrated were fiction, drama, poetry and art albums, scientific works, and primers, as well as historical, geographic, and biographical writings."

Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien (nos. 71a-c) is an illustrated military type work on history and geography, basically an encyclopaedic reference book on coastal affairs, concerned not least with the strategy of coastal defense.[2] Its author, Cheng Jo-tseng, a native of K'un-shan in the prefecture of Soochow, was a distinguished geographer and one-time advisor to Hu Tsung-hsien (1511-1565), the supreme commander of the entire Southern Metropolitan area in the war against the *wo-k'ou* pirates in the mid-fifteenth century. This *magnum*

71b.

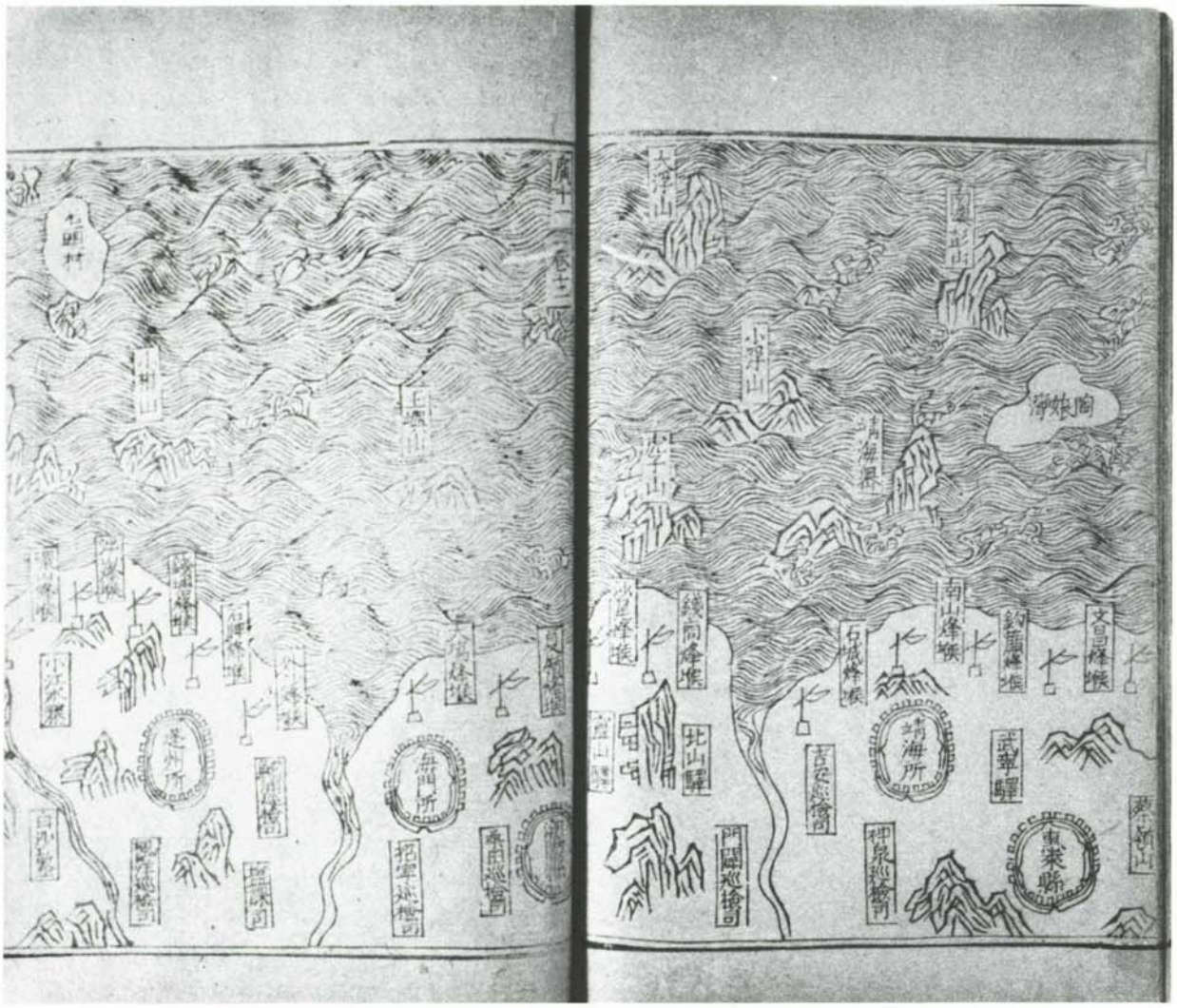
71a-c. *Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien*. 13 *ch*. (20 vols.).

Author: Cheng Jo-tseng (1505-1580).

Date: 1562 (Hangchow).

Dimensions: 12 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 20.5 x 14.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



71c.

opus was developed and enlarged from Cheng's earlier work, a strategic atlas of the coastal region ranging from the Liaotung Peninsula to southern Kwangtung. Remarked as one of the most scholarly works in its field, it is a turning point in Chinese geography, shifting from the traditional attention on northern and northwestern inland borders to the coastal area. Because it was compiled and financed on Hu Tsung-hsien's order, it has been formally attributed to Hu. And because Hu's grandsons and great-grandsons produced with the same blocks another edition during the period 1621-27, adding Hu's name as the compiler, even the critical reviewers in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* were misled to take Hu as the author. The present edition names Cheng as the compiler and his sons Ying-lung and I-luan as collators. As evidenced by Cheng's own preface in 1561 and other prefaces, as well as a list of personnel responsible for the publication, this edition was printed by the provincial government of Chekiang. The Gest copy belongs to this first edition and is noted for its rarity; only one other copy, now in the Academia Sinica (Taiwan), is known to

exist. As observed by Stanley Y.C. Huang, who studied this copy, "a few passages relating to Hu [Tsung-hsien] . . . were stained with black ink, probably to delete [them]." This phenomenon appears to have resulted from a deliberate act to distance the author's relationship with Hu, who three years after publication was so disgraced as to be ordered arrested and brought to the capital for trial of political misconduct.

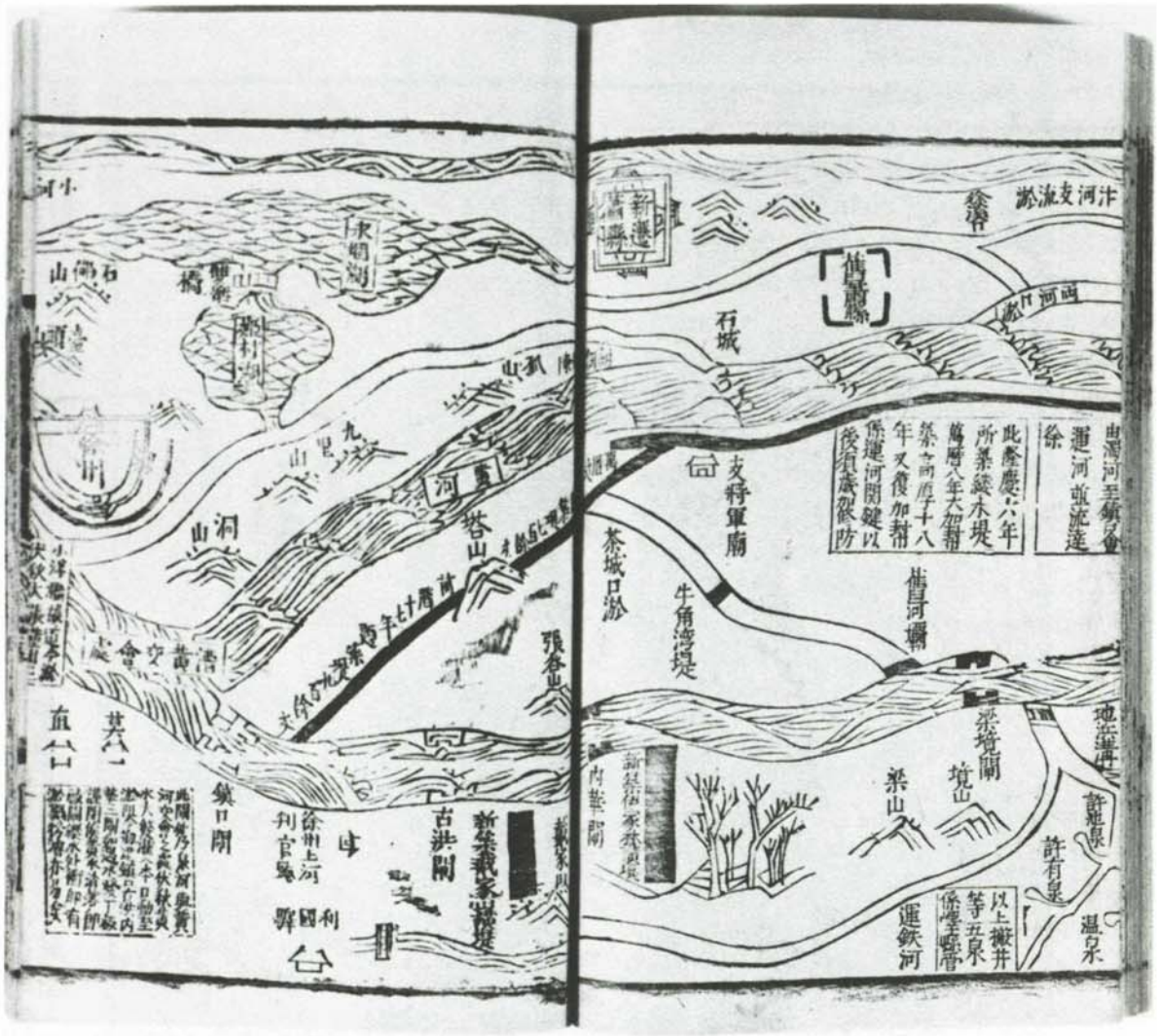
The illustrations include the master atlas (nos. 71a-b) at the beginning of the book, representing the author's idea of and knowledge about the geographic situation of the entire Ming empire and its neighboring states. The other one (no. 71c) represents a portion of the coastal defense system in the eastern part of the southern province of Kwangtung. All these illustrations carry the names of the carvers.

Ho-fang i-lan is a famous illustrated technical work about the waterworks of the Yellow River and the Grand Canal. Its author, P'an Chi-hsün, was a native of Wu-ch'eng, Chekiang, and a famous minister of Works. His twenty-seven-year experience in combatting the perennial problems of these two water networks made him the foremost hydraulic engineer of Ming times. He was remembered for the motto: "Build dikes to restrict the water, utilize the current to remove the silt." His "self-scour method" and "channel contraction theory" were not all subscribed to and applied by his contemporaries, but influential enough to be brought up frequently for discussion and debate.

The present edition (no. 72) was published in P'an's later years. It incorporates most of the contents of his three earlier works on the same subject and contains maps, geographic and historical studies of the River, his essays on water control in the form of dialogues, and related official documents. Beside this first, complete edition, to which the present copy belongs, there were reprints in 1748 and 1936. There was also a slightly shortened version, abridged by P'an's son, Ta-fu, and published not long after the complete edition.[3]

The illustrations in this book cover the entire courses of both the Yellow River and the Grand Canal. In addition to depicting the topographical features along the water courses, they show the location, size, and nature of all sorts of water control constructions for the two networks. Descriptive texts are included along with the illustrations to provide historical background and sometimes exact measurements of such constructions. The portion illustrated represents the confluence of the Yellow River (the upper water course) and the Grand Canal (the lower water course) near the city of Hsü-chou. Hsü-chou was critical in P'an's actual plans to restore both water transportation to Peking and the main course of the entire Yellow River system.

The illustrated book *Fang-shih mo-p'u* (nos. 73a-b) is the famous compendium of decorative inkcakes manufactured by Fang Yü-lu, a native of She-hsien in the Hui-chou prefecture and a pioneer printer of woodcut illustrations. Fang was a keen competitor and adversary of another contemporary inkcake designer and manufacturer, his fellow townsman and one-time partner Ch'eng Ta-yüeh (1541-1616?), who produced another, equally famous, illustrated compendium called *Ch'eng-shih mo-yüan*. A combination of the skills of notable artists and woodblock carvers makes this compendium not only a signal



72. *Ho-fang i-lan.* 14 *ch.* (12 vols.).

Author: P'an Chi-hsün (1521-1595).

Date: 1590 (Wu-ch'eng, Chekiang).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 22.6 x 14.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

record of inkcake designs, but also a piece of engaging graphic art.

Fang-shih mo-p'u has more than one edition. The Gest copy contains four prefaces, the latest date of the three dated ones being 1590.[4] This shows that it is not a printing of the first edition, which was published about two years earlier. This copy is bound in eight volumes. Like another copy studied by Sören Edgren, "the first two volumes contain complimentary prefaces and essays by Fang's contemporaries followed by six volumes with some 400 illustrations of ink-cake designs." Most of these designs, bearing the names of their artist authors, appear on one side of the inkcakes, while labels or notes or poetic descriptions of the designs, bearing Fang's signature, appear on the other. (See

73a.

73a-b. *Fang-shih mo-p'u*. 6+1 *ch*. (8 vols.).

Author: Fang Yü-lu (fl. 1570-1619).

Date: ca. 1590 (She-hsien, Anhwei).

Dimensions: irregular cols. and chars.; block, 24.6 x 14.7 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

no. 73b.) For our purpose, the great interest of this book lies not just in the designs, but also in their accompanying texts and the writings preceding them. All these writings were carved from beautifully executed calligraphic works, many of which presumably done by the authors. This, together with the designs, gives the book a high degree of aesthetic value.

Liu hsüeh-hu mei-p'u is an illustrated painting manual devoted to plum flowers. It consists of one half-folio illustrating various styles used in painting plum flower petals, and another half-folio and twelve double-folios illustrating twenty-four model plum flower paintings (see nos. 74a and b, from different folios). The remaining portion, consisting of some three and a half volumes, contains for the most part complimentary writings by the author's friends and admirers: prefaces, postfaces, comments, poems, letters, the author's portrait and an encomium for it. From these writings it can be seen that the author, Liu Shih-ju of Shan-yin, Chekiang, was a well-connected artist and poet and was highly respected for his plum flower painting. Yet he is historically obscure.

The frontispiece of the painting manual contains a printer's colophon stating that the text was finalized by a Chung Wu-lin of Kuei-chi, Chekiang, and the blocks were stored at a place called Mo-miao shan-fang (Chung's residence?). Two postfaces appear at the end of the text: one by a Hsü Shih-hsing, dated 1578; the other by a Hsü Chih-jen, dated 1595. The book, however, must have been printed sometime after the last date. This can be seen from the undated preface to the book, written by Wang Ssu-jen, both an official and an artist, as well as fellow townsman of the author. Wang says, "[This manual] has been cut four times. Each time the blocks were carried away by well-intended busy-bodies and [Liu] is unable to cut a new edition because his family is poor. Now I cut it for him from an office in Soochow." The blocks must have been cut between 1595 and 1619, for characters which were considered taboo after 1619 are not altered. But the printing of this

74a.

74a-b. *Liu Hsüeh-hu mei-p'u.* 2 *ch.* (4 vols.).

Author: Liu Shih-ju (fl. 1550-1600); Wang Ssu-jen (1575-1646), ed.

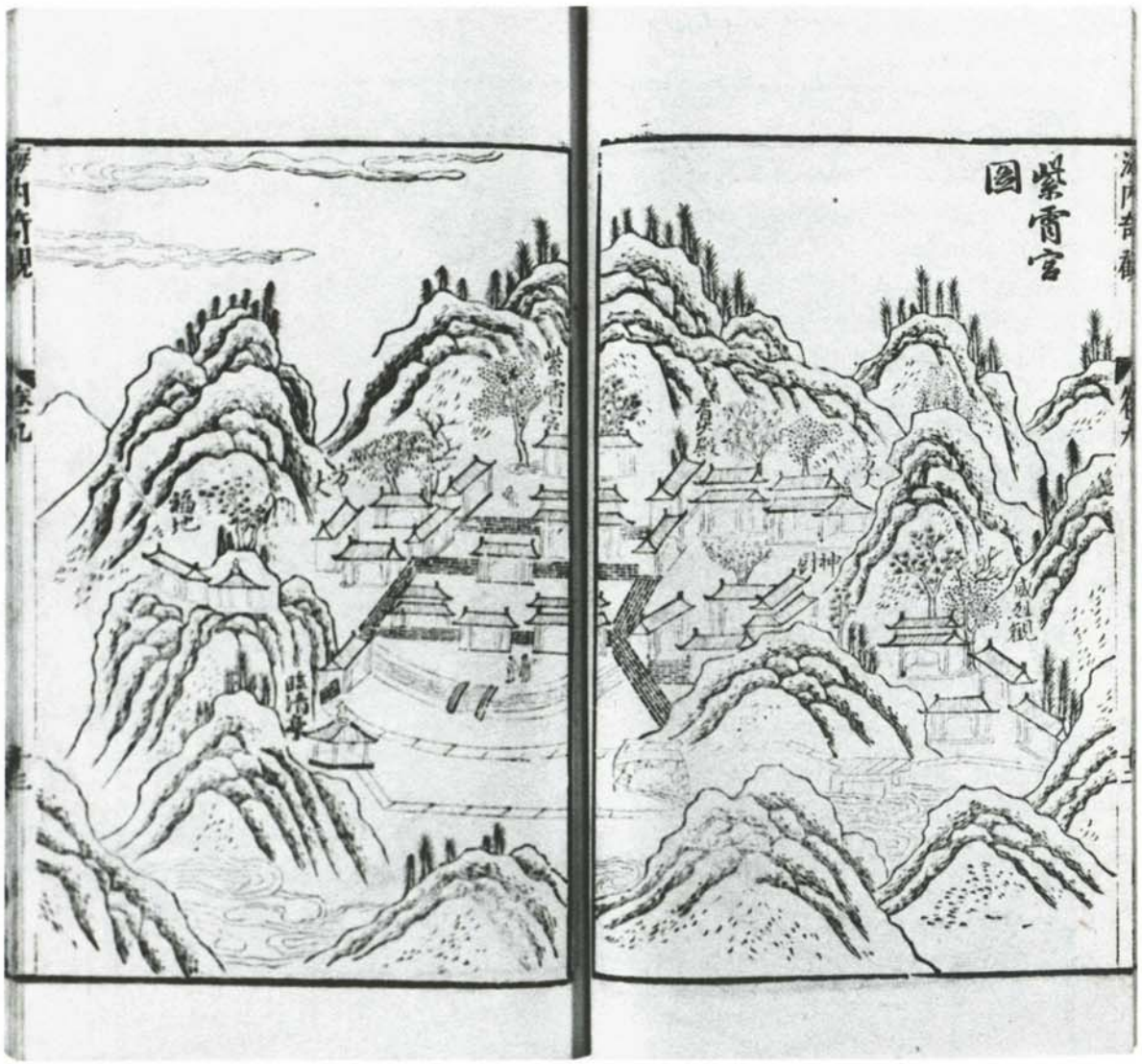
Date: 1595-1619.

Dimensions: 11 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 23 x 15.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

copy came still later. The last page of the first *chüan* is a later addition, because it contains a poem dated 1634. The Library of Congress holds another copy with the same frontispiece and a postface dated 1681. It is likely that the Gest copy was also printed thereabout, although all the other blocks were cut during late Ming.[5]

Both travelogues and illustrations of landscapes were popular in late Ming times. What distinguishes the travelogue *Hsin-chüan hai-nei ch'i-kuan* (nos. 75a-c) is that it probably was the first to have been luxuriously illustrated, with landscapes and scenes of social life that might capture a traveler's attention. Its author, Yang Erh-tseng, was a native of Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. Little is known about him except that he printed a number of books, including novels and stories. From his 1609 preface and other places in the book we know that his alias was Sheng-lu and his courtesy name, appropriately enough, Wo-yu tao-jen (Taoist priest who sightsees by reading [travelogues] on the pillow). He had a studio named I-pai t'ang, which appears also to have been the name of his printing shop. The book lists Ch'en I-kuan of Ch'ien-t'ang as the illustrator and Wang Chung-hsin of Hsin-an (Hui-



75a.

75a-c. *Hsin-chüan hai-nei ch'i-kuan.* 10 *ch.* (10 vols.).

Author: Yang Erh-tseng (fl. 1600s).

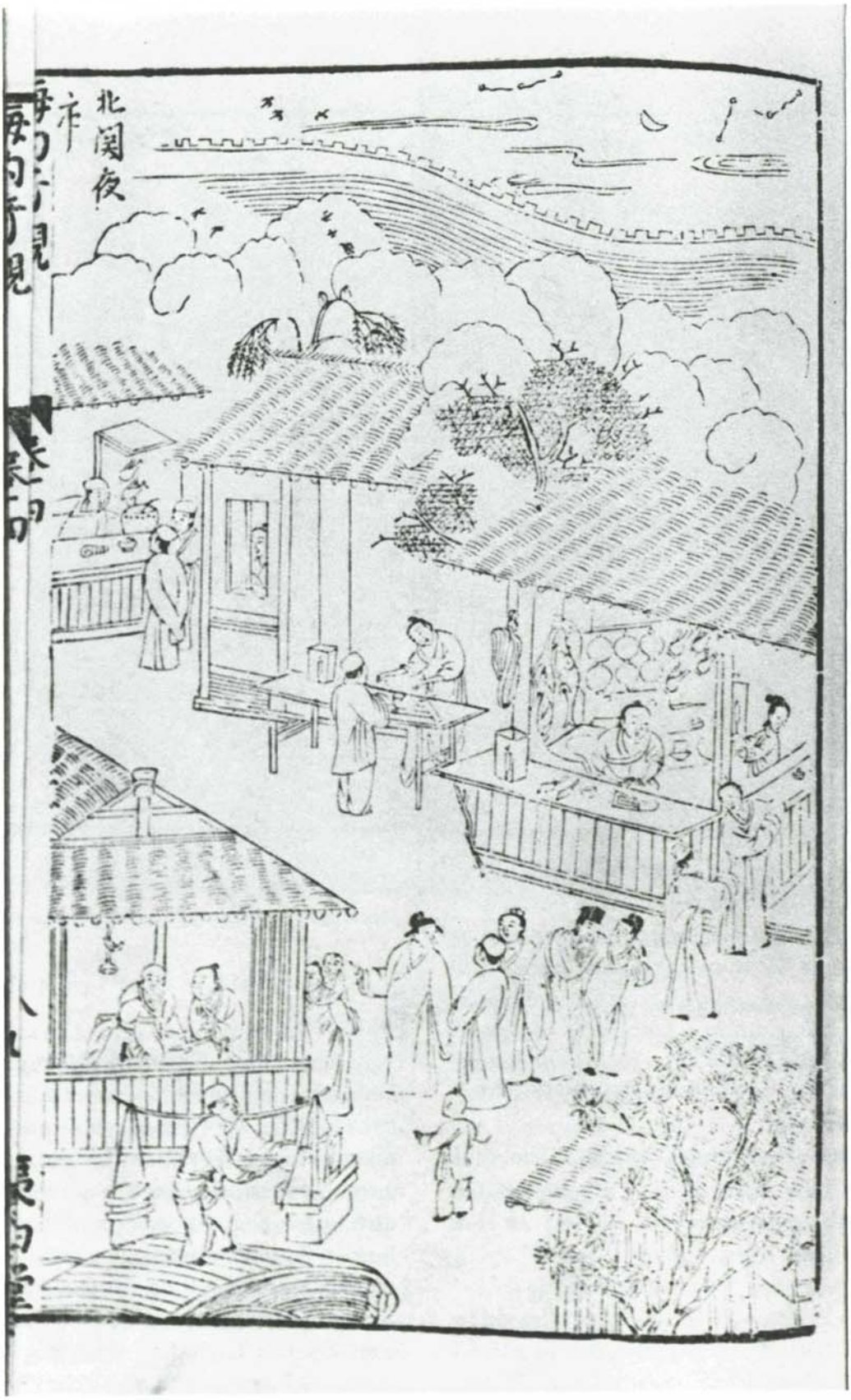
Date: 1610 (Hangchow?).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 24 chars.; block, 22.6 x 14.7 cm.

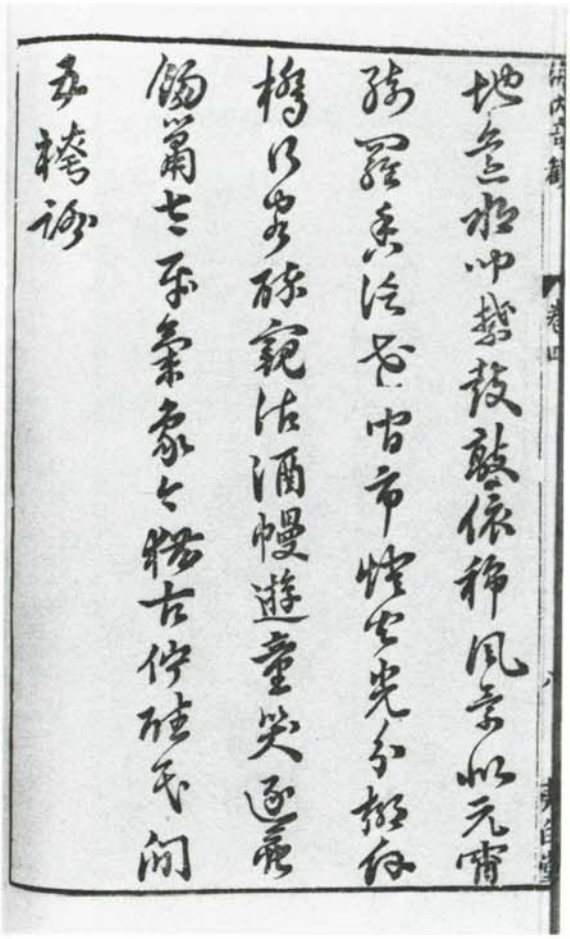
Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

chou) as the woodblock carver. In another copy, examined by Wang Chung-min, there is a preface by a Fang Ch'ing-lai, dated 1610. In the Gest copy this preface is missing, which therefore may give rise to questions about the date of publication.[6]

Ming travelogues, especially those exclusively about mountains, had appeared earlier. By the time of this book, there were already three rather well-known ones. But, in fact, they were not illustrated. Thus, as Wang Chung-min



75b.



75c.

pointed out, the uniqueness of the present one is its having illustrations to accompany the mountains described, thus setting a new course for the genre.

The temple complex illustrated, Tzu-hsiao kung (no. 75a), was the Taoist temple in T'ai-ho shan (Mount Wu-tang in Hupei) that was the most heavily endowed by the Ming imperial courts. The other illustration (no. 75b) depicts the evening market in the north gate of the city of Hangchow. It is one scene in a series entitled "Ten Choice Scenic Spots in Ch'ien-t'ang." Each is accompanied by a poem or some rhymed verses describing the scenery. The one selected here (no. 75c) describes the "evening market." The calligraphy of these descriptive texts varies in style, though it is possible that all were done by the same calligrapher. It goes without saying that the illustrations and the descriptions complement each other in order to help the reader. But the stylish calligraphy is an aesthetic touch.

The demand for illustrations for popular literature prompted the sophistication of figure portrayals. In 1640 Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652), the most noted artist-designer of woodcuts in the Ming, designed the famous *Shui-hu yeh-tzu*, which portrays on playing cards forty characters from the novel *Water Margin*. The forty portraits in the seventy-*chüan* illustrated version of the *Water Margin* printed around 1657 by the Kuan-hua t'ang (one of them is shown in no. 76) are obviously derived from Ch'en's designs, though not nearly as sophisticated. Such duplications are evidence of Ch'en's influence and the taste of late Ming readers. But in selecting this early Ch'ing book, which was badly cut and printed, our point is to show the burgeoning market of popular literature in late Ming times. We see (no. 76) that the blocks for this book had been heavily used, turning out many like copies. In general this shows the continuation of a late Ming tradition — cheap and low quality production for mass consumption.[7]

We have in *T'an-kung* (no. 77) an example of multi-color printing, itself yet another facet of Ming printing. Color printing from woodblocks may be dated at least to the early twelfth century. But, to quote Tsuen-hsuin Tsien again, "the multi-color technique was further developed toward the end of the sixteenth century and around the turn of the seventeenth, when the Min and Ling families and other printers of the Kiangsu-Chekiang region printed hundreds of classical

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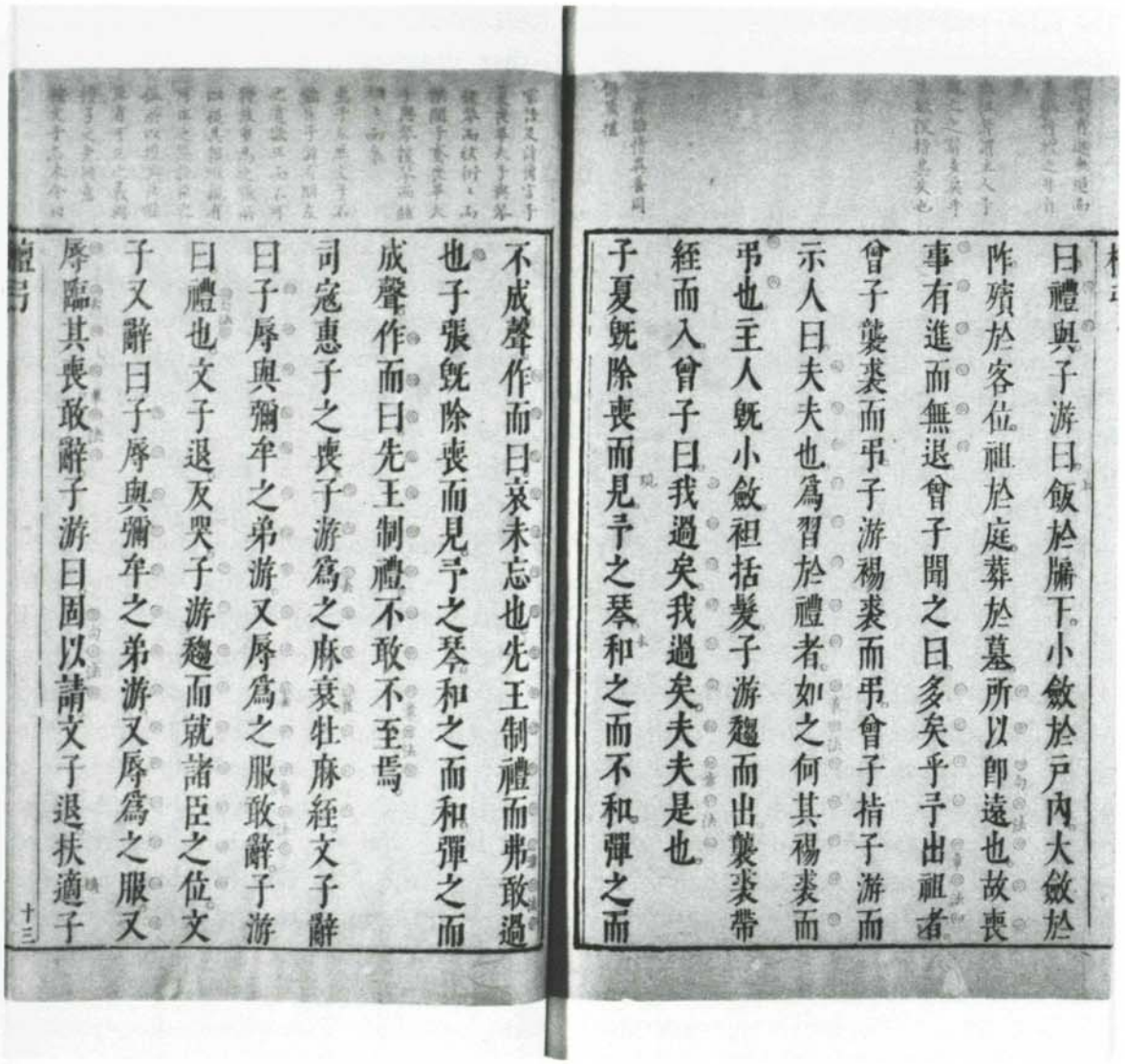


77. *T'an-kung*. 2 *ch.* (2 vols.).

Date: 1616 (Wu-hsing, Chekiang).

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 20.4 x 14.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

< 76. *P'ing-lun ch'u-hsiang shui-hu chuan*. 20 *ch.* (20 vols.).

Author: Shih Nai-an (ca. 1290 - ca. 1365).

Date: ca. 1657.

Dimensions: 11 cols. of 24 chars.; block, 20.6 x 14.9 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

works, illustrated novels, dramatic texts, and medical writings in two to five colors."[8]

T'an-kung, a two-color book, is the text of a chapter in the Confucian classic *Book of Rites*, and was printed by the famous Min family of Wu-hsing, particularly Min Ch'i-chi (1580-1661+), long well-known to collectors of Ming multi-color prints. It is one of the famous "three annotated Confucian Classics printed in red and black sets of blocks by the Min family."

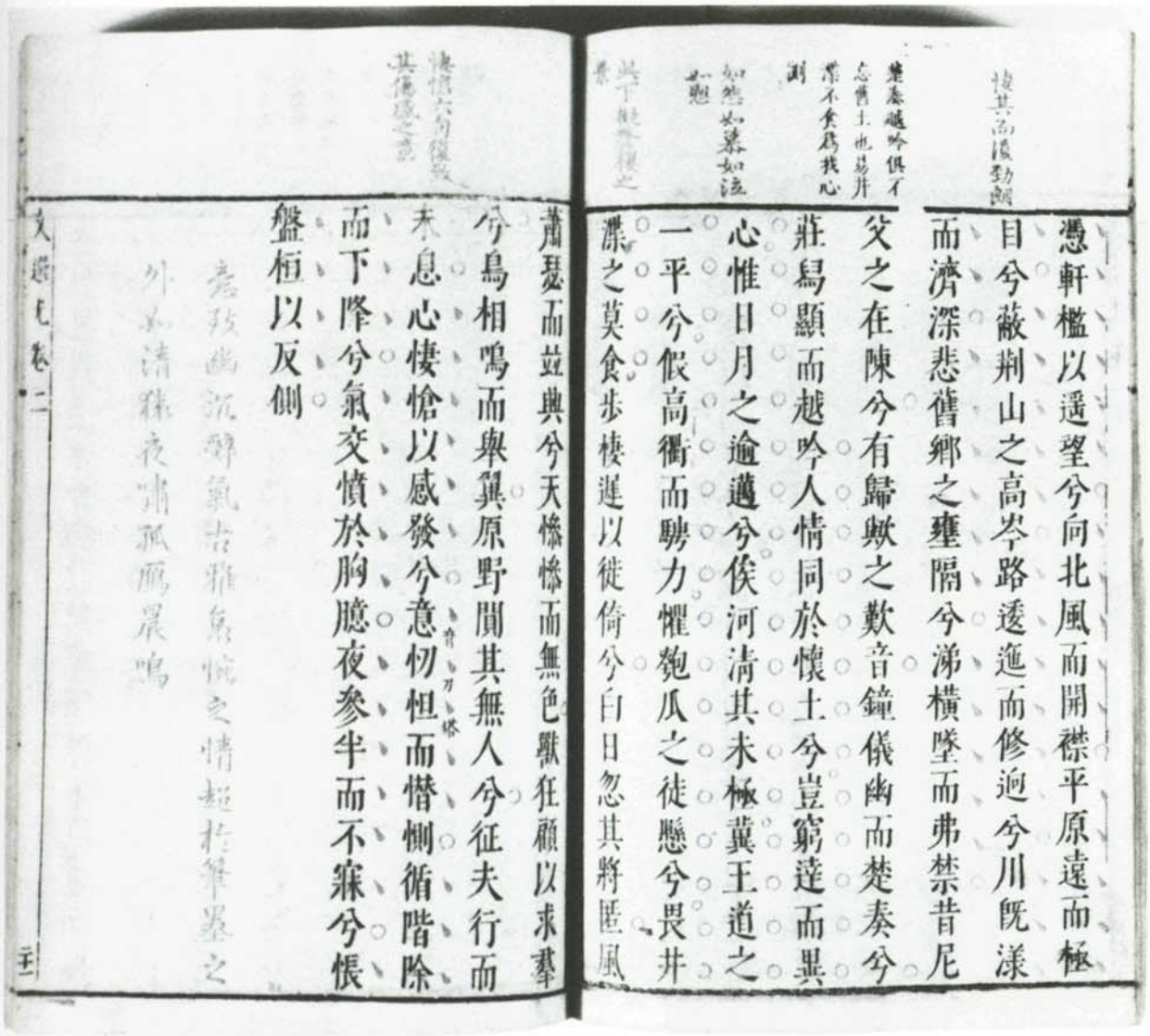
The other two books in this series are the *Mencius* annotated by Su Hsün (1009-1066) and the "K'ao-kung chi" chapter of the *Chou-li* with the commentary of Kuo Cheng-yü (1554-1612).

T'an-kung is printed with text in black and with commentaries on top of the folio, as well as small red double-line circles highlighting noteworthy passages. The commentaries were attributed to the Sung loyalist Hsieh Fang-te (1226-1289), but it seems that the symbols, which are intermingled with analytical terms for rhetorical purposes, were done by Min himself or by a scholar he employed. Comments on the book by the eminent mid-Ming scholar and writer Yang Shen (1488-1559) are also included.

The text is preceded by a preface by Min Ch'i-chi himself, dated 1616, in which he writes, "on this great accomplishment in the craftsmanship of block-cutting I cast a smile." He also autographed a short colophon at the end of the book signifying the autumn of 1616 as the date of publication. He seems to be highly satisfied with this early representative of his multi-color printings. He may also have found satisfaction in the beautiful, soft style of calligraphy that adds a pleasant visual touch to the commentaries.

Wen-hsüan yu (no. 78)[9] is another fine multi-color printing by the Min family (introduced in the previous entry). The book is an abridgement of the famous literary anthology edited by Prince Chao-ming, Hsiao T'ung (501-531) of the Liang dynasty (502-556). The abridgement was made by Tsou Ssu-ming, a native of Wu-ch'eng, Chekiang, who passed his provincial examination in 1564 and served twice as a county magistrate. Printed with text in black, summary commentary in red, and commentaries on top of folios in black, red, and green, it represents a further development in the Min family's technique. Two types of symbol — small circles and oblique dots — are employed for textual criticism. The three colors in the commentaries each represent a specific category of annotation and criticism: red for summary comments on and phases of development in a piece of work, green for comments on choice lines and exploration of hidden meanings, black for pronunciation of words and annotation of phrases. Note that while the text shows a rigid, uniformly defined calligraphy typical of late Ming books, the commentaries in red and green display a calligraphic style unmistakably bearing the influence of Chao Meng-fu. A sense of realism is enhanced by this "cut as written" fashion of printing, as if the copy had been personally annotated by a learned reader.

Next (no. 79) is a woodblock printing in black and red produced by the Ling family, the Min family's fellow townsmen and competitors. The printer specified is Ling Yü-nan. The book is the literary anthology of Lo Pin-wang, one of the so-called "four outstanding poets of early T'ang." The attached commentaries are attributed to Wang Heng (*chin-shih* 1601), son of grand secretary Wang Hsi-chüeh (1534-1611), and other noted literary critics of late Ming times, such as Chung Hsing (1574-1624) and T'an Yüan-ch'un (1585-1637). The present copy bears a preface by Wang Tao-k'un (1525-1593), dated 1591, and a postface by Wang Heng, undated. Wang's preface mentions nothing of a coming issue by the Ling family nor any of the commentators. On the other hand, an obviously identical copy in the Peking Library bears an additional preface by T'ang Pin-yin (1568-1627), dated 1615. Since the commentators were



78. *Wen-hsüan yu.* 14 *ch.* (14 vols.).

Author: Tsou Ssu-ming (ca. 1543 - 1622+).

Date: 1622 (Wu-hsing, Chekiang).

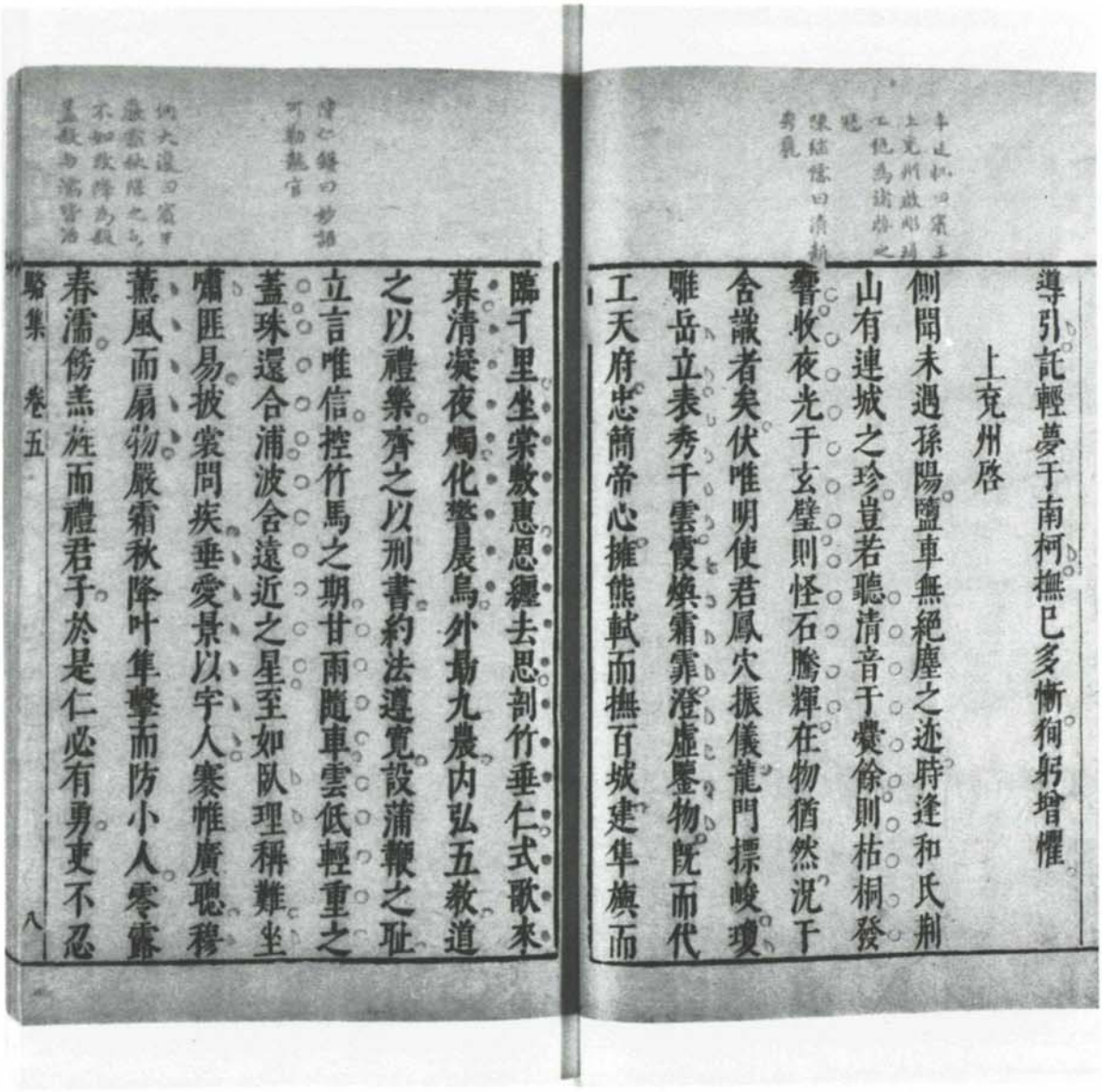
Dimensions: 8 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 19.1 x 13.9 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

more contemporary with T'ang than with Wang, the present copy ought to have been printed in or about 1615, not 1591.[10]

As is the rule in multi-color books of this kind, the commentary on top of the folio appears in red. Compared with the two books printed by the Min family (nos. 77 and 78), the symbols used for textual criticism in this Ling family production appear to be more complicated and meticulous. Now four types of symbols — solid and hollow circles and oblique dots — were used. Still, all three books share some basic similarities: the calligraphy for the text assumed a rigid craft style, while that for the commentary a soft, elegant, artistic style.

Our last example of late Ming multi-



導引託輕夢于南柯撫已多慚徇躬增懼

上兗州啓

側聞未遇孫陽鹽車無絕塵之迹時逢和氏荊山有連城之珍豈若聽清音于虞餘則枯桐發響收夜光于玄璧則怪石騰輝在物猶然況于含識者矣伏唯明使君鳳宂振儀龍門標峻瓊雕岳立表秀千雲霞煥霜霏澄虛鑒物既而代工天府忠簡帝心擁熊軾而撫百城建隼旗而臨千里坐棠數惠恩經去思剖竹垂仁式歌來暮清凝夜燭化警晨烏外勤九農內弘五教道之以禮樂齊之以刑書約法遵寬設蒲鞭之恥立言唯信控竹馬之期甘雨隨車雲低輕重之蓋珠還合浦波合遠近之星至如臥理稱難坐嘯匪易披裳問疾垂愛景以宇人寒帷廣聽穆薰風而扇物嚴霜秋降叶隼擊而防小人零露春濡飭羔旌而禮君子於是仁必有勇吏不忍

駱集 卷五 八

79. *T'ang Lo hsien-sheng chi*. 8 + 1 *ch*. (4 vols.).

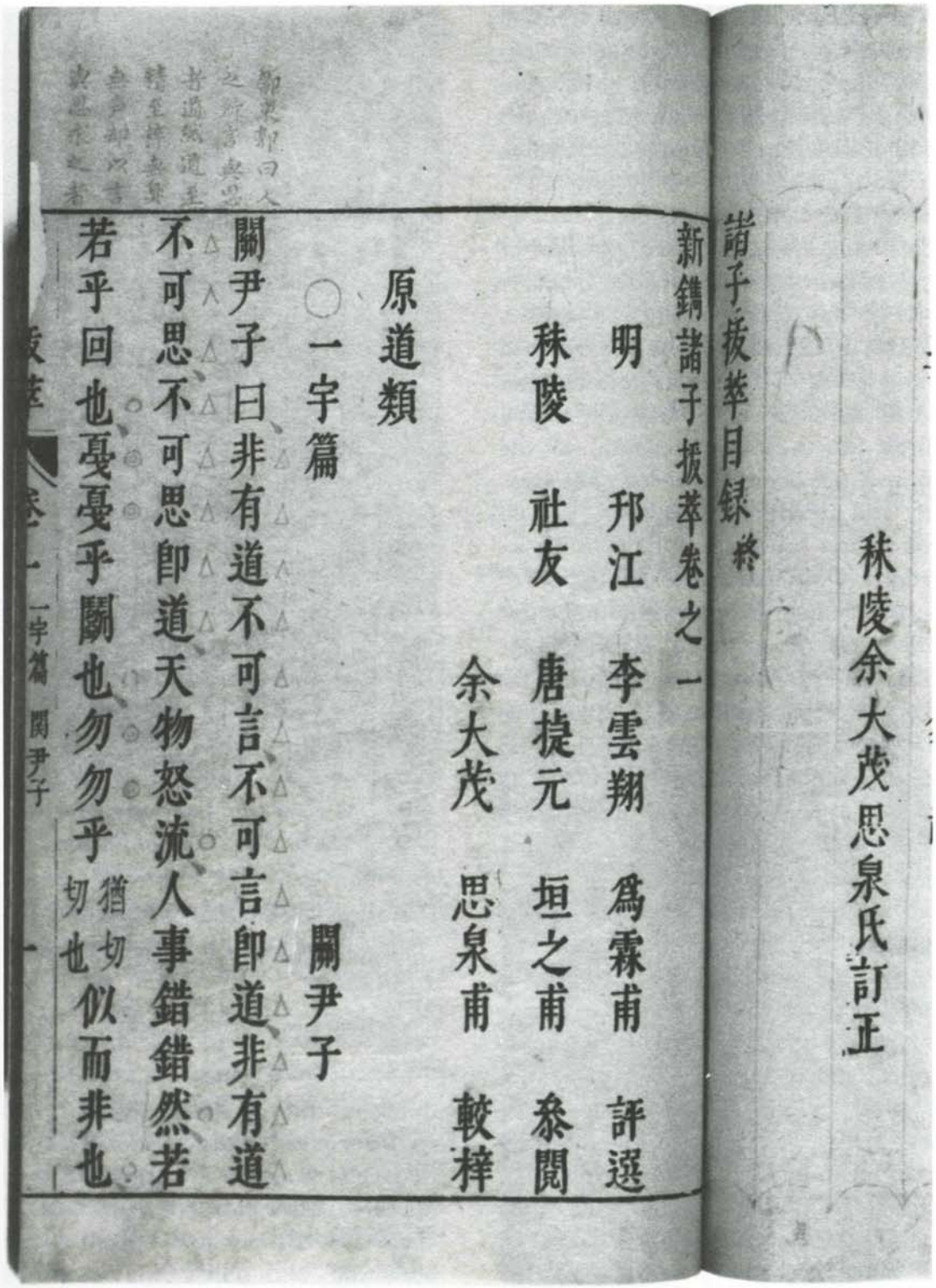
Author: Lo Pin-wang (d. 684).

Date: 1615 (Wu-hsing, Chekiang).

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 19 x 14 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

color books (no. 80) is printed in Nanking by Yü Ta-mao, owner of the Yü-ch'ing t'ang printing shop. The book is a collection of philosophical essays, edited and commented on by Li Yün-hsiang of Chiang-tu (Yangchow). It contains an undated preface by Li. According to the critical review in the catalogue of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, the book was printed in 1627.[11] This is corroborated by the taboo charac-



80. *Hsin-chüan chu-tzu pa-ts'ui. 8 ch.* (16 vols.).

Author: Li Yün-hsiang (fl. 1620s), ed.

Date: 1627 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 20 x 13.7 cm.

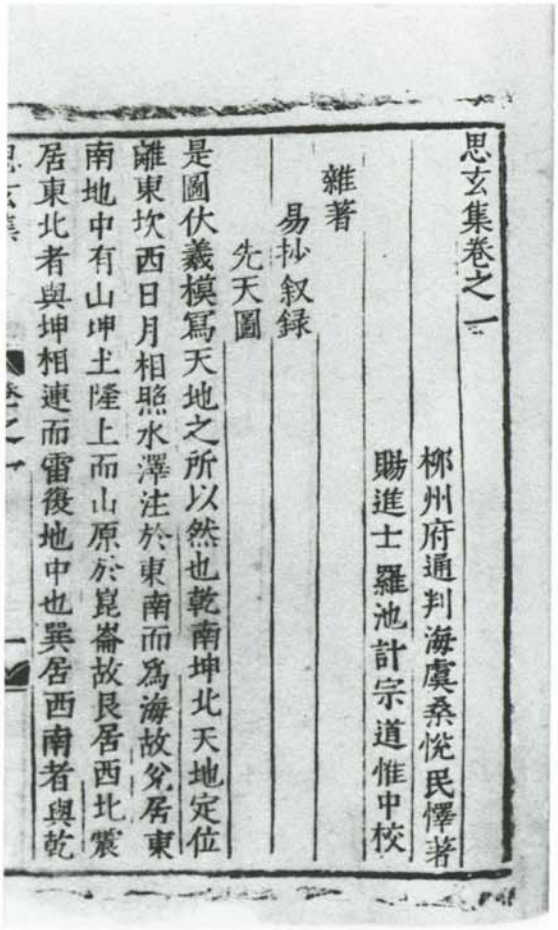
Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

ters observed in the text. A new symbol of textual criticism, the small hollow triangle, was introduced in this book. And again the red-inked commentary printed in soft and elegant calligraphy emerges as part of a trend.

The literary anthology of Sang Yüeh of Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, is an example of Ming era printing with wooden movable type. It was typeset using an earlier, woodblock edition of the text published around 1616. Sang was a talented but egoistic literatus, who boastfully styled himself as the "talent south of the Yangtze" (*Chiang-nan ts'ai-tzu*). His creativity and eccentricity, however, proved to be a great handicap to his political aspirations. Only because of the support of his literary patron, the famous senior scholar-statesman Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495), did he manage to overcome the crises he created for himself as a local official. Despite his contemporary reputation as an acute-minded writer, his poetry and prose were not considered good enough to merit copying into the official *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* collectanea.

The present edition of *Ssu-hsüan chi* was published by Sang Ta-hsieh, a later fellow townsman of the author. That it was published in 1574 is confirmed by Fu Tseng-hsiang, who saw a copy with two postfaces dated that year. The Gest copy (no. 81), however, has the preface and postfaces missing. It is also a *chin-hsiang-yü* ("gold inlaid with jade") copy: with long extra sheets of white paper inserted inside the folds of the yellowed double-leaves. This is an extremely rare edition; the Peking library has the only other known complete copy.

As Edgren noted of our copy, the "type style derives from a popular woodblock printing style of the first half of the sixteenth century."[12] But note that the types were not cut skillfully enough to allow the characters to appear in a regular shape and not set in consistently fixed positions. The "fish tails" do not join tightly with the bordering column line. And there are numerous misplaced characters. These are familiar features in Ming movable-type books; they show that the technique was still not widely practiced at the time — less advanced technology as a result of in-


思玄集卷之一
柳州府通判海虞桑悅民懌著
賜進士羅池計宗道惟中校
雜著
易抄叙録
先天圖
是圖伏羲模寫天地之所以然也乾南坤北天地定位
離東坎西日月相照水澤注於東南而爲海故父居東
南地中有山坤土隆上而山原於崑崙故長居西北震
居東北者與坤相連而雷復地中也巽居西南者與乾

81. *Ssu-hsüan chi*. 16 *ch*. (8 vols.).

Author: Sang Yüeh (1447-1513).

Date: 1574 (Ch'ang-shu?, Kiangsu).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 21 chars.; border, 19.5 x 12.4 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

adequate experience. As a matter of fact, there is no record of the Ming government's ever having ordered printing by movable type. And although in the Ming books from movable wooden type were more numerous than those of metal type, wooden typography was seen very little in popular commercial printing.

There is an excellent Korean example of printing with wooden movable type — *Huang-hua chi*. This title was a general one for poetry collections edited and published by Korean officials containing solely poems exchanged between special Ming envoys and their Korean hosts. As a rule, one such *Huang-hua chi* was issued not long after each diplomatic trip, almost routinely by the Koreans and only occasionally also by the Chinese. The present, expanded, edition (no. 82) includes works exchanged during the occasions of 1450, 1476, 1521, 1545, and 1546. Neither the editor nor the date of publication is recorded in this book. But it can be assumed that it was published after 1546 and probably before the end of the Chia-ching reign in 1566. No other copy of this edition is recorded in other major libraries of Chinese rare books, although a Wan-li period (1573-1620) edition published after 1574 in China, which covers the 1539 trip, is held by the Peking Library and three other editions, all edited by Koreans and published respectively in 1602, 1606, and 1626, are held by the National Central Library, Taiwan.[13]

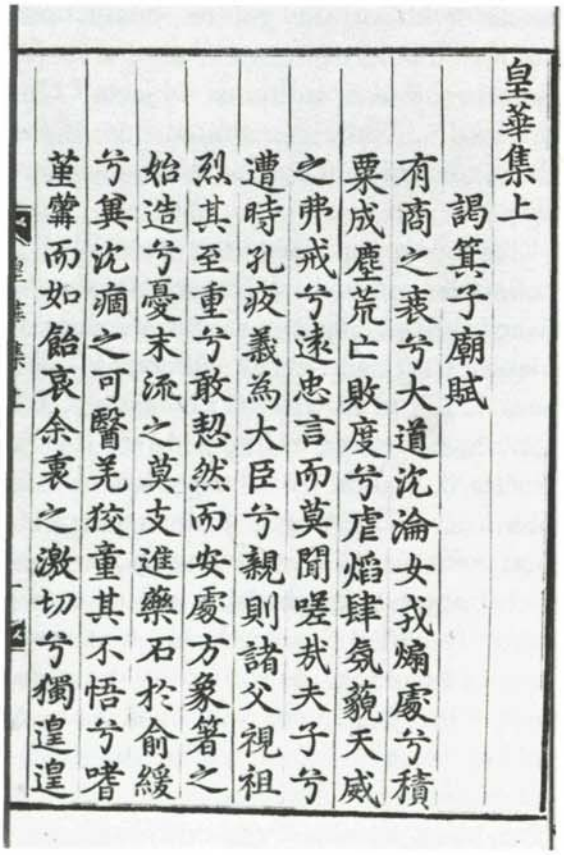
Compared with our last item, *Ssu-hsüan chi*, one cannot but be impressed by the sophisticated technology Koreans had developed in wooden movable-type printing. The great clarity of the types and the regularity in which they were set reflect a long tradition of superb skill. The uniquely Korean "white hammered paper" made of paper mulberry bark yields an additional attraction. No less noteworthy is the calligraphic style of the types. Unfailingly, it reflects the influence of Chao Meng-fu, which, in fact, also took hold in metal movable types. It is hard to say when Koreans became fascinated by the Chao style. It certainly would not be later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when that style was championed in the Chinese court circles. Many extant Korean books printed from both wooden and metal movable types in the early fif-

82. *Huang-hua chi*. 5 *ch*. (12 vols.).

Date: ca. 1546-1566.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 17 chars.; border, 25.6 x 17.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


皇華集上

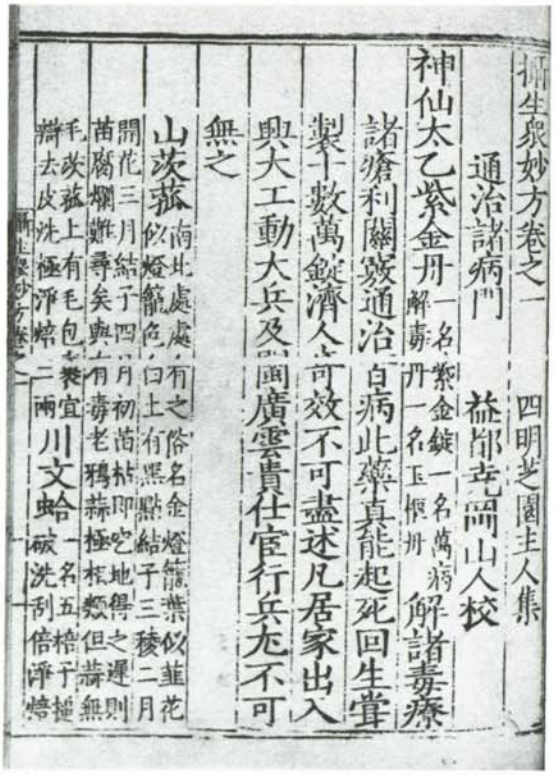
謁箕子廟賦

有商之喪兮大道沉淪女戎煽虐兮積粟成塵荒亡敗度兮虐焰肆氛藐天威之弗戒兮遠忠言而莫聞嗟哉夫子兮遭時孔疲義為大臣兮親則諸父視祖烈其至重兮敢恝然而安處方象箸之始造兮憂末流之莫支進藥石於俞緩兮冀沈痼之可醫羌狡童其不悟兮嗜堇糞而如飴哀余衷之激切兮獨遑遑

teenth century bear a similar calligraphic style, which in fact remained popular there well into the eighteenth century.

Principality editions (*fan-fu pen*), that is, books published by enfeoffed princes in various localities, are a distinctive dimension of Ming printing. Throughout the dynasty more than thirty princes printed no less than 250 such titles. While not all of the princes were noted for their scholarship and literary accomplishment, many of them owned outstanding libraries which contained rare editions of previous dynasties. And they were rich enough to recruit scholar collators, skillful woodblock carvers, and pay for good printing. A few of them were good collators themselves. Many of the books they printed are thus of outstanding quality and considered textually reliable. Their publications, as observed by Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, "included works on medicine, longevity, amusement, music, games, instructions and conduct of princes, and textbooks for women, besides traditional subjects." Undoubtedly, "they constituted one of the distinguished features of Ming scholarship."

The book presented here (no. 83)[14] is a collection of medical prescriptions published in I-tu, Shantung, by the Prince of Heng, Chu Hou-chiao (enfeoffed 1540, died 1572), who was the grandson of the Ch'eng-hua emperor (reigned 1465-1487). It was compiled by Chang Shih-ch'e of Yin-hsien, Chekiang, a senior scholar-official who cared about contemporary social problems, but had his official career abruptly ended due to the *wo-k'ou* invasion of Nanking. As shown on the plate, both Chang and Chu used their courtesy names for this book: Chang as Chih-yüan chu-jen (first line) and Chu as Yao-kang shan-jen (second line). Although Chu was named as collator, the actual collation or most of it was done by Ma Ch'ung-ju, the chief physician of the principality of Heng. The book contains a preface by Chu, undated; another by Chang, dated 1550; and a postface by Ma, dated 1569. According to them, Chang compiled the book in 1550 and got it published some time thereafter; the present edition was a reissue from blocks cut under the supervision of Li Yung-chung, the principality's chief official sacrificer. Two other titles, also compiled by Chang,



83. *She-sheng chung-miao fang*. 11 + 1 + 2 *ch*. (12 vols.).

Author: Chang Shih-ch'e (1500-1577).

Date: 1569 (I-tu, Shantung).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 19.5 x 15.1 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

are attached to this edition. They are *Shang-han chin-ching lü* in one *chüan*, for the treatment of typhoid fever, and *Chi-chiu liang-fang* in two *chüan*, prescriptions for emergency cases intended for use by the uneducated villagers.

The principality of Heng was not among the most prominent in publishing. The fine cutting of the blocks, and the fine characters written in a style derived from Ou-yang Hsün, contribute to the distinctiveness of Ming principality editions.

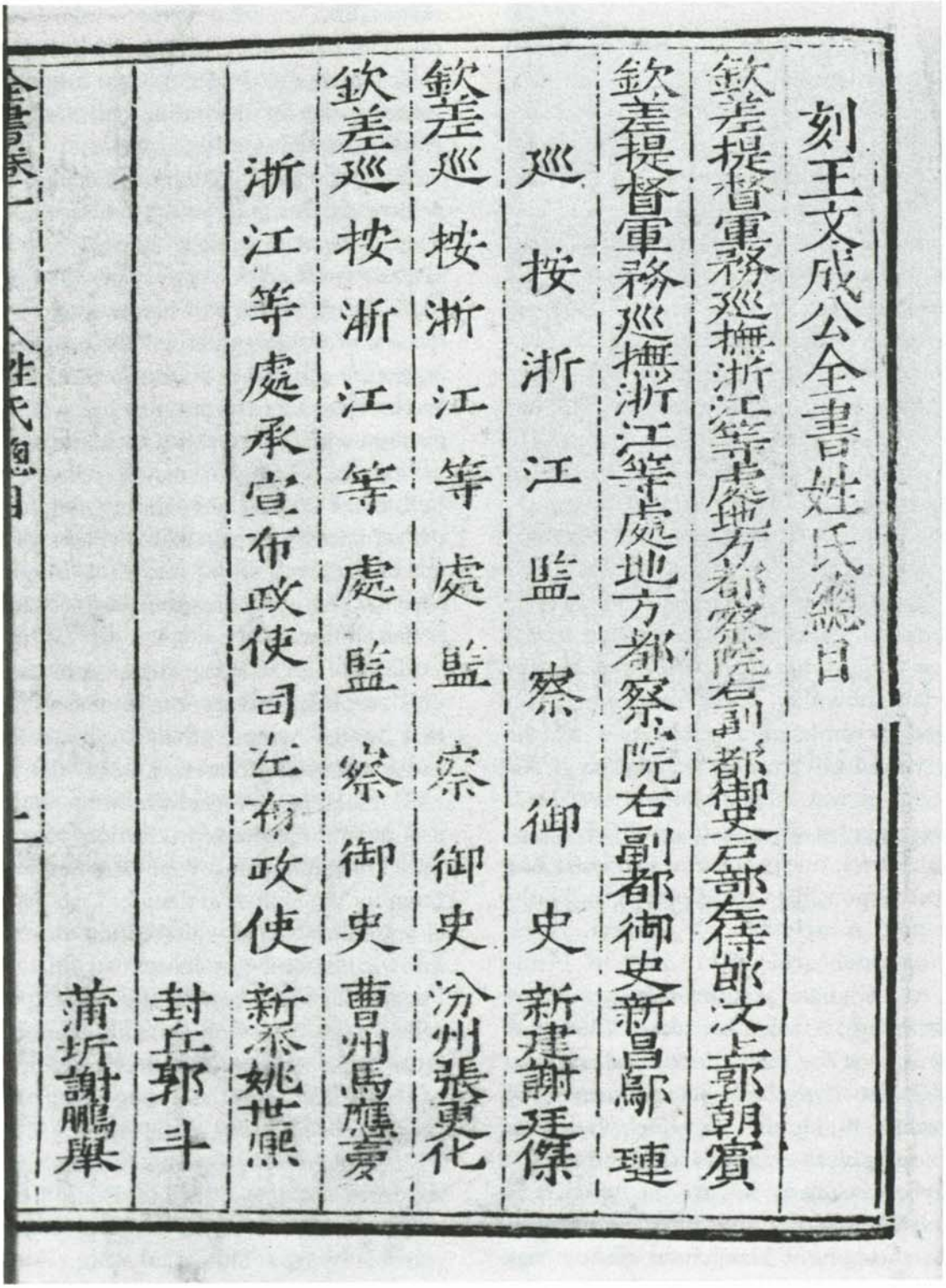
Many Ming books were published inside the branches of state government. In the previous section, "The impact of Chao Meng-fu," we illustrated those published by the very productive National Academies at Nanking and Peking.

Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu (the complete works of the great Ming statesman-philosopher Wang Shou-jen, always better known as Wang Yang-ming) is a good example of a publication by the provincial government of Chekiang. Although it was a local government enterprise, as a list of sponsoring officials (no. 84a) shows, one sponsor in particular was most responsible for the editing and publication, namely Wang's admirer, Hsieh T'ing-chieh (*chin-shih* 1559) of Hsin-chien, Kiangsi, regional inspector of Chekiang. A mistaken date, 1568, has been given for this edition; and another, 1572, for a reprint cut and printed in Nanking by Hsieh T'ing-chieh. Based on a biographical study of Hsieh and a scrutiny of the list of sponsoring officials in both editions, a recent study demonstrates that the present Hangchow edition was published in 1572 and the Nanking edition in 1573.[15] Politics was involved in the issuing of identical texts in two nearby areas within just two years. The present edition lacks a preface, but the same study also shows that the preface in the Nanking edition, written by retired grand secretary Hsü Chieh (1503-1583), was originally meant to be for this edition, although it was subsequently withdrawn.

While the Nanking edition has been reprinted in facsimile in the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* series, the present edition is truly rare. Other than our copy, only the Central Library in Taiwan has another. The quality of books published by local governments was rather uneven because such books were often printed in parts of the empire with no established tradition of printing. Our copy shows excellence in both block cutting and printing, although the calligraphy unmistakably shows a flavor of the "craft style" (see no. 84b), perhaps the best government funds could buy at that time and area.

Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, an annotated version of the literary works of Han Yü, that model writer of classical Chinese prose, is a prestigious example of "family-cut" books produced in the Ming. Being a faithful facsimile reproduction of a reputed version printed in late Southern Sung by the Shih-ts'ai t'ang of Liao Ying-chung (died 1275), this edition is well-known not only for its textual filiation, but also for block-cutting and printing excellence (no. 85). Consequently, connoisseurs pair it with the Chi-mei t'ang edition of Han Yü's friend Liu Tsung-yüan's *Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi*, published by Kuo Yün-p'eng of Ch'ang-chou in the mid-sixteenth century. The latter is also a facsimile reproduction of a Sung edition printed by the Shih-ts'ai t'ang. These books are the authoritative annotated versions of the works of Han and Liu.[16]

Reprints of earlier fine editions in the Ming were usually made by learned book collectors, often for the noble reason of



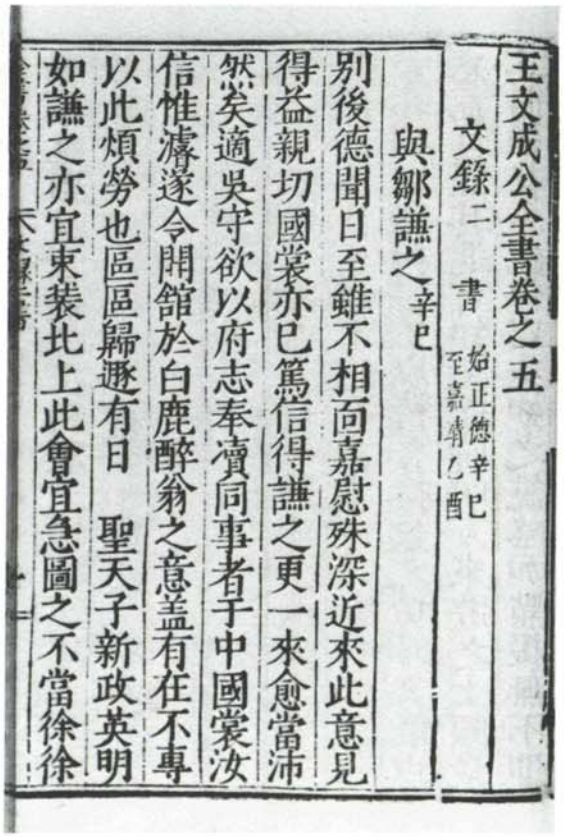
84a-b. *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu.* 38 *ch.* (24 vols.).

Author: Wang Shou-jen (1472-1529); Hsieh T'ing-chieh (fl. 1559-1574), ed.

Date: 1572 (Hangchow).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 19 chars.; block, 19.5 x 14.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


王文成公全書卷之五
文錄二 書 始正德辛巳 至嘉靖乙酉
與鄒謙之 辛巳
別後德聞日至雖不相面嘉慰殊深近來此意見得益親切國裳亦已篤信得謙之更一來愈當沛然矣適吳守欲以府志奉檄同事者于中國裳汝信惟濤遂令開館於白鹿醉翁之意蓋有在不專以此煩勞也區區歸遯有日 聖天子新政英明如謙之亦宜束裝北上此會宜急圖之不當徐徐

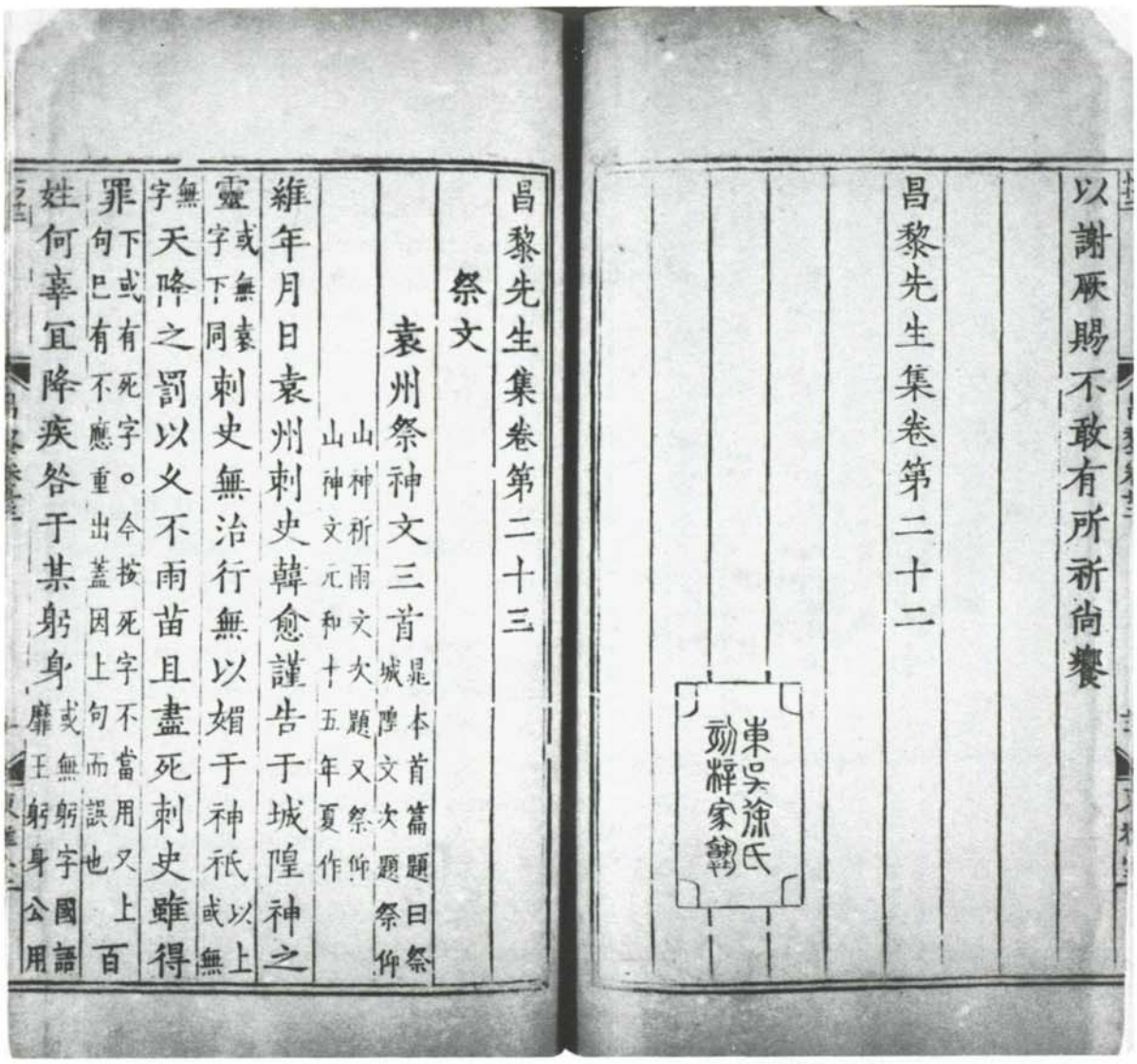
84b.

preserving and diffusing rare original editions. The sponsor of our edition was Hsü Shih-t'ai (*chin-shih* 1580), a native of Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, who ended his official career as a vice-minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud. As the printer's colophon at the end of each *chüan* shows (no. 85, the printed inset box in the right folio), the book was cut and printed in Hsü's family school. Although the block cutter is not specified, the beautiful characters demonstrate that he had done a superb job in preserving the calligraphic style of Ouyang Hsün. The woodblocks for this edition deteriorated as years went by, but in the 1730s or 1740s an effort was successfully made by another collector-printer, Hsi Ning-hui from the Lake Tai area, to restore them to working condition. Both the fate of this edition and the noble tradition of cultural diffusion thus continued.

Another fine example of private printing in the "family-cut" tradition is the overwhelming anthology of Wang Shih-chen, the famous scholar-official and arguably most celebrated man of letters in the sixteenth century. It was printed in 1577 by the Wang family's Shih-ching t'ang. The Gest copy appears to be the only complete (180-*chüan*) copy of this work known to exist outside of China, and until recently thought to be a unique exemplar. Most other copies of this edition contain six *chüan* fewer than the original.[17]

Like other copies, the Gest's *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao* begins with a 1577 preface by Wang Tao-k'un (1525-1593), but it is a handwritten replacement of the lost printed original. This copy contains also a long colophon autographed by a former reader (or even owner), Wang Hsieh-yin of Li-shui, Kiangsu, which discusses in detail the differences among the versions of this work. As shown by the numerous seals on the first page of the text (no. 86a), this copy was formerly owned by a Teng Ying, and possibly by some others.

At the end of the last page of the preface, three characters are inscribed showing the block cutter of the preface to be a T'ang Yin (no. 86a; see three small characters at bottom of right folio). Whether he was also the cutter of the rest of the book's blocks is not known. In any event, both the calligraphy and the cutting of this book (no. 86b) are excellent enough to make it a representative of Ming printed books cited by modern authorities. Particularly noteworthy is the well-executed calligraphy. It shows a marked difference between "family-cut" works and official



85. *Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, wai-chi, i-wen, chi-chuan.* 40 + 10 + 1 + 1 *ch.* (30 vols.).

Author: Han Yü (768-824).

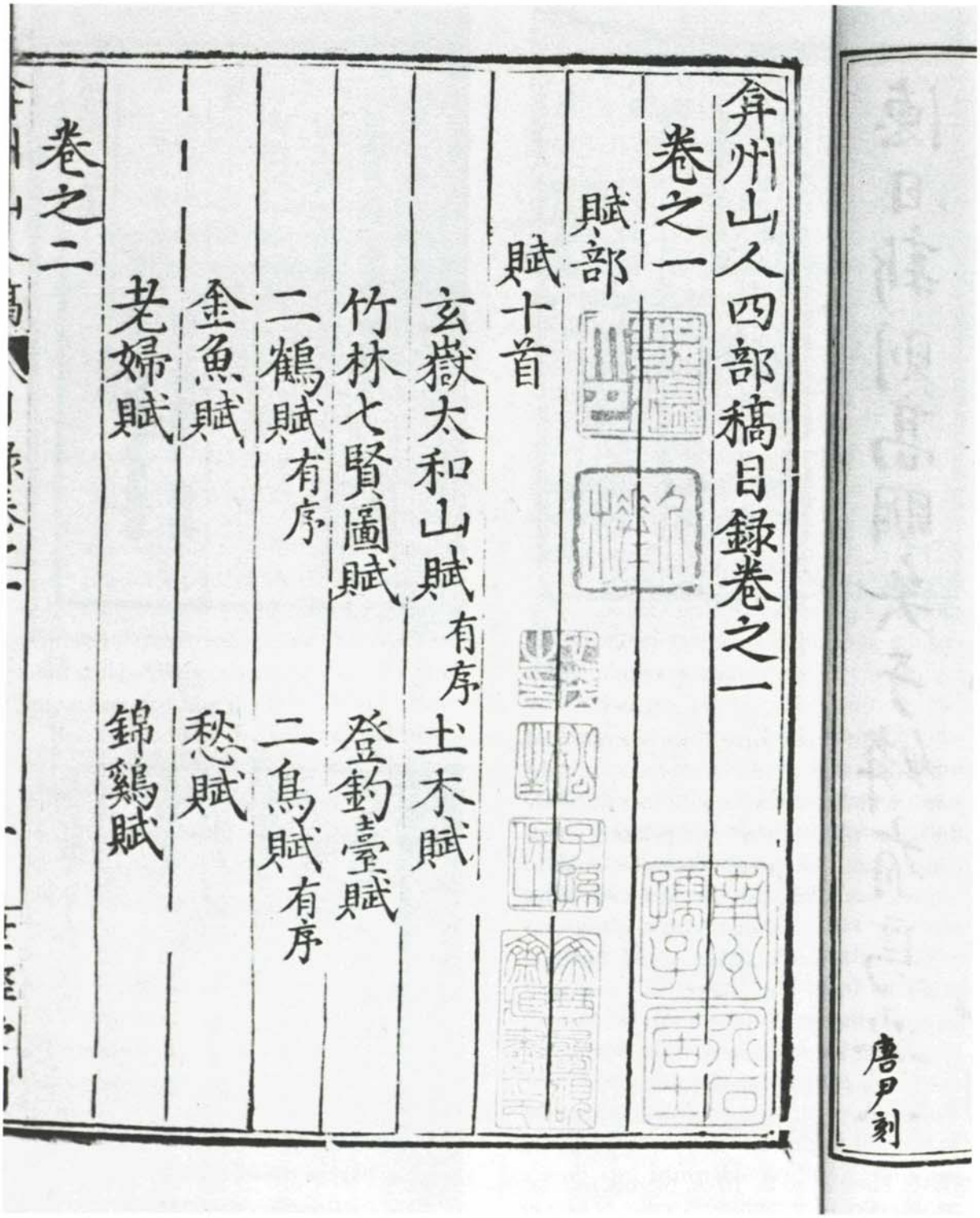
Date: late 16th century (Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 17 chars.; block, 20.1 x 12.9 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

or commercial printings, most of which are characterized by a standardized craft style.

Fa-shu yao-lu (nos. 87a-b) by Chang Yen-yüan of late T'ang times contains passages on calligraphic theory from the first century A.D. to the early ninth century. The present copy comes from an edition published by the greatest of Ming collector-printers, Mao Chin (1599-1659) of Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, whose career as a publisher not only immensely contributed to late Ming and early Ch'ing scholarship, but also contributed to Ming printing itself. Owner of a library of 84,000 stitched volumes of both printed books and facsimile reproductions of rare



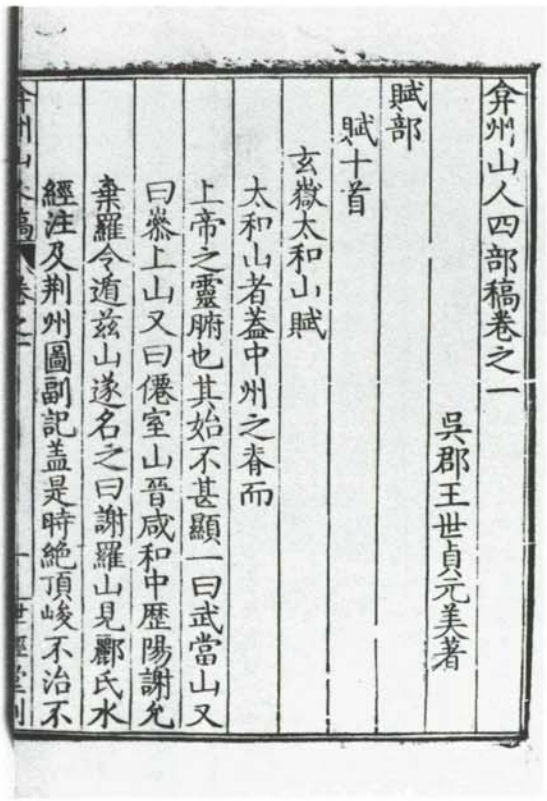
86a-b. *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao*. 180 *ch*. (64 vols.).

Author: Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590).

Date: 1577 (T'ai-ts'ang?, Kiangsu).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 20 x 15 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


弁州山人四部稿卷之一

吳郡王世貞元美著

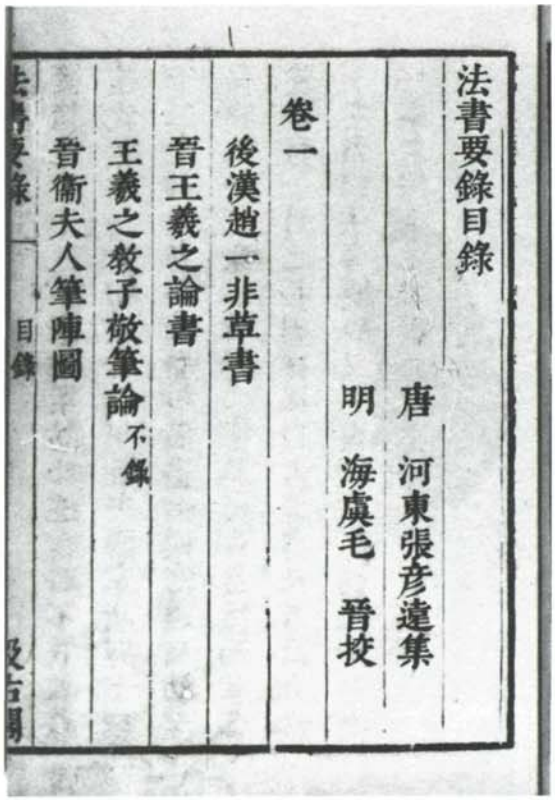
賦部

賦十首

玄嶽太和山賦

太和山者蓋中州之脊而上帝之靈腑也其始不甚顯一曰武當山又曰崇上山又曰僊室山晉咸和中歷陽謝允棄羅令遁茲山遂名之曰謝羅山見酈氏水經注及荆州圖副記蓋是時絶頂峻不治不

86b.


法書要錄目錄

唐 河東張彥遠集

明 海虞毛 晉校

卷一

後漢趙一非草書

晉王羲之論書

王羲之教子敬筆論 不錄

晉衛夫人筆陣圖

87a.

editions, in about forty years Mao printed more than 600 works on a variety of subjects, which are commonly identified by the name of his library and printing shop, Chi-ku ko. The present copy belongs to the famous *Ching-tai pi-shu*, a collectanea of about 140 titles that Mao's Chi-ku ko printed in fifteen installments, from 1630 to about 1642. Two large seals inscribed on the first page (not illustrated here) show that the copy was once owned by the famous Wang family of Kao-yu (near Yangchow), Kiangsu, probably that of

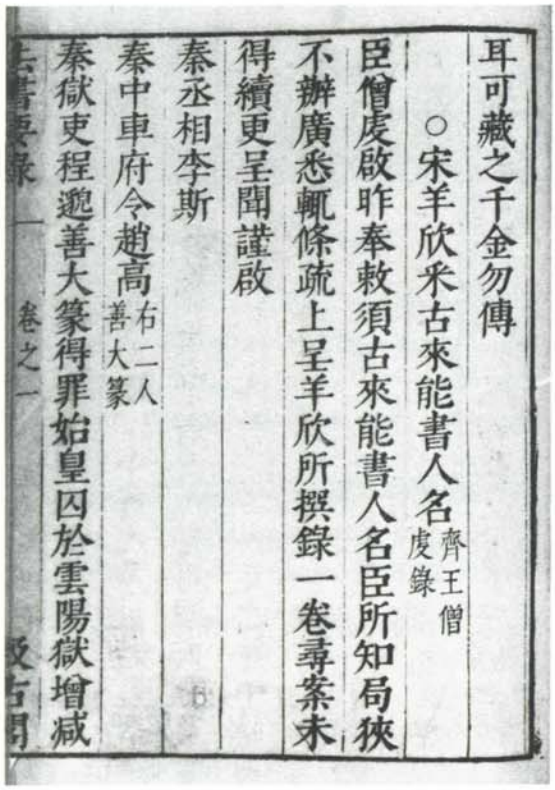
87a-b. *Fa-shu yao-lu*. 10 *ch*. (8 vols.).

Author: Chang Yen-yüan (fl. 860-70).

Date: 1630-1642 (Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu).

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 19 chars.; block, 18.5 x 12.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


耳可藏之千金勿傳

○宋羊欣采古來能書人名 齊王僧虔錄

臣僧虔啟昨奉敕須古來能書人名臣所知局狹不辦廣悉輒條疏上呈羊欣所撰錄一卷尋案未得續更呈聞謹啟

秦丞相李斯

秦中車府令趙高 右二人善大篆

秦獄吏程邈善大篆得罪始皇囚於雲陽獄增減

87b.

the eminent Ch'ing scholars and philologists, Wang Nien-sun (1744–1832) and his son Wang Yin-chih (1766–1834).[18]

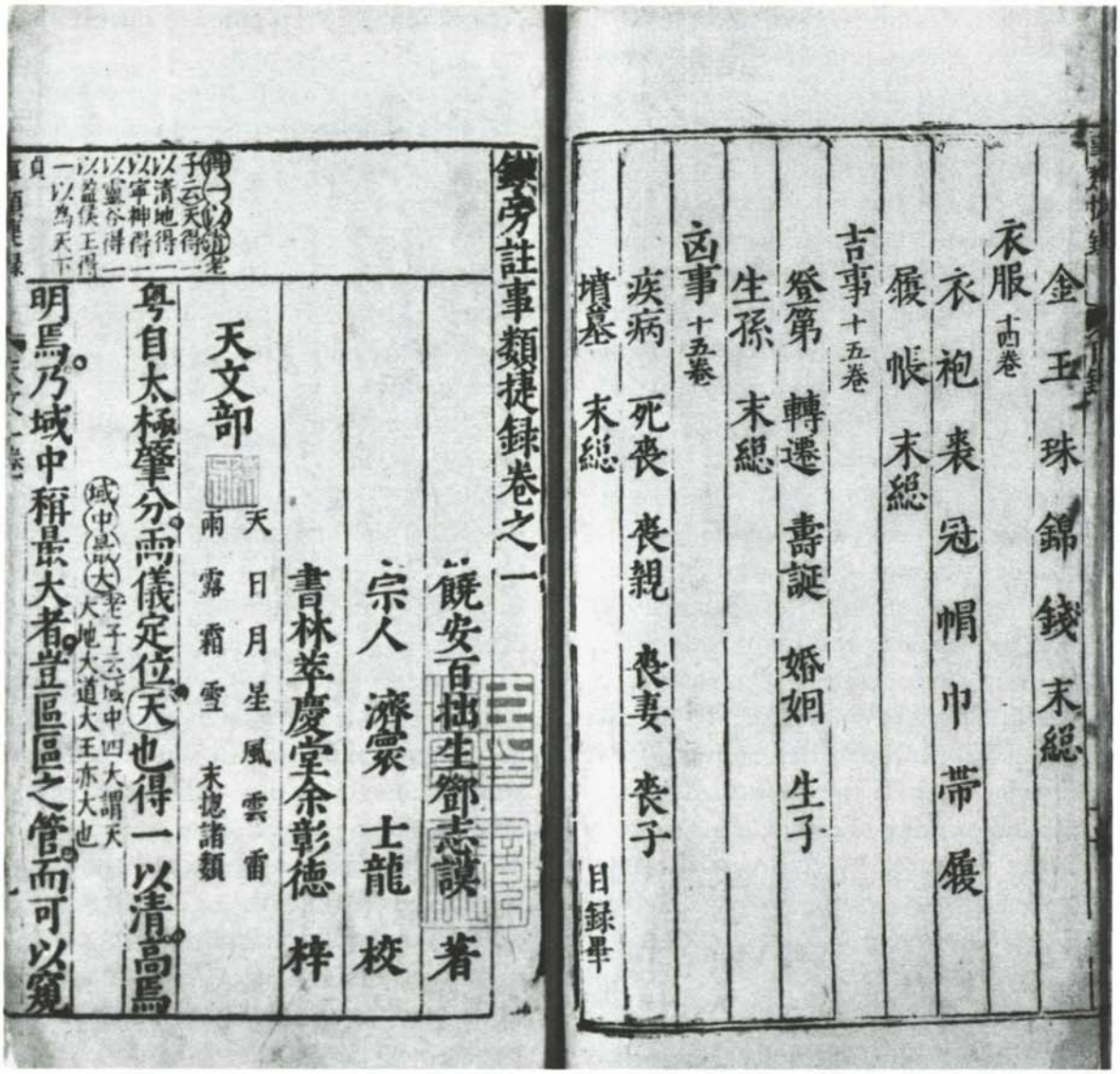
Chi-ku ko books are unique in that they are systematic, high-quality, semi-commercial reprints of earlier works. Besides printing books Mao edited, it also printed books on order. But in either case, its products were cut and printed with great refinement. They are further distinguished by their paper and the calligraphic style of their characters. The paper used for Chi-ku ko books was specially ordered by Mao Chin from Kiangsi. It consisted of two varieties: a heavy kind known as *mao-pien* and a thinner kind called *mao-t'ai*, both of strong quality. The calligraphic style is so unique as to be something like their printer's trademark. It appears in a standardized shape and structure that is different from the other standardized craft style. All these aspects formed a great impact on printing in early Ch'ing times.

Books produced by commercial printers also constituted a huge aspect of Ming printing. Variation in quality notwithstanding, a substantial number of books produced in several centers of commercial book printing throughout the southeastern part of the empire reflect the urbanized culture that flourished since the early sixteenth century. One example, an annotated anthology of classified expressions and quotations named *Ch'ieh p'ang-chu shih-lei chieh-lu*,[19] was printed by the Ts'ui-ch'ing t'ang in Shu-lin, Chien-yang, Fukien, one of the most important centers of book printing in old China, where commercial printing dated back to the Sung period and was well regarded throughout the sixteenth century.

The book contains a preface by the author, dated 1603, and an undated postface by a certain Li Chih-hsün. The date of publication is not specified in the preface, but a search of taboo characters commonly observed in late Ming times shows that it was printed before the end of the Wan-li reign in 1620. As printed on the first page of the text (no. 88), the printer of this book, Yü Chang-te, was the owner of the Ts'ui-ch'ing t'ang. The author, Teng Chih-mo, remains an obscure figure, although he also compiled another book published by the same printer. The collator appears to be a member of a Ming princely clan. As books like this were published for the pragmatic use of students and the literati class at large — or simply for profit's sake — their authors and editors often were allowed to remain obscure.

Although the Ts'ui-ch'ing t'ang was not among the oldest or most prestigious of commercial printers in Shu-lin, our example shows a quality still far excelling other Shu-lin books. The cutting and printing of this book both are rather refined. And although the rigid craft style of calligraphy unmistakably suggests a commercial origin, still there is good handling of the brush on the part of the professional scribe. A widened market of books for examination purposes and popular entertainment paradoxically did not benefit the printers in Shu-lin for long. The more they produced the worse was their quality. Eventually the control of the market would be passed to printers in the lower Yangtze cities. The present book, which may be regarded as standing at the end of a long and admirable tradition, thus appears the more revealing as an example of commercial printing.

The sixteenth century saw a gradual decline of Fukien as a major center of commercial printing. As the century matured, new centers arose in Chekiang and



88. *Ch'ieh p'ang-chu shih-lei chieh-lu*. 15 *ch.* (12 vols.).

Author: Teng Chih-mo (fl. 1600).

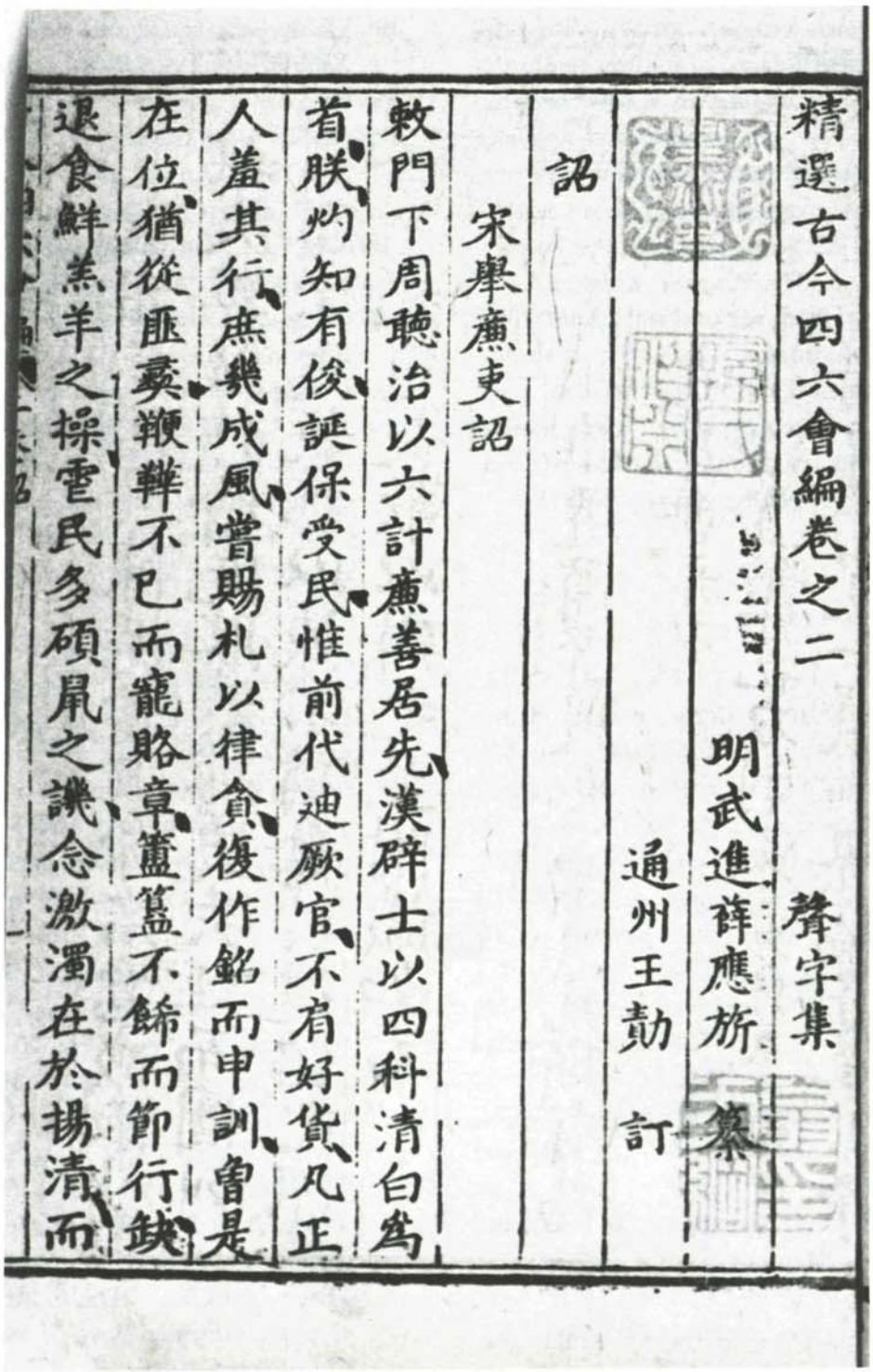
Date: 1603- 1619.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 16.8+3.2 x 12.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

Anhwei. First came Hangchow in Chekiang and then She-hsien in Anhwei. By the turn of the following century it was Nanking that became the busiest center, as skillful cutters flocked to new shops. *Ching-hsüan ku-chin ssu-liu hui-pien*, a collection of parallel-style prose, was published in Nanking in 1569 by a commercial printer called Kung Pang, whose name, along with the date of publication, appears in a colophon at the end of the book.[20] The beautifully engraved characters, which bear a soft, individual, style of calligraphy, demonstrate the flavor of late Ming printing in Nanking.

The book contains a 1568 preface by a certain Yüan Sui, and has the famous


精選古今四六會編卷之二　聲字集

明武進薛應旂纂

通州王勣訂

詔

宋舉薦吏詔

敕門下周聽治以六計薦善居先漢辟士以四科清白爲首朕灼知有俊誕保受民惟前代迪厥官不肖好貨凡正人蓋其行庶幾成風嘗賜札以律貪復作銘而申訓曾是在位猶從匪彝鞭鞑不已而寵賂章簠簋不飾而節行鉄退食鮮羔羊之操雲民多碩鼠之譏念激濁在於揚清而

89. *Ching-hsüan ku-chin ssu-liu hui-pien.* 4+1 *ch.* (4 vols.).

Author: Hsüeh Ying-ch'i (1500-1573?), Wang Chi (fl. 1500s), comps.

Date: 1569 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 18.4 x 13.1 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

scholar Hsüeh Ying-ch'i of Wu-chin as its compiler and Wang Chi of T'ung-chou as its editor. According to Yüan Sui, the book actually was compiled by Wang Chi. Wang, however, remains obscure. Like our last example, this book is not recorded in the catalogue of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*; and neither is another copy known to exist in major libraries of Chinese rare books. This copy, as shown by the three seals on the illustrated page (no. 89), had been owned by two eminent Ch'ing scholars, Weng Fang-kang (1733-1818) and Sun Hsing-yen (1753-1818).

Notes to Section 4

1. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 172-74.
2. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 176; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 166; *DMB*, pp. 204-08, 631-38; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 252-53, 262-63; *SKTY* 69, p. 7b; and *T'ai-wan shu-ming-so-yin*, p. 1786.
3. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 177; *SKTY* 69, p. 3a; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 210; and *DMB*, pp. 1107-11.
4. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 274; *DMB*, pp. 438-39, 212-15; Edgren, *American Collections*, pp. 102-03.
5. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 270-71; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 309; and *DMB*, pp. 1420-25.
6. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 179; and Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, pp. 203-04.
7. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 264-67; and Edgren, *American Collections*, pp. 116-17.
8. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 27; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 20; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 277-83; and Edgren, *American Collections*, p. 108.
9. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 490; and Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 431.
10. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 405; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 496; and *Ming-jen*, p. 629.
11. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 303; and *SKTY* 132, p. 6b.
12. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 446; *SKTY* 175, p. 14b; *Ming-shih*, p. 7353; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 83; Edgren, *American Collections*, p. 100; *Ming-jen*, p. 420; Fu Tseng-hsiang, *Ts'ang-yüan ch'ün-shu ching-yen lu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1983), p. 1404; and Chang Hsiu-min, "Yüan Ming liang-tai ti mu huo-tzu," in Liu Chia-pi, ed., *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi* (Hong Kong: Lung-men, 1974), pp. 499-510.
13. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 572; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, pp. 474-75; *SKTY* 192, pp. 5b-6a; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 320-21; Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing*, pp. 78-79; and Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, comp., *Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Taipei: Chung-hua ts'ung-shu wei-yüan-hui, 1958) 2, p. 314.
14. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 252; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 265; *SKTY* 105, p. 6a; *Ming-shih*, p. 3641; *Ming-jen*, p. 535; P'an and Ku, *Ming-tai pan-k'o*, pp. 173-74; and Ch'ang Pi-te, "Ming fan k'o shu k'ao, I and II," *Hsüeh-shu chi-k'an* 3.3 (1955.3), pp. 146-62 and 3.4 (1955.6), pp. 139-47.
15. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 177; Hung-lam Chu, "The Colby Collection of Chinese Rare Books," *The Gest Library Journal* 1.1 (Winter 1986), pp. 8-10; and idem, "The Debate Over Recognition of Wang Yang-ming," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48.1 (forthcoming).
16. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 416; P'an and Ku, *Ming-tai pan-k'o*, pp. 231, 282-83;

Fu, *Ching-yen lu*, p. 1063; and Chu, "Colby Collection," pp. 15-16.

17. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 462; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 628, *pu-i*, p. 9; *DMB*, pp. 1399-1405; and P'an and Ku, *Ming-tai pan-k'o*, pp. 75-76.
18. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 267; *ECCP*, pp. 565-66; *SKTY* 112, p. 2b; and Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 130-31.
19. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 344; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 402; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 183; *ECCP*, p. 312; and Liu Kuo-chün, *Chung-kuo ku-tai shu-chi shih-hua* (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1972), pp. 94-116.
20. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 513; P'an and Ku, *Ming-tai pan-k'o*, p. 413; and Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 183.

5. Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing

5. Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing

With a vast expansion in the quantity of printing after 1500, both the artistic standards of the script styles used in printing and the quality of the block cutting tended to decline. In place of characters that previously could be identified as "Yen style" or "Ou-yang style" or "Chao style," mid-Ming printers began using homogenized styles loosely designated "Sung dynasty characters" (*Sung-t'i tzu*). With repeated application to wooden blocks by ordinary craftsmen, such nondescript calligraphy came to be called "craftsmen script" (*chiang-t'i*). This dominance by the artisan indicates a broad trend toward dull standardization of Chinese script, presenting an overall uniformity, as in the mechanically produced fonts of Western alphabets; consequently, individualistic liveliness and expressiveness waned. The high standards of calligraphic style no longer prevailed in printing. If such books gained in legibility, they lost much of their presence and personality.

The better Ming printers tried in various ways to escape those trends. Some consciously imitated the high standards of treasured Sung books by having printing blocks cut from pages written in distinctive calligraphy. More commonly, however, the overall dullness of the artisan-produced book was counteracted by introducing facsimile printing of attractive calligraphy in the frontmatter (*chüan shou*) of a book, often including the title page, a succession of "forewords" and "prefaces," and "colophons" (occasionally also added to the end). For title pages the calligrapher might adopt clerical or seal script to give a touch of antique elegance. The remaining frontmatter often used the cursive "running" (*hsing*) or "grass" (*ts'ao*) scripts. Those prefaces and forwards would be signed by their authors, the presumption being that the quite personal calligraphy reproduced there was a faithful facsimile of their actual handwriting. That implicit assumption often was inaccurate; we show here examples where the signed calligraphy is falsely attributed, sometimes with intent to deceive, but sometimes not. Commercial publishers were quick to ape the modes of the fashionable world. Yet, whether or not there is apparent deception in the insertion of the *hsieh-k'o* (facsimile) prefaces and postfaces in books of that age, the visual impression on the reader is one of individuality — personalities perceived through distinctive calligraphy.

The Princeton University Art Museum has extensive holdings of original works of Ming calligraphers, often literati who were both scholar-authors and artists. In particular, a collection of Ming and Ch'ing letters provides samples of informal cursive writing styles of many of the eminent personages who most often contributed prefaces. These letters and other pieces of calligraphy, studied in conjunction with the examples of calligraphy printed in books, make possible numerous interesting studies of the uses of facsimile calligraphy in Ming and Ch'ing printing. This illustrates another facet of the relationship between calligraphy and printing. Some representative items are displayed here, including several "case studies" of truthfully and falsely attributed calligraphy of Ming scholars in Ming books.

The entire section is by Chu.

Wang Wen-k'o kung chi is the literary anthology of Wang Ao of Soochow, famous grand secretary and man of letters known in Ming times especially for his examination-style essays. Printed by Wang's great-great-grandsons in the family's San-huai t'ang, this edition, with a new title bearing Wang's posthumous name, was cut on the basis of a late 1530s edition with the same content but a different title.[1]

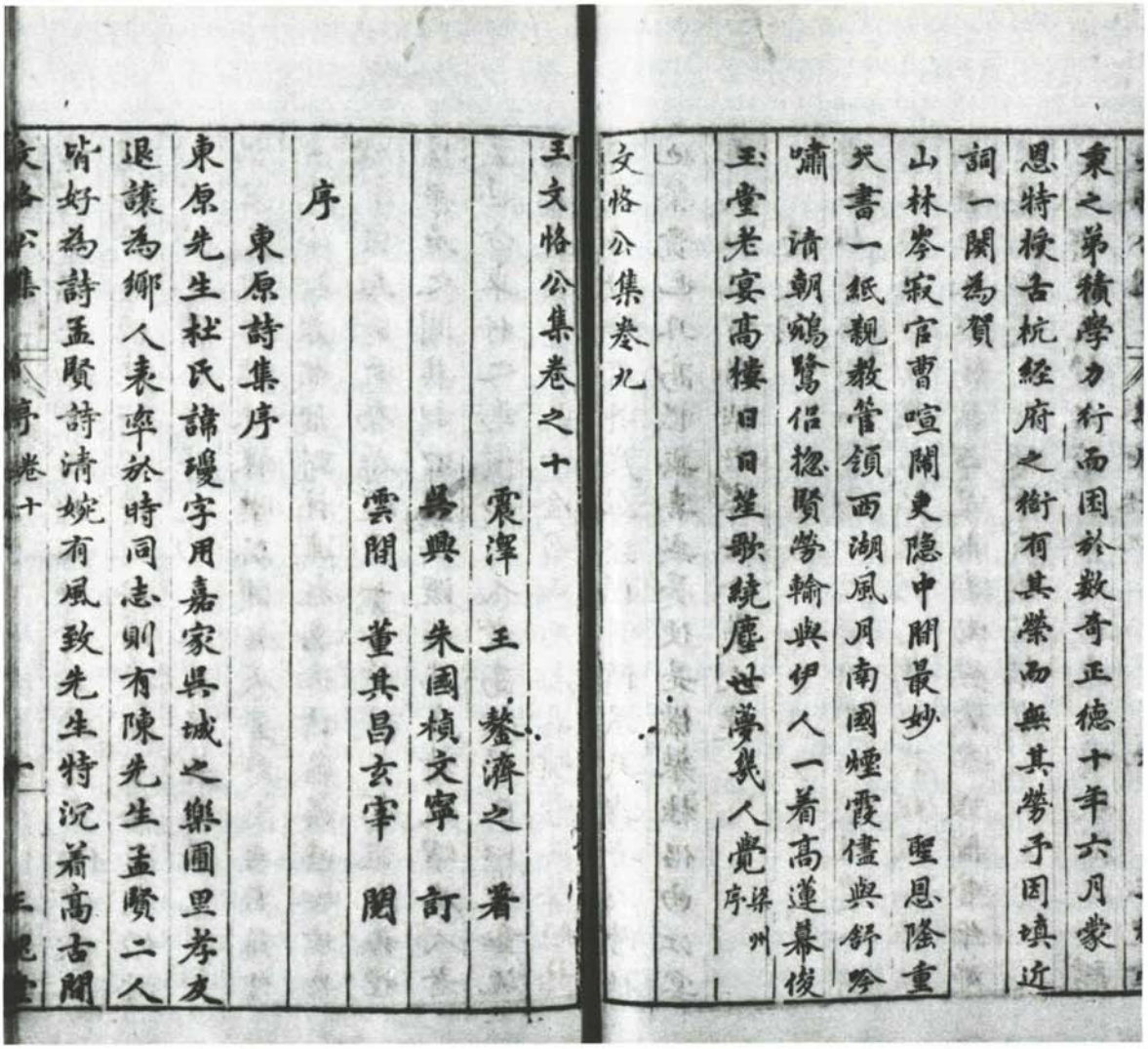
In the present copy (no. 90) fifteen of the thirty-five original *chüan* are missing. Several seals indicate that it was originally held by the Wang family. One of the seals reads "Twelfth-generation descendant of the honorable Wang Wen-k'o." Apart from a preface by Huo T'ao (1487-1540) for the earlier edition, the book bears two undated prefaces, by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1556-1637) of Hua-t'ing, Kiangsu, and by Chu Kuo-chen (died ca. 1625) of Wu-hsing, Chekiang. Both men were also named as reviewers of the text (no. 90, cols. 3-4 of the left folio).

This is one of the most artistic *hsieh-k'o* (carved as written) books printed in the Ming. The beautiful calligraphy, with a touch of the lively Chao Meng-fu style, was done by an artist not identified in the book. According to the late Wang Chung-min, this calligrapher was none other than Ch'en Yüan-shu (fl. 1590-1630) of Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, a highly respected poet and artist, noted especially for orchid painting; he excelled in the Ou-yang style standard script and the cursive-script styles of Wang Hsi-chih and Wang Hsien-chih. Wang Chung-min made this assertion based on a comparison of the calligraphy in this book with that in Shen Chou's (1427-1509) literary anthology, *Shen Shih-t'ien chi*, which was known to be cut from Ch'en Yüan-shu's handwriting.

Many such *hsieh-k'o* books were printed in Ming times, especially so at the end of the Ming, with calligraphy done by both well-known and unknown artist-calligraphers. These books demonstrate the new importance calligraphy had gained in later Ming printing. This new importance, revealing a new artistic taste of later Ming literati, however, can be seen even more clearly in the "autograph" prefaces that appear almost routinely in later Ming books. Examples of such prefaces in stylistic calligraphy are shown in the rest of this section.

In the opening page of the collection of letters *Chien-yüan t'ang chi-hsüan ming-kung ssu-lin chin-sheng*, written in archaic parallel-prose style by Ming writers, a famous late Ming essayist and literary critic, T'an Yüan–ch'un, is given as editor; the equally famous scholar and political activist Chang P'u (1602-1641) as associate editor; and two noted men of letters, Ma Shih-ch'i (died 1644) and Yang T'ing-lin, as commentator and collator, respectively. These well-known figures, however, may not really be responsible for the work. Instead, it is more likely that their names were used by unscrupulous book printers for commercial profit. In all likelihood, T'an Yüan-ch'un and Chang P'u were only assumed names. The letters in this collection are annotated; comments on them appear on the top margin of the folios, outside of the blocks. The book itself is extremely rare; it is mentioned neither in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* nor in the catalogue of major libraries of rare Chinese books.[2]

Chang Pi's and Chang P'u's prefaces are not dated. But beside the styles of woodblock and characters (see no. 91a), there is other historical evidence of the date. Ma Shih-ch'i, Chang P'u, and Yang T'ing-lin



90. *Wang Wen-k'o kung chi.* 21 *ch.* (5 vols.) extant.

Author: Wang Ao (1450-1524).

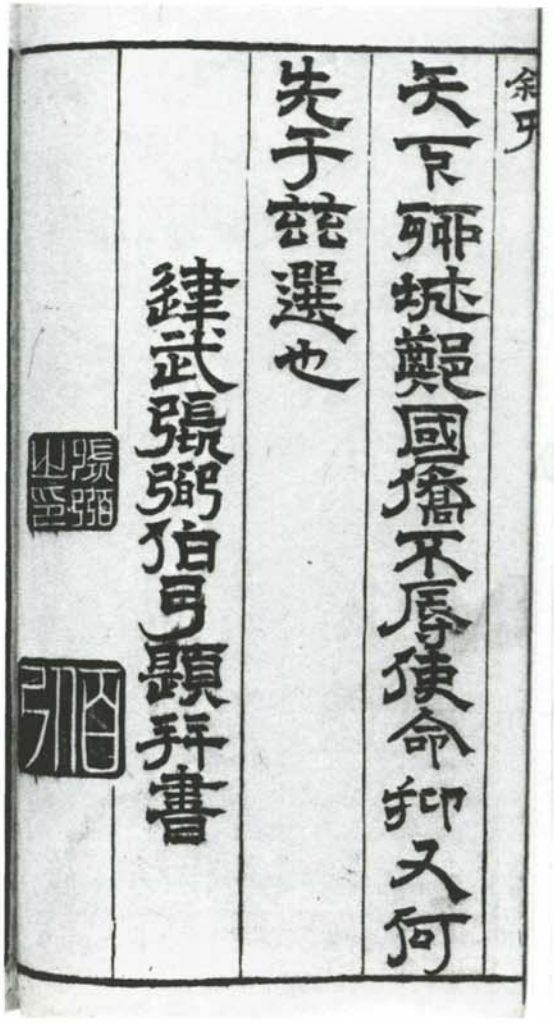
Date: ca. 1599 (Soochow).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 21.9 x 13.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

achieved great successes in the civil examinations, suggesting the book's appearance shortly after receiving in 1631 their *chin-shih* degrees, a most appropriate time to add prestige and appeal to the book.

The author of the preface illustrated (no. 91b) was not the noted official and acclaimed poet-calligrapher Chang Pi of the second half of the fifteenth century, but a later person of the same name, someone who does not appear in the indexes to Ming biographies. The calligraphy of this preface, as shown by the line bearing the author's signature, was also done by this Chang Pi. His brushwork was but a feeble touch of *pa-fen* form, historically a widely practiced variant of clerical script (see no.



91b.

91a-b. *Chien-yüan t'ang chi-hsüan ming-kung ssu-liu chin-sheng*. 10 *ch*. (10 vols.).

Author: attr. T'an Yüan-ch'un (1585-1687), ed.

Calligrapher: Chang Pi, preface.

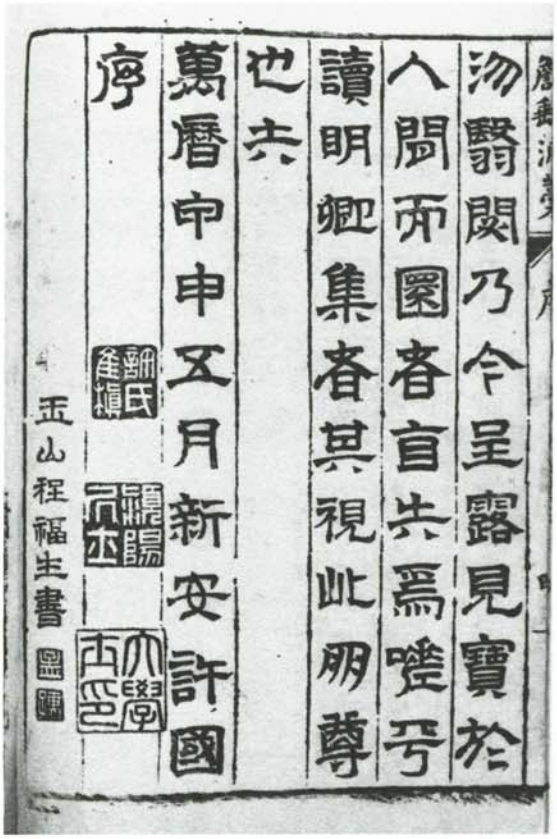
Date: 1631-1644.

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 19.6 x 11.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

6). The calligraphy of this autograph preface was presented mainly as art, since the book did not depend on the calligrapher's fame. The style, however, enjoyed a certain degree of popularity during late Ming; other prefaces can be found employing it.

The 54-*chüan* edition of *Tan-sui-tung kao* shown here (nos. 92a-b) is the earliest printed version of the poems and belles-lettres of Wu Kuo-lun, famous poet and essayist from Hsin-kuo chou, Hu-kuang. Wu was one of the "later seven masters" of the second half of the sixteenth century, but outlived the other six to be a famous contemporary not only of Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590) and Li P'an-lung (1514-1570), but also of the younger Li Wei-chen (1547-1626) and Wang Tao-k'un (1525-



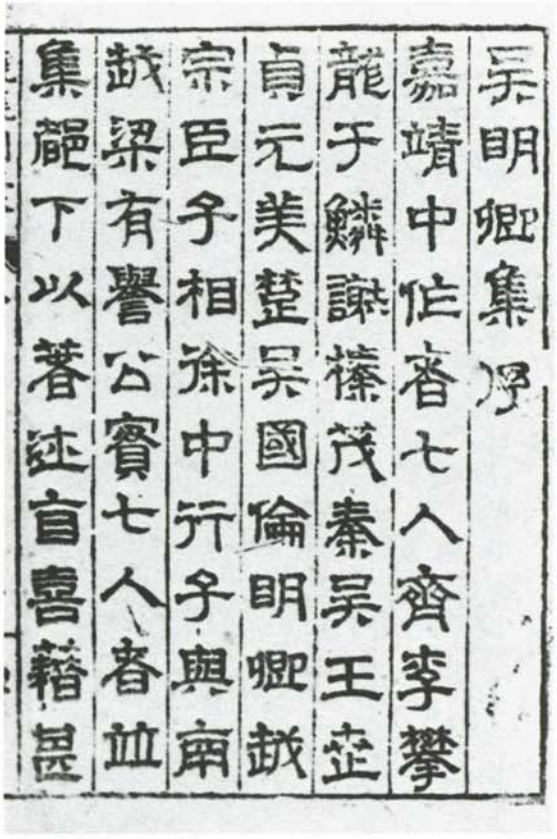
92a-b. *Tan-sui-tung kao*. 54 *ch*. (32 vols.).

Author: Wu Kuo-lun (1524-1593).

Date: 1584 (Wu-ch'ang).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 20.1 x 13.9 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

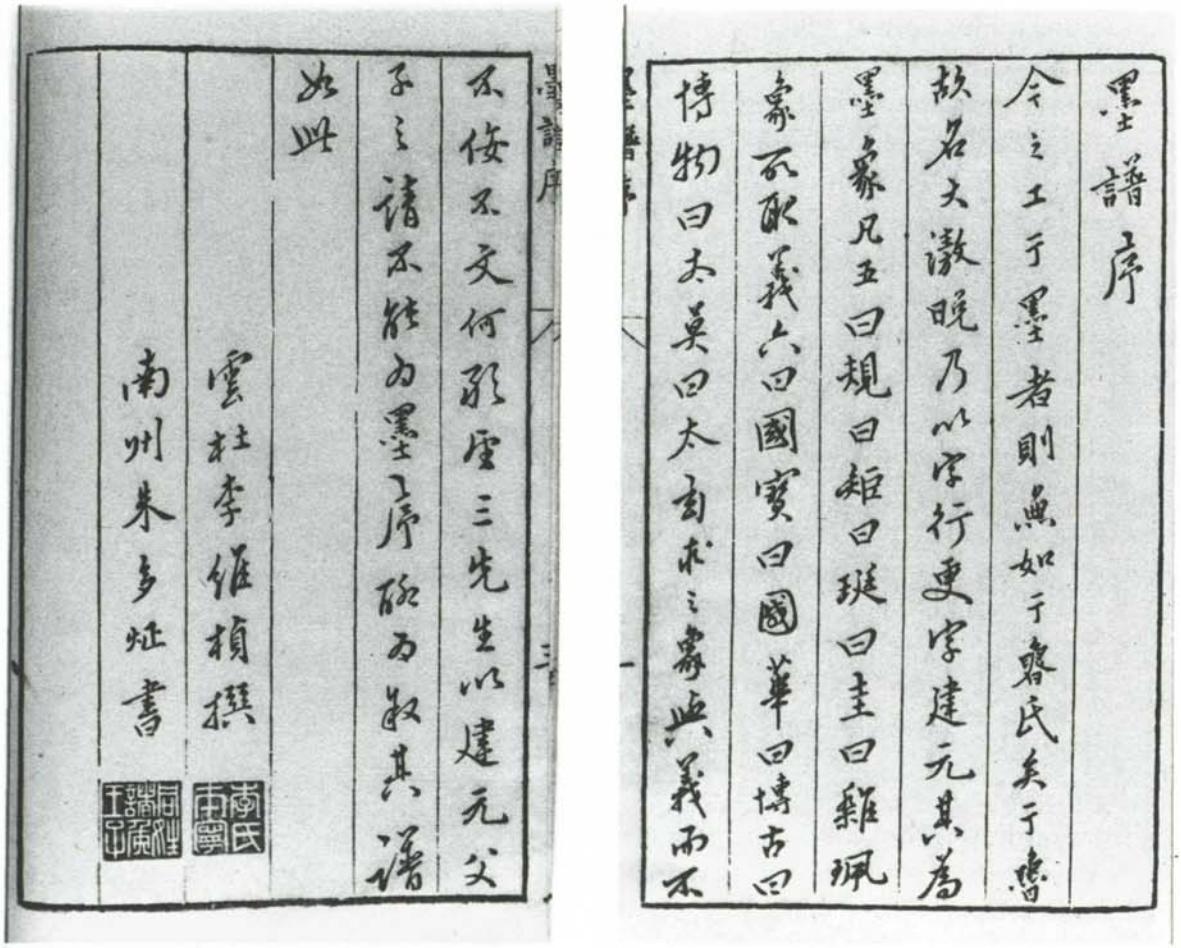


92a.

1593). Tan-sui-tung were the hollows in the artificial ranges Wu built in the center of an artificial pond in his native place, where he entertained himself and his friends.

The present version was edited by Wu himself and printed by the Wu family. A later, expanded, version was edited and printed in 1603 (with 27 additional *chüan*) by his son Shih-liang; it exists in a number of extant copies. But the earlier edition is known only by the Gest copy and the copies in Academia Sinica (Taiwan) and the Peking Library.[3]

In addition to prefaces both dated 1584 by Hsü Kuo (1527-1596) and Wang Shih-chen, there are three others dated 1572, 1573, and 1583. Note that Hsü Kuo's preface (no. 92a) bears the title "The works of Wu Ming-ch'ing" instead of the present title. Ming-ch'ing was Wu's alias; and use of it here suggests that the present title was decided almost at the last moment of publication. Hsü Kuo, from She-hsien in the Hui-chou area, was at the time a grand secretary, as the lowermost of his three square seals indicates. His status and his busy engagements, if not official duties, caused him to have a professional artist, a certain Ch'eng Fu-shan, perform the calligraphy. Ch'eng probably was also from



93a-b. *Fang-shih mo-p'u*. (See no. 73.)

93a.

Hui-chou, and may have been Hsü's personal secretary or a scribe in the Grand Secretariat. Whether it was Hsü Kuo's honesty or his intention to promote Ch'eng as a calligrapher, the inscription of Ch'eng's name (see no. 92b, last col.) points to the importance of calligraphy in printed books. Such collaboration between noted authors and artists was common in late Ming times.

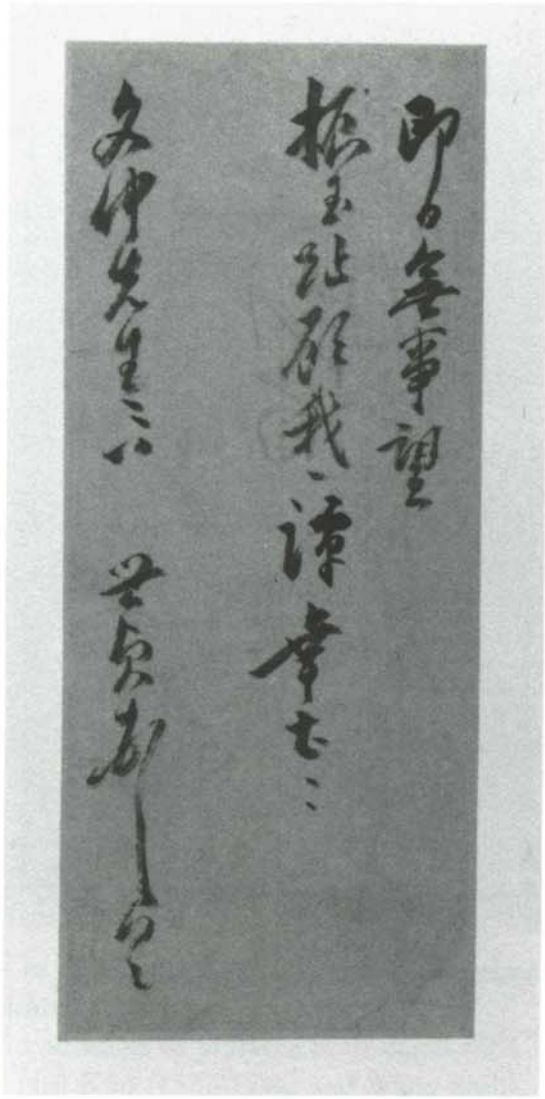
The prefaces to *Fang-shih mo-p'u*,[4] a famous and beautifully executed book (discussed above), are again an example of collaboration between writer and calligrapher. The distinctive feature in this case, in contrast to the preceding example, is that writer and artist were each famous and accomplished in his respective field. Li Wei-chen (1547-1626) from Ching-shan, Hu-kuang, author of the preface illustrated (nos. 93a-b), was one of the preeminently versatile and prolific writers in the four decades bordering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; he was as well known as Hsü Kuo. Chu To-chen (1541-1589) from Nanchang, Kiangsi, a sixth-generation descendant of Chu Ch'üan, the Prince of Ning and son of the Ming founder, was an accomplished poet and an acclaimed calligrapher and painter of nat-

ural settings. He also was a well-respected teacher, whose students privately honored him with a posthumous name. His running-cursive calligraphic style was said to have been modeled upon that of the great Mi Fu of the Sung.

The collaboration between Li and Chu was appropriate and complementary. For though Li was a great writer, he was not a good calligrapher, as he was too busy composing essays and poems to devote himself to the art of the brush. As a distinctive calligrapher, Chu's brushwork therefore added further grace to a book that has grown in artistic importance.

The Calligraphy of Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590)

The letter illustrated in no. 94 is an authentic work of Wang Shih-chen and invites comparison with printed examples claiming to be cut from Wang's calligraphy. Notice the signature of Lo Wen-jui at the end of the preface to *Tan-sui-tung kao* (no. 95a) identifying Wang as the author but not calligrapher. But two other pieces of calligraphy bearing Wang's signature present further problems of authenticity. Of the two, the one from *Fang-shih mo-p'u* (no. 96) seems to be authentic first of all because the book's date falls within Wang's active literary period, and more so because of the book's calligraphic emphasis. (See nos. 73a-b and 93a-b.) The calligraphic style of the preface is similar to that in the letter, however slight the similarity might be. Even the seal inscribed "Wu-hu chang" (Master of the Five Lakes) appears to be close to the one in no. 95a (bottommost of the two large seals). However, it is important to note that, contrary to expectations, this writing is



94. *Letter by Wang Shih-chen.*

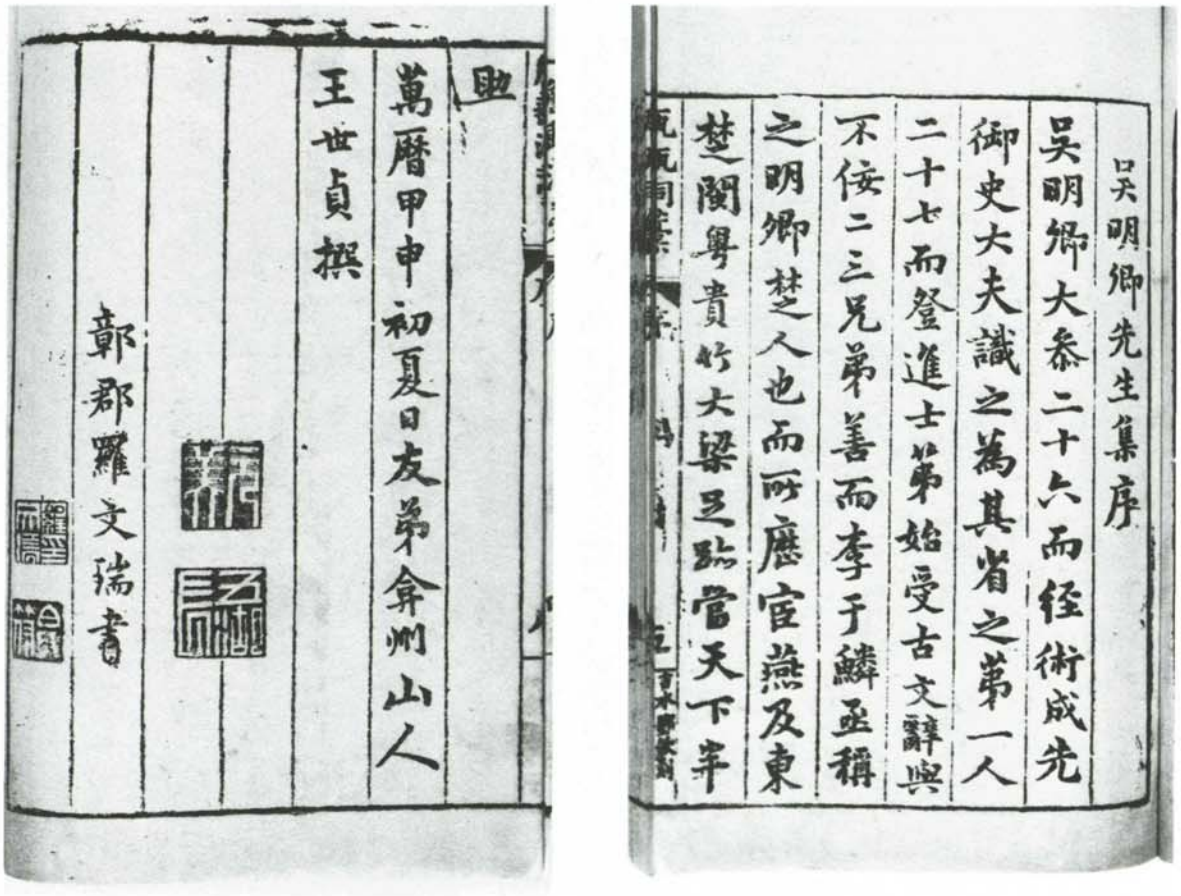
Date: unknown.

Dimensions: 24.6 x 10.2 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.

not found in Wang's 180-*chüan* literary anthology *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao*, or in its 297-*chüan* sequel. And there also appear to be no other items written for Fang in these two anthologies. These points arouse suspicion, but are not conclusive.

On the other hand, the preface to *San-Su wen-fan* (nos. 97a-b) is clearly a false

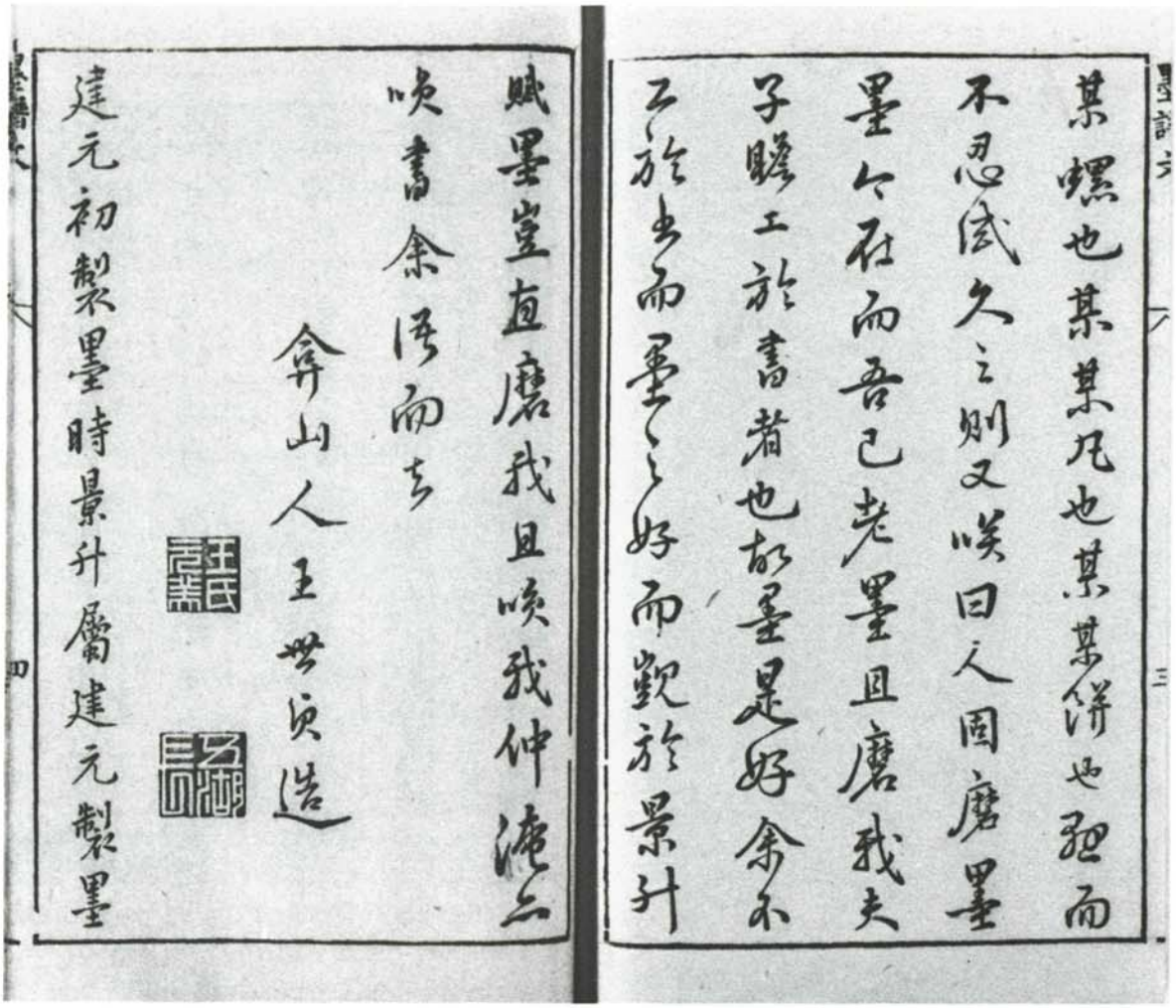


95a-b. *Tan-sui-tung kao.* (See no. 92.) 95b.

attribution, both in its content and in the calligraphy. Wang might have possessed the skill to execute this ornate and lively style. But the book itself both causes suspicion and provides clues to support them. Yang Shen's name as compiler has been shown to be false by scholars, and the essays included are useful only for the civil service examinations (typical of commercial printers' fraudulent products). The book bears four prefaces: the first by Ch'en Yüan-shu (fl. 1600-1630) is dated 1622; the other three, by Yüan Tsung-tao (1560-1600), Yang T'ing-ho (1459-1529), and Wang Shih-chen, are all undated. In fact, only the preface by Ch'en Yüan-shu, the late Ming poet and artist (mentioned earlier concerning no. 90) may be authentic. Wang's preface is not found in his collected writings, for the very good reason that it was impossible for him to have contributed it in 1622, more than three decades after his death.[5]

The Calligraphy of Chiao Hung (1541-1620)

The next "case study" involves the calligraphy by, and attributed, to Chiao Hung, the foremost scholar and writer of his time. It offers a more interesting, even somewhat surprising, glimpse into the re-



96. *Fang-shih mo-p'u.* (See no. 73.)

lationship between calligraphy, printing, and book marketing during Ming. A few notes on the selections themselves should be given first.[6]

The book *Hsü ts'ang-shu*, a biographic history of the Ming dynasty, has been traditionally attributed to Li Chih, the high-minded and controversial official, philosopher, and activist of the late sixteenth century. Because Li Chih was known as a "heretic," the book's circulation was discouraged during most of the two centuries following its publication. Recent studies, however, demonstrate that although the book was conceived by Li Chih, Li at best contributed only a slight part: several forewords to sections, and remarks and comments to a number of biographies. Not only does Li's career not convince us that he was the author of this book, but also his literary style is incompatible with its contents. Even more striking is that a number of biographies are identified as written by Chiao Hung years after Li's death. In fact, the literary style of these biographies is more compatible with that of the other ones in the book. Recently it has been argued that Chiao Hung should have

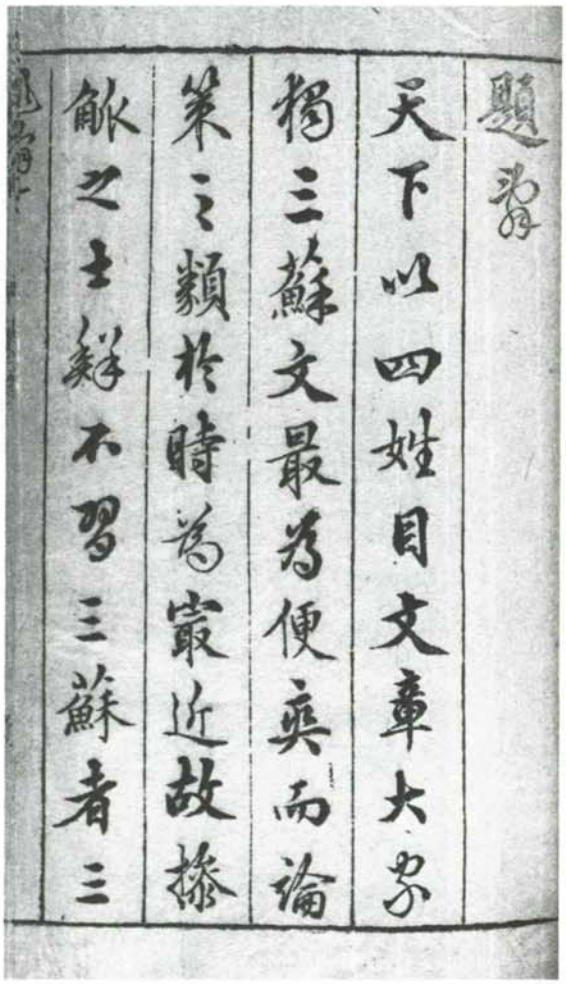
97a-b. [*Chia-lo chai hsüan p'ing-chu*] *san Su wen-fan ch'üan-chi*. 18 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: spurious attr. Yang Shen (1488-1559).

Date: 1622.

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 19 x 12.8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

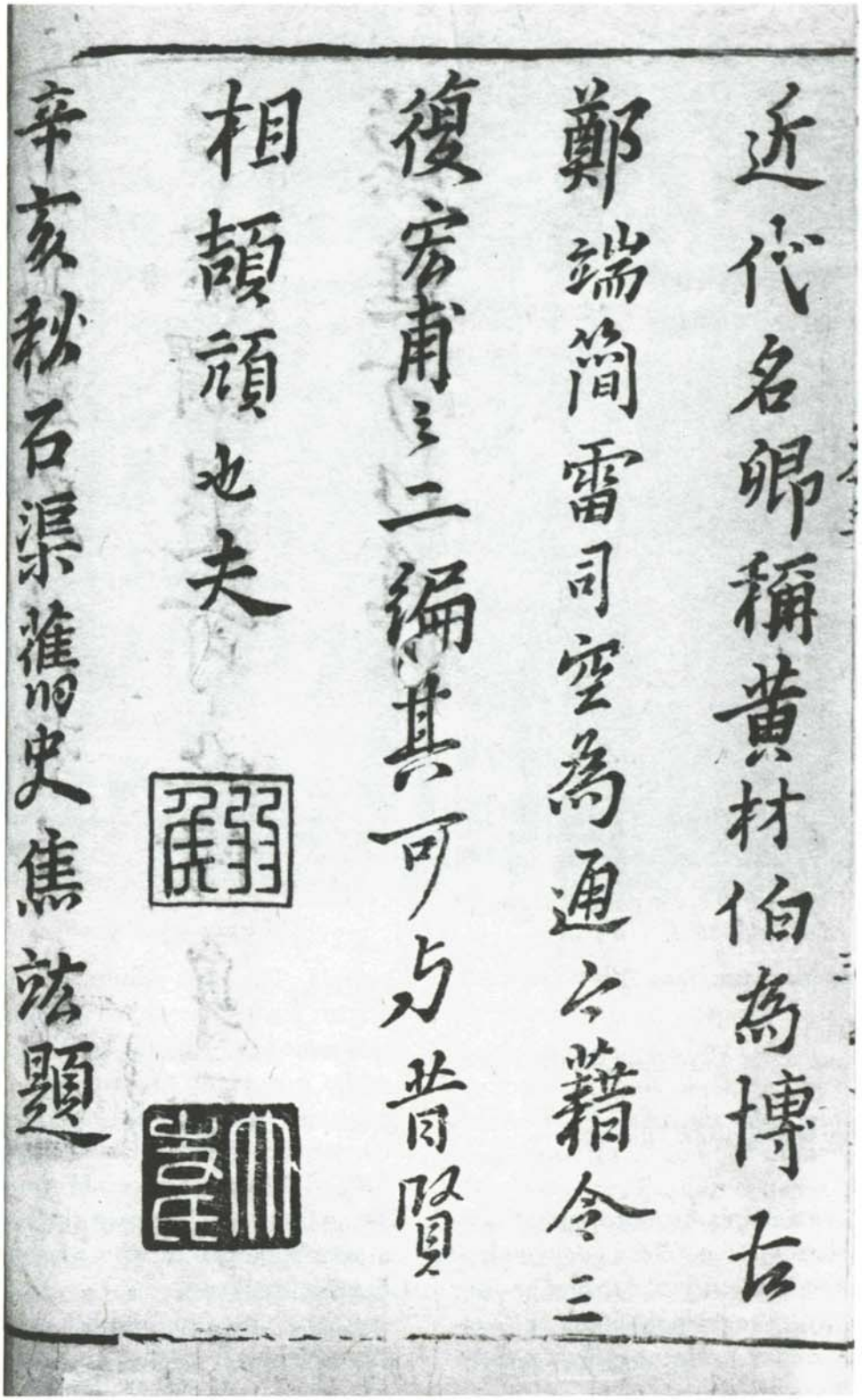


97a.

been recognized as de facto author, because in early Ch'ing times a book of identical content was attributed to him bearing the title *Hsi-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lu* (Veritable Records of Eminent Officials of the Ming Dynasty).

In any event, *Hsü ts'ang-shu* was first published in 1611 (some ten years after Li's death), as attested by Chiao Hung's preface. This first edition, collated by a certain Wang Shao-ch'ien (see nos. 98a-b), was issued in Nanking by Wang Wei-yen with Chiao Hung's sponsorship. The title page bears two lines reading, "Sent to be cut by the office of Chiao [Hung]" and "Woodblocks deposited in the office of Wang [Wei-yen]," apparently having been a joint sponsorship whose finances were handled by Wang.

Chung-yüan wen-hsien is a collection of essays drawn from the Confucian classics, histories, and philosophic and literary works of sundry authors. It was compiled and annotated with the professed, mundane, purpose of helping students to grasp



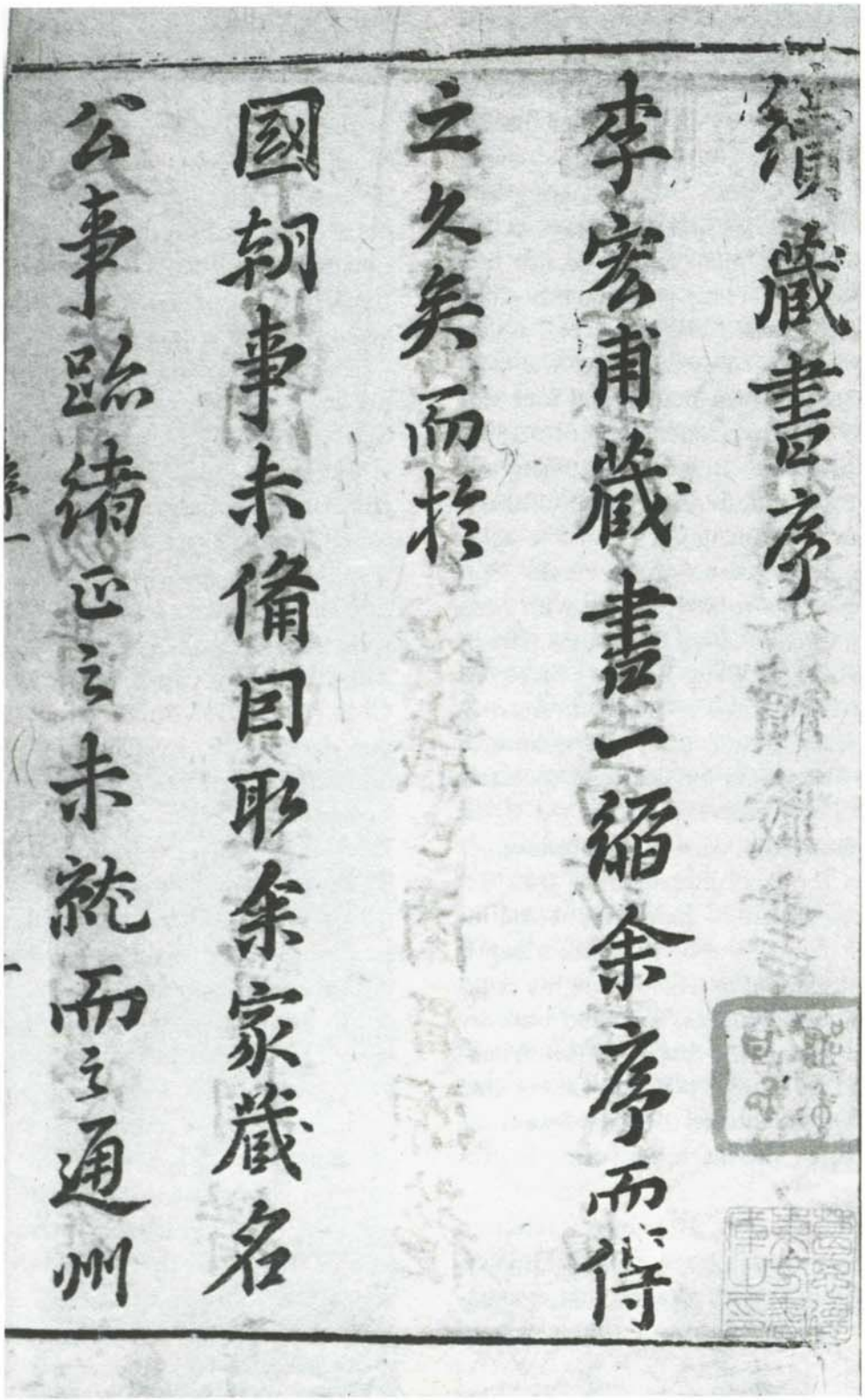
98a-b. *Hsü ts'ang-shu*. 27 *ch*. (8 vols.).

Author: Li Chih (1527-1602).

Date: 1611 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 23 x 14.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.


續藏書序
李宏甫藏書一編余序而傳
之久矣而於
國朝事未備因取余家藏名
公事跡續正之未就而之通州

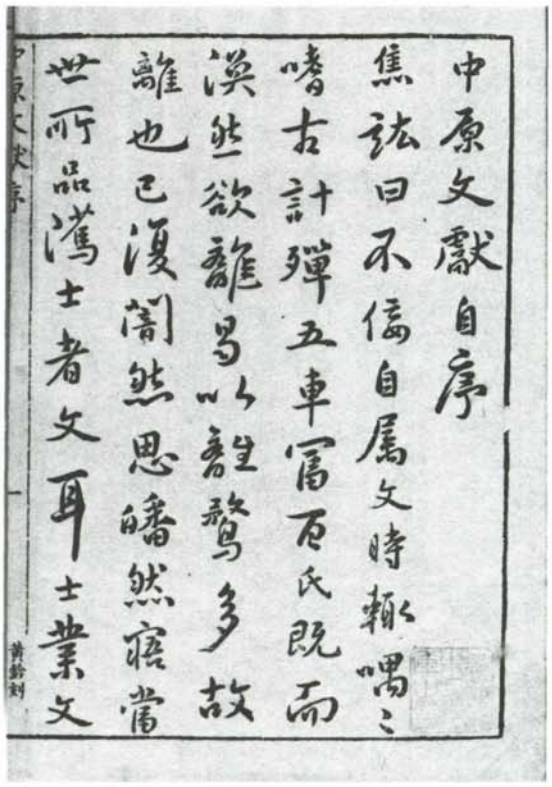
98a.

the techniques for composing the type of essays required in the civil service examinations. The compilation is attributed to Chiao Hung (*chin-shih* 1589) and the annotation to Chu Chih-fan (fl. 1590-1624, *chin-shih* 1595, both from Nanking and both having placed first in their respective palace examinations. The book also lists Hsü Kuo (1527-1596), prominently titled "Junior Guardian of the Emperor," as collator; a Hanlin compiler, T'ao Wang-lin (b. 1562), as commentator; and four students of the government school of She-hsien, three of them surnamed Wang and one Hsü, as proofreaders and publishers. In addition, a Huang Ch'ien of She-hsien was named the cutter of the blocks. Preceding the text are two prefaces with dates missing, one by Chiao Hung (nos. 99a-b) and one by T'ao Wang-lin; and a foreword by Chu Chih-fan, also undated. According to Wang Chung-min, who examined another copy held by Peking University Library, both these prefaces are dated 1596; hence the date of publication as given in the label information. But, despite the citation of these famous and influential names, the book's authorship is falsely atrributed to Chiao Hung by commercial book printers, as stated both by the reviewers in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* abstracts (1787) and by Wang Chung-min (1983), who identified the compilers as the Wangs from She-hsien, Hui-chou prefecture.

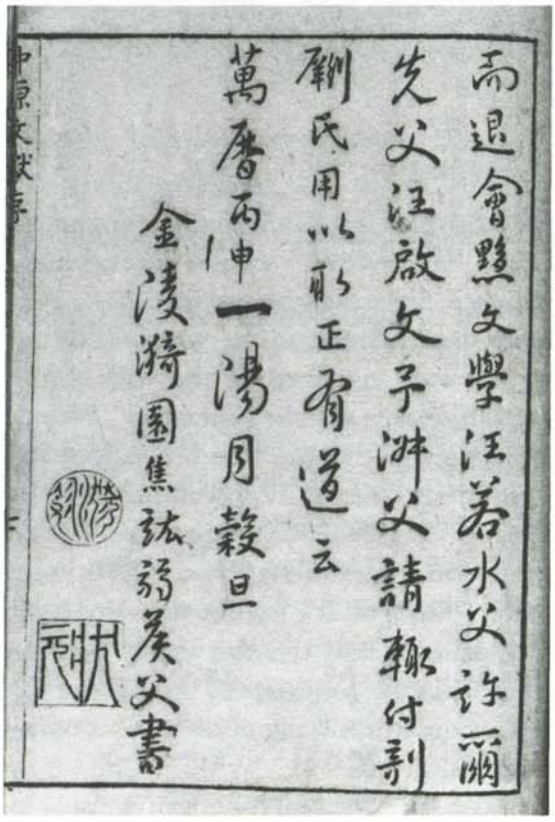
P'o-hsien chi (nos. 100a-b) is a selection of the great Su Shih's writings. The version exhibited, with a longer title, was expanded by the editing of the celebrated Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639). It was based on an earlier, shorter, version in sixteen *chüan* selected by Li Chih and published by Chiao Hung in 1600, presumably in Nanking; thereafter it was cut and issued again in Hangchow. The copy illustrated is truly rare; it is not mentioned in the catalogues of rare books, including even that of the Library of Congress, which nonetheless has two copies of the 1600 edition. This copy bears a preface by Chiao Hung, dated 1600, and another by Ch'en Chi-ju, undated. It probably was printed during the last reign of the Ming, when Ch'en was in his late years.

K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi (nos. 101a-b) is the literary anthology of the noted scholar-official Feng Meng-chen from Hsiu-shui, Chekiang. Because he owned Wang Hsi-chih's famous calligraphic work, "K'uai hsüeh shih ch'eng t'ieh," Feng named his studio K'uai-hsüeh t'ang; hence also the title of his collected literary works. The present copy has five prefaces — two dated 1616, by Chiao Hung and by Ku Ch'i-yüan (1565-1628) from Nanking; one dated 1615, by Chu Chih-fan; two undated, by Li Wei-chen and by Huang Ju-heng (1558–1626) from Shan-yin, Chekiang. Based on his study of woodblock styles, an eminent bibliophile in the early Republican period, Fu Tseng-hsiang, asserts that the book was cut and published in Nanking.

The two letters by Chiao Hung illustrated are both undated. The first (no. 102a), written to an in-law, appears to be an appeal for a reprint of Yang Shen's *Liu-shu ching-i*, a work on the structure and forms of ancient scripts. The second one (no. 102b), which may be a postscript to the first, though the slightly variant style of the calligraphy suggests a time difference, also talks about the printing business — about a facsimile reproduction of a certain piece of calligraphy. It is from these two indisputable samples of Chiao Hung's calligraphy that we proceed to investigate the authenticity of the attribu-



中原文獻自序
焦竑曰不偏自屬文時輒喁喁
嗜古計殫五車富百氏既而
渙然欲離曷以離鶩多故
離也已復闇然思皤然寤當
世所品薦士者文耳士業文



而退會黟文學汪若水父許爾
先父汪啟文予泮父請輒付剞
劂氏用以形正有道云
萬曆丙申一湯月穀旦
金陵漪園焦竑弱侯父書

99b.

tions in the facsimile prefaces illustrated here.

On the basis of the calligraphy in the second letter (no. 102b), it is clear that the preface to *Hsü ts' ang-shu* is a facsimile of Chiao Hung's own handwriting. In both the composition of individual characters and the linear movements of the brush they bear close resemblance to one another. The formalness in the preface, as against the letter's cursive calligraphy, is due to the nature of book prefaces. The characters of the preface were cut from tracings of the original, thus creating a sharper definition in the brushwork — in other words, inevitable distortion, however slight, due to block cutting. Chiao's close relationship with the writing and publication of this book increases the likelihood of his personally having executed the calligraphy for the preface, an act which added credibility and marketability to the book. It would follow, then, that the letter was written in Chiao's old age; the preface was autographed when Chiao was seventy years old.

The calligraphy shown in the preface to *Chung-yüan wen-hsien* (nos. 99a-b) definitely is not Chiao's, as our study showed above. Wang Chung-min also states that that could be told at a single glance. Not that it was impossible for Chiao to master a calligraphic style like the one displayed

99a-b. *Hsin-chüan Chiao t'ai-shih lei-hsüan chung-yüan wen-hsien*. 24 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: attr. Chiao Hung, comp.

Date: 1596 (She-hsien?, Anhwei).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 20.5 x 13.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

100a-b. *Ch'en Mei-kung ting-pu P'o-hsien chi*. 38 *ch*. (20 vols.).

Author: Su Shih (1036-1101).

Date: 1620-1630s.

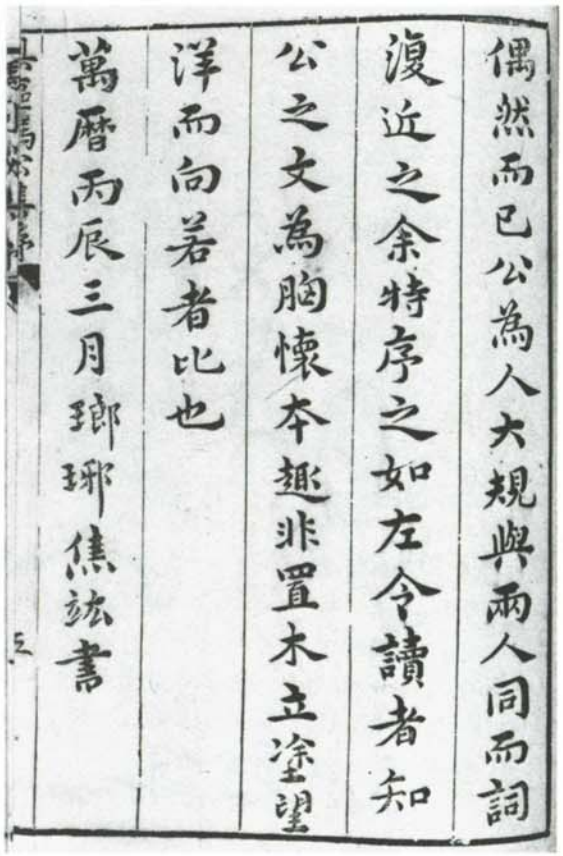
Dimensions: 10 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 21.3 x 13.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

100a.

in the preface, which is beautifully punctuated by a lively maneuvered brush; Chiao especially could have done it when he was younger, fifty-five years old according to the date of the preface. The fact remains, however, that the preface is not to be found in Chiao's literary collections. And more revealing is that the preface calligraphy is strikingly similar to that attributed to Chu Chih-fan, as found in Chu's "Foreword" to the same book, which is illustrated below (no. 104). Another doubt comes in the wording of the second seal inscribed at the end of the preface. In this seal the characters "*chuang-yüan*" (*optimus* in the triennial palace examination) are inscribed prominently (no. 99b, bottom seal). Although Chiao was an *optimus* in the examination of 1589, years before the publication of the book, it seems more likely that the words were inscribed on the commercial instincts of the book printer, thinking of his market of future examinees.

Again, the calligraphy of the prefaces to *P'o-hsien chi* and *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi* can-



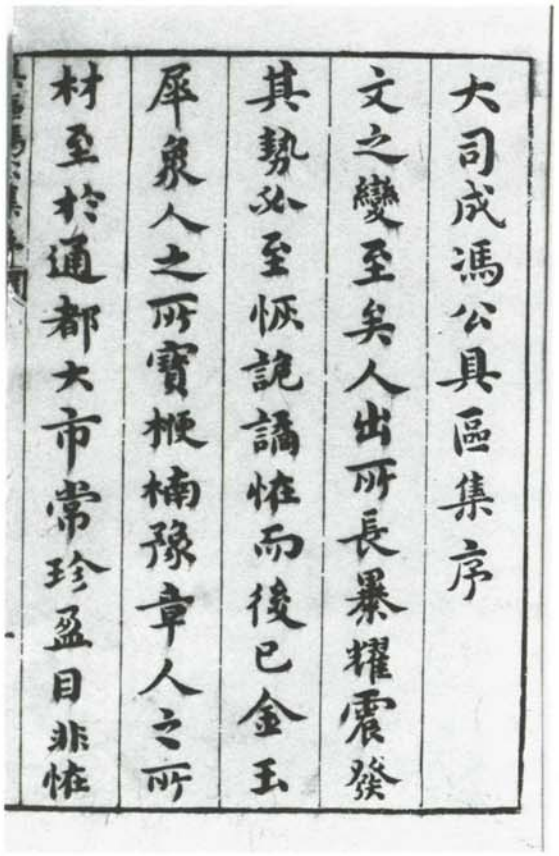
101a-b. *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi*. 64 *ch*. (36 vols.).

Author: Feng Meng-chen (1546-1605).

Date: 1616 (Nanking).

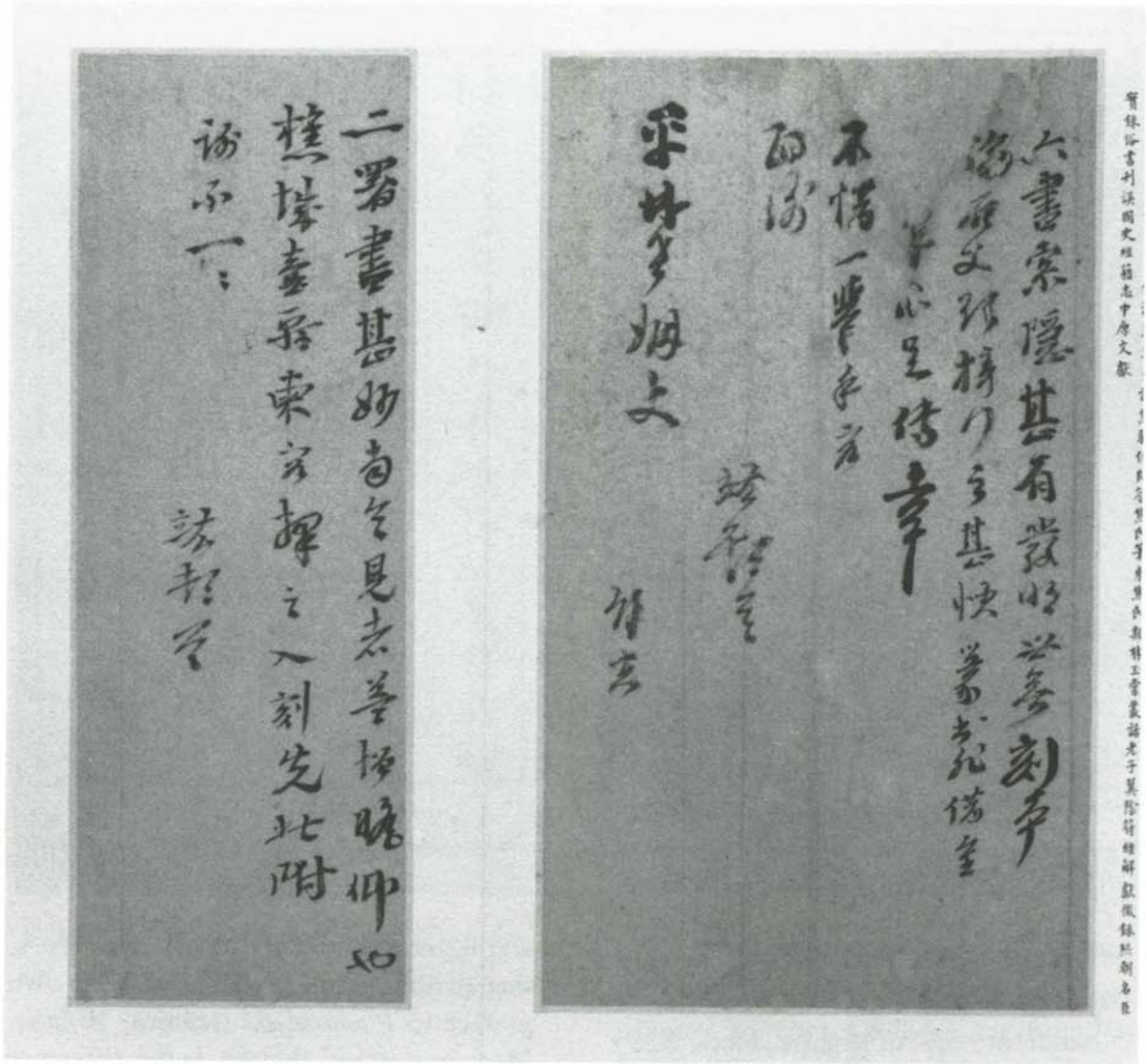
Dimensions: 9 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 20.3 x 13.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



101a.

not be easily authenticated. First, these prefaces are not found in Chiao's published literary anthologies. This means that at best Chiao did not like them, if indeed he was their author. In the case of *P'o-hsien chi*, though the first seal at the end of the preface (no. 100b) appears to be similar to that in the *Hsü ts'ang-shu* preface, the second one is suspected of being commercially oriented advertisement by the printer. In fact, the calligraphy in general bears resemblance to someone else's, that attributed to Ch'en Chi-ju in his own preface to *P'o-hsien chi* (see nos. 107a-b). More important, though, is the difference between the calligraphy of the *P'o-hsien chi* preface dated 1600 (nos. 100a-b), and that of the preface to *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi*, dated 1616 (nos. 101a-b). It may of course be noted that these two prefaces were written over a span of sixteen years, thereby suggesting the possibility of a change in style. But then it is unlikely that at the advanced age of seventy-five Chiao Hung would inscribe the ornate calligraphy that appears in the latter preface. Besides, the two seals used there, with texts similar to those found in *Hsü ts'ang-shu*, nonetheless are different both in size and in calligraphy. Interestingly, the folio on



102a.

102a-b. *Letters by Chiao Hung.*

Date: unknown.

Dimensions: a) 27.3 x 15.4 cm; b) 27 x 9.4 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.

which these seal inscriptions are located has the portion after these inscriptions cut off — for reasons on which it would not be wise to speculate — so that if any other calligrapher's name originally appeared there as scribe it remains unknown. This point is worth noting because a preface discussed below, text written by Li Wei-chen with his seals duly appearing (no. 106b), is in a calligraphic style somewhat similar to that of Chiao's *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi* preface; but there the name of the scribe, "Hsü Yen-tsu of Mo-ling [Nanking]" is given at the end of the folio (no. 106a). This suggests that the facsimile-cut calligraphy of all the prefaces may have been written by Hsü Yen-tsu or other scribes.

One must therefore concede the diffi-

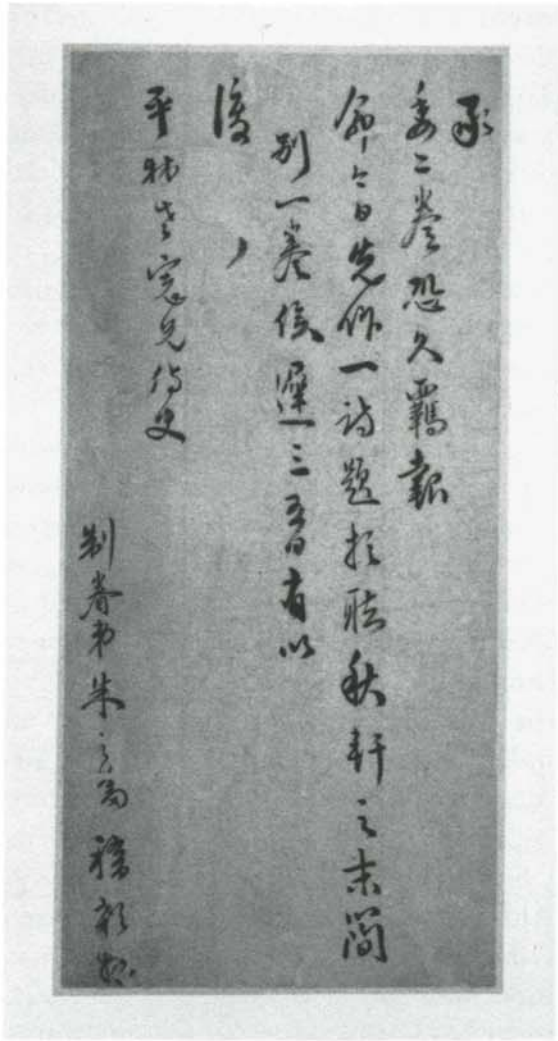
culty in identifying the writer of such facsimiles, and be cautioned that a variety of reasons may underline any (seemingly) deliberate false attribution.

The Calligraphy of Chu Chih-fan (fl. 1590-1624)

We have included a letter and three prefaces attributed to Chu Chih-fan, but we must first mention something about him.[7] Chu, Chiao Hung, and Ku Ch'i-yüan (1565-1628) were three of the most eminent figures of the Nanking area at the end of the sixteenth century. All from the city of Nanking, intimate friends of one another, and foremost literati of their region, they passed their court examinations with highest rankings: Chiao and Chu placed first in the palace examinations of 1589 and 1595, respectively, and Ku placed third in 1598, but had been first in the metropolitan examination the year before. This made them legendary Nanking characters about whom the city was fond of boasting. Their fame added greatly to their reputations as writers; many of their works were regarded as model writing for examination purposes. Many extant books on various subjects bear their names as authors, editors, compilers, commentators, proofreaders, and sponsors of publication — evidence that their names were worth citing and hence profitably used by commercial printers. Chu Chih-fan accomplished less as a versatile scholar and prolific writer than did Chiao Hung and Ku Ch'i-yüan. He, however, excelled them as artist, being especially a recognized painter and calligrapher, and collector of antique objects. His poetry is not outstanding, but his calligraphy was so widely appealing, that as an imperial envoy to Korea he was busily solicited by the Koreans for his autographed poems. To such requests he consented gracefully, giving them his works while declining their lavish presents. He ended his official career sooner than most other officials of his background, retiring in the capacity of vice-minister of Personnel. Like Chiao and Ku, he returned to Nanking and became active in the highest local artistic circles.

The letter illustrated (no. 103) was written to a certain in-law and former fellow student, as the term "*ch'uang-yu*" (friend studying under the same window) was used to address his correspondent, and in turn Chu was called "*chüan-ti*" (younger brother by marriage). This friend, having the courtesy name P'ing-lin, was also an in-law of Chiao Hung; he was so addressed in one of Chiao's letters (no. 102a), illustrated above. This letter is Chu's response to a request for his poetry. Although it is undated, it was written either in 1597-1598 when Chu was mourning his father, Chu I (1533-1597), or in 1613-1614 when he was mourning his mother, nee Chou (1536-1613); the word "*chih*" (observing mourning obligations) is evidence of this. Chu's father was not a *chin-shih*, but did pass the provincial examination in 1564, together with Chiao Hung, whom Chu elsewhere therefore addressed as *nien-po* ("uncle"). Ku Ch'i-yüan was even closer to the Chu family; he was the author of the tomb inscription of Chu's mother.

The calligraphy displayed in this letter tends to make one doubt the claim that Chu Chih-fan was an accomplished calligrapher. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was just a quick reply to an intimate friend and relative and was written during the mourning period, a time



103. *Letter by Chu Chih-fan.*

Date: unknown.

Dimensions: 26.6 x 12.6. cm.

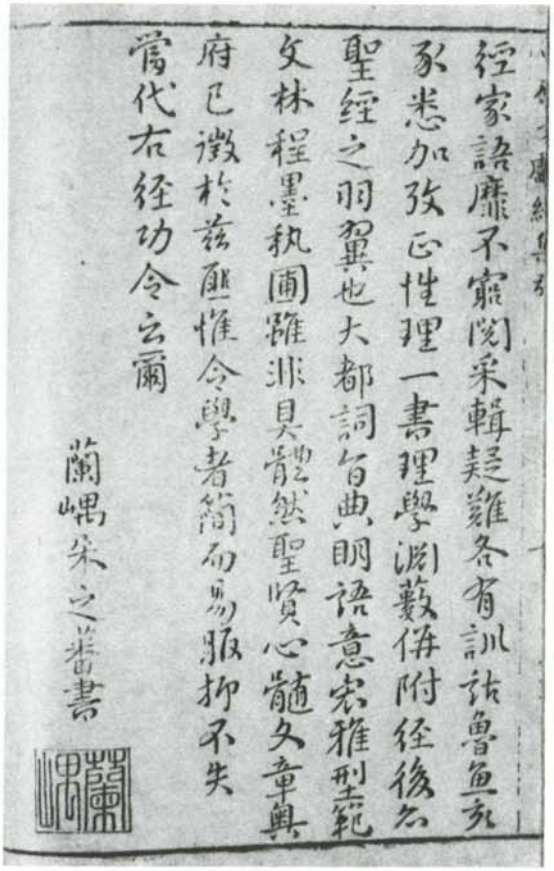
Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.

when one was not supposed to do things ornately and elaborately.

Turning to the other three examples, one finds strikingly different calligraphic styles and wide possibilities for ascribing the artist. It is conceivable that Chu, as a noted calligrapher, could have mastered many styles and executed them beautifully. But the fact that *Chung-yüan wen-hsien* was falsely attributed by She-hsien literati to Chiao Hung and to Chu, as annotator, makes it unreasonable to assume that the "Foreword" illustrated (nos. 104a-b) was composed and autographed by Chu. That its calligraphy bears close resemblance to that of Chiao Hung's preface, as mentioned before, further urges one to consider Chu either as the calligrapher of both prefaces or of neither. But since Chiao was in fact not the compiler, Chu's closeness to Chiao greatly narrows the probability that he was in any way associated with the book.

The preface to *Nan-yu kao* (nos. 105a-b) is highly suspect. One doubts Chu's inclination to write in this highly artistic but uncharacteristic style at an advanced age: The "Preface" was dated 1621. The text of the preface is equally suspect. The book's author, Ch'en Chao-chi from P'u-t'ien, Fukien, was an obscure figure, having left no record of his examination success or official career. (The preface hints that he may have been a secretary in the military.) It was then socially most inappropriate and unconventional, given Chu's senior age and official status, for Chu to address himself as the "friend" of the author and as a *sheng*, an expression almost only used by a young literatus not yet having substantial success. On the other hand, if by contributing a preface Chu actually meant to lend prestige to an obscure friend, he would have done better to enumerate at least some of his prestigious official titles.

Only the preface to *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi* (nos. 106a-b) seems to bear Chu's writing — and this for one important reason: consistency. That very style of calligraphy, showing an imitation of Yen Chen-ch'ing, with typically thick strokes and smoothly forceful brush endings, can be found in prefaces signed by Chu for other



104a-b. *Hsin-chüan Chiao t'ai-shih hui-hsüan chung-yüan wen-hsien.* (See no. 99.)

104a.

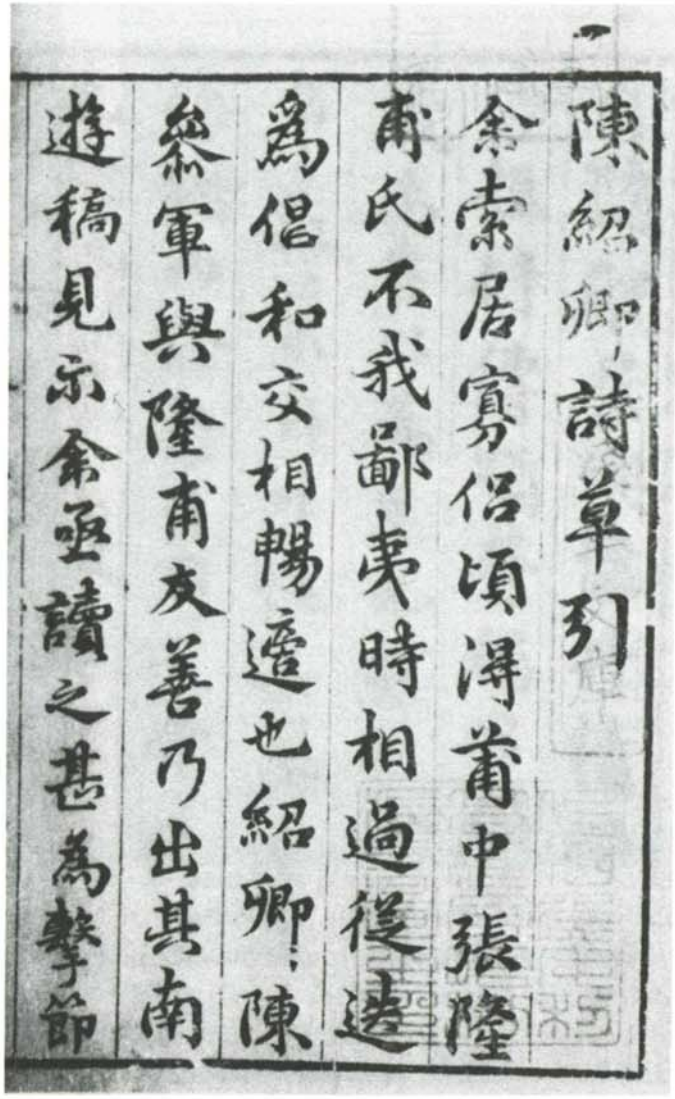
books. Besides, it was appropriate in this particular case for Chu to present the preface with his own brush: he was writing it as a tribute to his eminent late teacher.

Thus here again, in this case study of Chu Chih-fan's calligraphy, both spurious and genuine, we see that importance was attached to the personalizing presence of fine calligraphy in the late Ming printed book.

The Calligraphy of Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639)

Another set of intriguing examples demonstrates commercial printers' use of stylistic calligraphy and celebrity-autographed calligraphy to lend appeal to their products. Featured here is Ch'en Chi-ju of Hua-t'ing, Kiangsu,[8] celebrated private scholar, writer, calligrapher, painter, esoteric hermit in the mountain, and otherwise charming man of the world, who frequented the mansions of such high officials and renowned artists as Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1556-1637).

We have already introduced *P'o-hsien chi*, the editorship of which was ascribed to Ch'en Chi-ju, and discussed why Chiao Hung probably was not the calligrapher of an early preface. The calligraphy displayed in Chiao's preface bears resemblance to Ch'en's, in the preface illustrated (nos. 107a-b); in fact, they appear to be



105a.

105a-b. *Nan-yu kao*. 1 vol.

Author: Ch'en Chao-chi (fl. 1620s).

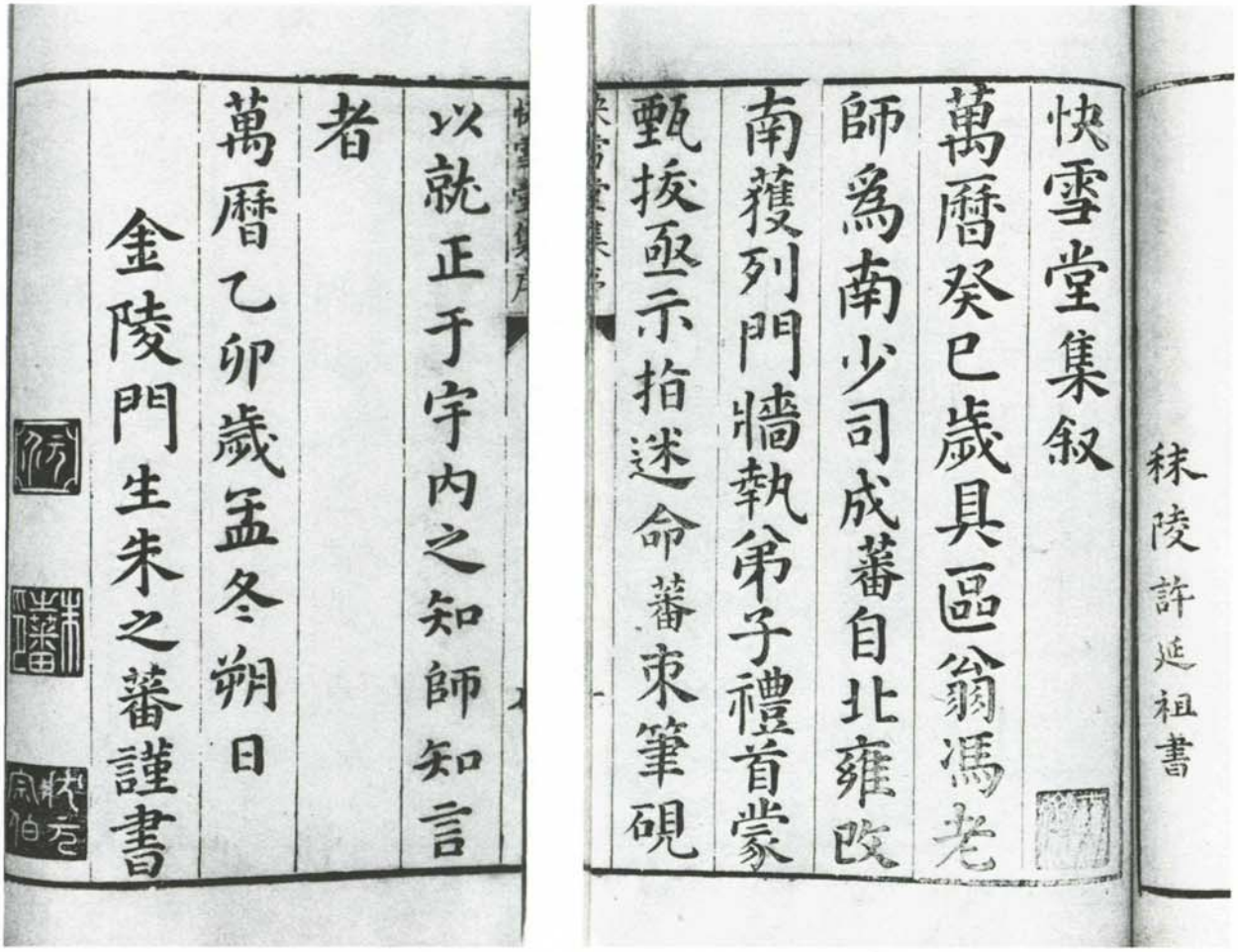
Date: 1623.

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 18 chars.

Source: photographic copy of Ming printed original in Naikaku Bunko.

wrought by the same hand. Note that Ch'en's preface, characteristically for false attributions, lacks a date. As a matter of fact, neither this preface, nor the other two illustrated, is found in the most reliable collection of Ch'en's literary writings, the 24-*chüan Pai-shih ch'iao chen-kao*, prefaced by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and published by Chiang T'ai-ting in Hua-t'ing in 1636, a date late enough to have all these prefaces included if they were indeed written by Ch'en. Ch'en thus was not the calligrapher for "his" preface to *P'o-hsien chi*.

Both *Su-wen hui-ching*, a collection of 108 essays by Su Shih (selection attributed to Li T'ing-chi, well-known literatus and grand secretary from Chin-chiang, Fukien, and with commentary by him as well as by Ch'en Chi-ju), and *Li-tai ming-*



106a-b. *K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi.* (See no. 101.)

106a.

wen tse, a collection of essays by writers from the pre-Ch'in era through the Sung dynasty whose compilation is ascribed to a certain Hsü I from Fukien and commented on by Ch'en Chi-ju, are extremely rare books. Both were printed with commentary atop the text, and were produced in Shu-lin, Chien-yang, the Ming center of book printing in Fukien. The former was cut and printed by the Shih-chien t'ang, the latter by the Chih-shan t'ang of the Ch'en family. They were commercially printed and unscholarly, and thus not reviewed in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*. With good evidence, Ch'ü Wan-li noted that the editorship of *Su-wen hui-ching* (nos. 108a-b) was falsely attributed to Li T'ing-chi, and with keen perception he noted that Ch'en's preface was also a false attribution. In all likelihood the printer made such attributions; and again, Ch'en's preface is undated. As for the dated preface in *Li-tai ming-wen tse*, a calligrapher's signature states the artist to be a certain Yeh Yeh-ch'iu (nos. 109a-b; the signature constitutes the last column of b).

The resemblance between the last two samples of printed calligraphy and that in the two Ch'en letters illustrated here is

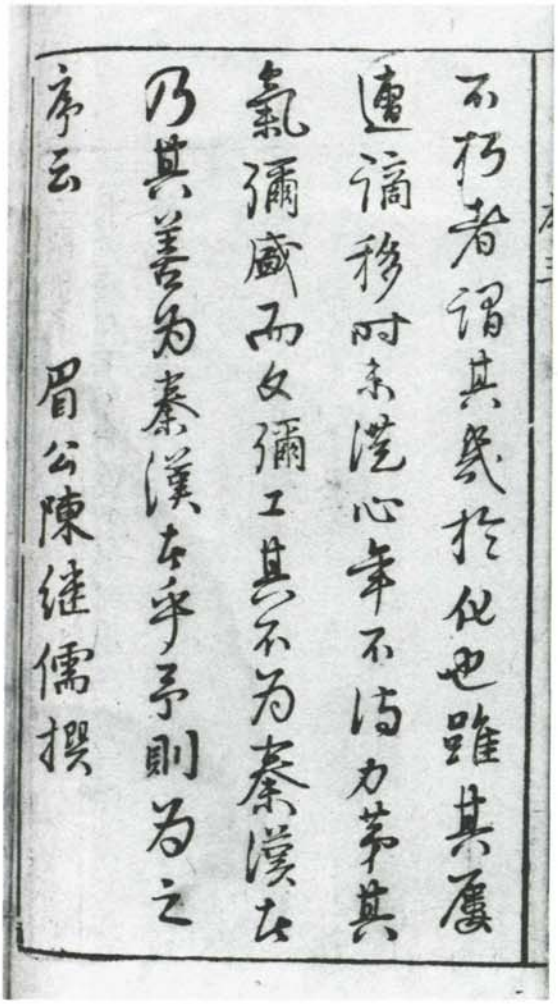
107a-b. *Ch'en Mei-kung ting-pu P'o-hsien chi.* (See nos. 100a-b.)

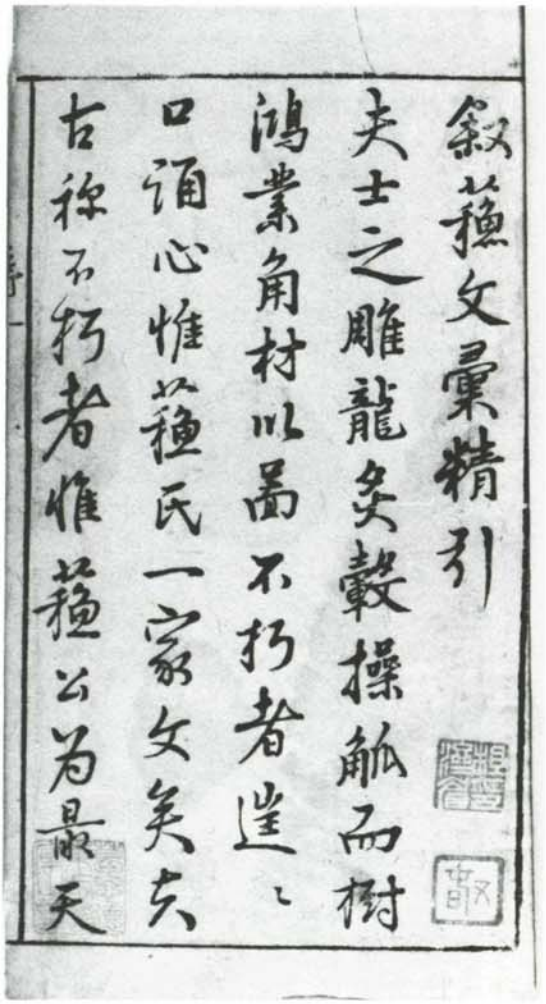
107a.

amazing. The brush flow in *Su-wen hui-ching* looks somewhat like that of no. 110 and the composition of characters in *Li-tai ming-wen tse* can also be related to no. 112. It seems that a deliberate effort has been made to imitate Ch'en's personal style to make the prefaces of these books appear authentic and the books themselves thereby more appealing. What we may conclude is that calligraphy had gained a new importance in printed books in late Ming times, either because the literati class was more artistically inclined or because commercially oriented printers had found in it a key to satisfy literati vanity.

The Calligraphy of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1556-1637)

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang[9] was one of the greatest calligrapher-painters of the Ming, historically ranked on par with Mi Fu of the Sung and Chao Meng-fu of the Yüan. His preface to Wang Ao's literary anthology (discussed under no. 90) preserves in manuscript form his calligraphy (nos. 113a-b), actually a faithful tracing of corresponding printed text that is missing from the present copy. The calligraphy is doubtless that of Tung's, and thus it is instructive to





108a.

108a-b. *Li hsiang-kuo Chiu-wo hsien-sheng p'ing-hsüan Su-wen hui-ching*. 6 *ch*. (12 vols.).

Author: false attr. Li T'ing-chi (d. 1616), ed.

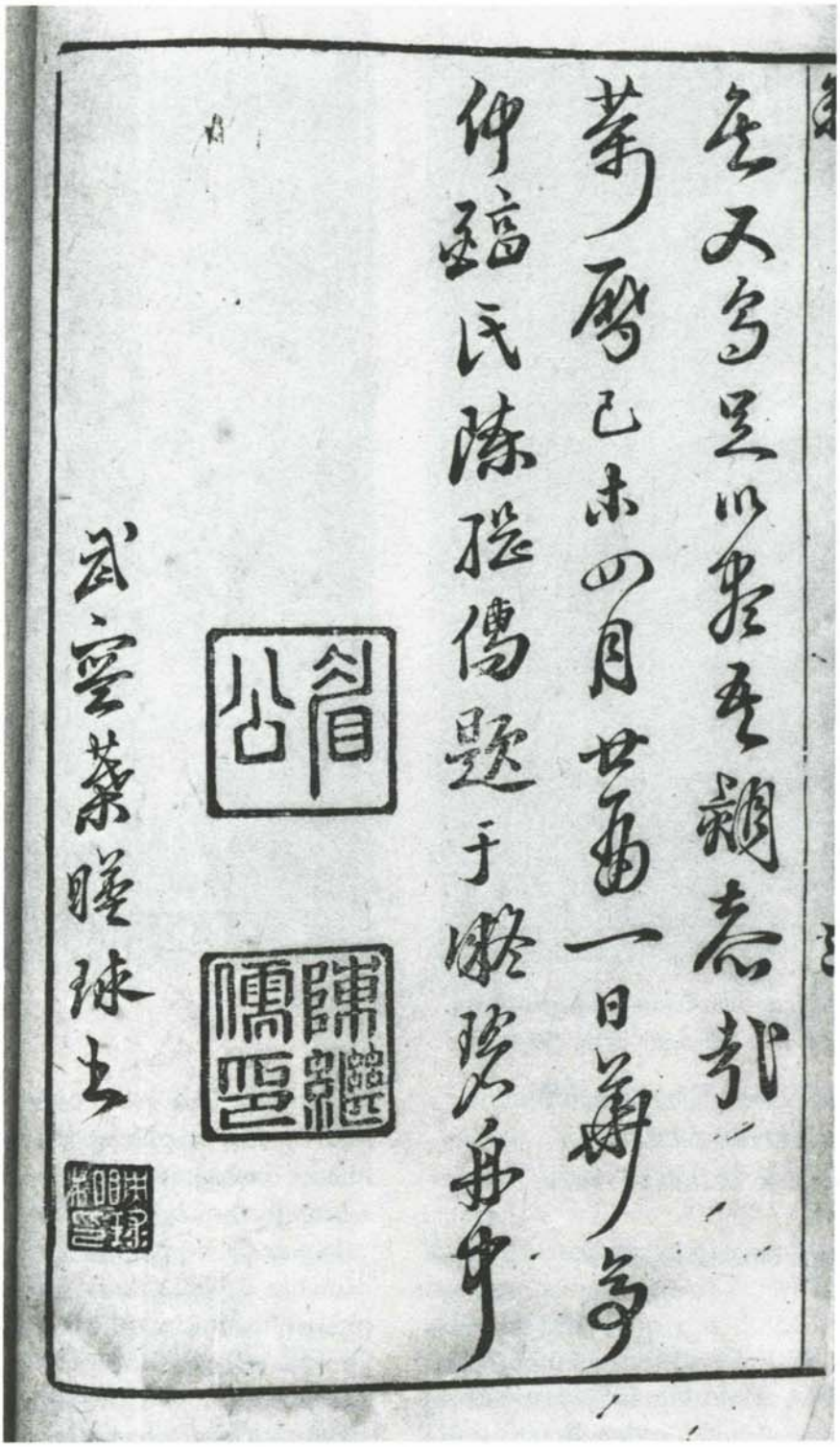
Date: 1620s (Chien-yang, Fukien).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; block, 19.9 + 2.1 x 12.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

compare it with Tung's letters (no. 111). In both cases, the calligraphy assumes a semi-cursive, running style, though it is clear that the preface conveys a more consciously artistic expression, and was wrought for open circulation. One gets a sense that Tung adjusted his style according to the nature of his writing, and in the case of autographed prefaces conformed to the circumstances of the author to whom his brush was dedicated.

In any event, he was a master of styles, versatile as well as innovative. For example, in his autographed preface to Ch'en Chi-ju's *Pai-shih ch'iao chen-kao* (not included in this exhibition), he exhibits a style with characteristics of standard and running scripts, with a touch of Su Shih's style, but he is nonetheless uniquely his own. The Princeton University Art Museum collections hold a number of fine examples, too numerous to illustrate here.



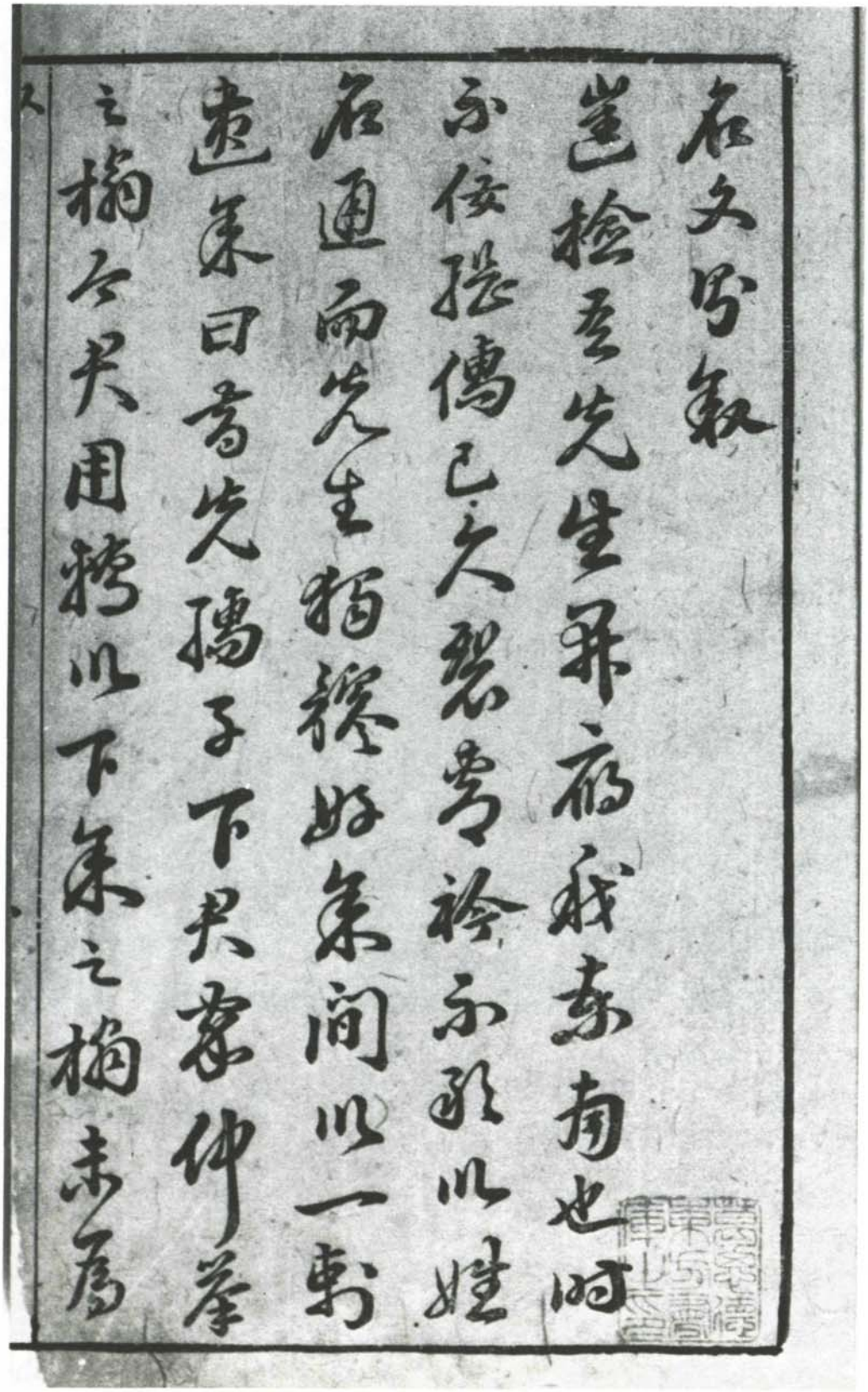
109a-b. *Ching-k'o Hsü Ch'en erh hsien-sheng p'ing-hsüan li-tai ming-wen tse.* 6 *ch.* (12 vols.).

Author: Hsü I, ed.

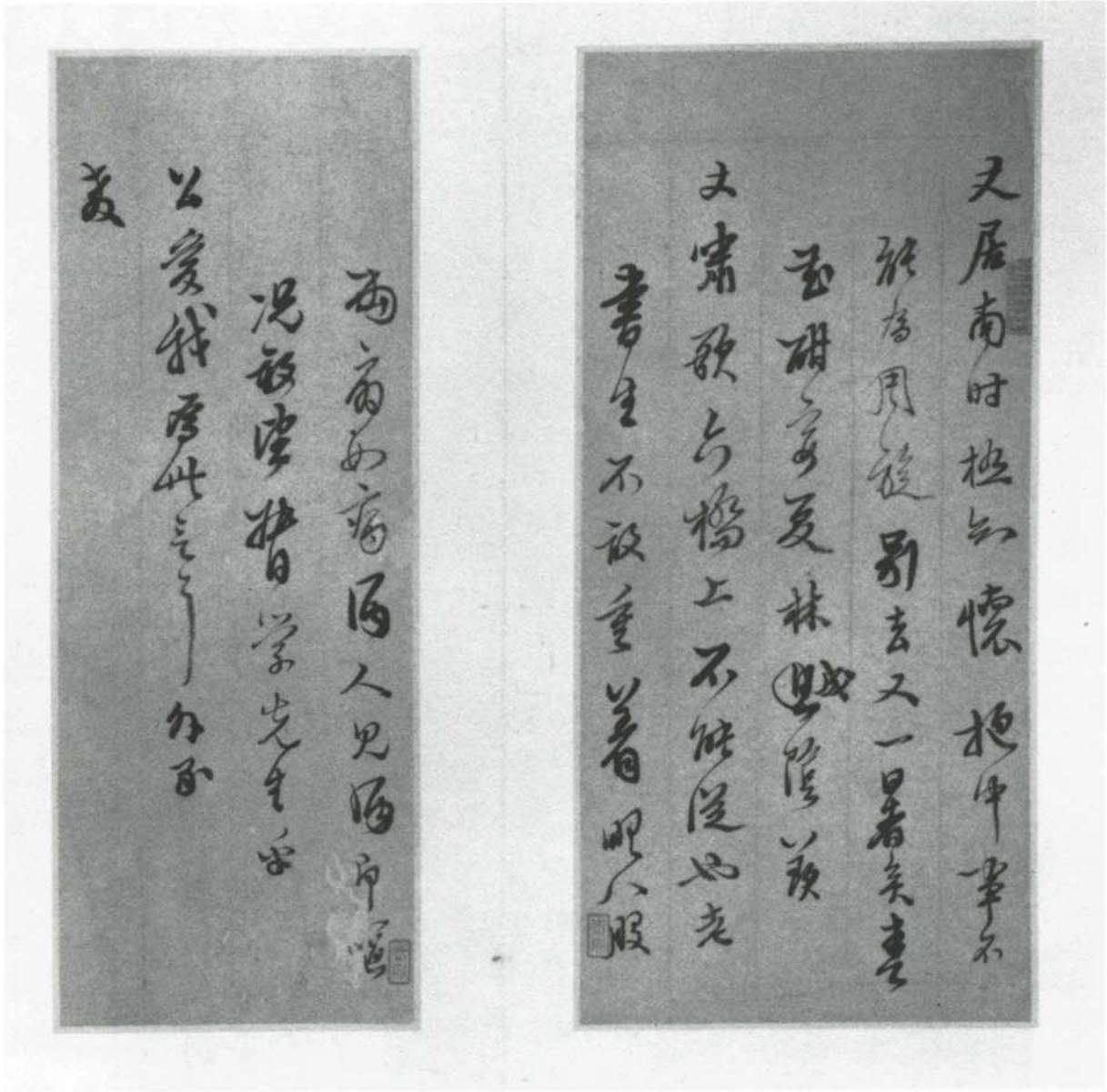
Date: 1621 (Chien-yang, Fukien).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 19.5 + 2.1 x 12.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



109a.

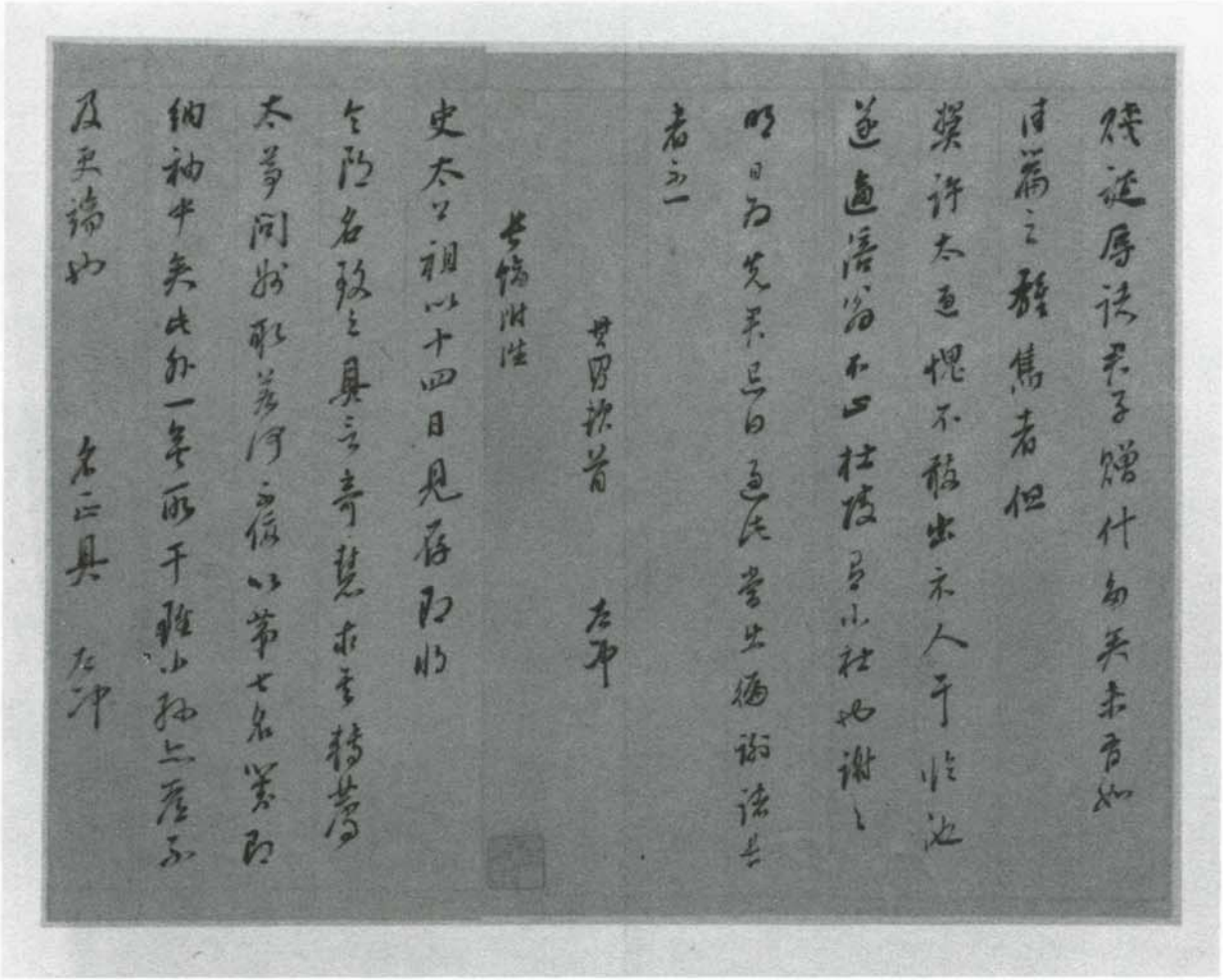


110. *Letter by Ch'en Chi-ju.*

Date: unknown.

Dimensions: 2 parts, 25 x 11.5 cm and 25 x 9 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.

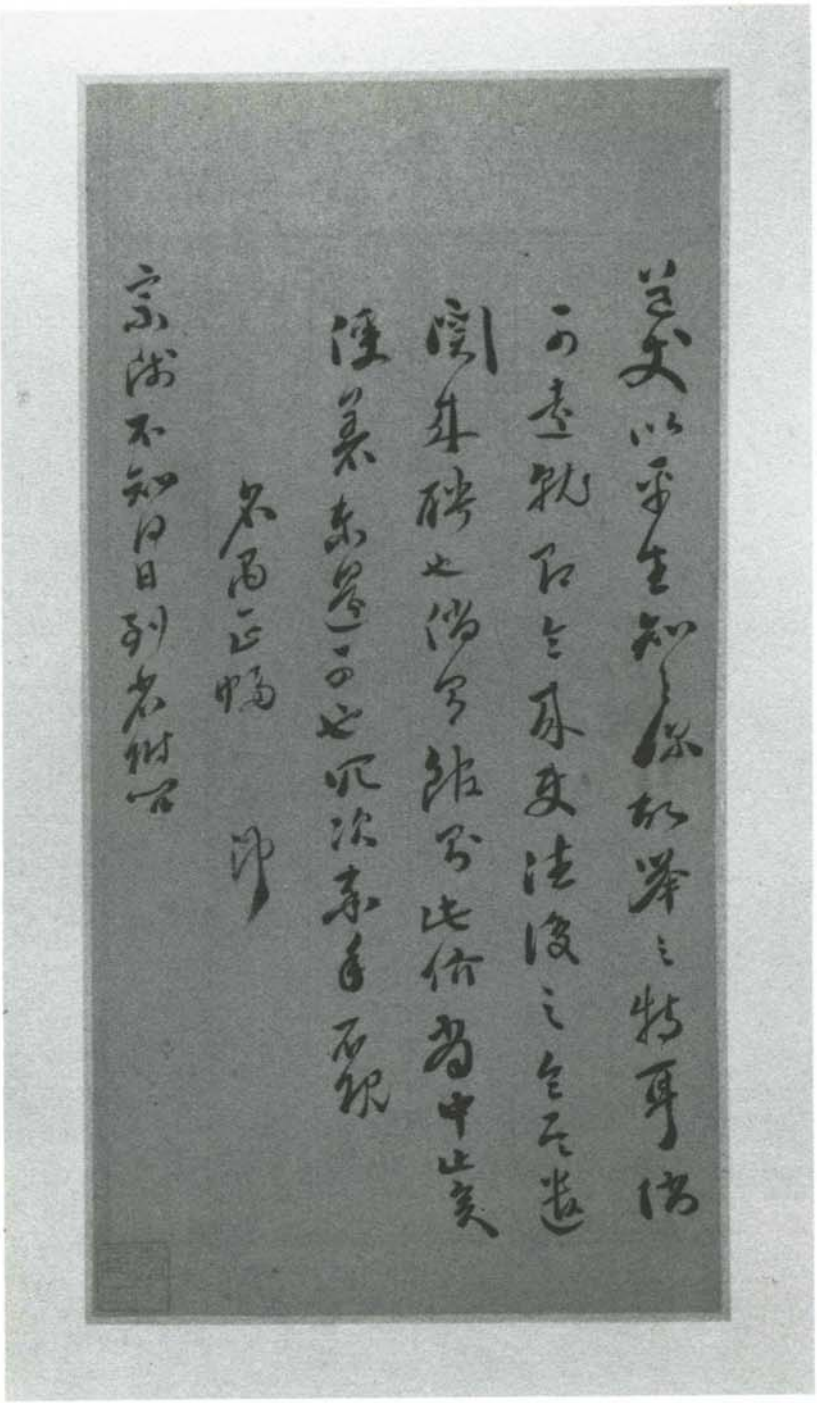


111. *Letters by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.*

Date: unknown.

Dimensions: 24.3 x 31.4 cm.

Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.

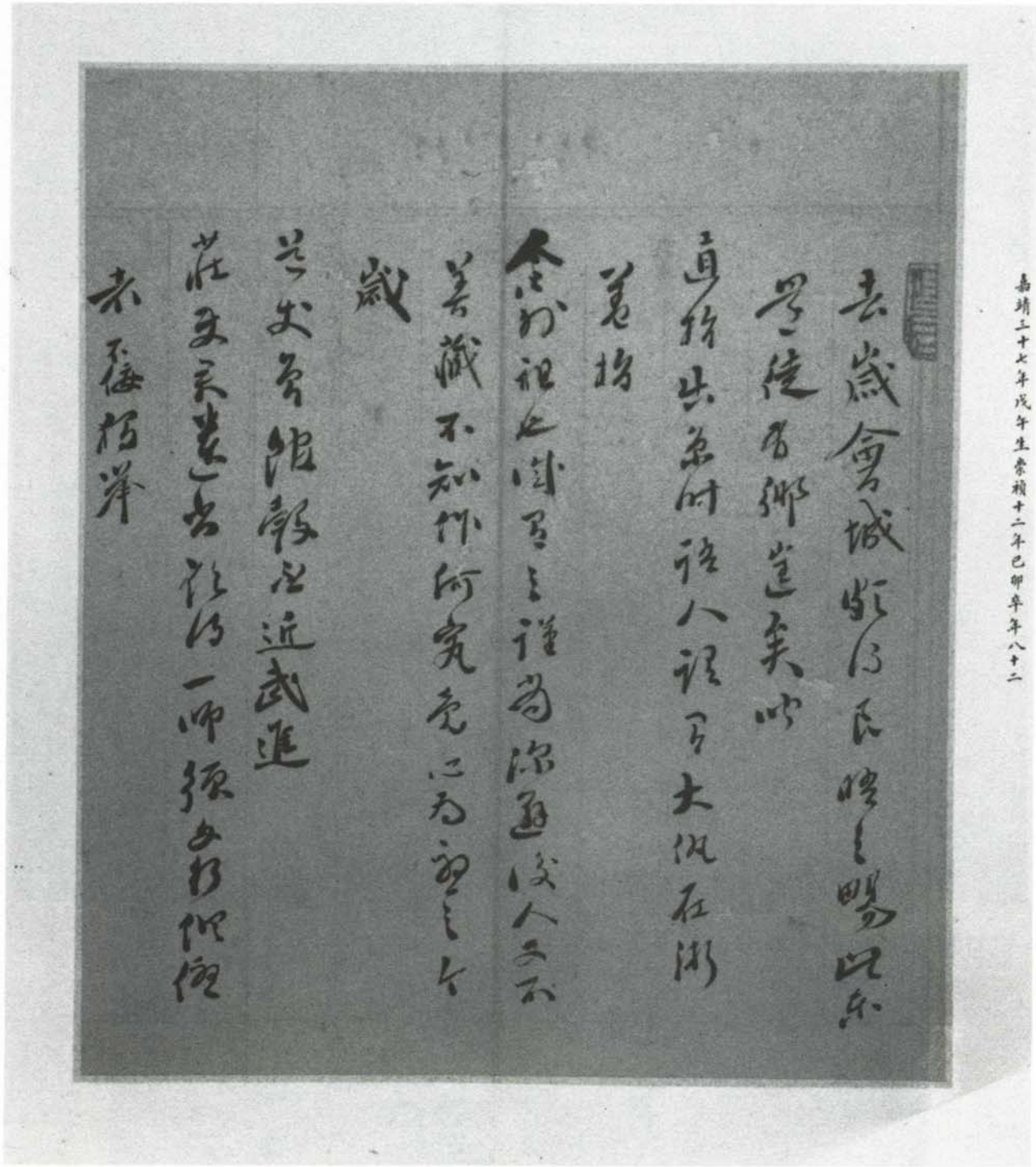


112a-b. *Letter by Ch'en Chi-ju.*

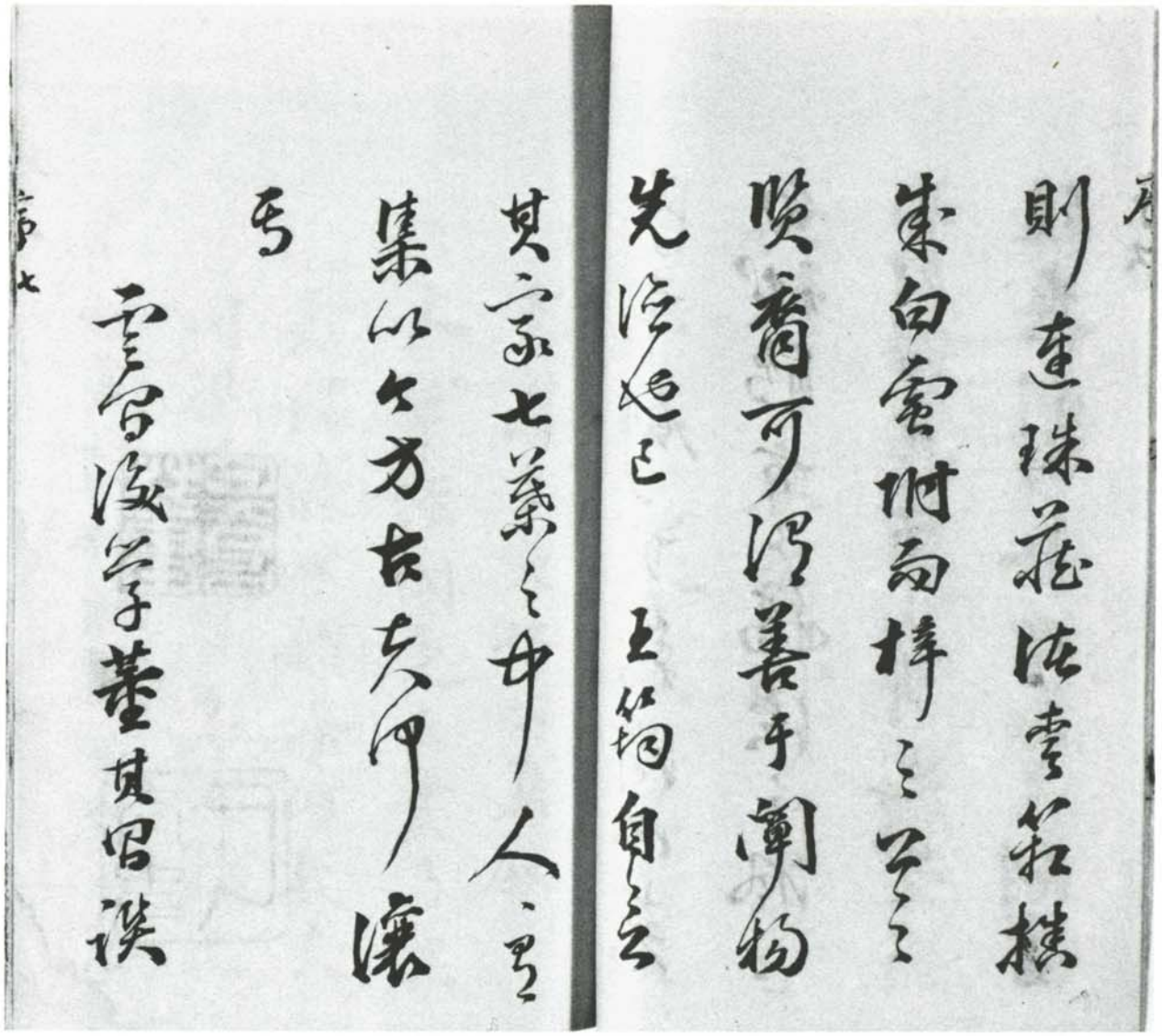
Date: unknown.

Dimensions: a) 26.8 x 23.1 cm; b) 26.8 x 13.7 cm.

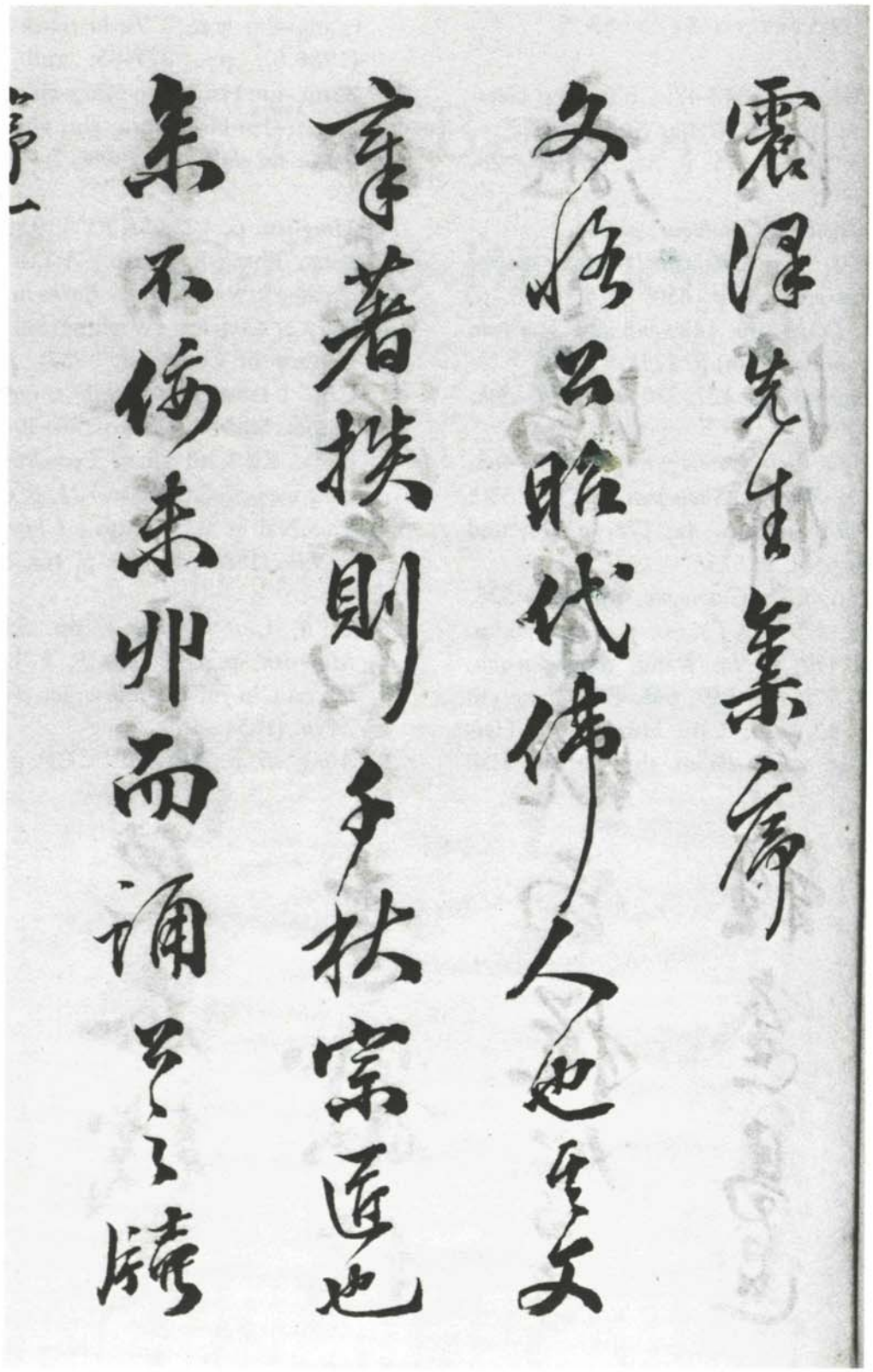
Collection: The Art Museum, Princeton University.



112a.



113a–b. *Wang Wen-k'o kung chi.* (See no. 90.)



113a.

NOTES TO SECTION 5

1. *DMB*, pp. 1343-47; Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 446; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 575; *SKTY* 171, p. 3a; and *Ming-jen*, p. 575.
2. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 544.
3. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, p. 465; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 630; *SKTY* 178, p. 2b; *DMB*, pp. 1489-90; and *T'ai-wan shu-ming so-yin*, p. 1733.
4. *Ming-jen*, pp. 127, 220; and *Ming-shih*, p. 3598.
5. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 274, 465, 513; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, p. 630; *SKTY* 192, p. 4a; 178, p. 2b; and *Ming-jen*, p. 575.
6. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 110, 528, 428, 479; *SKTY* 50, p. 11a; 193, p. 3b; 179, p. 7a; Wang, *Shan-pen-shu*, pp. 77, 378, 519, 645; Fu, *Ching-yen lu*, p. 1419; Chu Hung-lin, "Hsi-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lu chi Hsü ts'ang-shu k'ao," *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 72.6 (1986.6), pp. 277-83; and idem, "Shih-lun Hsi-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lu mao-hsi Hsü ts'ang-shu yüan-yu," *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 73.1 (1986.7), pp. 35-37.
7. *Ming-jen*, p. 123; *SKTY* 179, p. 13a; Yüan T'ung-li, comp., *A Descriptive Catalog of Rare Chinese Books in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1957), p. 319; Chu I-tsun, *Ming-shih tsung* (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962) 58, p. la; Ku Ch'i-yüan, *Lan-chen ts'ao-t'ang wen-chi* (1618 edn.) 23, p. 6a; and Yao Nai et al., comps., *Chiang-ning fu-chih*. (1880 edn.) 38, p. 16a; 30, pp. 40a-b.
8. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 551-552; *Ming-jen*, p. 608; *ECCP*, p. 83; and Ch'en Chi-ju, *Pai-shih ch'iao chen-kao*, 24 *ch*. (1634 edn.).
9. *Ming-jen*, p. 735; and *ECCP*, p. 787.

6. The Best of Ch'ing Books

The quantity of publishing during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) far surpassed that of any previous era. One statistic cited by Tsien Tsuen-hsuin (even though subject to certain qualifications) makes the point: A survey of published bibliographies including those in the dynastic histories and others, ranging from the Han dynasty to the 1930s, gives a cumulative figure of 253,433 titles published; 126,649 of those, roughly half, were produced during the Ch'ing dynasty.[1] That works out to more than 4,600 titles per year for the 267 years of the Ch'ing. When we consider how many of those were standard works whose subsequent reprintings were not counted, that is a very high level of book printing for a pre-modernized society. Europe produced about 650 editions per year between the introduction of printing from movable type about 1440 and the end of the century, but the number of individual titles was much smaller. Europe produced between 1,500 and 2,000 editions per year as an average in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth century reached the figure comparable to the Ch'ing, but again, those are editions, not titles. Once available, printing had explosive impact in Europe. Moreover, the technology was speedily industrialized in the West. In China it remained a handcraft technology, albeit a highly refined one, because of the nature of Chinese script; it was simply more practical to engrave wooden blocks by hand for printing a complete page at a time than to cast metal type by mass production methods. Thus China's printing technology remained basically unchanged until the late nineteenth century. The woodblock printed book was the standard form of the Chinese book throughout the Ch'ing, although the use of multi-color printing (known since T'ang), typography (ceramic, wood, or metal movable type, known since the eleventh century), and lithography (introduced from Europe early in the nineteenth century), all were of increasing importance.

The growing prosperity of late Ming times continued through the Ch'ing. The population of China more than trebled. An elite official-commercial sector of society lavished wealth on scholarship and the arts. The Manchu emperors assumed a role as patrons of Chinese civilization and were particularly active as printers and disseminators of old and new

books. They particularly favored books that incorporated elements of Western art. Book collecting was greatly in vogue, the emperors competing with their subjects as collectors of books, calligraphy, and the other arts. Both private scholars' publishing and trade publishing flourished. Moreover, several of the Ch'ing rulers fancied themselves first-rate calligraphers; they collected, duplicated masterworks, and stimulated scholarly attention to the subject. Important calligraphers abounded.

Not surprisingly, the Ch'ing period witnessed the printing of many books of high artistic standards. These included illustrated books, handwritten or manuscript books, books designed in the best traditions of honored Sung printing and carefully executed to emulate, or actually to duplicate, famed antique editions, and many books printed in full or in part in facsimile (*hsieh-k'o*) of a fine calligrapher's original. The Gest Collection holds about 100,000 volumes of Ch'ing editions. From that vast collection the best in various categories have been selected for inclusion here, with emphasis on the links between calligraphy and printing.

This entire section is by Chu.

Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih (nos. 114a-b) contains illustrations and descriptions of sacrificial vessels, robes, musical instruments, and insignia used in official ceremonies of the Ch'ing dynasty. A court ordered compilation, intended as reference for imperial rituals, it was completed in 1759 and revised in 1766, to which the present edition belongs. Both editions were published by the Palace Printing Office.[2]

The chief compiler, P'eng Yüan-jui from Nanchang, Kiangsi, was one of the most eminent court erudites of his time, known also as one of the "two celebrities from Kiangsi." Other contributors include such men as Tung Kao (1740-1818), eminent painter and calligrapher from Fuyang, Chekiang. The illustrations were made by a team of six low-ranked officials.

As Frances Wood remarks, the illustrations in this book are fundamentally technical, which are therefore accompanied by matching descriptions. The vessel illustrated (no. 114a) is a *tsun*, used for offering sacrifice in the main palace in the last month of spring. Its historical usage as a ritual object and the shape and size of its components are given in the accompanying descriptive text. The calligraphy of the text still displays an individual style, one that bears the influence of Ou-yang Hsün of the T'ang, which is unlike the standardized Sung style found in other books produced by the Palace Printing Office. The chief of the three copyist officials for the text was a Hanlin compiler called Jao Hsüeh-shu.

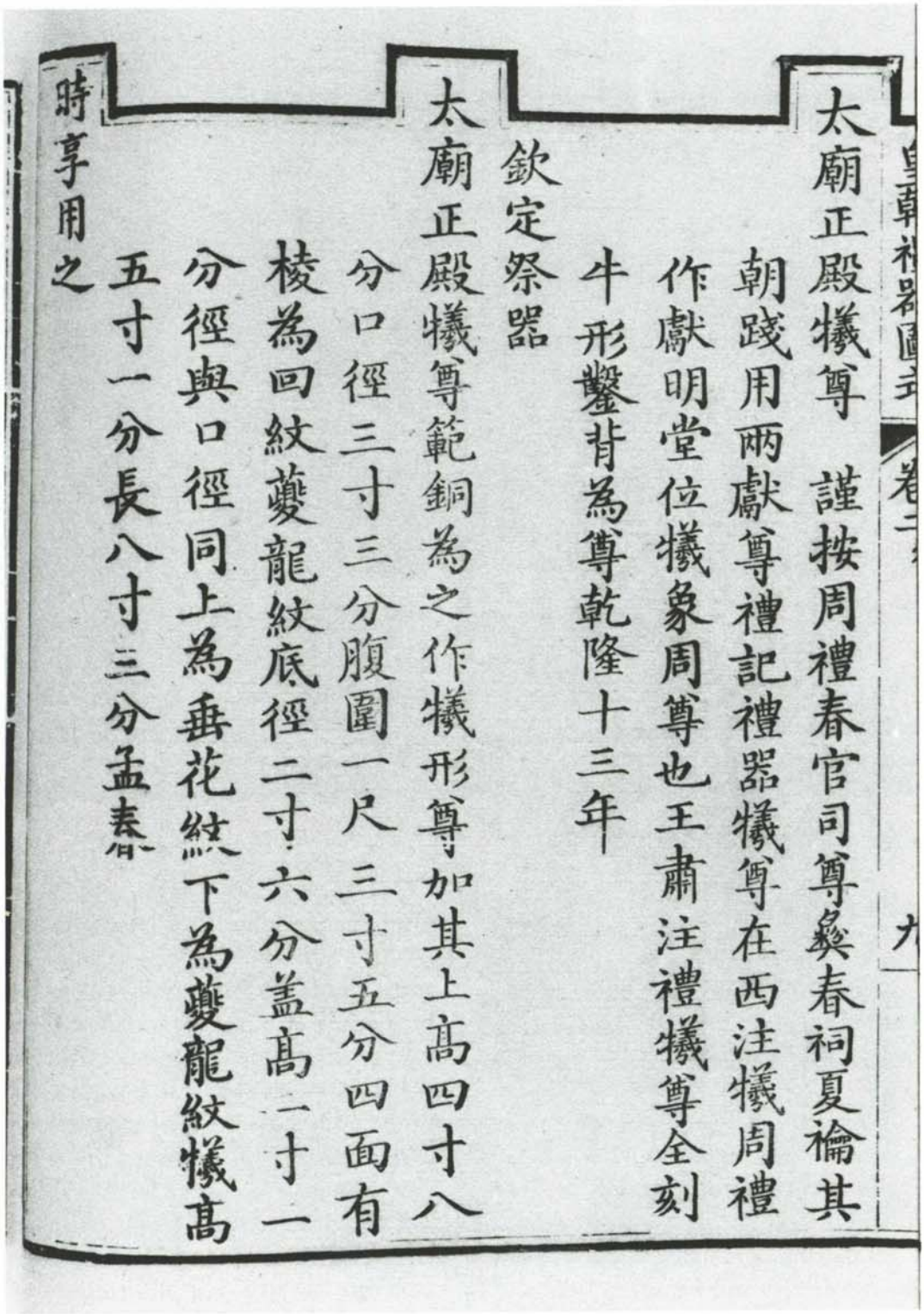
Nan-hsün sheng-tien contains scenic and geographic illustrations and detailed chronological accounts of the Ch'ien-lung emperor's first four trips to the south in 1751, 1757, 1762, and 1765. The chief editor, Kao Chin, was a specialist in river control and a member of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. The book's compilation started when Kao was governor-general of the Liang-Kiang area (Kiangsu and Chekiang) as well as nominal tutor of the heir apparent, and completed when he was made grand secretary and honorary president of the Board of Ceremonies. Although the supervisor of the cutting of the blocks was an assistant prefect of Huai-an prefecture, the book was printed in Nanking; in fact, the other compilers and collators and proofreaders were all officials in Nanking.[3]

This compilation is not to be confused with another, which was apparently never printed. That one in 100 *chüan*, covering the same emperor's fifth trip to the south in 1780, was compiled under Sa-tsai (died 1786), also governor-general of Liang-Kiang, with the participation of such eminent scholars as Wang Chung (1745-94) from Chiang-tu, Kiangsu. That was presented to the throne in 1784.

The illustration displayed (no. 115) presents a scene of the Chekiang coastal area where the emperor had visited. The drawing of the buildings, including the bridge and the embankment, appears more realistic than those in many Ming books.

Nos. 116a-b show multi-color printing in red and black ink. The book was printed by the Wu-ying tien Palace Printing Office under the aegis of the K'ang-hsi emperor. It is the Chinese version of the thirty-six poems attributed to the emperor himself and thirty-six matching illustrations about the scenery of K'ang-hsi's summer retreat at Jehol, known as Pi-shu shan-chuang (Mountain Village for Escaping Heat), some 150 kilometers northwest of Peking and built beginning in 1703. This "village" became one of the

114a.


皇朝禮器圖式 卷二 九

太廟正殿犧尊 謹按周禮春官司尊彝春祠夏禴其朝踐用兩獻尊禮記禮器犧尊在西注犧周禮作獻明堂位犧象周尊也王肅注禮犧尊全刻牛形鑿背為尊乾隆十三年欽定祭器

太廟正殿犧尊範銅為之作犧形尊加其上高四寸八分口徑三寸三分腹圍一尺三寸五分四面有棱為回紋夔龍紋底徑二寸六分蓋高二寸一分徑與口徑同上為垂花紋下為夔龍紋犧高五寸一分長八寸三分孟春時享用之

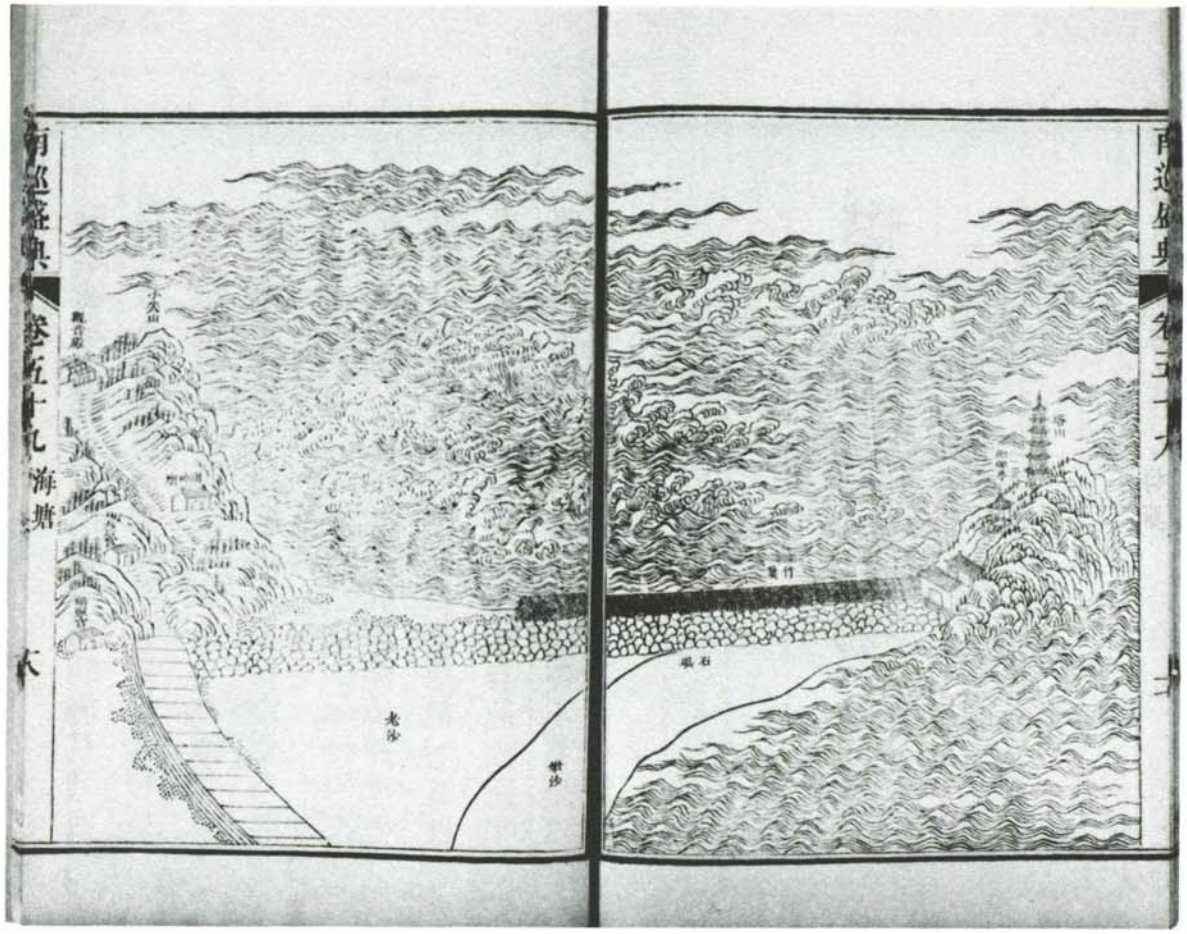
114a-b. *Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih*. 18 *ch*. (32 vols.).

Author: P'eng Yüan-jui (1731-1803).

Date: 1766 (Peking).

Dimensions: 11 cols. of 20 chars.; block, 20 x 16.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library



115. *Nan-hsün sheng-tien.* 120 *ch.* (48 vols.).

Author: Kao Chin (1707-1779), ed.

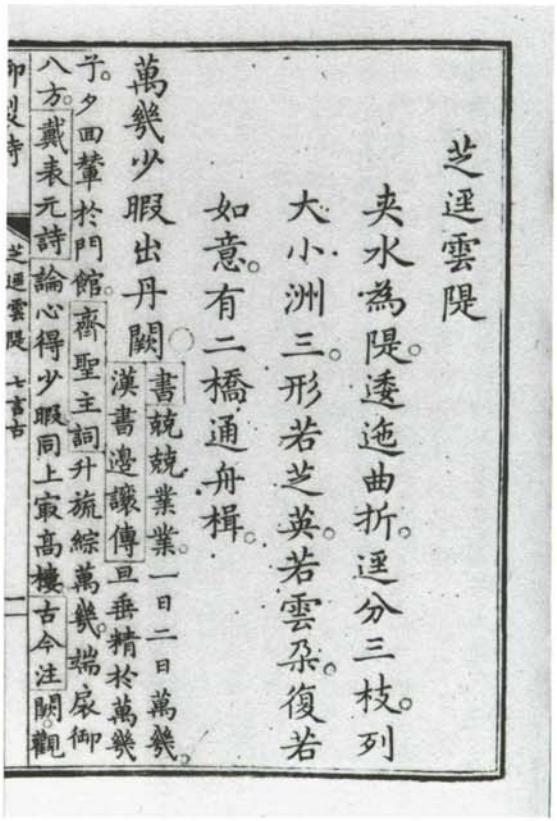
Date: 1771 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 19 chars.; block, 21.2 x 16.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

most famous gardens in imperial China. The poems were annotated by K'uei-hsü (1674?-1717), a Manchu aristocrat of the Plain Yellow Banner and chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, and by other officials. The book bears a preface by the emperor dated 1712.[4]

While the punctuation marks and the boxes surrounding characters that represent works cited in the annotation are printed in red (no. 116a), the illustrations are all in black (no. 116b). The two seals at the end of the "imperially autographed" preface are also printed in red. Characteristic of traditional paintings of the genre, the illustrations appear to be rather faithful of the buildings, if not of the sites as well; they are based on paintings made for the emperor by the court painter Shen Yü, and engraved by Chu Kuei. Both artisans are credited for their work in a short inscription on the last illustration of the book, and Chu Kuei was, according to Tsien Tsuen-hsiun, "probably the most distinguished craftsman of the early [Ch'ing] and who contributed so much to the excellence of the work of this period."


芝逕雲隄
夾水為隄。逶迤曲折。逕分三枝。列
大小洲三。形若芝英。若雲朶。復若
如意。有二橋通舟楫。
萬幾少暇出丹闕。書兢兢業業。一日二日萬幾。
漢書邊讓傳旦垂精於萬幾
子。夕回輦於門館。齊聖主詞升旒綜萬幾。端扆御
八方。戴表元詩論心得少暇同上最高樓古今注闕觀
芝逕雲隄 七言古

116a-b. *Yü-chih pi-shu shan-chuang shih.* 2 *ch.* (4 vols.).

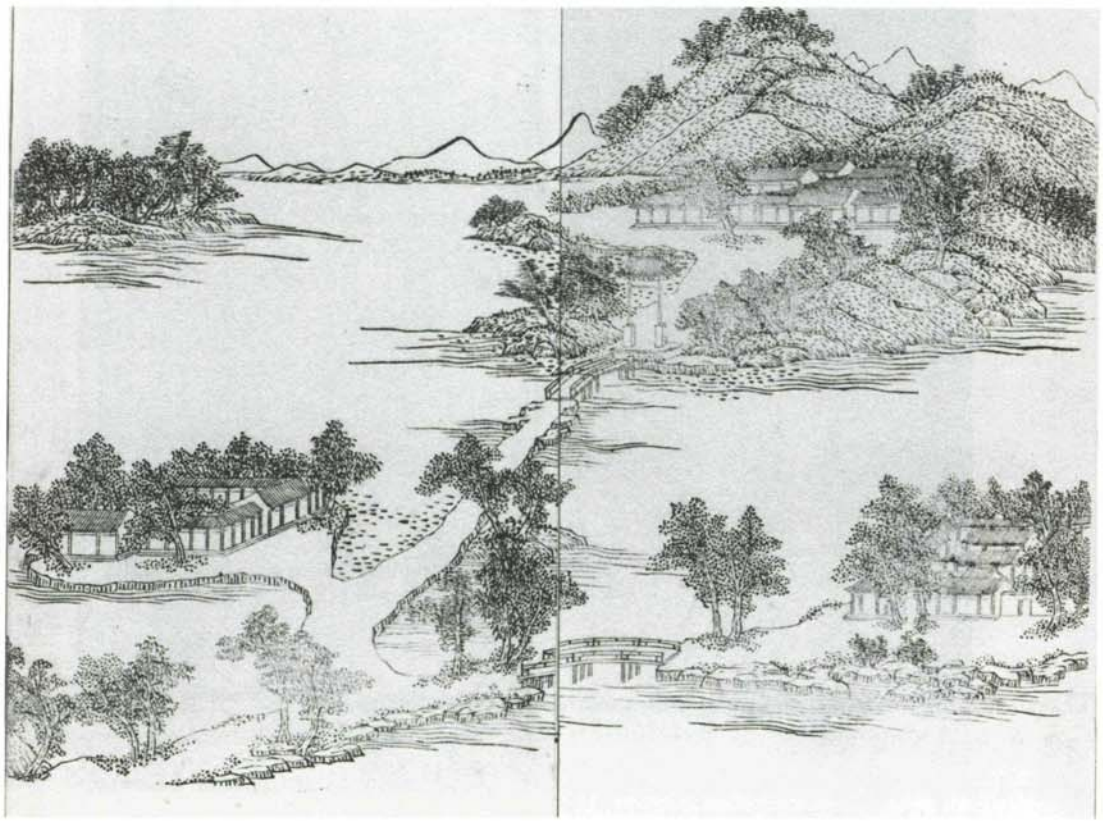
Author: Hsüan-yeh (K'ang-hsi emperor, r. 1662-1722).

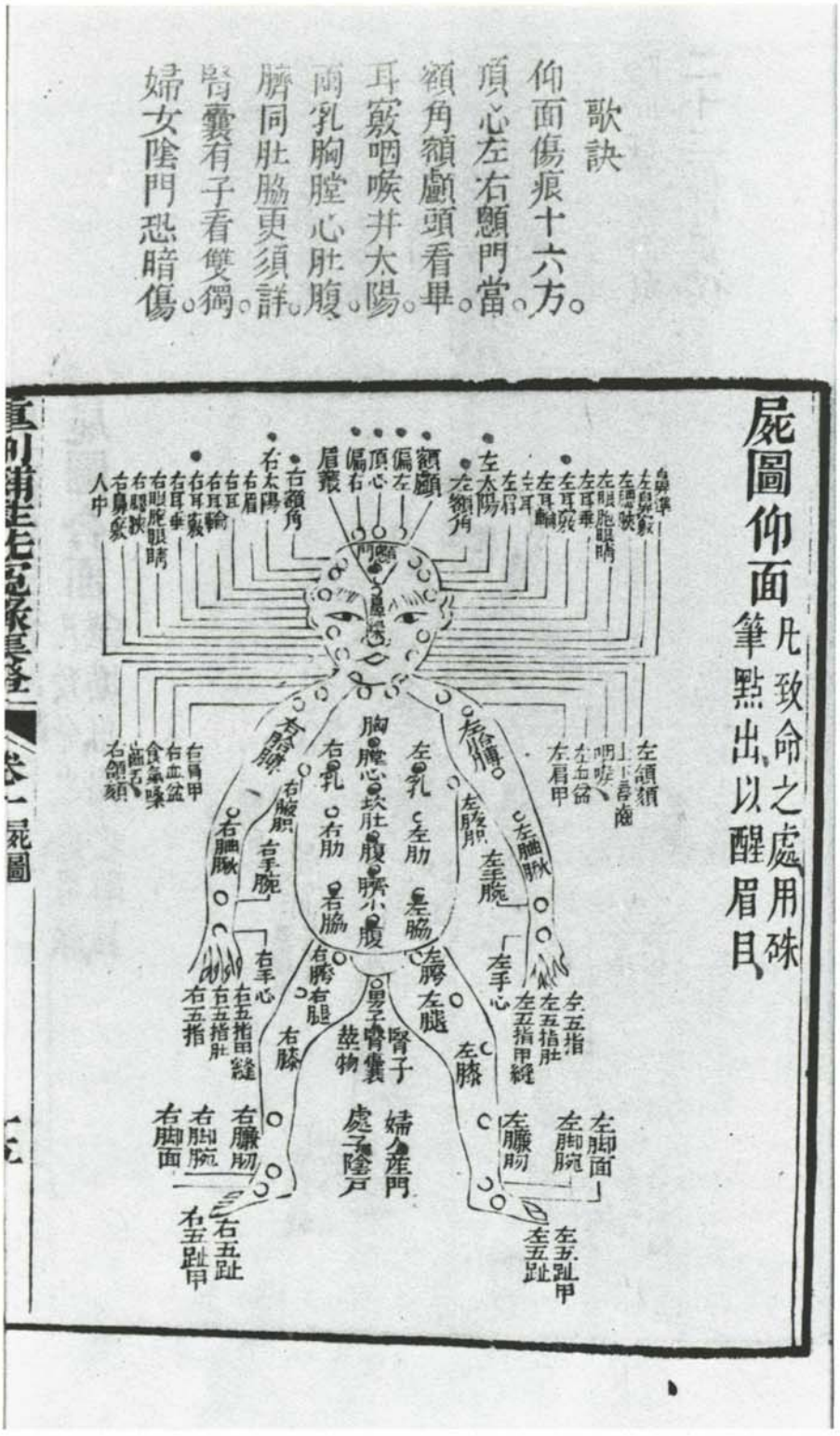
Date: 1712 (Peking).

Dimensions: 6 cols. of 16 chars.; (12 of 16 small chars.); block, 19.7 x 13.5 cm.; illustrations without border.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

116b.





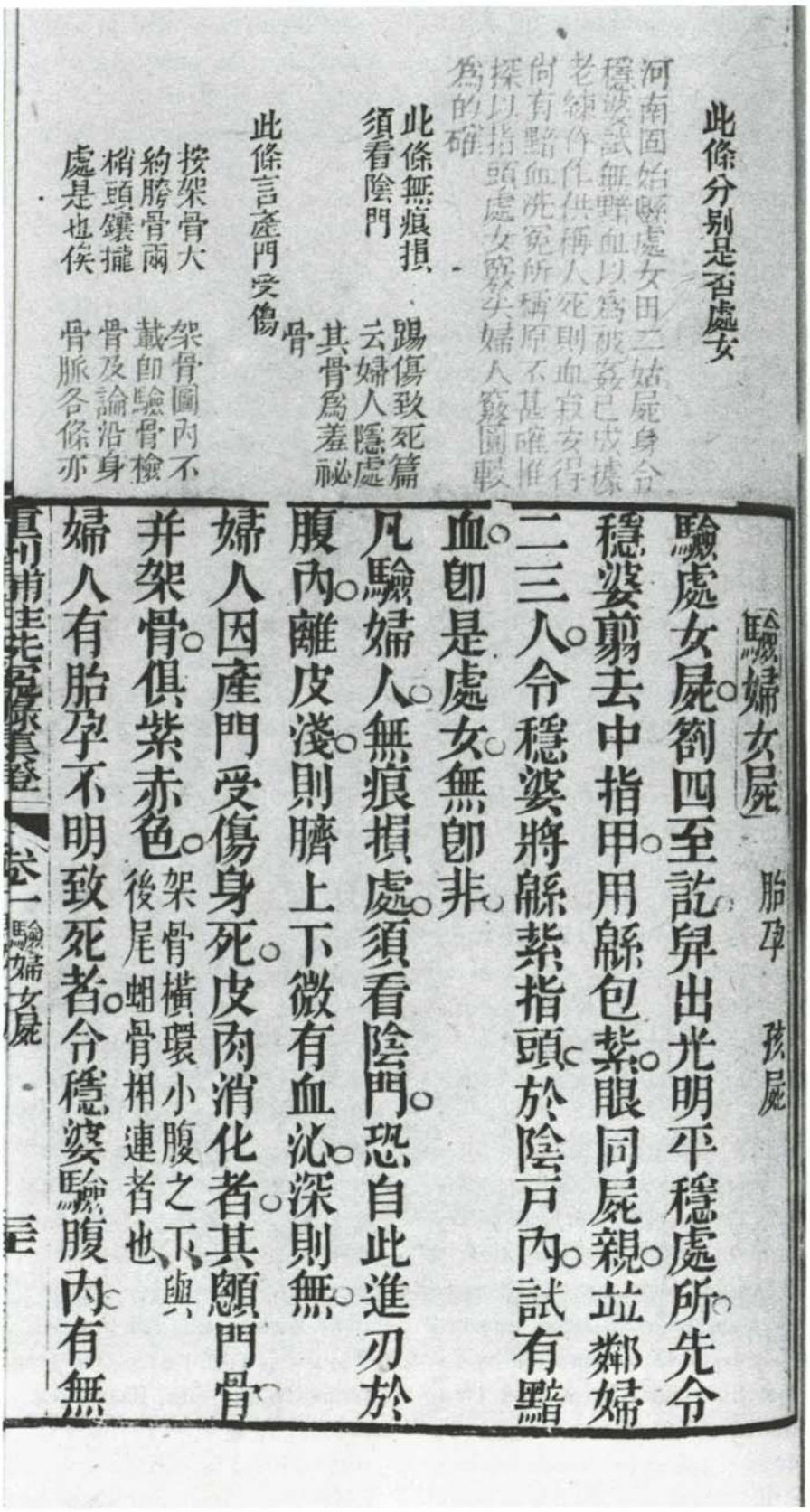
117a-b. *Ch'ung-k'an pu-chu hsi-yüan lu chi-cheng*. 6 *ch*. (5 vols.).

Author: Li Kuan-lan; Juan Ch'i-hsin, annot.

Date: 1844 (Nanchang, Kiangsi).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 18 chars.; block, 15.2 x 12.7 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



此條分別是否處女

河南固始縣處女田二姑屍身令穩婆試無黯血以為被姦已成據老練仵作供稱人死則血寂女得尚有黯血洗冤所稱原不甚確惟探以指頭處女竅尖婦人竅圓較為的確

此條無痕損須看陰門

踢傷致死篇云婦人隱處其骨為羞祕骨

此條言產門受傷

按架骨大約胯骨兩梢頭鑽攏處是也俟架骨圖內不載即驗骨檢骨及論沿身骨脈各條亦

驗婦女屍　胎孕　孩屍

驗處女屍。劄四至訖。舁出光明平穩處所。先令穩婆翦去中指甲。用絲包紮。眼同屍親。並鄰婦二三人。令穩婆將絲紮指頭。於陰戶內。試有黯血。即是處女。無即非。

凡驗婦人無痕損處。須看陰門。恐自此進刃於腹內。離皮淺。則臍上下微有血沁。深則無。

婦人因產門受傷身死。皮肉消化者。其顱門骨并架骨。俱紫赤色。架骨橫環小腹之下與後尾蛆骨相連者也。

婦人有胎孕不明致死者。令穩婆驗腹內有無

A second set of illustrations, also modeled after the Shen Yü paintings, was made by the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ripa (1682-1725) to accompany the 1712 Manchu version, and represents the earliest use of copper engraved printing in China. The woodblock prints, however, became the model for later editions, including a 1741 recutting that included seventy-two new poems by the Ch'ien-lung emperor to dedicate the completion of renovation work at the site. This not only emphasizes the dedicatory purpose of the type of book, but also points out the relationship between poetry, painting, and architecture in China.

The scene illustrated is called "Iris path and cloud dike," in which two bridges link three islands, on each of which are summer buildings for the emperor's leisure and pleasure. Like that of *Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih*, the characters of the text were cut in facsimile of a calligrapher's original; but the calligrapher is not identified. The calligraphy, good looking but by no means artistically outstanding, appears to be the one most endorsed by the early Ch'ing emperors, as the same can be found in most other imperial books printed in facsimile calligraphy.

The multi-color blockprinting of *Ch'ung-k'an pu-chu hsi-yüan lu chi-cheng* was in black, red, blue, and green; it was produced by the Han-mo yüan (Garden of literature and calligraphy) in the provincial capital of Kiangsi, Nanchang. The book is an expanded version of an age old manual for criminal autopsy, with new annotations and illustrative cases supplied by Li Kuan-lan and Juan Ch'i-hsin, and two other physicians, all of whom were from Chekiang. It is a technical work with a number of illustrations, like the one shown in no. 117b, meant for identifying vital organs and critical physiological systems. The annotations on top of the folios appear in all four colors (no. 117a), each signifying a special category of annotation.

The evenness and clarity of printing both in the main text and the annotation demonstrate the high skill in block cutting and the high quality of inks used.

Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng is the largest encyclopedia (collectanea) ever printed in China. This famous imperial work contains 800,000 pages and over a hundred million characters, and it was printed in 1726 in the Ch'ing palace from perhaps the finest copper movable type China had ever made.[5] As Denis Twitchett notes, "the type face used was a very large one, and when the font was cast, using ceramic moulds made from wooden models, it comprised over a quarter million pieces of type, which took nine years, from 1713 to 1722, to manufacture." The illustrations in this book are, however, from woodcuts (no. 118a). The encyclopedia is comprised of six parts, dealing with the calendar, geography, social relationships, natural sciences, Neo-Confucianism, and things of political and social-economic relevance. The original and major part of the work was done by Ch'en Meng-lei, a court erudite from Foochow, Fukien, whose political life as a courtier was marked with ups and downs. It became a state enterprise later on when the K'ang-hsi emperor appointed officials to help Ch'en in the compilation and in other works. The official most responsible for the task was Chiang T'ing-hsi (1669-1732), a grand secretary from Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu.

Despite being "perhaps the greatest typographical feat that the world has seen," only about sixty sets were originally produced; only about one sixth of which are

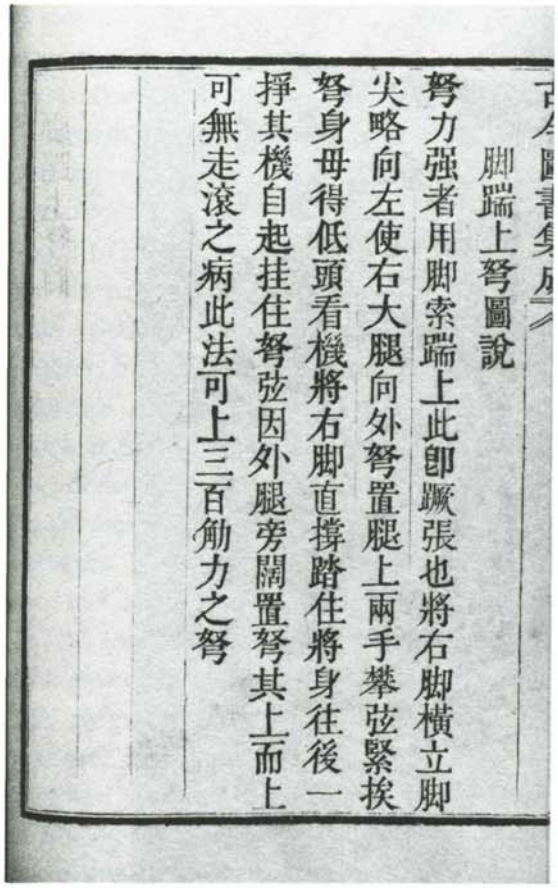
118a-b. *Ch'in-ting ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*. 10,040 *ch*. (5,020 vols.).

Author: Ch'en Meng-lei (1651-1741?), comp.

Date: 1726 (Peking).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 20 chars.; border, 21.3 x 14.7 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

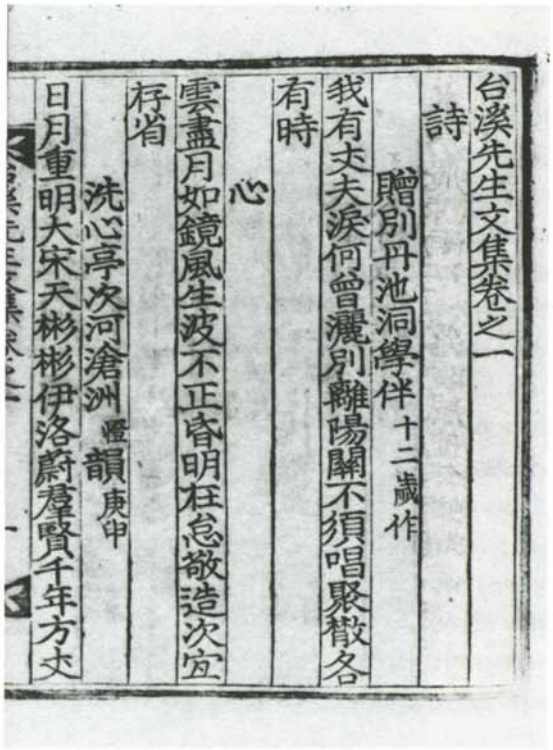


118b.

still extant in complete form. Originally owned by the Manchu prince in Nanking, the Gest set bears an ownership seal with inscriptions reading, "Ning-ti chen-ts'ang t'u-shu" (book treasured by the princely household of Ning). The illustration and its companion descriptive text (no. 118b) are taken from the section devoted to weaponry; it contains instructions for maneuvering a crossbow.

Two books printed from movable metal type outside of China at the beginning of the present century offer a comparison with Chinese skills in metal typography from a century before. The one illustrated here (no. 119) is an anthology of poems and essays by an Yi dynasty Korean scholar-official, Ha Chin, from Chinju in the southeastern part of the Korean peninsula; it also contains biographical writings about him and his family. It was printed in 1900 from movable iron type and is one of a collection of Korean printed books in the Gest Library, some of which date to the sixteenth century.[6]

The outstanding history of metal type casting and printing in Korea, going back to the twelfth century, is exemplified by Ha Chin's product. The font is beautiful and legible, but in addition the cast characters show a liveliness that makes them



119. *T'aegye sonsaeng munjip (T'ai-hsi hsien-sheng wen-chi).* 8 *ch.* (4 vols.).

Author: Ha Chin (1597-1658).

Date: 1900 (Chinju, Korea).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 18 chars.; border, 20.8 x 17.2 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

difficult to distinguish from many of the best woodblock printed books of China. Unlike the characters of *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, which clearly are influenced by standardized calligraphy, those illustrated here have a touch of the kind of artistic individuality that was widely evident in China before the mid-sixteenth century. The calligraphy is modeled basically upon that of the great T'ang dynasty (618-906) master Yen Chen-ch'ing. Whether or not Koreans had maintained a higher respect for and devotion to the T'ang master, from an artistic point of view the calligraphy appears to have excelled that of the imperial encyclopedia.

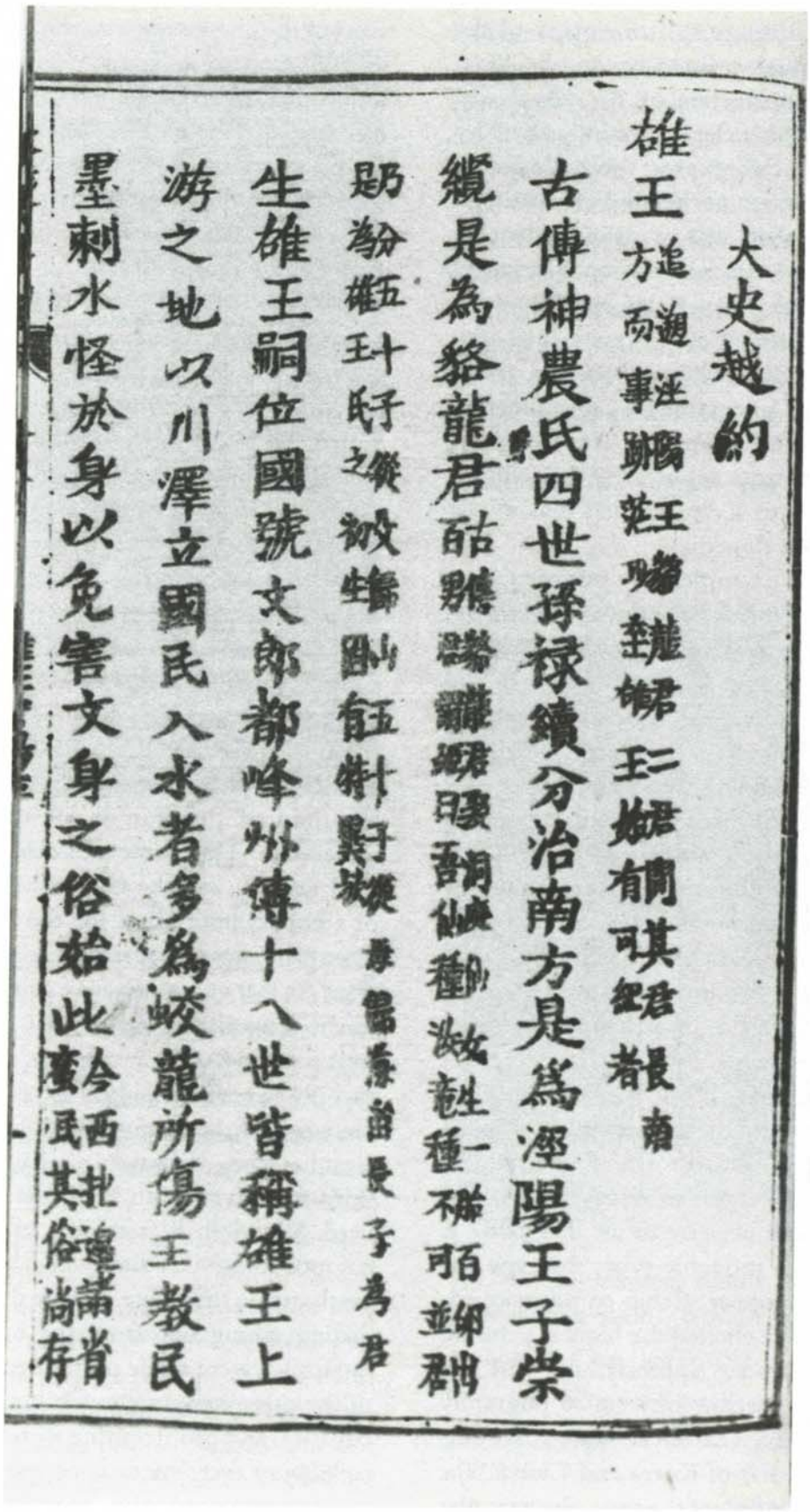
Our other example from outside China is the handy abridgement of the Vietnamese chronicle *Kham dinh thong giam cuong mue*; it is written in Chinese and in the style of the Chinese *Outline of The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government.* The author, Hoang, was originally a prefectural school instructor, but was made an official of the Vietnamese Hanlin Academy when summoned to write this work. Whether it was meant to symbolize Vietnamese resentment against French domination, this government commissioned book is couched in some rather anti-Chinese language.

The cover page of the book has lines engraved showing the date and place of publication. The history of book printing in Annam, unlike that in Korea, Japan, and China, is still obscure to us. The book is printed with movable type; the type appears to be copper. Being commissioned, it should have elicited the highest printing skills and reader appreciation. But the Vietnamese technology in typography seems not to have been advanced, as compared with that of Korea and China. The irregular planting of the type, the irregular sizes of the characters, and the unevenness of inking all show signs of inferior technique (no. 120). Nonetheless, at least in this case, the Vietnamese, like the Koreans in the previous illustration, also did not subscribe to the increasingly standardized calligraphy that came to dominate Ch'ing Chinese typography.[7]

Chou-i k'ou-chüeh i (no. 121) is an exegesis of the Confucian classic *Book of Changes* (*Chou-i*, or *I-ching*) and is one of 134 titles in the eighteenth-century *Wu-ying tien chü-chen pan ts'ung-shu*, a famous collectanea printed from wooden movable type in the Palace Printing Office. Aspects of the printing and circulation of this collectanea have been discussed recently by Sören Edgren, whose source is also the Gest set.[8]

Some major points in his description can be summarized. The imperially sponsored project for the collectanea came about in 1773 as a result of the compilation and limited distribution of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*. The name *chü-chen* ("assembled gems") was the Ch'ien-lung emperor's poetic description for movable type. Complete sets are scarce because the 134 titles (in 800 volumes) were printed in different quantities and issued separately over a period of twenty years, from 1774 to 1794. There are only five known complete sets of the original edition, of which Gest has two, and originally had three; the third was given in an exchange with Harvard. Woodblock facsimiles of the original movable-type edition have been so expertly made that there may be difficulty in distinguishing one from the other. Such facsimiles were made partly because most of the titles were rare in Ch'ing times and collation and proofreading throughout the collectanea were meticulous and scholarly.

According to the eminent Ch'ing

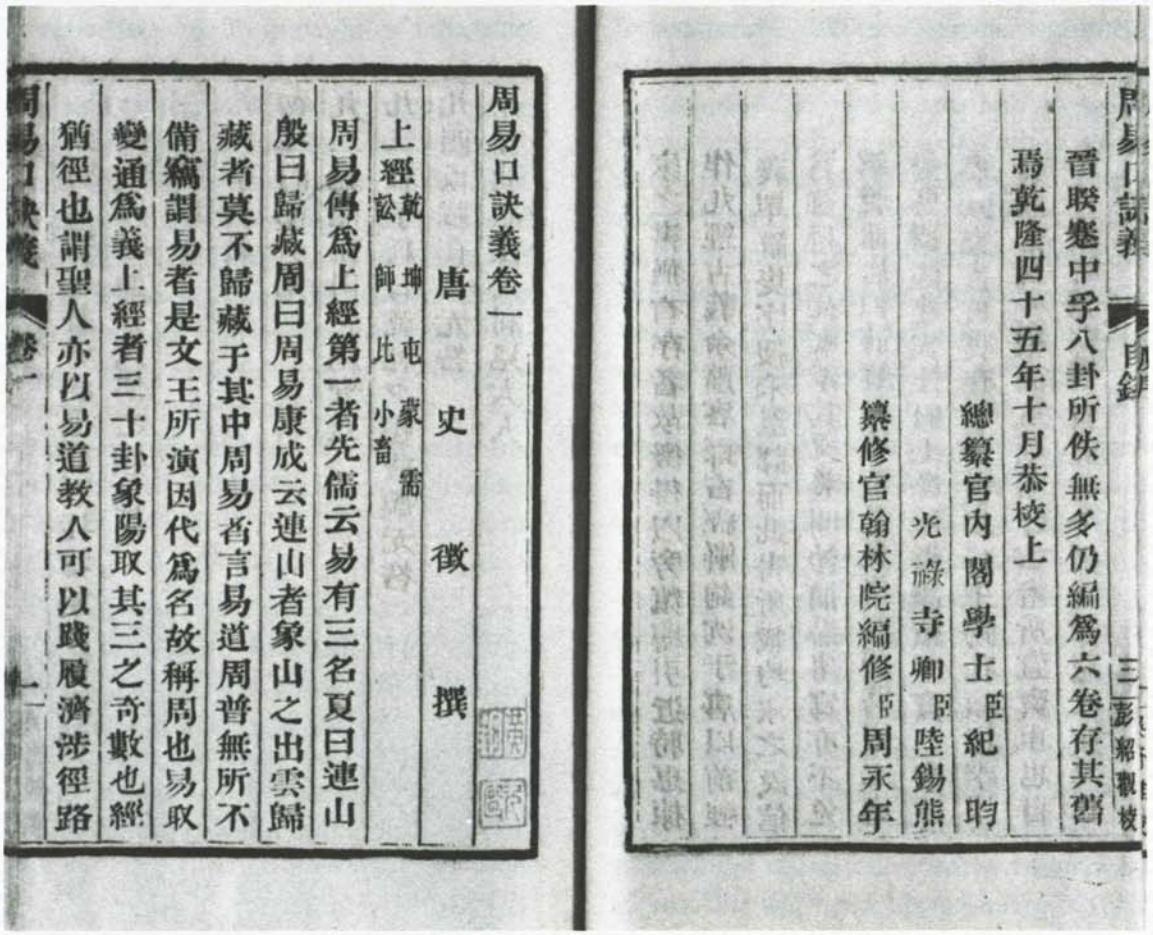


大史越約

雄王 追遡涇陽王貉龍君二君問其君長南方而事跡茫現垂雄王始有可紀者

古傳神農氏四世孫祿續分治南方是爲涇陽王子崇纜是爲貉龍君 古傳貉龍君娶洞庭仙女生一胎百卵出百男君爲雄王曰吾仙種汝竜種不可並君乃分五十子從父歸山五十子從母歸兼留長子爲君是爲雄王氏之初生因有特異故

生雄王嗣位國號文郎都峰州傳十八世皆稱雄王上游之地以川澤立國民入水者多爲蛟龍所傷王教民墨刺水怪於身以免害文身之俗始此 今西北邊諸省蠻民其俗尚存



121. *Chou-i k'ou-chüeh i. 6 ch.* (2 vols.).

Author: Shih Cheng (T'ang period, 618-906).

Date: 1780 (Peking).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 21 chars.; border, 19.3 x 12.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

< 120. *Viet su tan uoc toan bien (Yüeh-shih hsin-yüeh ch'üan-pien). 2 ch.* (4 vols.).

Author: Hoang Dao-thanh (fl. 1900s).

Date: 1906 (Hanoi).

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 22 chars.; border, 22.5 x 13.1 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

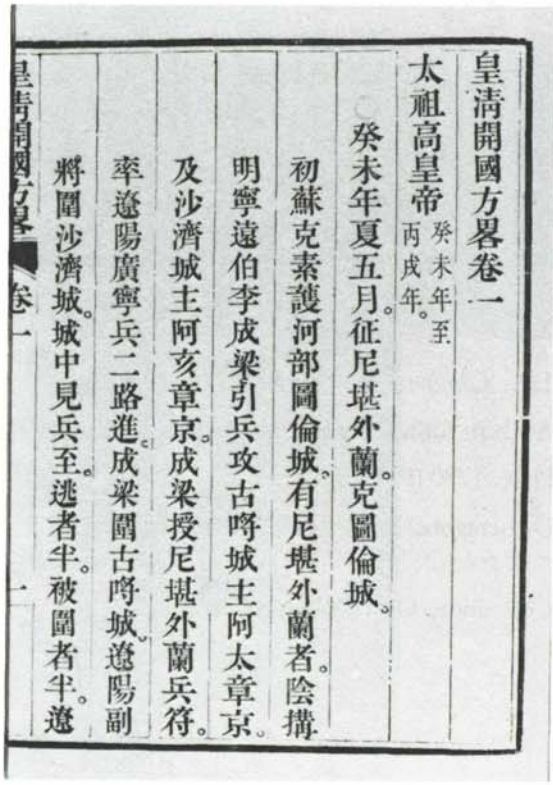
scholar-bibliophile Chu I-tsun (1629-1709), the author, Shih Cheng, was a T'ang dynasty scholar. His work was extant only in a manuscript version preserved in the early fifteenth-century encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien*; in other words, it was inaccessible even to high court officials. It is, however, an extremely valuable book, one of five pre-Sung exegetical works on the *Changes* that are extant in complete versions.

The critical remarks (on the right folio of no. 121) presented to the emperor by the scholar-officials responsible (and who, not coincidentally, were the compilers of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*) reveal that the

printing occurred in 1780. The name of the proofreader, who may also be the collator, in this case P'eng Shao-kuan, appears at the extreme bottom right of the right folio (the left side of the lower center of the block). The wooden type characters were unique products of the imperial Wu-ying tien printing office. They exemplify what has been called *fang-Sung t'i* (facsimile Sung style characters), much in vogue in other imperially sponsored printed books. Although remotely derived from Sung printed book models, they are highly standardized, displaying none of the liveliness of fine Sung printing.

We select *Huang Ch'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh* (no. 122),[9] another example of Ch'ing palace wooden movable type, to be compared with *Wu-ying tien chü-chen pan ts'ung-shu*. It is written in the format of the *Outline of The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, and is the Chinese version of a Manchu history of the Ch'ing dynasty covering the period 1583-1644, from the rise of Nurhaci (1559-1626) to the child emperor Shun-chih's (1638-1661) entrance into Peking in 1644; the aim of the work was to glorify the saga of the Manchu rise. The Ch'ien-lung emperor ordered its compilation in 1774, and it was completed in 1786 and printed in 1789. The book also was translated into German and annotated by Erich Hauer under the same title and printed in 1926. The chief compiler of this version, P'eng Shao-kuan (see also no. 121) from Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, was an academician expositor-in-waiting; his counterpart in the Manchu version was Po-lin (1751?-1824), a Hanlin expositor-in-waiting and member of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner.

Preceding the text are a preface by the Ch'ien-lung emperor himself and a memorial for the presentation of the book, submitted by a group of court officials of the highest rank led by grand secretary A-kuei. The memorial claims that this 32-volume book should "rightly be placed ahead of all books in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*," meaning that it was the most important book as far as the Manchu dynasty was concerned. Produced in the last years of the Ch'ien-lung reign, both the present copy and its Manchu version counterpart, also in the Gest Collection, are bound with imperial yellow cover-paper and assembled in sets bound with imperial yel-


皇清開國方畧卷一
太祖高皇帝 癸未年至丙戌年。
癸未年夏五月。征尼堪外蘭。克圖倫城。
初蘇克素護河部圖倫城。有尼堪外蘭者。陰搆明寧遠伯李成梁引兵攻古哷城主阿太章京。及沙濟城主阿亥章京。成梁授尼堪外蘭兵符。率遼陽廣寧兵二路進。成梁圖古哷城。遼陽副將圖沙濟城。城中見兵至。逃者半。被圖者半。遼
皇清開國方畧 卷一

122. *Huang Ch'ing k'ai-kuo fang lüeh.* 32 + 1 *ch.* (32 vols.).

Author: P'eng Shao-kuan (c.s. 1757) et al.

Date: 1789 (Peking).

Dimensions: 8 cols. of 21 chars.; border, 28.2 x 20.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

low brocade. Such are evidence that they belong to the original edition issued by the Palace Printing Office. Compared with the previous item, the shape of the characters in this book appears to be relatively long and their horizontal strokes appear to be thinner (no. 122), making them look more like the facsimile Sung-style characters adopted for many later printings. This shows that modification in the style of characters for printing still took place even after the standard had been adopted.

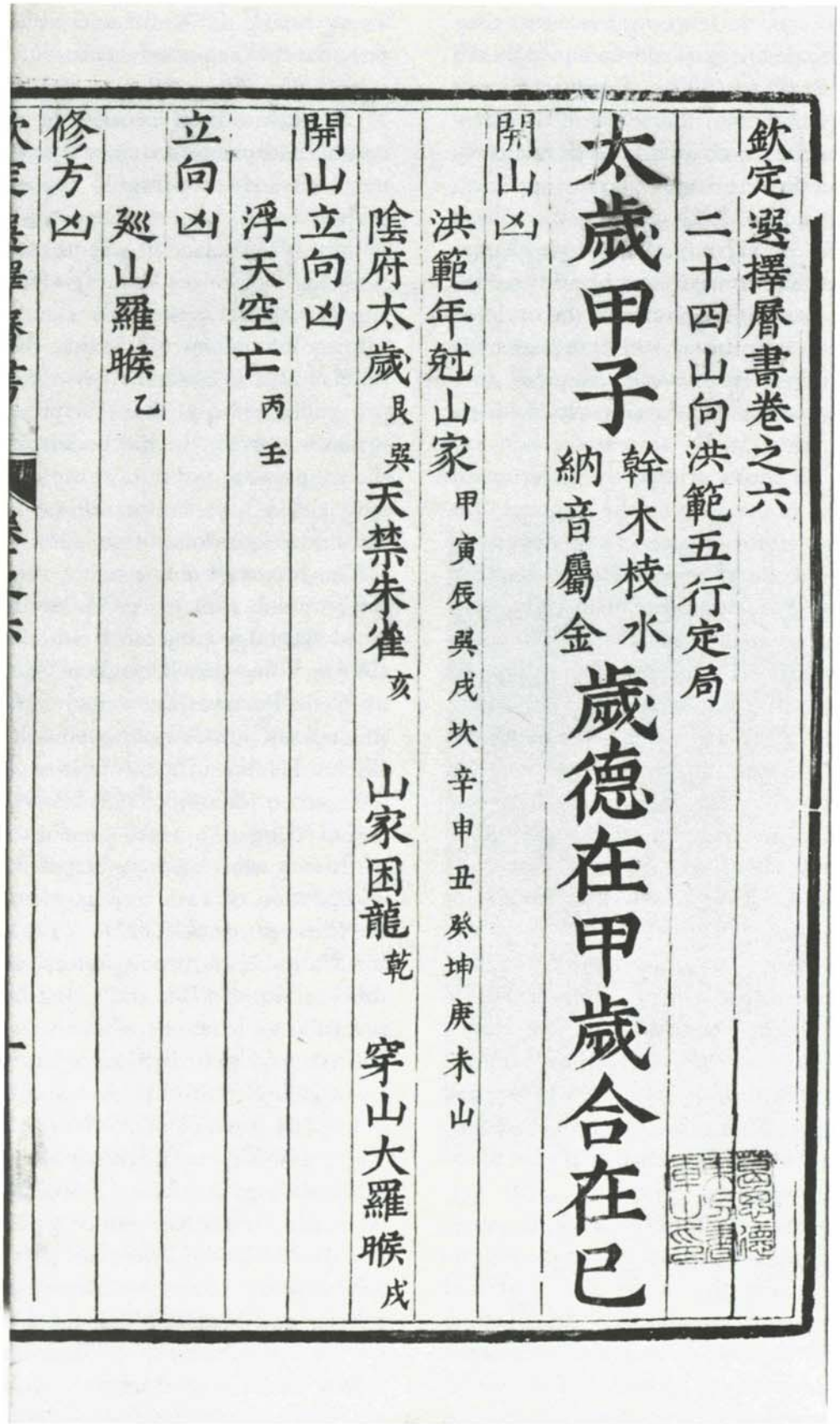
We must consider the almanac *Hsüan-tse li-shu*[10] undoubtedly among the best examples of books printed by government agencies, in this case by the Imperial Observatory in the capital. It was imperially commissioned to be produced by the staff of this office; its compiler-in-chief, An-t'ai, was then supervisor of the Imperial Observatory. The material is organized under twenty-four headings, and, unlike ordinary calendars, was meant exclusively for determining auspicious and inauspicious dates for activities during the year, including marriage, travel, adoption of sons and sons-in-law, burial, and construction of graves, as well as for determining proper burial sites. When it was presented, it was granted official status, for use with the official "Ten-thousand-year Calendar" (*wan-nien li*). The front-matter includes An-t'ai's memorial for the book's compilation submitted in the last month of 1684, the imperial response early the following month, and a list of responsible officials.

The size and style of the block, the quality of paper and ink, as well as the beautiful characters shown on the illustrated page (no. 123) convincingly demonstrate excellent skill in cutting and printing a government book. However, few copies, if any others at all, are extant, although Fu Tseng-hsiang did come across one in the early part of the present century.

Yü-hsüan T'ang-shih, an anthology of T'ang poems, is an example of excellent cutting and printing that was made even more attractive by highly refined calligraphic work, typical of books produced in the Ch'ing palace. It was printed in the Wu-ying tien Palace Printing Office. The copy's imperial yellow cover and yellow silk book label on top confirm the imperial flavor. The book is a two-color block print, with red applied for the punctuation marks — circles for the poems, dots for the annotation, and lines at the sides of titles quoted in the annotation (all are visible on the right folio of no. 124).

The poems were selected by the K'ang-hsi emperor after his compilers had finished the huge project of publishing the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (Complete Anthology of T'ang Poetry). The actual editing and meticulous annotation were done by eleven Hanlin officials headed by Wu T'ing-chen (*chin-shih* 1703) from Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, a noted poet and Hanlin instructor who also participated in the compilation of such important works as the *P'ei-wen yün-fu*. The book begins with the K'ang-hsi emperor's preface, dated the third month of 1713, and a long list of responsible officials, of whom two Hanlin officials and two district magistrates are named copyist officials (*shan-hsieh kuan*).[11]

In 1654 (instead of 1649 or earlier, as has previously been given) the famous bibliophile-printer Mao Chin (1599-1659) printed an important anthology of Ming poems, *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*.[12] The compiler was the controversial poet-essayist-scholar and Ming-Ch'ing official Ch'ien Ch'ien-i of Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, Mao's fellow native and teacher. Divided into six parts (*chi*), this anthology selects poems



欽定選擇曆書卷之六

二十四山向洪範五行定局

太歲甲子 幹木枝水 納音屬金 歲德在甲歲合在巳

開山凶

洪範年尅山家 甲寅辰巽戌坎辛申丑癸坤庚未山

陰府太歲 艮巽 天禁朱雀 亥 山家困龍 乾 穿山大羅睺 戌

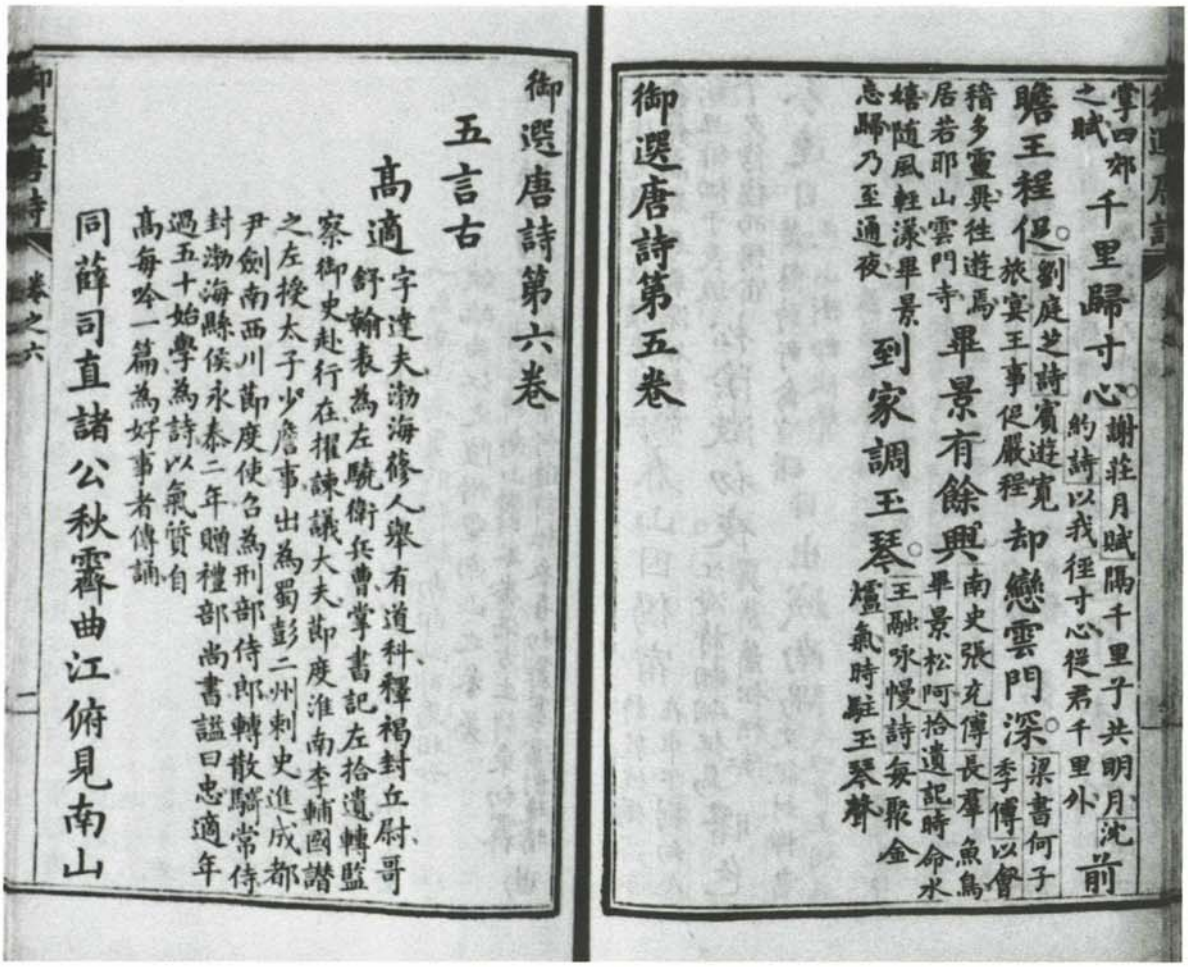
開山立向凶

浮天空亡 丙壬

立向凶

巡山羅睺 乙

修方凶


御選唐詩第六卷

五言古

高適 字達夫渤海蓨人舉有道科釋褐封丘尉哥舒翰表為左驍衛兵曹掌書記左拾遺轉監察御史赴行在擢諫議大夫即度淮南李輔國譖之左授太子少詹事出為蜀彭二州刺史進成都尹劍南西川節度使名為刑部侍郎轉散騎常侍封渤海縣侯永泰二年贈禮部尚書謚曰忠適年過五十始學為詩以氣質自高每吟一篇為好事者傳誦

同薛司直諸公秋霽曲江俯見南山

御選唐詩第五卷

掌四郊之賦千里歸寸心謝莊月賦陽千里子共明月沈約詩以我徑寸心從君千里外前

贈王桯偉劉庭芝詩賓遊寬旅宴王事促嚴程却戀雲門深梁書何子季傳以曾稽多靈異往遊焉畢景有餘興南史張充傳長羣魚鳥畢景松阿拾遺記時命水嬉隨風輕瀑畢景忘歸乃至通夜到家調玉琴王融詠慢詩奏聚金爐氣時駐玉琴聲

124. *Yü-hsüan T'ang-shih*. 32 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: Hsüan-yeh (K'ang-hsi emperor) et el.

Date: 1713 (Peking).

Dimensions: 7 cols. of 17 chars. (doubled for small); block, 19 x 12.6 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

< 123. *Ch'in-ting hsüan-tse li-shu*. 10 *ch*. (16 vols.).

Author: An-t'ai (fl. 1680s).

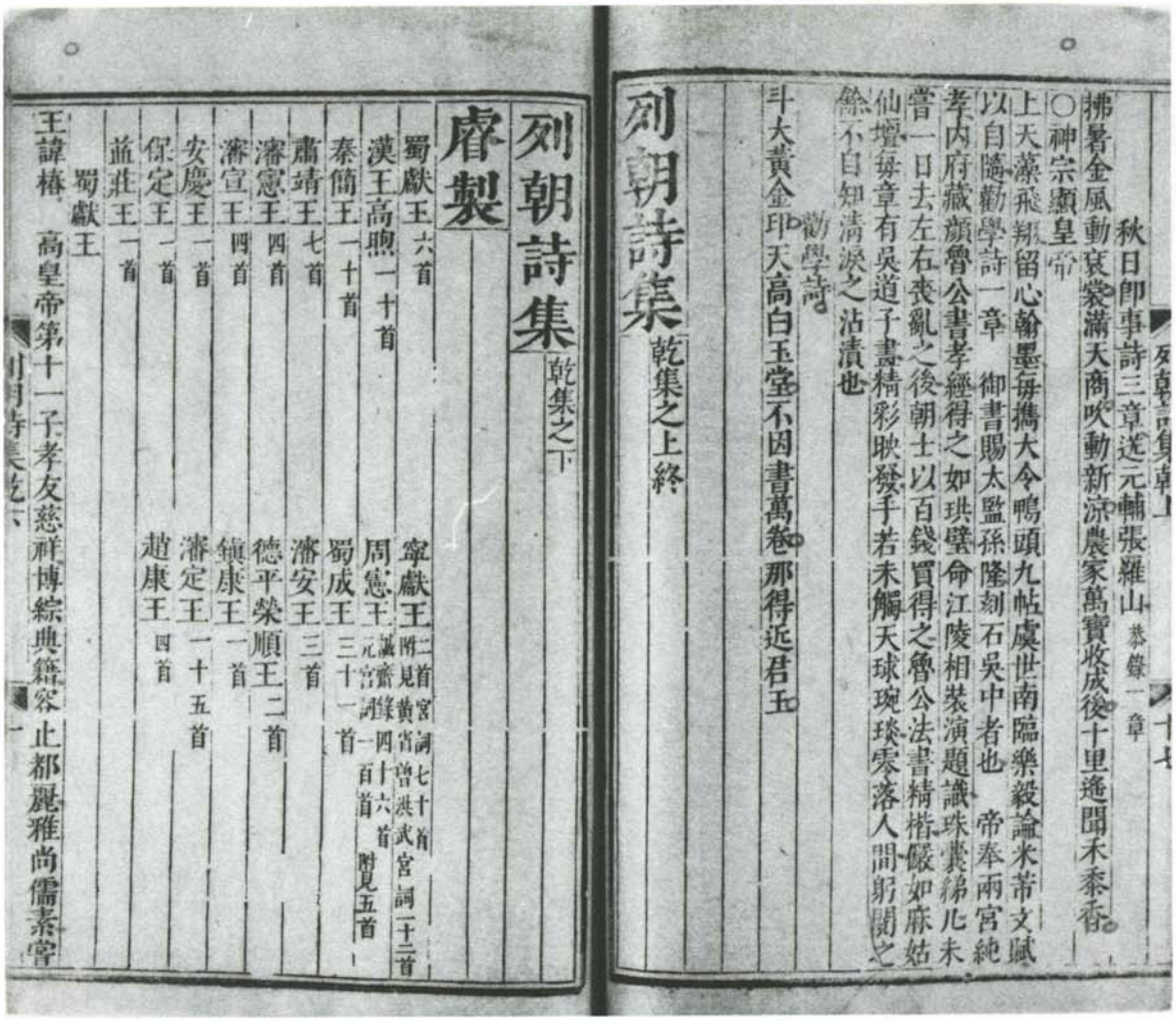
Date: 1685 (Peking).

Dimensions: 12 cols. of 30 chars.; block, 27 x 17 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

by writers of different political and social statuses, of different religious persuasions, and of both sexes — emperors and princes, officials and scholars, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, soldiers and courtesans.

The copy here begins with a general table of contents; Ch'ien's preface to the work is missing. The title page has two lines, one on each side: "Chiang-yün lou hsüan" (Selected by Chiang-yün lou) and "pen-fu ts'ang pan" (blocks held by [stored at] this [venerable] household). Chiang-yün lou was the name of Ch'ien's studio. That Ch'ien himself (or his family) owned the blocks indicates that he paid



125. *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*. 81 *ch*. (56 vols.).

Author: Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664), comp.

Date: 1654 (Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu).

Dimensions: 15 cols. of 28 chars.; block, 20 x 13.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

the cutting and printing costs. But Ch'ien's correspondence with Mao Chin, as well as the style of the characters in the book, make it clear that Mao was responsible for the production of the book. Thus it becomes even more remarkable and valuable in terms of the art of printing, because the block style and the variously sized and positioned characters, in particular, are as distinctive as they are peculiar (no. 125). These characteristics of the present work are quite different from books bearing Mao's studio name, Chi-ku ko, many of which were printed by Mao in the 1640s; he was a creative and flexible printer. Ch'ien's works were officially banned or ordered destroyed following his posthumous denunciation by the Ch'ien-lung emperor in the 1760s. Extant copies of this anthology in its original printing are thus quite rare.

An annotated anthology of Kao Ch'i's

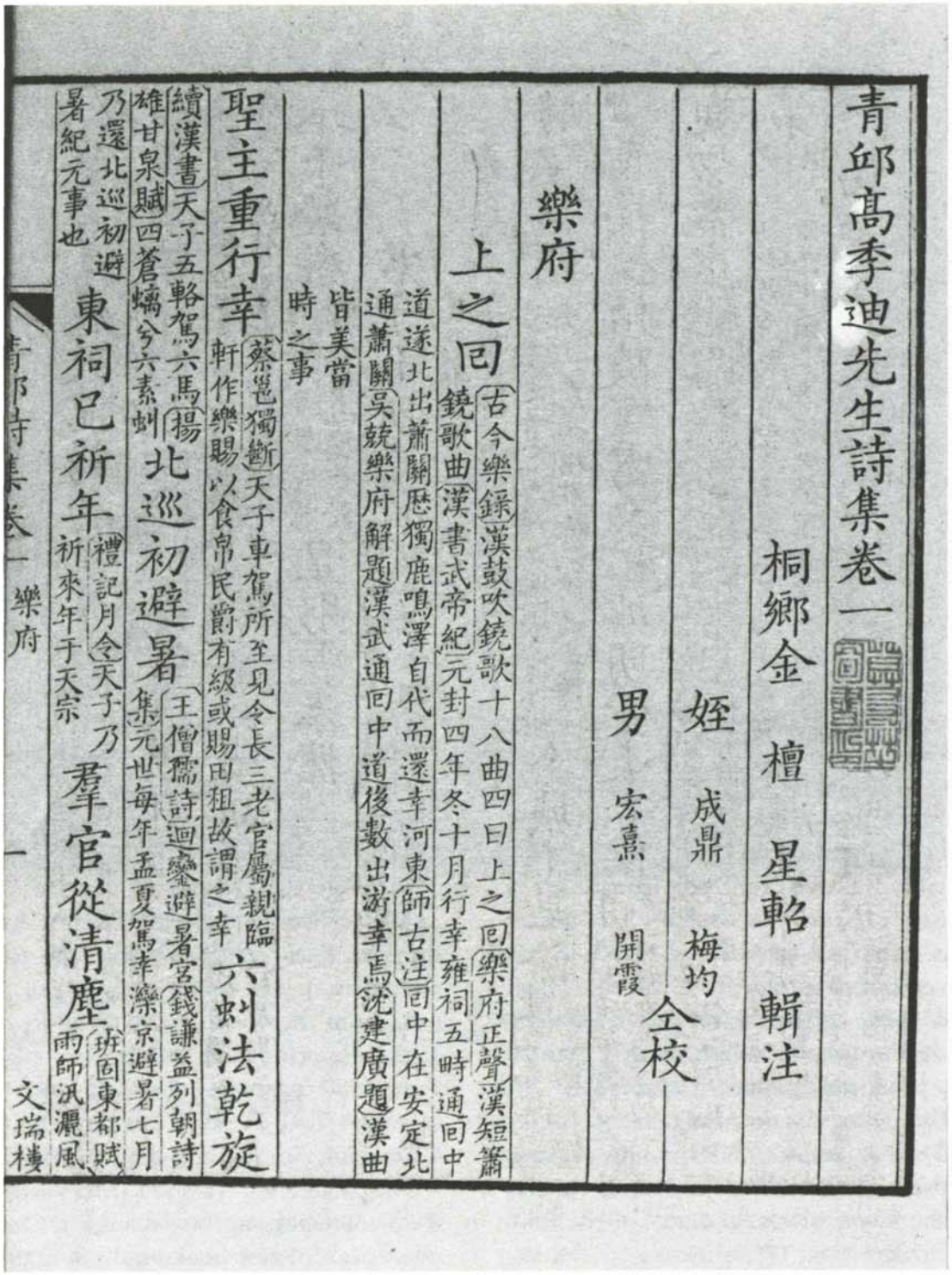
literary works exemplifies the fine qualities of "family printing." It was printed in 1728 and has one *chüan* of front matter, including prefaces, comments, a portrait, and a *nien-p'u* of Kao; nineteen *chüan* (including one supplementary) of poetry; one *chüan* of lyrics based on Sung and Yüan models; one *chüan* of postfaces, colophons, and miscellaneous writings about Kao; and five *chüan* of essays. The annotation was done by Chin T'an of T'unghsiang, Chekiang, who was also the editor and printer.[13]

Kao Ch'i, a native of Ch'ang-chou, a county near modern Soochow, was a truly talented literatus whose strong feeling and emotions about the turbulent late Yüan through early Ming period were subtly and thoroughly expressed in his poetry. But it was such poetry that brought him a tragic death; he was ordered executed by the founder of the Ming dynasty, who did so probably in order to intimidate potential dissidents. A modern biographer rightly remarks that his "death was a distinct loss to Ming literature," for he indisputably was one of the best Ming poets, a master of style and content. His poetry was published as early as 1403 and has never lacked admirers in China, Korea, and Japan. But it was Chin T'an who, with four years of diligent work, eventually produced this superb annotation.

Chin T'an was noted as a book collector and book printer. His family printing house was called Wen-jui lou, as appears at the lower block "mouth" of the folio illustrated (no. 126, showing at the extreme lower left), and it was responsible for printing the work. As can be seen from the illustration, Chin proofread the text with the aid of his nephew and his son. The block format, the calligraphy, the cutting and the printing, not to mention the paper and ink, are all excellent. The book must be regarded as among the best examples of the "family printing" (*chia-k'o*) tradition in early Ch'ing times. In fact, it is selected in the *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu*. The Gest copy has once been owned by the famous late Ch'ing official and scholar-bibliophile Mo Yu-chih (1811-1871) of Tu-shan, Kweichow, whose six-character seal appears immediately after the title line of the book on the right of the illustrated page (no. 126). In his own catalogue Mo also remarks that of the editions of Kao Ch'i's works the one "published by Wen-jui lou is the finest."

A huge collection of classical prose entitled *Ku-wen mei-ch'üan* was cut and printed by the San-wu shu-yüan, a semi-government academy in Soochow. The editor and commentator was P'u Ch'i-lung of Chin-kuei, Kiangsu, a famous early Ch'ing scholar, literary critic, and celebrated annotator of the poet Tu Fu and the historiographer Liu Chih-chi, both of the T'ang era. The work was printed probably at the time when P'u was head of the prefectural school of Soochow.[14]

This collection includes excerpts from the Tso, Kung-yang, and Ku-liang commentaries to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, from the *Songs of Ch'u*, the *Records of the Historian*, and others. It contains some 800 passages classified into 27 sections. Two famous scholar-officials, Ch'en Hung-mou (Jung-men) of Kweilin, Kwangsi and Wu Ta-shou (Mu-yüan) of Kuei-an, Chekiang, are named as "connoisseurs" of the book, indicating their approval of the collection's content. Two staff members of the academy are named as co-editors (see no. 127a). The persons responsible for the proofreading and printing of the book were P'u's brother, Ch'i-lin, and his student, Chang Yü-ku


青邱高季迪先生詩集卷一

桐鄉金檀星軺輯注

姪成鼎梅均全校

男宏熹開霞

樂府

上之回（古今樂錄）漢鼓吹鐃歌十八曲四曰上之回（樂府正聲）漢短簫鐃歌曲（漢書武帝紀）元封四年冬十月行幸雍祠五時通回中道遂北出蕭關歷獨鹿鳴澤自代而還幸河東（師古注）回中在安定北通蕭關（吳兢樂府解題）漢武通回中道後數出游幸焉（沈建廣題）漢曲皆美當時之事

聖主重行幸（蔡邕獨斷）天子車駕所至見令長三老官屬親臨軒作樂賜以食帛民爵有級或賜田租故謂之幸 六蚪法乾旋

（續漢書）天子五輅駕六馬（揚雄甘泉賦）四蒼螭兮六素蚪 北巡初避暑（王僧孺詩）迴鑾避暑宮（錢謙益列朝詩集）元世每年孟夏駕幸灤京避暑七月乃還北巡初避暑紀元事也 東祠已祈年（禮記月令）天子乃祈來年于天宗 羣官從清塵（班固東都賦）雨師汎灑風

126. *Ch'ing-ch'iu Kao Chi-ti hsien-sheng shih-chi*. 27 *ch*. (10 vols.).

Author: Kao Ch'i (1336-1374); Chin T'an (fl. 1700-1730), annot.

Date: 1728 (T'ung-hsiang, Chekiang).

Dimensions: 11 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 17.8 x 14.5 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

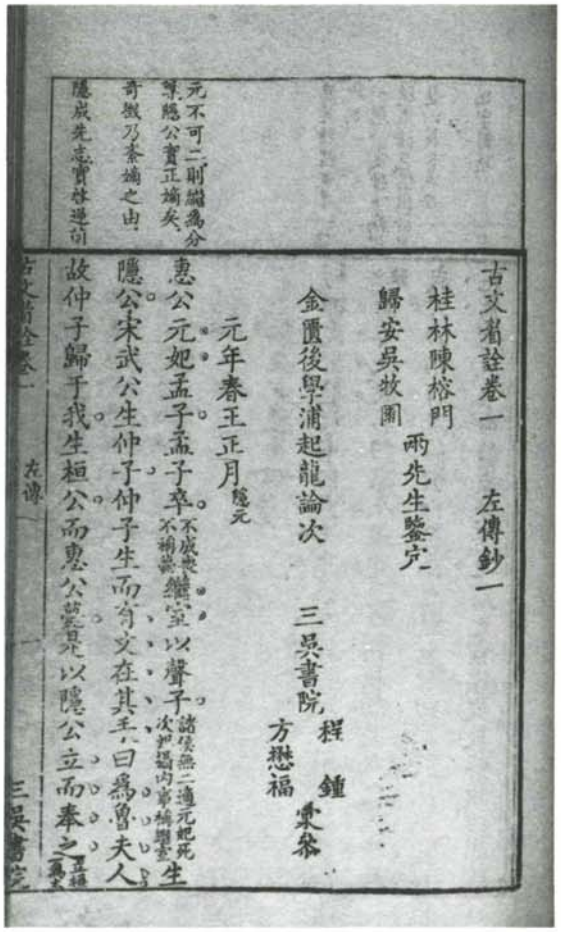
127a-b. *Ku-wen mei-ch'üan.* 79 *ch.* (32 vols.).

Author: P'u Ch'i-lung (1679-1761+).

Date: 1741 (Soochow).

Dimensions: 9 cols. of 22 chars.; block, 17.8 + 4.2 x 13.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



127a.

(no. 127b, last column). The preface to the book states that it took three years for the book to be published.

As an example of "academy printing" and of a kind of textbook for literary appreciation, this anthology is remarkable both in the art of printing and in the meticulousness of its commentary. The engraving of the academy's name at the center bottom of each block (showing at lower outside corners of folios) and the names of printers at the end of each *chüan* both demonstrate responsibility and pride. The small characters in the text are annotations and collations. P'u's commentaries appear both on top of the folios and at the end of the passages. Other conventions of commentary, in the forms of circles, and solid and hollow dots, are also engraved, to make pleasant and appreciative reading.

One of the most famous Ch'ing facsimile reproductions of Sung printing is an edition of the important early anthology of Chinese literature compiled by the sixth-century Prince Chao-ming (and authoritatively annotated by Li Shan of the

T'ang dynasty). The sponsor of this reprint of the *Wen-hsüan*[15] was Hu K'o-chia (1757-1816) of P'o-yang, Kiangsi. The book was cut and printed in Nanking when Hu was there as provincial administration commissioner of Chiang-nan. At the end of the table of contents the names of three Liu brothers were engraved, listing them as cutters of the blocks.

Except where taboo characters of Ch'ing times occurred — such as the second of the small characters on the ninth line of the illustrated page (no. 128) — the block and the characters, both in size and in style, are modeled faithfully on the 1181 (Southern Sung) edition published by the government printer of Ch'ih-yang. This faithfulness appears especially remarkable when the style of characters is considered: the Sung version of Yen Chen-ch'ing's calligraphy style gets transmitted intact. The importance of this edition is reinforced by a scholarly factor. Although essentially a facsimile, it benefited tremendously from the collation done by two eminent scholars of the day, Ku Kuang-ch'i (1776-1835) from Wu-hsien and P'eng Chao-sun (1769-1821) from Chen-yang, Kiangsu. Hu K'o-chia himself appears to have also contributed to the collation. The three seals on the illustrated page, occupying the space of the first two lines, are, in order, those of Hu, Ku, and P'eng. Such faithful tracings and meticulous collation, plus the fine quality of ink and paper earned this edition great fame; the *cognoscenti* refer to it as the "Hu k'o [the Hu edition of] *Wen-hsüan*." Like Chin T'an's edition of Kao Ch'i's anthology (no. 126), this edition is also selected in the *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu* as representing the best Chinese block printing. As a matter of fact, it was used as the basis for yet another facsimile reproduction, by the Ch'ung-wen shu-chü in Peking in 1869.

Our final example is a "handkerchief" edition, typified by small characters printed from small blocks. The book, an annotated version of the poetry of the greatest genius of all, Su Tung-p'o, was produced under the sponsorship and possible supervision of an early Ch'ing scholar-official, Sung Lao (1634-1713), of Shang-ch'iu, Honan.[16] While governor of Kiangsu, Sung purchased an incomplete edition of Su's poems as annotated by the Southern Sung scholar, Shih Yüan-chih. He then invited two famous Kiangsu scholars, Shao Ch'ang-heng (1637-1704) from Wu-chin and Ku Ssu-li (1669-1722) from Ch'ang-chou, as well as his second son Sung Chih (1656-1726), to supplement and re-edit the text. Sung himself also collected Su's missing poems and had Feng Ching (1652-1715) of Hangchow annotate them. In the process of finalizing the text, Sung also had the aid of another noted scholar-calligrapher and Hanlin official, Chang Jung-tuan (1639-1714) from Tz'u-chou, Hopei. Critical scholarship at this level makes the edition of Su's poetry the finest ever published, both in its textual reliability and its annotation. A facsimile edition was printed in Canton in 1883.

The skill of block cutting displayed in this "handkerchief" edition is superb.

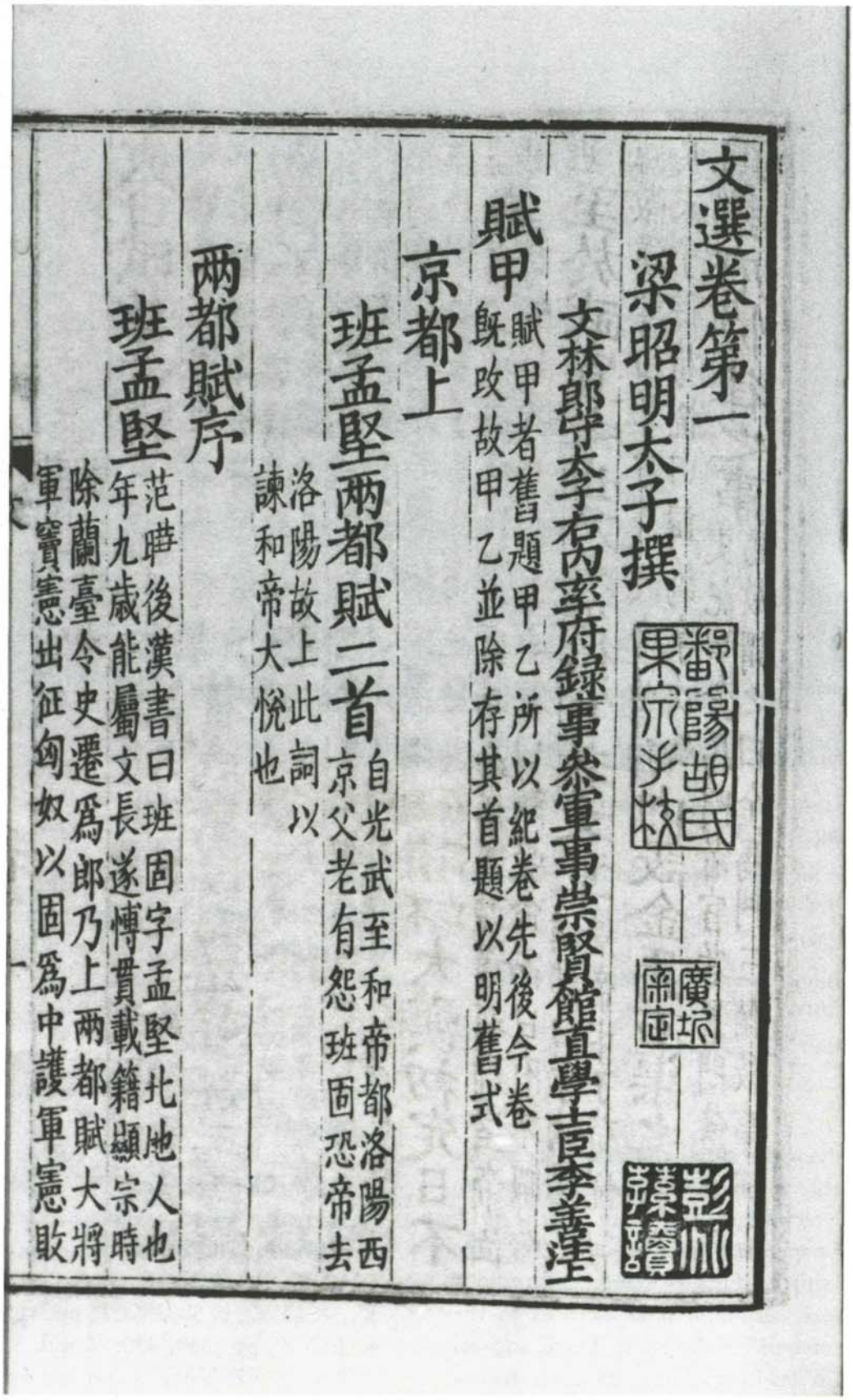
> 128. *Wen-hsüan*. 60 *ch*. (20 vols.).

Author: Hsiao T'ung (501-531); Li Shan (d. 689), annot.

Date: 1809 (Nanking).

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 21 chars.; block 21.1 x 13.3 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.



文選卷第一

梁昭明太子撰

文林郎守太子右率府錄事參軍事崇賢館直學士臣李善注

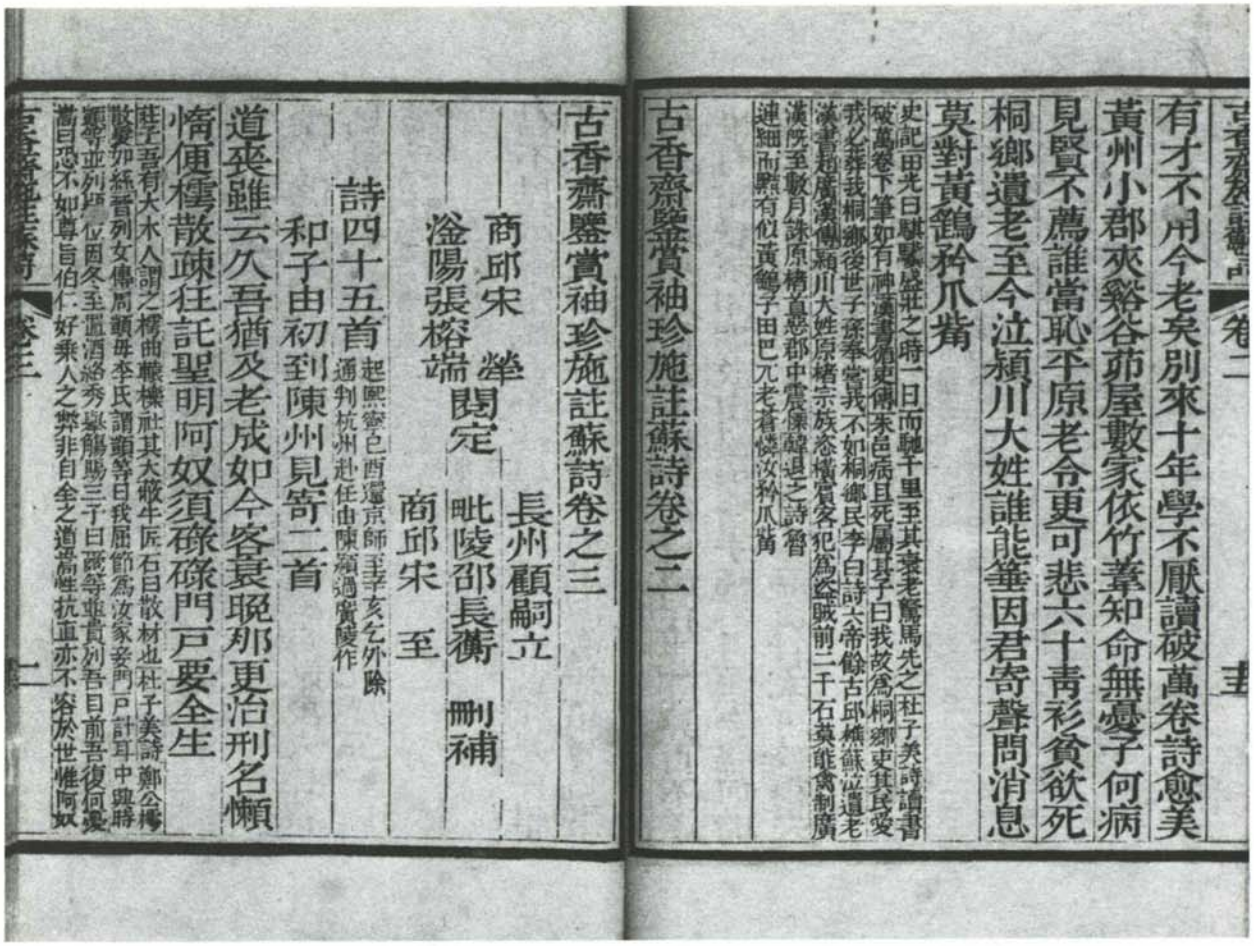
賦甲 賦甲者舊題甲乙所以紀卷先後今卷既改故甲乙並除存其首題以明舊式

京都上

班孟堅兩都賦二首 自光武至和帝都洛陽西京父老有怨班固恐帝去洛陽故上此詞以諫和帝大悅也

兩都賦序

班孟堅 范曄後漢書曰班固字孟堅北地人也年九歲能屬文長遂博貫載籍顯宗時除蘭臺令史遷爲郎乃上兩都賦大將軍竇憲出征匈奴以固爲中護軍憲敗



古香齋鑒賞袖珍施註蘇詩卷之三

長州顧嗣立

商邱宋犖 閱定

毗陵邵長蘅 刪補

滎陽張榕端 商邱宋至

詩四十五首 起熙寧己酉還京師至辛亥乞外除通判杭州赴任由陳潁過賓陵作

和子由初到陳州見寄二首

道喪雖云久吾猶及老成如今客衰晚那更治刑名懶惰便霑散疎狂託聖明阿奴須碌碌門戶要全生

莊子吾有大木人謂之樗曲轅樸社其大蔽牛匠石目散材也杜子美詩鄭公樗散吾知免孫晉列女傳周顧毋李氏謂顧等曰我屈節爲汝家妾門戶計耳中與時變等並列臣仗固冬至置酒絡秀舉觴賜三千曰願等並貴列吾目前吾復何憂滿目恐不如尊旨伯仁好乘人之弊非自全之道嵇雄抗直亦不容於世惟阿奴

古香齋鑒賞袖珍施註蘇詩卷之二

有才不用今老矣別來十年學不厭讀破萬卷詩愈美黃州小郡夾谿谷茆屋數家依竹葦知命無憂子何病見賢不薦誰當恥平原老令更可悲六十青衫貧欲死桐鄉遺老至今泣潁川大姓誰能筆因君寄聲問消息莫對黃鶴矜爪觜

史記田光曰騏驥盛壯之時一日而馳千里至其衰老駑馬先之杜子美詩讀書破萬卷下筆如有神漢書倪寬傳宋邑病且死屬其子曰我故爲桐鄉吏其民愛我必葬我桐鄉後世子孫奉嘗我不如桐鄉民李白詩六帝餘古邱樵蘇泣遺老漢書趙廣漢傳潁川大姓原楚宗族恣橫賓客犯爲盜賊前二千石莫能禽制廣漢院至數月誅原楚等皆悉郡中震慄辭退之詩魯連細而黠有似黃鶴子田巴兀老蒼憐汝矜爪觜

129. *Ku-hsiang chai chien-shang hsiu-chen Shih-chu Su-shih.* 42 + 2 *ch.* (18 vols.).

Author: Su Shih (1036-1101); Shih Yüan-chih (c.s. 1154), annot.

Date: 1700.

Dimensions: 10 cols. of 21 chars. (20 of 31 small chars.); block, 10.2 x 8 cm.

Collection: Gest Oriental Library.

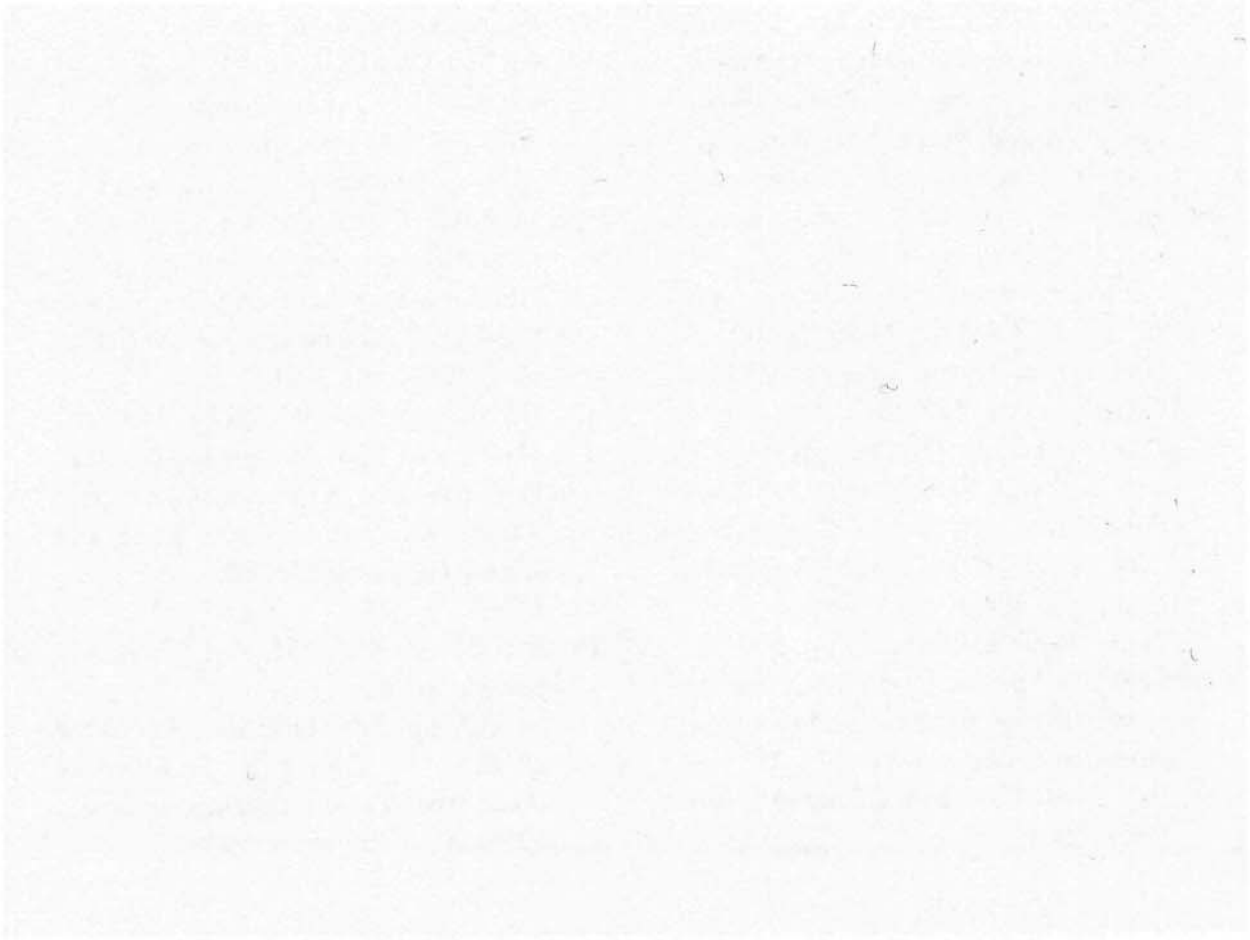
That even the small characters are so remarkably legible is ample evidence also for the technique of printing and the quality of paper and ink (see no. 129). The ownership of the Ku-hsiang chai studio is not clear, although it is ascribed to the "connoisseur" of the book. The K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung emperors each had a study called by the same name, and a number of books published under their imperial aegis are in "handkerchief" editions.

Notes to Section 6

1. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 190, note f.
2. *SKTY* 82, p. 5b; *ECCP*, p. 791; *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* 26, p. 34a; and Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: The British Museum, 1985), p. 43.
3. *SKTY* 82, p. 5b; *ECCP*, pp. 411, 815.
4. *ECCP*, pp. 330, 430; Wood, *Illustration*, p. 42; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*,

pp. 269, 275; Cary Y. Liu, "Ch'ing Jih-ho Pi-shu-shan-chuang ti she-chi kuan-nien," *I-shu shih chi-k'an* (forthcoming); and Wang Yün-wu et al., comps., *Hsü Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (Taipei: T'ai-wan Shang-wu, 1972), *shih-pu*, p. 989.

5. Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing*, pp. 80, 84; *ECCP*, pp. 93-95; Wood, *Illustration*, p. 40; and Edgren, *American Collections*, pp. 122-23.
6. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 319-31; and Soowon Kim, review of Sohn Pow-key, *Early Korean Typography*, *The Gest Library Journal* 1.1 (Winter 1986), pp. 58-61.
7. Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 350-52.
8. *SKTY* 1, p. 4a; Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing*, pp. 82-83; and Edgren, *American Collections*, pp. 124-25.
9. *ECCP*, p. 685; and *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, 34, p. 1a.
10. Fu, *Ching-yen lu*, p. 601.
11. *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, 71, p. 26a.
12. Ch'ü, *Gest Catalogue*, pp. 565, 570; *ECCP*, pp. 148-50; P'an and Ku, *Ming-tai pan-k'o*, pp. 410-12; and Chu Hung-lin, "Ch'ien Ch'ien-i Kuo-ch'u ch'ün-hsiung shih-lüeh tsuan-tso ching-kuo yü ch'eng-shu nien-tai t'ui-k'ao," *Bulletin of Ming-Qing Studies* 1 (1985), pp. 77-103.
13. *DMB*, pp. 196-99; *SKTY* 169, pp. 8b-9a; and Mo Sheng-sun, ed., *Lü-t'ing chih-chien ch'uan-pen shu-mu* (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai, 1984) 15, p. 3a; and *Chung-kuo pan-k'o*, p. 85.
14. *ECCP*, p. 345.
15. *ECCP*, pp. 417, 551; and *Chung-kuo pan-k'o*, p. 90.
16. *ECCP*, pp. 549, 689; and Hsü Shih-ch'ang, *Ta Ch'ing chi-fu hsien-che chuan* (rpt. Taipei: Ta-t'ung shu-chü, 1968) 19, p. 23b.



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Chinese and Japanese Glossary A

Terms, Phrases, Locales, Studios, and Reign Names Mentioned in Text, Notes, and Labels

An-yang 安陽
Ch'ang-chou 長洲
Chang-p'u 漳浦
Ch'ang-shu 常熟
chang-ts'ao 章草
Chao-t'i 趙體
chen 眞
chen-jen 貞人
Chen-yang 鎭洋
Cheng-ho 正和
Ch'eng-hua 成化
Cheng-te 正德
Cheng-t'ung 正統
chi 集
Chi-ku ko 汲古閣
Chi-mei t'ang 濟美堂
Chi-sha 磧砂
Chi-shan t'ang 積善堂
Chi-shui 吉水
chia 甲
chia-ch'en 甲辰
Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶
Chia-ching 嘉靖
chia-k'o 家刻
chia-ku-wen 甲骨文
chia-yin 甲寅
Chiang-nan ts'ai-tzu 江南才子
chiang-t'i 匠體
chiang-t'i tzu 匠體字
Chiang-tu 江都
Chiang-yün-lou hsüan 絳雲樓選
chieh 磔
chien 簡
Chieh-heng erh nien keng-yin wu-yüeh wu-jih Tun-huang chün So Tan hsieh i 建衡二年庚寅五月五日燉煌郡索紀寫已
Ch'ien-lung 乾隆
Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘
Chien-wen 建文
Chien-yang 建陽
chih 制
Chih-ta 至大
Ch'ih-yang 池陽
Chin 金
Chin-chiang 晉江
chin-hsiang-yü 金鑲玉
Chin-kuei 金匱
chin-shih 進士
chin-shih hsüeh 金石學
Ching-shan 京山
Ching-t'ai 景泰
Chu-ch'eng 諸城
Ch'ü-fu 曲阜
chüan 卷
chüan-shou 卷首
chüan-ti 眷弟
ch'uang-yu 窗友
chün-tsu 軍諮
chün-tzu 君子
Chung-wen shu-chü 中文書局
chung-yüan 中原

Chūsonji-kyō 中尊寺經
E-Inga-kyō 繪因果經
erh 尒(爾)
fan-fu pen 藩府本
fan-li 凡例
fang-Sung t'i 仿宋體
Feng-hsiang 鳳翔
Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府
Genkyō 元亨
Ho-fei 合肥
Hsiang-fu 祥符
Hsiang-t'an 湘潭
Hsiao-chia 小甲
hsiao-chuan 小篆
Hsiao-t'un 小屯
hsieh-ching-t'i 寫經體
hsieh-k'o 寫刻
Hsin-an 新安
Hsin-chien 新建
hsin-yu 辛酉
hsing 行
Hsing-kuo chou 興國州
hsing-shu 行書
Hsiu-shui 秀水
Hsü-chou 徐州
Hsüan-ho 宣和
Hsüan-hua 宣化
Hsüan-te 宣德
hsün 旬
hua-ko 劃格
Hua-t'ing 華亭
Huai 淮
Huang shih-ch'eng 皇史晟
Hung-chih 弘治
huo-tzu-pan yin-shua shu 活字版印刷術
I-pai t'ang 夷白堂
I-tu 益都
i-wei 乙未
inbutsu 印佛
Itsukushima 嚴島
Jao-chou 饒州
Jehol 熱河
Jingoji-kyō 神護寺經
k'ai 楷
k'ai-shu 楷書
K'ai-yüan 開元
kan-chih 干支
K'ang-hsi 康熙
Kao-yu 高郵
keng-yin 庚寅
Ku-hsiang chai 古香齋
Ku-liang 穀梁
Ku-yang 古陽
K'uai-hsüeh t'ang 快雪堂
Kuan-hua t'ang 貫華堂
Kuei-an 歸安
Kuei-chi 會稽
kuei-ch'ou 癸丑
Kuei-hsi 貴溪
kuei-mao 癸卯
kuei-ssu 癸巳
Kung-yang 公羊
Kunōji 久能寺
Kweilin 桂林
Lake Tai 太湖
li 隸
li-shu 隸書
Li-shui 溧水
Li-tai ming-jen lieh-chuan 歷代名人列傳
Liu-ch'ao 六朝
Lung-men 龍門
Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆
mao-pien 毛邊
mao-t'ai 毛太
Mei-chou 眉州
Mei-shan 眉山
mikkyō 密教
ming 命
Ming-shan t'ang 明善堂
Mo-miao shan-fang 墨妙山房
Mo-tsui-tzu 磨咀子
mo-yai 摩崖
Mt. Wu-tang 武當山
na 捺
Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫
Nanchang 南昌

nei-fu pen 內府本
nien-po 年伯
nien-p'u 年譜
Ning-ti chen-ts'ang t'u-shu 寧邸珍藏圖書
o 悪(惡)
Ou-t'i 歐體
pa-fen 八分
Pao-ch'eng 褒城
Pao-ching lou 抱經樓
pao-pei chuang 包褙裝
Pei-kuo shih-yu 北郭十友
P'ei-wen chai 佩文齋
pen-fu ts'ang pan 本府藏版
Pi-shu shan-chuang 避暑山莊
po 帛
p'o 波
po-shu 帛書
P'o-yang 鄱陽
pu-hsün 卜旬
pu-jen 卜人
P'u-t'ien 莆田
San-huai t'ang 三槐堂
San-wu shu-yüan 三吳書院
shan 彡
shan-hsieh kuan 繕寫官
Shan-yin 山陰
Shang-ch'iu 商丘
Shao-hsing 紹興
She-hsien 歙縣
sheng 生
Shih-chien t'ang 師儉堂
Shih-ching t'ang 世經堂
Shih-ts'ai t'ang 世綵堂
shou-chin t'i 瘦金體
shu-fa pa-wang 書法八王
Shu-lin, Chien-yang 書林, 建陽
soshoku-gyō 裝飾經
ssu-kuei 示癸
Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊
Sung-t'i tzu 宋體字
Ta-chia 大甲
Ta-i 大乙
T'ai-ho shan 太和山
T'ai-hsüeh 太學
t'ai-ko t'i 臺閣體
T'ai-ts'ang 太倉
Tan-t'u 丹徒
Tao-kuang 道光
t'ieh 帖
tien-pen 殿本
T'ien-shun 天順
ting-wu 定武
t'o-pen 拓本
Tōdaiji 東大寺
tsai 在
ts'ang-ching tung 藏經洞
ts'ao 草
ts'ao-shu 草書
ts'e 册
Tso 左
Tsu-chia 祖甲
Tsu-keng 祖庚
Ts'ui-ch'ing t'ang 萃慶堂
tsun 尊
Tu-shan 獨山
T'ung-chou 通州
T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉
Tz'u-chou 磁州
Tzu-hsiao kung 紫霄宮
Wan-li 萬曆
wan-nien li 萬年曆
wang (oracle bone styles) 𠂤天
wang (modern) 王
Wei-ch'uan 渭川
wen 文
Wen-jui lou 文瑞樓
wo-k'ou 倭寇
Wu-ch'eng 烏程
Wu-chin 武進
Wu-hsien 吳縣
Wu-hsing 吳興
Wu-hsing pa-chün 吳興八俊
Wu-hu chang 五湖長
Wu-ying tien 武英殿
Yen-sheng yüan 延聖院
Yen-t'i 顏體

Yin-hsien 鄞縣
yin-yang chia 陰陽家
Yü-ch'ing t'ang 餘慶堂
Yung-ho 永和
Yung-lo 永樂

Chinese and Japanese Glossary B

Names of Illustrations, Authors, Calligraphers, and All Other Books and Persons Mentioned in Text, Notes, and Labels

A-kuei 阿揆
An-t'ai (fl. 1680s) 安泰
Byōdōbō Yōgen 平等房永嚴
Chang Chi-chih (1186–1263) 張即之
Chang Chih-tung 張之洞
Chang Chü-cheng (1525–1582) 張居正
Chang Hsiao-hsiang (1132–1170) 張孝祥
Chang Hsiao-po (c.s. 1163) 張孝伯
Chang Jung-tuan (1639–1714) 張榕端
Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi (wai-chi, i-wen, chi-chuan) 昌黎先生集(外集, 遺文, 集傳)
Chang Pang-ch'i (1484–1544) 張邦奇
Chang P'u (1602–1641) 張溥
Chang Shih-ch'e [Chih-yüan chu-jen] (1500–1577) 張時徹[芝園主人]
Chang Shih-ch'eng 張士誠
Chang Ta-ch'ien 張大千
Chang T'ai-t'ing 章台鼎
Chang Yen-yüan (fl. 860–70) 張彥遠
Chang Yü (1283–1350) 張羽
Chang Yü-ku 張玉穀
Chang Yü-shu (1642–1711) 張玉書
Chao Chih-ch'ien (1829–1884) 趙之謙
Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322) 趙孟頫
Chao-ming 昭明
Ch'en Chao-chi (fl. 1620s) 陳兆基
Ch'en Chi-ju (1558–1639) 陳繼儒
Ch'en Hsing-yüan (fl. 1890s) 陳星源
Ch'en Hung-mou [Jung-men] 陳宏謀[榕門]
Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652) 陳宏綬
Ch'en I-kuan 陳一貫
Ch'en Mei-kung ting-pu P'o-hsien chi 陳眉公訂補坡仙集
Ch'en Shou (233–297) 陳壽
Chen-ts'ao ch'ien-tzu-wen 眞草千字文
Ch'en Yüan-su (fl. 1590–1630) 陳元素
Cheng Ch'iao (1104–1162) 鄭樵
Ch'eng Chü-fu (1249–1318) 程鉅夫
Ch'eng Fu-shan 程福山
Cheng Hsieh (1693–1765) 鄭燮
Cheng Hsüan (127–200) 鄭玄
Cheng I-luan 鄭一鸞
Cheng Jo-tseng (1505–1580) 鄭若曾
Ch'eng Meng-lei (1651–1741?) 陳夢雷
Ch'eng-shih mo-yüan 程氏墨苑
Ch'eng Ta-yüeh (1541–1616?) 程大約
[Ming] Ch'eng-tsu [明]成祖
Cheng Ying-lung 鄭應龍
Chi Chen-i 季振宜
Chi-chiu liang-fang 急救良方
Chi-sha pan Ta-tsang ching 磧砂版大藏經
[Chia-lo chai hsüan p'ing-chu] san-Su wen-fan 嘉樂齋選評註三蘇文範
Chiang Ju-pi (1486–1558) 江汝璧
Chiang K'uan (1503–1565) 江瓘
Chiang T'ing-hsi (1669–1732) 蔣廷錫
Chiao Hung (1541–1620) 焦竑
Ch'ieh p'ang-chu shih-lei chieh-lu 鍥旁注事類捷錄

Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582–1664) 錢謙益
Chien Kuan-nei hou Chi-chih piao 荐關內侯季直表
Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu 建炎以來繫年要錄
Chien-yüan t'ang chi-hsüan ming-kung ssu-liu chin-sheng 簡遠堂輯選名公四六金聲
Chih-ta ch'ung-hsiu hsüan-ho po-ku t'u-lu 至大重修宣和博古圖錄
Chih-yung (6th–7th c. A.D.) 智永
Chin-kang ching 金剛經
Ch'in Ming-lei (1518–1593) 秦鳴雷
Chin T'an (fl. 1700–1730) 金壇
Ch'in-ting hsüan-tse li-shu 欽定選擇曆書
Ch'in-ting ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng 欽定古今圖書集成
Ch'in-ting kuo-shih ta-ch'en lieh-chuan 欽定國史大臣列傳
Ch'ing-ch'iu Kao Chi-ti hsien-sheng shih-chi 青邱高季廸先生詩集
Ching-hsüan ku-chin ssu-liu hui-pien 精選古今四六會編
Ching-k'o Hsü Ch'en erh hsien-sheng p'ing-hsüan li-tai ming-wen tse 精刻徐陳二先生評選歷代名文則
[Ming] Ching-ti [明]景帝
Ching-tai pi-shu 津逮秘書
Chiu-chen t'ai-shou Ku Lang pei 九眞太守谷朗碑
Chiu-ch'eng-kung li-ch'üan ming 九成宮醴泉銘
Ch'iu Chün (1421–1495) 丘濬
Chiu-mo-lo-shih (344–413) 鳩摩羅什
Ch'iung-t'ai shih-wen hui-kao ch'ung-pien 瓊臺詩文會稿重編
Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien 籌海圖編
Chou-i k'ou-chüeh i 周易口訣義
Chou-li 周禮
Chou-shu 周書
Chu Chih-fan (fl. 1590–1624) 朱之蕃
Chu Ch'üan 朱權
Chu-fo shih-tsun ju-lai p'u-sa tsun-che shen-seng ming-ching 諸佛世尊如來菩薩尊者神僧名經
Chu Hou-chiao [Yao-kang shan-jen] (d. 1572) 朱厚燋[堯崗山人]
Chu Hsi (1130–1200) 朱熹
Chu I (1533–1597) 朱衣
Chu I-tsun (1629–1709) 朱彝尊
Chu Kuei 朱珪
Chu Kuo-chen (d. ca. 1625) 朱國楨
Ch'u Sui-liang (596–658) 褚遂良
Chu Ti (1360–1424) 朱棣
Chu To-chen (1541–1589) 朱多炡
Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里
Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩
Ch'un-hua-ko t'ieh 淳化閣帖
Chung Hsing (1574–1624) 鍾惺
Ch'ung-k'an pu-chu hsi-yüan lu chi-cheng 重刊補註洗寃錄集證
Chung Wu-lin 鍾武林
Chung Yu (ca.170–230) 鍾繇
Enchin (814–891) 圓珍
Ennin (794–864) 圓仁
Fa-shu yao-lu 法書要錄
Fan Shou-chi (1542–ca.1611) 范守己
Fang Ch'ing-lai 方慶來
Fang-shih mo-p'u 方氏墨譜
Fang Yü-lu (fl. 1570–1619) 方于魯
Feng Ching (1652–1715) 馮景
Feng Meng-chen (1546–1605) 馮夢禎
Fu-jen cheng-chih 婦人證治
Fu Tseng-hsiang 傅增湘
Fujiwara 藤原
Ha Chin (1597–1658) 河溍
Han Yü (768–824) 韓愈
Heike-nō-gyō 平家納經
Ho-fang i-lan 河防一覽
Ho-shang-kung (fl. 3rd c.) 河上公
Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi 河東先生集
Hoang Dao-thanh (fl. 1900s) 黃道成
Hsi-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lu 熙朝名臣實錄
Hsi Ning-hui 席凝輝
Hsi-p'ing shih-ching 熙平石經
Hsi-yen 熙彥
Hsia-hou T'ai-ch'u 夏侯太初
Hsiao-shun shih-shih 孝順事實
[Ming] Hsiao-tsung [明]孝宗

Hsiao T'ung (501–531) 蕭統
Hsiao Yün-chü (c.s. 1586) 蕭雲擧
Hsieh Chin (1369–1415) 解縉
Hsieh Fang-te (1226–1289) 謝枋得
Hsieh T'ing-chieh (fl. 1559–1574) 謝廷傑
[Ming] Hsien-tsung [明]憲宗
Hsin-chüan Chiao t'ai-shih hui-hsüan chung-yüan wen-hsien 新鐫焦太史彙選中原文獻
Hsin-chüan chu-tzu pa-ts'ui 新鐫諸子拔萃
Hsin-chüan hai-nei ch'i-kuan 新鐫海內奇觀
Hsin-pien shih-wen lei-chü han-mo ta-ch'üan 新編事文類聚翰墨大全
Hsiung Ho (1253–1312) 熊禾
Hsü Chieh (1503–1583) 徐階
Hsü Chih-jen 徐之仁
Hsü I 徐廙
Hsü Kuo (1527–1596) 許國
Hsü ming-i lei-an 續名醫類案
Hsü Pen (1335–1380) 徐賁
Hsü Shih-hsing 徐時行
Hsü Shih-t'ai (c.s. 1580) 徐時泰
Hsü ts'ang-shu 續藏書
Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien 續資治通鑑長編
Hsü Yen-tsu 許延祖
Hsü Yüeh-shen 許樾身
[Ming] Hsüan-tsung [明]宣宗
Hsüan-yeh (r. 1662–1722) 玄燁
Hsüeh Ying-ch'i (1500–1573?) 薛應旂
Hu-chou Miao-yen-ssu chi 湖州妙嚴寺記
Hu K'o-chia (1757–1816) 胡克家
Hu Tsung-hsien (1511–1565) 胡宗憲
Hua-tu-ssu pei ming 化度寺碑銘
Huai-jen 懷仁
Huai-su (fl. 8th c. A.D.) 懷素
Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih 皇朝禮器圖式
Huang Ch'ien 黃鈐
Huang Ch'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh 皇清開國方略
Huang-chou han-shih t'ieh 黃州寒食帖
Huang Hsiang (304–361) 皇象
Huang-hua chi 皇華集
Huang Ju-heng (1558–1626) 黃汝亨
Huang Ming Su-huang wai-shih 皇明肅皇外史
Huang Ming ta-cheng chi 皇明大政記
Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105) 黃庭堅
[Sung] Hui-tsung (r. 1100–1125) [宋]徽宗
Hung Mai (1123–1202) 洪邁
[Ming] Hung-wu [明]洪武
Huo T'ao (1487–1540) 霍韜
I-ching (635–713) 義淨
Itsukushima 嚴島
Jao Chieh (d. 1367) 饒介
Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤
Juan Ch'i-hsin 阮其新
Juan Yüan (1764–1849) 阮元
Kan Ta-chang 甘大璋
K'ang-hsi tzu-tien 康熙字典
Kao Ch'i (1336–1374) 高啓
Kao Chin (1707–1779) 高晉
Kao Kung (1512–1578) 高拱
"K'ao-kung chi" 考工記
[Sung] Kao-tsung [宋]高宗
Ken-pen-shuo i-ch'ieh yu-pu pi-na-yeh 根本說一切有部毘奈耶
Komponsetsu issai ubu binaya 根本說一切有部毘奈耶
Konkōshi Ryōshō 金剛資了性
Ku Ch'i-yüan (1565–1628) 顧起元
Ku-hsiang chai chien-shang Shih-chu Su-shih 古香齋鑒賞施註蘇詩
Ku Kuang-ch'i (1776–1835) 顧廣圻
Ku Ssu-li (1669–1772) 顧嗣立
Ku-wen mei-ch'üan 古文眉詮
"Ku'ai-hsüeh shih ch'ing t'ieh" 快雪時晴帖
K'uai-hsüeh t'ang chi 快雪堂集
K'uai-hsüeh-t'ang fa-t'ieh 快雪堂法帖
K'uei-hsü (1674?–1717) 揆敍
Kūkai (774–835) 空海
Kung Pang 龔邦
K'ung-tzu miao-t'ang pei 孔子廟堂碑
Kuo Cheng-yü (1554–1612) 郭正域
Kuo Yün-p'eng 郭雲鵬
Lan-t'ing chi hsü 蘭亭集序
Lan-t'ing hsü 蘭亭序

Lan-t'ing shih 蘭亭詩
Lao-tzu 老子
Lei Li 雷禮
Leng-lu i-hua 冷廬醫話
Li-chi chu 禮記注
Li-ch'i pei 禮器碑
Li Chih (1527–1602) 李贄
Li Chih-hsün 李之勳
Li Ching-yü (c.s. 1890) 李經畬
Li Han-chang (1821–1899) 李瀚章
Li Hsiang-kuo Chiu-wo hsien-sheng p'ing-hsüan Su-wen hui-ching 李相國九我先生評選蘇文彙精
Li Hsin-ch'uan (1167–1244) 李心傳
Li Hung-chang (1823–1901) 李鴻章
Li Kuan-lan 李觀瀾
Li Kung-lin (ca.1049–1106) 李公麟
Li P'an-lung (1514–1570) 李攀龍
Li Po-yü (1406–1473) 李伯璵
Li shan (d. 689) 李善
Li-tai t'ung-chien tsuan-yao 歷代通鑑纂要
Li Ta'o (1115–1184) 李燾
Li T'eng-fang (c.s. 1592) 李騰芳
Li T'ing-chi (d. 1616) 李廷機
Li Tung-yang (1447–1516) 李東陽
Li Wei-chen (1547–1626) 李維楨
Li Yün-hsiang (fl. 1620s) 李雲翔
Li Yung (678–747) 李邕
Li Yung-chung 李用中
Liao-shih 遼史
Liao Ying-chung (d. 1275) 廖瑩中
Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi 列朝詩集
Lin Chao Meng-fu Lan-t'ing shih-san pa 臨趙孟頫蘭亭十三跋
Ling-hu Te-fen (583–666) 令狐德棻
Ling Yü-nan 凌毓枏
Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾
Liu Hsüeh-hu mei-p'u 劉雪湖梅譜
Liu Kung-ch'üan (778–865) 柳公權
Liu Shih-ju (fl. 1550–1600) 劉世儒
Liu-shu ching-i 六書精義
Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元
Liu Yin (1249–1293) 劉因
Liu Ying-li (d. 1308) 劉應李
Liu Yung (1720–1805) 劉墉
Lo Pin-wang (d. 684) 駱賓王
Lo Wen-jui 羅文瑞
Lu I-t'ien (fl. 1840–60) 陸以湉
Lü K'un (1536–1618) 呂坤
Lü-kung t'ieh 律公帖
Ma Ch'ung-ju 馬崇儒
Ma Shih-ch'i (d. 1644) 馬世奇
Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆
Mao Chin (1599–1659) 毛晉
Mao-shan chih 茅山志
Min Ch'i-chi (1580–1661+) 閔齊伋
Mo-ho po-jo p'o-lo-mi ching 摩訶般若波羅蜜經
Mo-ho po-jo p'o-lo-mi fang-kuang ching kung-yang-p'in 摩訶般若波羅蜜放光經供養品
Mo Yu-chih (1811–1871) 莫友芝
Mou Hsien (1227–1311) 牟巘
Mu-chang-a (1782–1856) 穆彰阿
Nan-hsün sheng-tien 南巡盛典
Nan-yu kao 南遊稿
Ni Tsan (1301–1374) 倪瓚
Nurhaci (1559–1626) 奴兒哈赤
Ou-yang Hsün (557–641) 歐陽詢
Pai-shih ch'iao chen-kao 白石樵眞稿
P'an Chi-hsün (1521–1595) 潘季馴
P'an Shih-en (1770–1854) 潘世恩
P'an Ta-fu 潘大復
Pao Shih-ch'en (1775–1855) 包世臣
P'ei-wen yün-fu 佩文韻府
P'eng Chao-sun (1769–1821) 彭兆蓀
P'eng Shao-kuan (c.s. 1757) 彭紹觀
P'eng Yüan-jui (1731–1803) 彭元瑞
Pi-sha-men t'ien 毘沙門天
Pi Sheng 畢昇
Pi Ting-ch'en 畢鼎臣
Pien-hsüeh p'in 遍學品
P'ing-lin 平林
P'ing-lun ch'u-hsiang shui-hu chuan 評論出相水滸傳
Po-lin (1751?–1824) 伯麟
Prince Shōtoku (572–621) 聖德太子
P'u Ch'i-lin 浦起麟

P'u Ch'i-lung (1679–1761+) 浦起龍
Sa-tsai (d. 1786) 薩載
San-hsi-t'ang fa-t'ieh 三希堂法帖
San-mi-ti-pu lun 三彌底部論
San-tzu shih-ching 三字石經
Sang Ta-hsieh 桑大協
Sang Yüeh (1447–1513) 桑悅
Shang-han chin-ching lü 傷寒金鏡錄
Shao Ch'ang-heng (1637–1704) 邵長蘅
She-sheng chung-miao fang 攝生衆妙方
Shen Chou (1427–1509) 沈周
Shen Shih-hsing (1535–1614) 申時行
Shen Shih-t'ien chi 沈石田集
Shen Ts'an (1379–1453) 沈粲
Shen Tu (1357–1434) 沈度
Shen Yü 沈嶼
Sheng-hsüeh hsin-fa 聖學心法
Shih Cheng 史徵
Shih-ch'i t'ieh 十七帖
Shih hsiang-chien chih li 士相見之禮
Shih-men sung 石門頌
Shih Nai-an (ca.1290–ca.1365) 施耐庵
Shih sung pi-ch'iu chieh-pen 十誦比丘戒本
[Yüan] Shih-tsu [元]世祖
[Ming] Shih-tsung [明]世宗
Shih Yüan-chih (c.s. 1154) 施元之
Shōjōbō Ejō 勝定房惠什
Shu Chu Hsi 'Kan-yü shih' 書朱熹感寓詩
Shu-p'u 書譜
Shui-hu yeh-tzu 水滸葉子
So Ching (239–303) 索靖
So Tan (ca.250–ca.325) 索紞
Ssu-hsüan chi 思玄集
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書
Ssu-shu chi-i ching-yao 四書集義精要
Su Hsün (1009–1066) 蘇洵
Su Shih [Tung-p'o] (1036–1101) 蘇軾 [東坡]
Sun Hsing-yen (1753–1818) 孫星衍
Sun Kuo-t'ing (648–703) 孫過庭
Sung Chih (1656–1726) 宋至
Sung K'o (1327–1387) 宋克
Sung Lao (1634–1713) 宋犖
Sung Yün (1681–1760) 宋筠
Ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen shou-chi-p'in 大集經賢護分授記品
Ta Ming hui-tien 大明會典
Ta-Ming shih-lu 大明實錄
Ta-ta fa-shih hsüan-pi-t'a pei 大達法師玄秘塔碑
Ta-T'ang San-tsang sheng-chiao-hsü 大唐三藏聖教序
T'ai-hsi hsien-sheng wen-chi 台溪先生文集
T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang-ti 太上玄元皇帝
T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan Lao-tzu Tao-te-ching 太上玄元老子道德經
[Ming] T'ai-tsu [明]太祖
[Ming] T'ai-tsung [明]太宗
Taira 平家
T'an-kung 檀弓
Tan-sui tung-kao 甑甀洞藁
T'an Yüan-ch'un (1585–1637) 譚元春
T'ang Lo hsien-sheng chi 唐駱先生集
T'ang Pin-yin (1568–1627) 湯賓尹
T'ang Yin 唐寅
T'ao Ch'ien (365–427) 陶潛
Tao-ching 道經
Tao-te Ching 道德經
T'ao Wang-ling (b. 1562) 陶望齡
Te-ching 德經
Teng Chih-mo (fl. 1600) 鄧志謨
Teng Ying 鄧瀛
Toghto (1314–1355) 脫脫
Ts'ai Ching (1047–1126) 蔡京
Ts'ai Hsin (1707–1800?) 蔡新
Tsai-hsü ming-i lei-an 再續名醫類案
Ts'ai T'ao (fl. 1120s) 蔡絛
Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕
Ts'ao Yin (1658–1712) 曹寅
Tseng Chang Ta-t'ung ku-wen t'i-chi 贈張大同古文題記
Tsou Ssu-ming (ca.1543–1622+) 鄒思明
Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡錄
Tu Fu 杜甫
Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1556–1637) 董其昌
T'ung-chih 通志
Tung Kao (1740–1818) 董誥

Tung-tu shih-lüeh 東都事略
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu 資治通鑑綱目
Wang Ao (1450–1524) 王鏊
Wang Ch'eng (fl. 1140–1150) 王稱
Wang Chi (fl. 1500s) 王勣
Wang Chu 王箸
Wang Chung (1745–1794) 汪中
Wang Chung-hsin 汪忠信
Wang Fu (1079–1126) 王黼
Wang Heng (c.s. 1601) 王衡
Wang Hsi-chih (321–379) 王羲之
Wang Hsi-chüeh 王錫爵
Wang Hsieh-yin 王燮因
Wang Nien-sun (1744–1832) 王念孫
Wang Pi (226–249) 王弼
Wang Shang 王賞
Wang Shih-chen (1526–1590) 王世貞
Wang Shou-jen [Yang-ming] (1472–1529) 王守仁(陽明)
Wang Ssu-jen (1575–1646) 王思任
Wang Tao-k'un (1525–1593) 汪道昆
Wang Wei-yen 王惟儼
Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu 王文成公全書
Wang Wen-k'o chi 王文恪集
Wang Yin-chih (1766–1834) 王引之
Wei Chih-hsiu (1722–1772) 魏之琇
Wei-kuo kung 魏國公
Wei-ling ts'ang tsao-hsiang chi 魏靈藏造像記
Wen Cheng-ming 文徵明
Wen-han lei-hsüan ta-ch'eng 文翰類選大成
Wen-hsüan 文選
Wen-hsüan yu 文選尤
Wen-shu p'u-sa 文殊菩薩
Weng Fang-kang (1733–1818) 翁方綱
Wu chih 吳志
Wu-chih ts'an chüan 吳志殘卷
Wu Kuo-lun [Ming-ch'ing] (1524–1593) 吳國倫[明卿]
Wu-pei t'u 武備圖
Wu Shih-liang 吳士良
Wu Ta-shou [Mu-yüan] 吳大綬[牧園]
Wu T'ing-chen (c.s. 1703) 吳廷楨
[Ming] Wu-tsung [明]武宗
[Yüan] Wu-tsung [元]武宗
Wu-ying tien chü-chen pan ts'ung-shu 武英殿聚珍板叢書
Yang Erh-tseng [Sheng-lu; Wo-yu tao-jen] (fl. 1600s) 楊爾曾[聖魯, 臥遊道人]
Yang Shen (1488–1559) 楊愼
Yang T'ing-ho (1459–1529) 楊廷和
Yang T'ing-lin 楊廷麟
Yeh Yeh-ch'iu 葉曄球
Yen Chen-ch'ing (709–785) 顏眞卿
Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao 弇州山人四部稿
Yen-shih chia-miao pei 顏氏家廟碑
Yen Shou 延壽
Ying-ho (1771–1839) 英和
[Ming] Ying-tsung [明]英宗
Yu 卣
Yü Chang-te 余彰德
Yü-chih pi-shu shan-chuang shih 御製避暑山莊詩
Yü Ho (1309–1382) 兪和
Yü-hsüan T'ang-shih 御選唐詩
Yü Shih-nan (558–638) 虞世南
Yü Ta-mao 余大茂
Yüan Sui 袁隨
Yüan Tsung-tao (1560–1600) 袁宗道
Yüeh-i lun 樂毅論
Yüeh-shih hsin-yüeh ch'üan-pien 越史新約全編
Yün-fei chiang-chün Li Ssu-hsün pei 雲麾將軍李思訓碑
Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典
Zuzō jikan shō 圖像十卷抄