

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館  
*East Asian Library*  
and the *Gest Collection*

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*The Gest Library Journal* 3, no. 1-2 (1989), accessed January 14, 2017,  
<https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/ealj.v03.n01.pdf>

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The Gest Library Journal

Published by the Trustees of Princeton University

Issued two times a year: Winter, Spring

Subscription: Fifteen dollars/Twenty-five Institutional

Orders and remittances payable to the

Trustees of Princeton University may be sent to:

Friends of the Gest Library

Jones Hall 211, Princeton University

Princeton, N.J. 08544 USA

Printed at Princeton University Press

US ISSN 0891-0553

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# Contents

## THE GEST LIBRARY JOURNAL

VOLUME III · NUMBERS 1-2 · SPRING 1989

From the Editors	1
Announcements	1
The Contributors	1
News and Notes from the Gest Library	3
Princeton's Manuscript Fragments from Tun-huang	
BY JUDITH OGDEN BULLITT	7
The Significance of the Zhang Henshui Revival	
BY KING-FAI TAM	30
<i>Glowing Clouds in an Azure Sky: A Newly Discovered Royal Pageant</i>	
BY WU XIAOLING	46
A New Gest Library	
BY THE GEST JOURNAL STAFF AND CARY Y. LIU	56



# Illustrations

Graffiti in the Tun-huang caves	10
Smoke damage in the caves from refugees' stoves	11
Chang Dai-ch'ien's team making reproductions of wall paintings	12
Fragments of the Tun-huang <i>Nāmasūtra</i>	15
A Tun-huang Maitreya Buddha	16
Section of the <i>Mahāsaṃghāta</i> sutra from Tun-huang	17
Uighur text of the Diamond Sutra	18
Confucian texts written on shoe linings from Tun-huang	19
Fragment of a guard report from the 8th century	20
Fragments of official documents from the 8th century	21
A Tibetan fragment	22
Fragment of double-sided text: Hsi-hsia language on one and Uighur on the other	23
Text from the Buddhist canon in blockprinted Tangut of the 14th century	24
Uighur document; late 15th-16th century	24
Depictions of Bodhisattvas	25
A drawing of weeping figure from an album leaf; 10th-11th century	26
Example of 1930s Chinese newspaper advertisements for Zhang Henshui's novels	34
Cover of a Zhang Henshui novel: modern market appeal	38
Various covers of editions of Zhang's works	42
An engraving from an 18th-century book by the Englishman Sir George L. Staunton depicting the performance of a Ch'ing imperial play	47
A page from the Gest Library edition of <i>Bitian xiaoxia</i>	52

A view of the south side of Palmer Hall at Princeton University, showing the general area of a proposed Gest Library expansion	58
A view of Jones Hall, showing its connection to Palmer	59
Three sketch designs by Cary Y. Liu of the proposed new floor plans for the Gest Library expansion	62
Floor plans of Palmer Hall's 1st and 3rd floors	63

# From the Editors

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Friends of the University Art Museum hosted a reception for the Friends of the Gest to celebrate the opening of “Calligraphy and the East Asian Book.” Many of our member Friends attended and viewed the handsomely mounted exhibit — scheduled to run until June 25.

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

Judith Ogden Bullitt, a Princeton resident, is a charter member of the Friends of the Gest Library. She is doing work toward an advanced degree in East Asian art history.

Wu Xiaoling writes for us from Beijing about a valuable Gest Library textual discovery. He states (June 1985) that his U.S. research findings will aid in his compilation of *Early Editions of Chinese Drama* [*Guben xiqu congkan*], a project that his teacher Professor Zheng Zhendo had not been able to complete before his death. Mr. Wu is also involved in compiling *Early Editions of Chinese Fiction*, a task entrusted by his late friend He Qifang to the researchers of the Chinese Academy of Social Science, of which Mr. Wu is a member. We take this opportunity to thank CHINOPERL (the bulletin of the Association for Chinese Oral and Performance Literature) for allowing us to republish Mr. Wu’s article.

Cary Y. Liu has contributed invaluable to the article in this issue that presents architectural “sketch” plans for an intended expansion of Gest Library. He is a member of the American Institute of Architects, and received his A.B., M.A., and M.Arch. degrees from Princeton, where he is presently a doctoral candidate in the Program of Chinese Art and Archaeology. His field of specialization is Chinese architectural history and is researching for a dissertation on late Ming and early Ch’ing library buildings: “T’ien-i ko and the Ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu Libraries.”

King-fai Tam is a Ph.D. candidate in Princeton’s East Asian Studies De-

partment. His specialty is contemporary Chinese literature, specifically the popular novelist Zhang Henshui. From 1985-1987 Mr. Tam traveled to Beijing and Shanghai for research. He attended the Conference on Zhang Henshui held in Anhui in 1988, where he interviewed Zhang's associates and family members.

# News and Notes from the Gest Library

## SPECIAL ACQUISITIONS

Over the past months, Gest Library has acquired a modest number of rare Chinese and Japanese books. Predominantly in the fields of science and medicine, most of these books are rare even in China and Japan. Among these recent purchases are *Honzō wamyō* (*A Collection of Names for Japanese Natural Science*) by Fukae Sukehito in two volumes. It is the 1796 edition of the earliest Japanese book on natural science, compiled by Fukae at the order of the Emperor in 918 A.D. It contains the Japanese and Chinese names for 1,025 such objects as rocks, plants, birds, animals and fish, in addition to short notes and copious illustrations. This is the first printed edition, published by order of Taki Genkan, head of the Medical College of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the late eighteenth century.

Another work in a similar vein is Hiraga Gennai's *Butsurui hinshitsu* (*A Classification of Natural Products*) printed in 1763. With its hundreds of illustrations, this is one of the most important Japanese works on natural history of the eighteenth century. It is actually a catalogue of objects displayed in a natural history exhibit sponsored by Hiraga in Tokyo in 1762. Hiraga commissioned Kusumoto Sekkei (Sō Shiseki), a famous Nanga artist and book illustrator, to draw thirty of the illustrations.

## VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY

During the past year, Gest Library has hosted a number of distinguished visitors. In July, Peter Ch'ang, Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and P'an Mei-yüeh, Professor of the History of Chinese books at National Taiwan University, gave lectures at Princeton. Attending the lectures were librarians and specialists not only from Princeton but also

from Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, the Library of Congress, the Freer Gallery, and other East Coast institutions.

Gest Library also hosted a group of librarians from Peking, including Zhuang Shoujing, head of the Peking University Library and Yan Lizhong, head of the library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The two libraries have ties with the Research Libraries Group (RLG), the library consortium of which Princeton is a member. Messrs. Zhuang and Yan are hoping to send rare book catalogers to Gest Library in the spring for training in the use of RLG's computer network.

More recently, a team of three rare book experts from libraries in Beijing, headed by Cui Jianying, has arrived at Gest for six months to advise on standards to be adopted for a proposed union catalogue of Chinese rare books in North America. The current project, including a team at Columbia University, is partly funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and is directed by Diane Perushek, Curator of the Gest Collection.

#### PERSONNEL

Ch'iu-kuei Wang, Chinese and Western-language bibliographer from September 1986 till June 1988, has returned to his teaching post in the English Department at Taiwan National University. While on the Gest staff, Dr. Wang taught the Chinese proseminar for graduate students in the East Asian Studies Department and did much to build up the collection of periodicals from the People's Republic of China.

#### UPCOMING EXHIBITS

Materials from Gest Library will soon be getting exposure in two Ohio art museums. The Oberlin College Allen Memorial Museum of Art will be launching an exhibit of "Illustrated Books from Imperial China" under the direction of Robert Harrist of Oberlin's Department of Art. Harrist has chosen to display a number of titles, many of which are outstanding examples of woodblock illustrated books. The exhibit, which will also include pieces from the Princeton University Library Graphic Arts Collection, will be on display in the spring of 1989.

The Dayton Art Institute will also display one volume of Gest's *Chi sha ta tsang ching*, a very rare edition of the Buddhist canon. The Dayton ex-

hibit, scheduled to open in fall 1989, is entitled "Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Arts of Pala India and Its International Legacy" and will include materials from American, European and Asian collections.

D. E. Perushek

#### THE JAPANESE LIBRARIANS' TOUR OF LIBRARIES IN JAPAN

In October 1988 ten Japanese librarians from the United States visited Japan under the arrangement organized by the Subcommittee on Japanese Materials, Committee on East Asian Libraries, Association for Asian Studies. This was the first attempt by a large group of Japanese librarians to visit major university libraries in Japan, as a means to developing greater understanding and cooperation between libraries in Japan and the United States. Under the leadership of Mrs. Yasuko Makino, the chair of the Subcommittee on Japanese Materials, University of Illinois/Urbana-Champaign and Mr. Eizaburo Okuizumi, Japanese Librarian, University of Chicago, eight other librarians from Columbia, UCLA, Genealogical Society of Utah, Hawaii, Kansas, Princeton, Texas (Austin), and Yale met in Tokyo on October 18, 1988. Partial fundings were generously provided by the Japan Foundation and a subsidy from the affiliated institutions where it was possible.

We went on a field trip to fourteen libraries, institutions, publishers and book dealers in Tokyo and Kyoto for ten days. We visited the following libraries: Keio Gijuku University, Kyoto University, Tenri University, Tsukuba University, University of Library and Information Science, Tokyo University, and National Diet Library. Also visited were: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kodansha Publishing Company, and National Center for Science Information System.

We exchanged information with academic librarians, library specialists, representatives of the publishers, book dealers, and the educators of library and information services. Everywhere we visited, we were met with cordial welcome, and the staff proved most helpful and informative. As a result, I was able to obtain firsthand information on Japanese libraries and special collections and to start personal contact with key personnel of various libraries for future gift and exchange arrangements. This provided insight into their existing organizations and activities.

## NEWS AND NOTES

It was an eye-opening experience, as far as I was concerned, to learn how librarians are trained in Japan, how carefully rare books are maintained and preserved and also the system of a cardless library with open stacks that exists at Tsukuba University. At this library all services are provided by an on-line system. The most impressive function was the national network system for libraries now in use to enable libraries to input cataloging data directly to the on-line system developed by the National Center for Science Information System in Tokyo.

Soowon Kim

# Princeton's Manuscript Fragments from Tun-Huang

JUDITH OGDEN BULLITT

Among the recent acquisitions at the Gest Library are eighty-three manuscripts, mostly fragments, from the legendary oasis settlement of Tun-huang, Kansu, in the far northwest of China. Most are scraps found in the early years of World War II at the great Buddhist center, "piously put together and saved as religious offerings."<sup>1</sup> Many are written or printed on both sides, reminding us not only of the deep reverence with which the written word was regarded, but also of the scarcity of paper in this distant outpost of the Chinese empire. The Princeton manuscripts, together with materials at Harvard brought back by Langdon Warner from his 1923-25 expedition, form the only major examples in the United States of this extraordinary treasure. For, as in most of the imperialist competitions of the nineteenth century, the United States came in late. Whether for continents or for antiquities, the British, French, Germans, and Russians were already there, and the great collections of Tun-huang manuscripts, paintings, sculptures, and banners are now to be found in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée Guimét, the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, as well as in Kyoto and in Beijing. Collections now lost were once in the Berlin Ethnological Museum; and the Ōtani finds once were housed in the library of the Japanese-Manchurian government at Ryōjun.

The story of the sealed library at Tun-huang is well known and much recounted.<sup>2</sup> But even before the Taoist Wang Yuan-lu uncovered the cache of documents in Cave 17 in 1899, now dispersed around the world, other manuscripts from the desert oases were turning up on the Western market, whetting the appetites of major museum directors and collectors. Sir Aurel

Stein first learned of this potential source of antiquities in 1902 when talking with Professor Lajos de Loczy, president of the Geological Society of Hungary, who had visited the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien-fo-tung) in 1897 with Count Szechenyi's expedition. "The thought," he said, "of the great store of old manuscripts awaiting exploration drew me . . . with the strength of a hidden magnet."<sup>3</sup> In many ways Stein was the product both of the Victorian romance with antiquity and of the imperative of empire. He belongs with other nineteenth-century explorers who predated the modern archaeologists — Schliemann and Evans in Asia Minor, Read and Dalton in Africa, Bolta and Layard in Mesopotamia. The spirit of European economic and political expansion was paralleled by the exhilaration of such European historians as Macaulay and Mommsen, as well by the innumerable missionaries and shippers. But it was only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that most ethnological museums were established to show the general public the exotic new cultures that were being unearthed.<sup>4</sup> Suddenly the last quarter of the century saw a series of Expositions Universelles — held in Paris in 1878, Amsterdam in 1883, London and St. Petersburg in 1886; and expeditions went out to find exotic early civilizations in Africa, Oceania, Central Asia, China, and Mesoamerica. The underlying desire was to be syncretic, and, as Victor Segalen remarked, with an "aesthetic of the different."<sup>5</sup>

Stein's, Albert von Le Coq's, and Paul Pelliot's enthusiasm for finding manuscripts in Chinese Turkestan is palpable. Le Coq records with a precision verging on the undignified the number of cases and their weight that he removed in his four expeditions on behalf of the Berlin Ethnological Museum,<sup>6</sup> and laments that Stein got to Tun-huang first, and therefore "even though I cannot help regretting that I personally lost these treasures, I console myself with the thought that they have fallen into good hands." He fails, however, to understand the ungentlemanly conduct of the Russian scholars W. Radloff and Salemann, who had made an agreement with his colleague Professor Albert Grunwedel in 1907 by which the Russian expedition would work the Kucha settlements, while he and Grunwedel worked the Turfan. On arrival they found that the Russians had been there before them and made off with many of the antiquities. Nor could Le Coq console himself with the frescos that remained, frescos which he was unable to cut out of the walls.

The Princeton "cache" is but a tiny sample of these desert treasures, bur-

ied for hundreds of years in one of nature's own museums, the Buddhist caves of Tun-huang. Cut into rock cliffs, the cave shrines are not as imposing as those at Yun-kang or Lung-men. Stein's groundplan, published in *Serindia*, pl. 43, shows the main cell to be only fifty-four by forty-six feet, while Cave 17, the "sealed" library, when first entered was only wide enough for two people to stand in, and when empty measured ten feet high above a nine-foot square. Because of the low precipitation in northwest China, the humidity at Tun-huang is less than five percent; and as a result of its remoteness and the devotion of the local priests, these sanctuaries remained unmolested until the twentieth century, when they became one of the last sources for western intellectual omnivors. But perhaps, as Stein observed, the end was already near, and the dispersal of the treasures inevitable. As he removed twenty-four cases of manuscripts and five of paintings and other artifacts, he remarked that "it was my duty towards research to try my utmost to rescue the whole of this precious collection from the risk of slow dispersion and loss with which it was threatened in such keeping."<sup>7</sup>

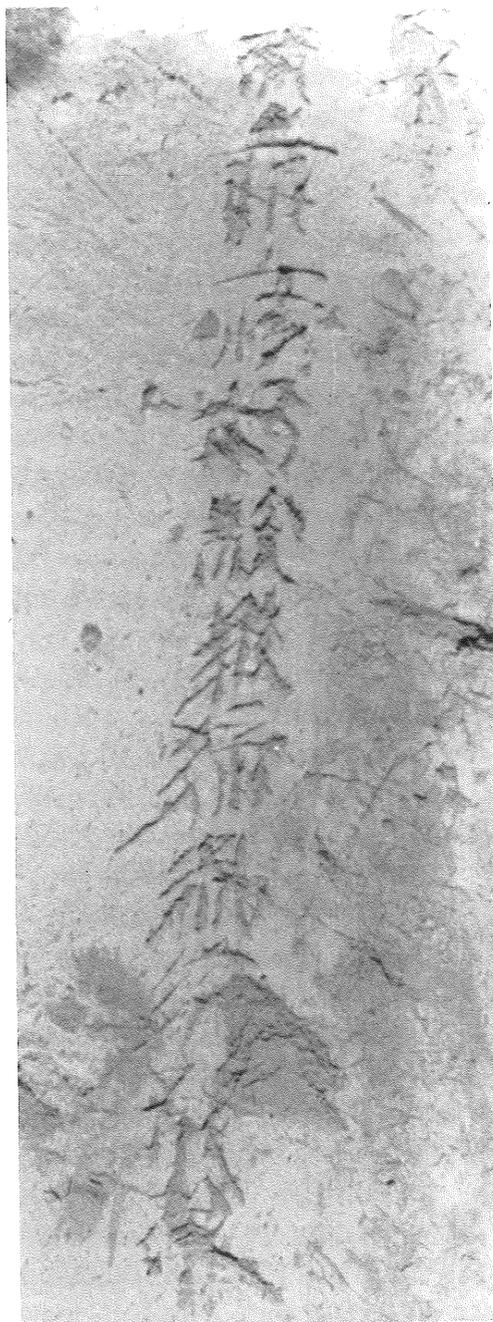
Nor was time to disprove him totally. By 1948 when Irene Vonger Vincent visited the caves, graffiti in Chinese, Uighur, Japanese, and Russian covered the walls, a destruction caused in large part by some two hundred White Russian refugees who lived in the caves during the Russian Revolution, and no doubt aggravated by the proximity of the motor highway built nearby during the Sino-Japanese war to bring materials from Russia (see Illustrations 1a and 1b). Most of the outer walls had fallen away, and many of the statues were in a state of disrepair; there was fire damage, and the gold leaf in the paintings had been gouged out (see Illustration 2). Repairs and repainting seem to have been constant since the Yuan, the work of devoted monks who maintained the shrines.

The lively faith of the Taoist Wang is fully attested by Stein, who acknowledges that Wang dutifully spent all the proceeds of his sale of the manuscripts to repair and restore his beloved sanctuary. Finally on January 1, 1943, the Chinese government at Chungking under the Ministry of Education established the Tun-huang Institute and appointed Chang Dai-ch'ien as its first director. Chang had already spent the summers of 1942 and 1943 in Tun-huang with two students, two relatives, and five Lama monks from Tsinghai making line drawings and reproductions of all the paintings and photos of all the caves (see Illustration 3).<sup>8</sup> Since then more

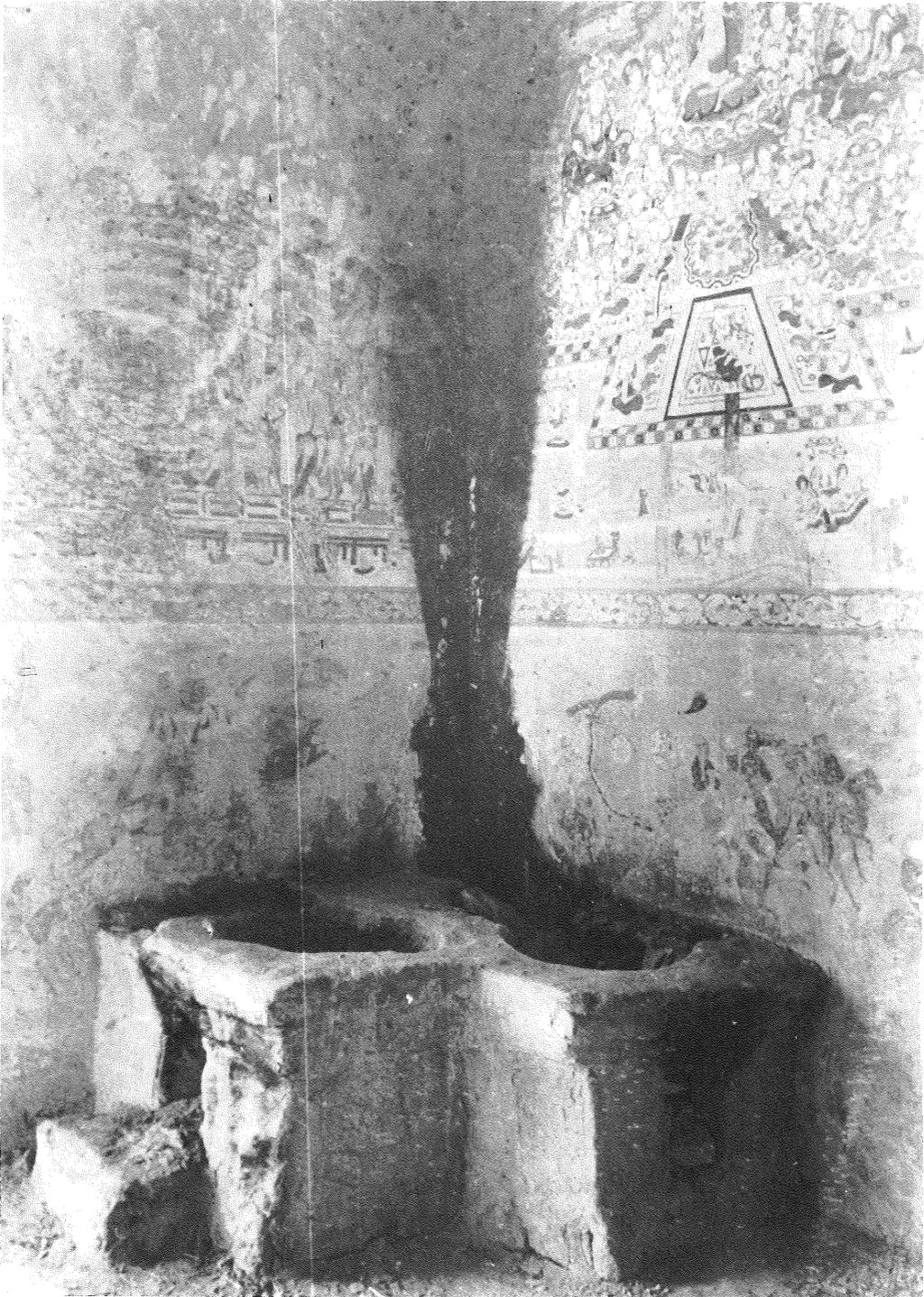
TUN-HUANG FRAGMENTS



1a. Russian graffiti imposed on the Donor's Procession, ca. 900 A.D. Cave T196 (Lo Photographic Archive 196GNT).

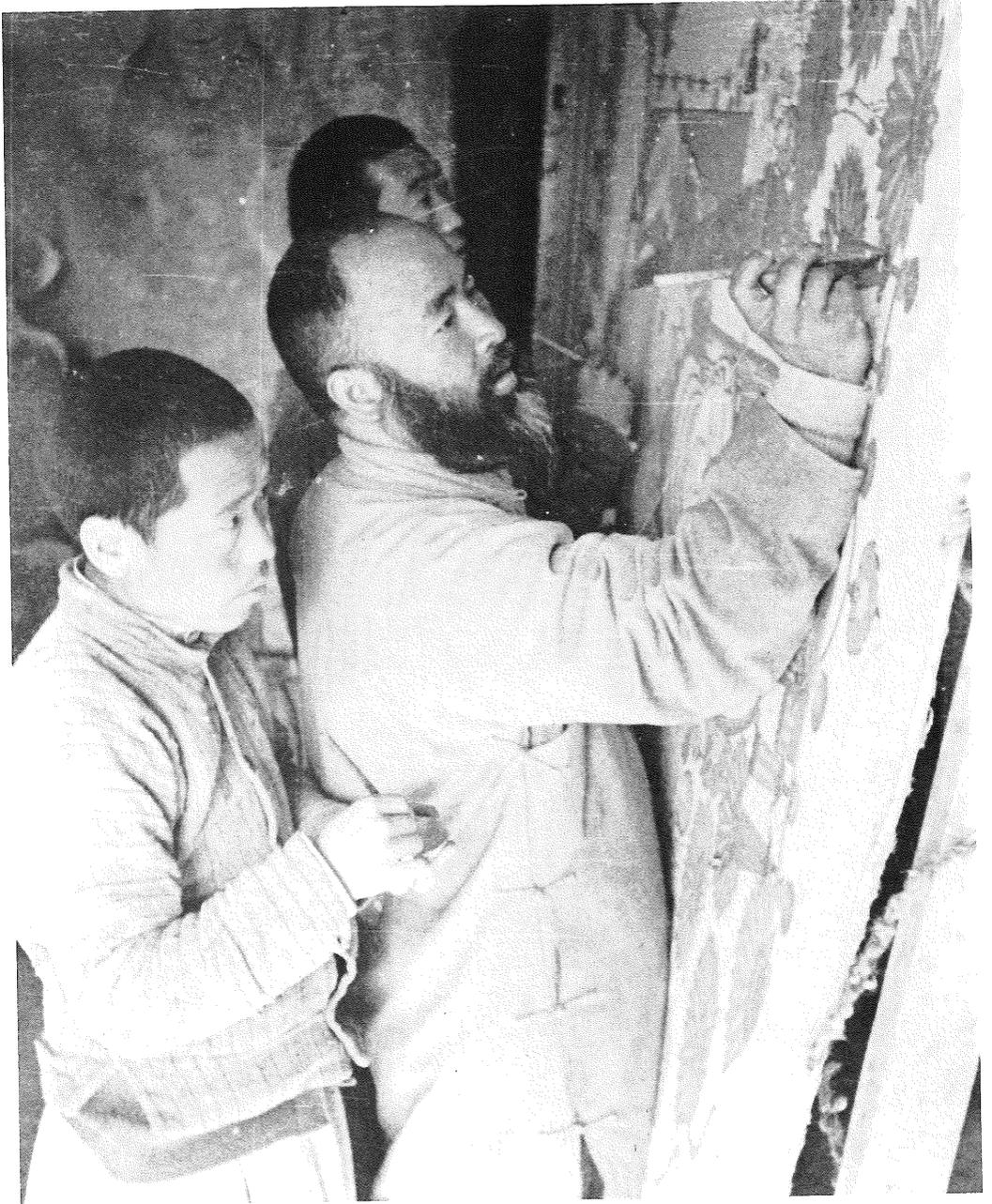


1b. Hsi-hsia graffiti, Cave T023 (Lo Photographic Archive). This is of particular interest, because hand-inscribed script tells more than printed script about how the complicated Hsi-hsia characters were written.



2. Smoke damage in the caves; the stove was built by White Russian refugees in the early 1920s; Cave T156 (Lo Archive 156SE).

TUN-HUANG FRAGMENTS



3. Chang Dai-ch'ien and his assistants making reproductions of wall paintings, Yu-lin Cave, An-hsi, Kansu, in 1943 (James C. M. Lo photograph).

than twenty caves have been uncovered, and the resulting investigations into the materials at Tun-huang, Beijing, London, Paris, Leningrad, and now Princeton have generated new scholarship in Central Asian and Chinese medieval studies.

The potential use of the Tun-huang artifacts for numerous research areas has been enumerated by several scholars.<sup>9</sup> The materials provide one of the few independent checks on and supplemental sources to the dynastic histories of China. They also supply one of the major sources for Uighur history, one of the most complete records of the cultural inter-communication between India, Tibet, Iran, the Steppe, and China; and they supply important evidence for early Tibetan art, as well as a remarkably full record of the content and style of Esoteric Buddhist art — called Vajrayāna.<sup>10</sup> From the Stein Collection Arthur Waley and others have recovered literary material that substantially broadens our picture of medieval Chinese literary life, including popular poetry and vernacular renderings of Buddhist stories.<sup>11</sup> Further material on administrative law, institutional and legal history, and military life has provided new insights into regional affairs, which although not comprehensive for the Empire, constitutes “the only evidence of (its) kind before Ming times.”<sup>12</sup> Much of the Chinese medieval world can now be reevaluated, and work in economic and legal history enormously expanded.

Where do the Princeton manuscripts fit into this panoply? They are, after all, few and fragmentary; but nonetheless they have their own story to tell, and now await further scholarship. The acquisitions fall into five categories: Chinese Buddhist sutras; Chinese classical texts; Chinese administrative documents; Uighur, Hsi-hsia, and Sogdian texts; and fragments from paintings on paper and silk, including one important album leaf.

The copying and distribution of the Buddhist canon was considered an act of religious merit, hence the large number of sutra fragments found not only in our Gest Library collection, but at Tun-huang in general. In the Giles catalogue of the Stein collection at the British Museum there are 1,046 copies of the *Lotus Sutra* in Kumārajīva's translation of 406 A.D.,<sup>13</sup> which is hardly astonishing since it was at Tun-huang that Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) made his first translation in 286 A.D., some seventy-five years before the first cave sanctuaries were built. For the faithful this would be the most sacred text of this holy place, and we should not be surprised that in the Gest collection sixteen sheets are concerned with Chinese texts and com-

mentaries on sutras (see Illustration 4). Some of these extol the Maitreya Buddha and enumerate his qualities (see Illustration 5). Others no doubt ascribe particularly Chinese attributes to Buddha that would have commended him to the population; thus future comparativists are aided in distinguishing between Indian beliefs and Chinese practices, and their various transmissions and transformations.<sup>14</sup>

Other faces of Buddha found in the Princeton manuscripts are Amitābha, patron of the Western Paradise, and Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin) in all her serenity. As mentioned, Tun-huang was a major center in the development of Vajrayāna (Diamond Path) Buddhism, a form of Esoteric Buddhism that developed in the Trans-Himalayas. Many of the Stein and Pelliot manuscripts inform us about the monasteries in the region, which was the center of this mystic tradition. The monks there both commissioned works and generated their own commentaries, which thus encouraged the development of a distinctive artistic and literary movement.

One of the most complete sutras in our collection is from the T'ang era (618-907 A.D.) and contains fifty-five lines of exquisitely rendered scholar's script, by which future scholars will be able to compare calligraphic samples of the period. (See Illustration 6.) Another fragment of a sutra in Uighur will also be useful in developing a fuller understanding of Vajrayāna rites and beliefs and their particular regional variations. (See Illustration 7.) Similar fragments in the Stein collection, and which are translated by Édouard Chavannes, await comparison (for example, Stein no. 720, which recites the attributes of Amitābha and Stein no. 5642, a passage from the *Diamond Sutra* of the eighth century).

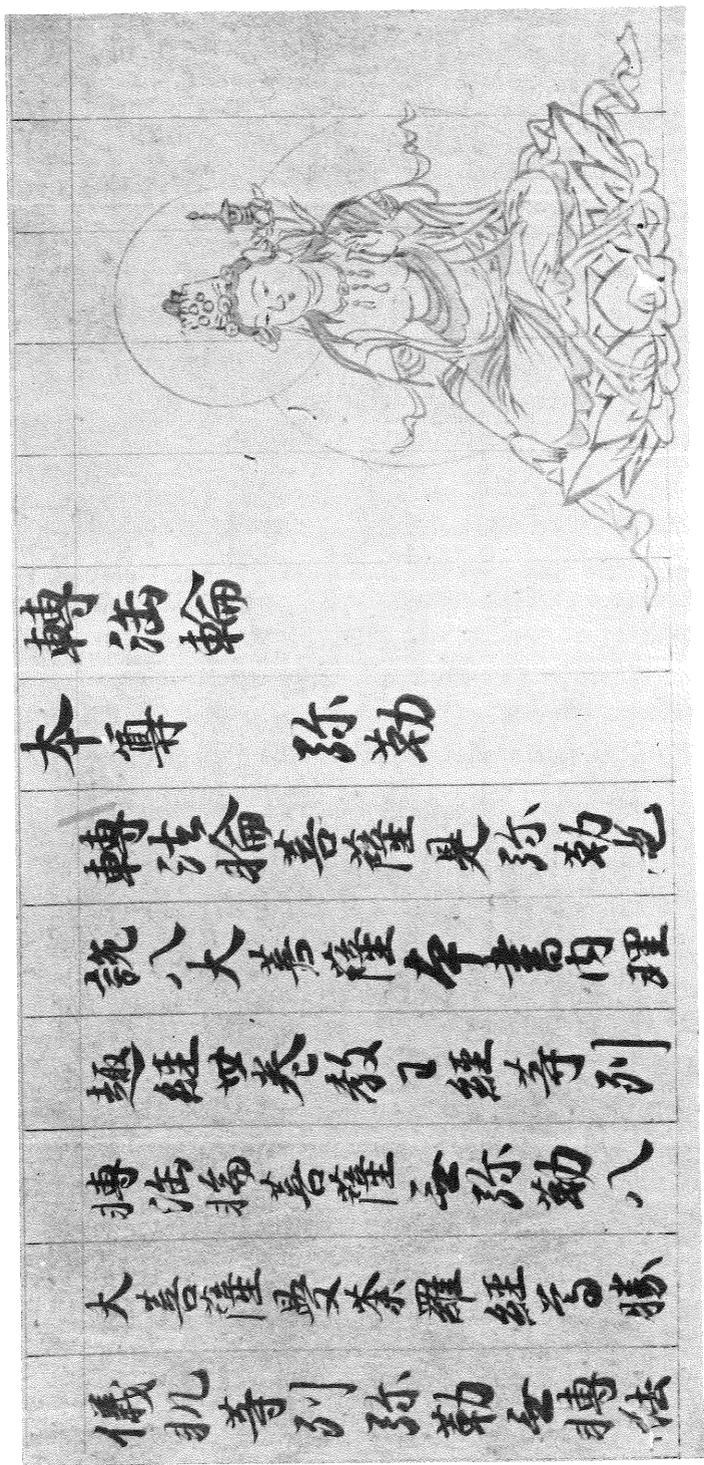
If several of the Gest manuscripts were copied by devoted monks as spiritual acts, others in the collection were possibly the work of pupils or simple pilgrims. No less devout, they rendered texts more awkwardly, however, and add to our knowledge of the ordinary people who either lived in, or came to, this sacred spot (see Illustrations 8a and 8b). From their "painfully scrawled" characters, Denis Twitchett suggests that we can learn much about local education and the character of the teachers and pupils who inhabited a locale far from the mandarinat. In the selection of manuscripts that deal with classical sayings, we have several that are the work of pupils, with erroneous passages erased. Several contain the comment "correct," possibly from the local monastic teacher. Many of these were probably from copybooks, and after use found their way into linings for burial

佛名經卷第五  
 稱親 佛  
 南无堅固自在王佛  
 南无安隱王佛  
 南无大積佛  
 南无功德王光明佛  
 南无寶勝光明佛  
 南无月佛  
 南无行淨佛  
 南无難勝佛  
 南无量聲佛  
 南无龍天佛  
 南无師子佛  
 南无世間天佛  
 南无自在恭敬佛  
 南无發精進佛  
 南无无垢香大勝佛  
 南无不動佛  
 南无无量明佛  
 南无遍照佛  
 南无摩尼光明勝佛  
 南无盧舍那佛  
 南无水聚日佛  
 南无月光明佛  
 南无量照佛  
 南无高積佛  
 南无堅積聚佛  
 南无量鉢光明作佛  
 无稱檀佛  
 无梵佛  
 无一切勝佛  
 无寶作佛  
 无樹提佛  
 无日天佛  
 无垢明佛  
 无勝積佛  
 无華勝佛  
 无妙香光明勝佛  
 无普見佛  
 无寶幢佛  
 无妙寶聲佛  
 南无智光明王佛  
 南无量華光明善勝佛  
 南无智慧自在佛  
 南无火然燈佛

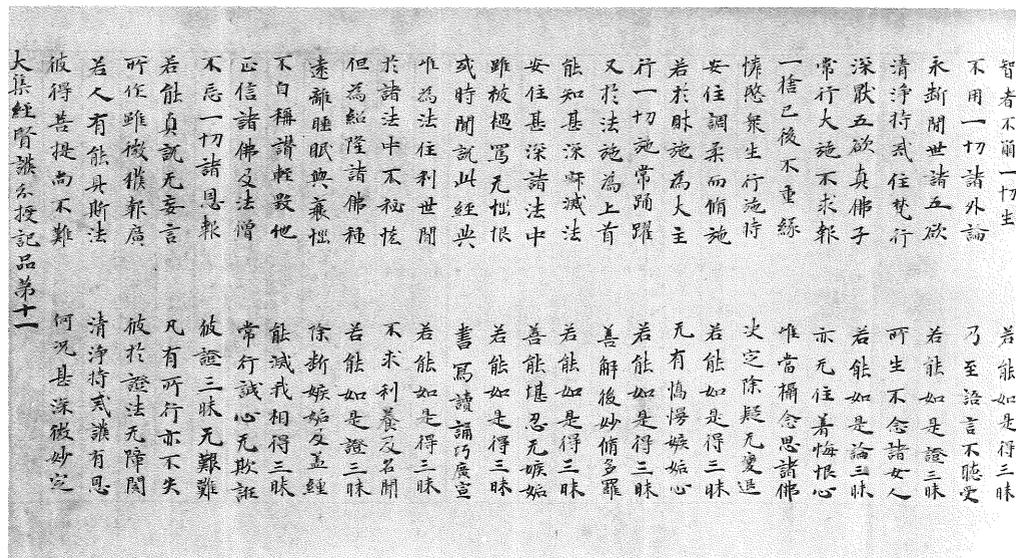
4a. Fragment of *chiian* 5 of the *Nāmasūtra* (*Sutra of the Buddha's Names*); T'ang dynasty (collection of the Art Gallery of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, gift of Mr. Wang Shing-tsang).

南无若起清淨武自在稱佛  
 南无若起忍辱人自在稱佛  
 南无若起精進人自在稱佛  
 從此以上一千六百佛十二部經一切賢聖  
 南无若起禪那人自在稱佛  
 南无若起福德清淨光明自在佛  
 南无若起隨羅尼自在稱佛  
 南无若起高勝如來  
 南无光明勝如來 南无大勝如來  
 南无散香上勝如來 南无多寶勝如來  
 南无上勝如來 南无賢上勝如來  
 南无波頭摩上勝如來 南无无量上勝如來  
 南无寶樹王如來 南无三昧王上勝如來  
 南无大海深勝如來 南无善說名勝如來  
 南无阿僧祇精進住勝如來  
 南无樂說一切法莊嚴勝如來  
 南无寶輪威德上勝如來  
 南无日輪上光明勝如來  
 南无无量慙愧金色上勝如來  
 南无功德海瑠璃金山金色光明勝如來  
 南无寶華普照勝如來  
 南无起无邊功德无垢勝如來  
 南无起无量寶王勝如來  
 南无樹王吼勝如來  
 南无法海潮勝如來

4b. Fragment of a copy of the *Nāmasūtra* now in the Gest Collection of Tun-huang manuscripts.



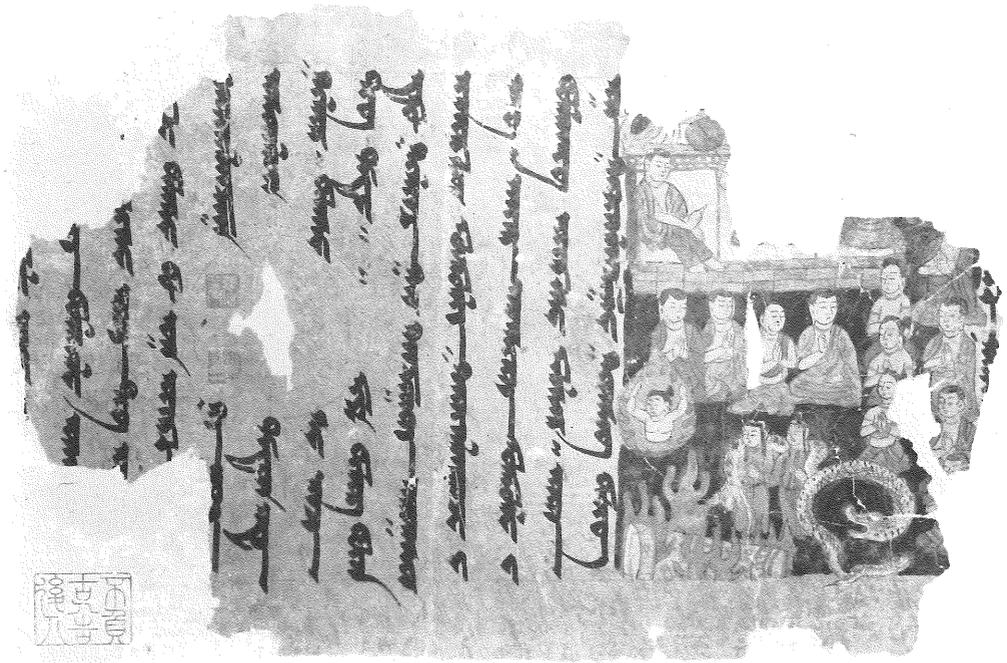
5. The Maitreya Buddha sitting, surrounded by three nimbi and holding a stupa imposed on a lotus. Late T'ang (9th c.) or early Five Dynasties (early 10th c.). Ink on paper.



6. Section of the *Mahāsaṃghāta* sutra. Ink on paper.

vestments,<sup>15</sup> again, a sign of devotion to the printed word rather than a mere convenience for supplying everyday material, as has been suggested. In fact the use of paper clothes for Buddhist and Taoist monks is commented on in several literary sources, including the redoubtable Marco Polo.<sup>16</sup> Such paper vestments have been found not only at Tun-huang, but at Turfan and Lop Nor, and in both cases have turned out to be letters from militia at these desert garrisons. From them we learn not only administrative details, but of “les souffrances et les regrets des exils qui se lamentent.”<sup>17</sup>

Other documents in the Gest Library collection are dated from the eighth century. One is a dutiful report to the Kao-ch’ang County Commander from a sentry in T’ien-shan County concerning the futile search for bandits while hiding in a “willow grove” (see Illustration 9). Suddenly, in this scrap of paper, we have for a moment the flesh and blood of an historical event: a guard dared not leave unreported even an unaccomplished mission. There are not many such scraps in any early society’s history, especially China’s. Princeton is fortunate in possessing fourteen such scraps, several dated to the eighth century (see Illustration 10); one to a date in K’ai-yüan 23 (corresponding to January 31, 736); and another from 749, third lunar month, twenty-fourth day, is an official document from a superintendent of a grain storage in Lop Nor (P’u-ch’ang County). There are four fragments from

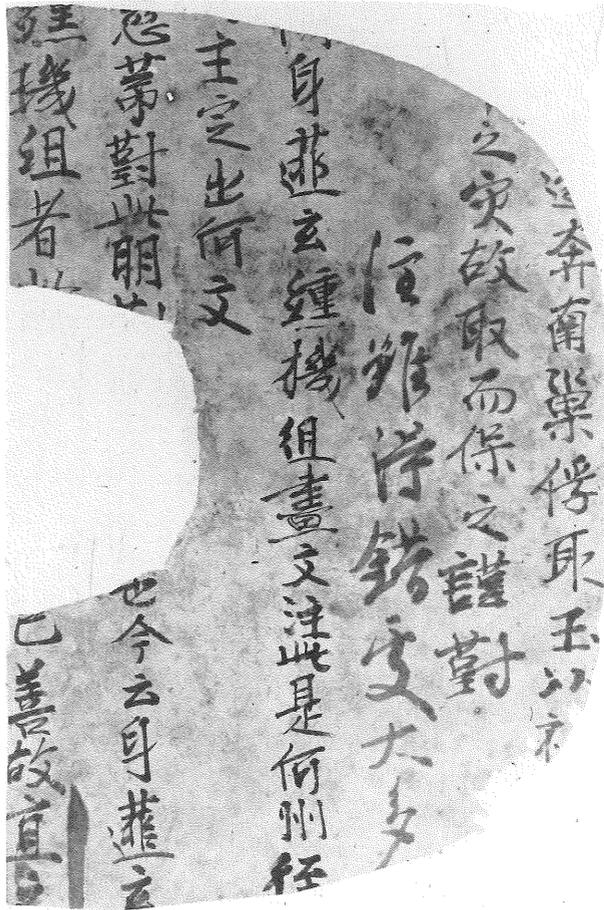


7. Uighur text of the Diamond Sutra; 8th-9th c. Ink and colors on paper.

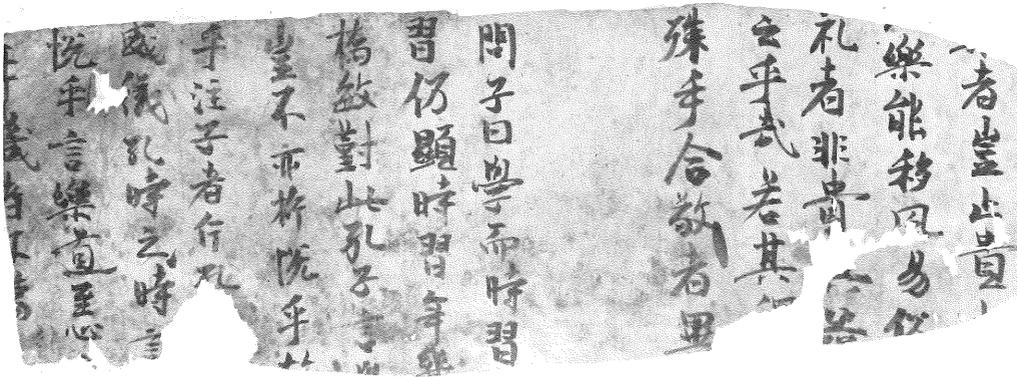
the thirteenth century that are so small they must have formed part of a handful of scraps of paper (similar to those that Stein and Pelliot observed), which had been gathered by the faithful, crumpled into tight balls, and secreted in the niches behind altar statues as votive offerings and requests for benefits to be confirmed.

Other fragments, only centimeters long, contain scripts in Tibetan Pōthi, or *Ṣaṅ-Ṣuṅ*,<sup>18</sup> and some in Uighur and Hsi-hsia. The *Ṣaṅ-Ṣuṅ* fragment may be a remnant from the pre-Uighur period, but it may also be contemporary with Uighur script usage, and evidence of the phase when both scripts would have been in use, thus bearing witness to cultural adaptation (see Illustration 11). If not a medical text, it could possibly be a Buddhist sutra, since it is similar to others reproduced by Stein.<sup>19</sup> In either case there is evidence of the extensive connection between the monasteries of Tibet and those in Tun-huang. Édouard Chavannes's translations show that Tun-huang "had long periods of Tibetan preponderance" from the eighth to the tenth centuries; and one of the manuscripts states that in 850 A.D. the local governor broke away from Tibetan influence and brought Tun-

8a. Fragment of a shoe lining. The text is from the Confucian classics, with corrections by a teacher: "Note: hardly anything wrong . . ." and "correct. . . ." Ink on paper.



8b. Shoe lining; the text is from Book I of the *Analects* of Confucius: "The Master said, 'Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?'" (see the sixth column from the right). Ink on paper.

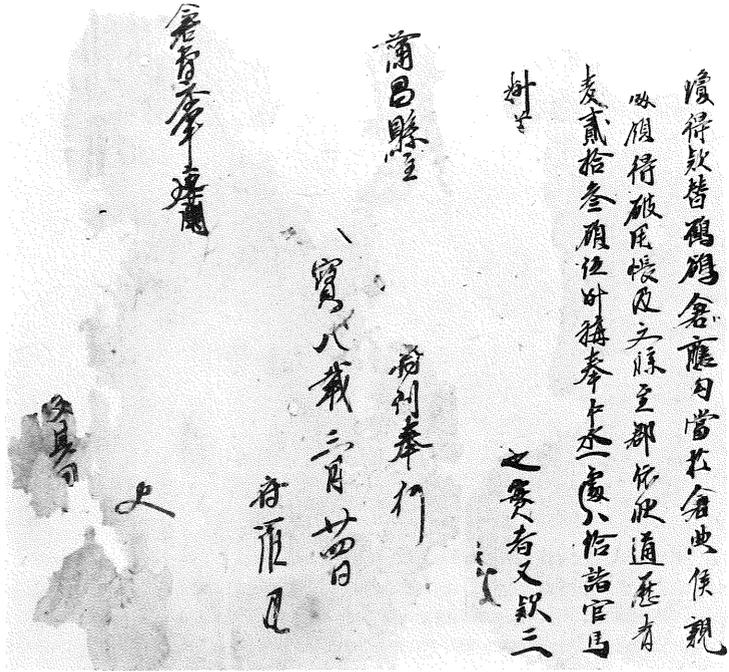


高昌尉

時武城

昨今日夜三更得天山尉五日午時狀得冒昧太長長五  
 考狀得今日日夜黃昏得探人長少師食君汝考二人口云  
 賊在往應安已來探賊三日辰時行至岩崖谷口遙見山頭  
 兩處有望子少師考即入柳林裏藏身更近看始知是窟  
 窟山頭上下始知是賊至夜黃昏君汝考即上山頭望大亮  
 火不知賊多少既得此報不敢不報希要對作等現是盜賊

9. Report to Kao-ch'ang County Commander from guards in T'ien-shan County, dated 5th day, around noon, concerning an earlier search for bandits. The guards had, on the 3rd, between 7-9 a.m. "hidden in a willow grove so they could get closer and find the bandits . . . where they waited until evening . . . but it was very dark, and without fires; we could not see where the bandits were." Ink on paper.



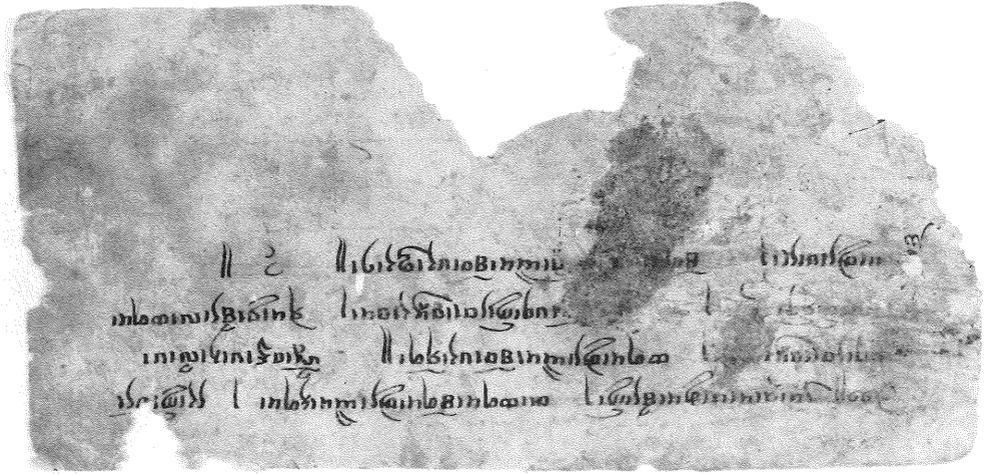
10a. Fragment of an official document, dated 23rd year of the K'ai-yüan reign period, 12th lunar month, 14th day (January 31, 726).

10b. Detail of official document from the Superintendent of Grain in Lop Nor; dated April 15, 749. Ink on paper.

huang under Chinese sway again.<sup>20</sup> Another manuscript shows that this cultural see-saw was still in effect as late as 894 A.D.<sup>21</sup>

The importance of the Uighur documents is that they offer independent evidence of the period in Tun-huang when Tibetan, Uighur, and Chinese influence converged. When we have a specific date, it frequently corroborates the dynastic histories, but on occasion it proves to be an even more exact source. For example, L.I. Cuguevskii shows how military events involving the Uighurs and Chinese in 705 A.D. in the Tun-huang area can now be placed with more certainty in 702 A.D.<sup>22</sup>

On four obverses of five Hsi-hsia printed documents there are Buddhist sayings in Uighur, and according to discussions with Morris Rossabi, who has kindly looked at photos of these manuscripts, one diagram with concentric circles intersected with quadrants forms some sort of religious charm (see Illustration 12).<sup>23</sup> The fifth is from a guard in the military gar-



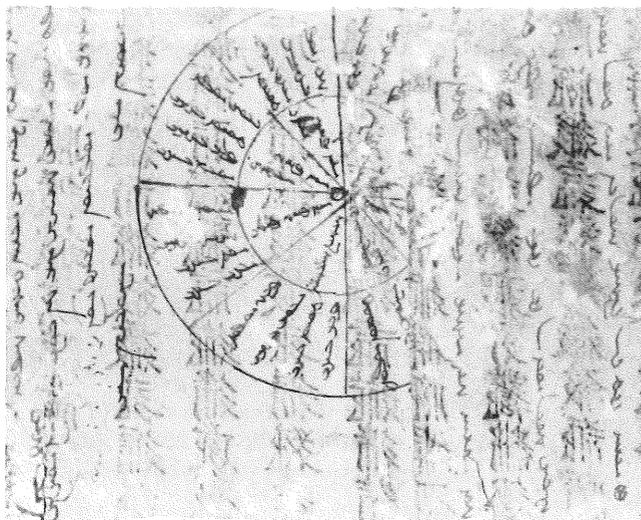
11. Manuscript considered to be Tibetan Pöthi by Stein, and Zān-Zūn by F. W. Thomas. In the examples deciphered by Thomas, the photographs show the lettering to be below the line. Professor John Marks of Princeton suggests that it should be read with the lettering above the line, although some Sanskrit languages are read below the line.

ri-son of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), and refers to the number of guards assigned to the post.

The woodblock-printed Hsi-hsia texts are among the most intriguing items in the collection. Other examples were found by Stein at Tun-huang and by P.K. Kozlov, in the Russian 1907-09 expedition at Khara Khoto. Most were tentatively dated to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when the Tangut population was still dominant in the area. One of the most esoteric of Inner Asia scripts, the Hsi-hsia writing system was invented "in a single operation" in or about 1038 A.D.<sup>24</sup> for use in the Hsi-hsia dynasty of the Tangut nation that had begun to be important in the late T'ang period (ninth century) and was a major regional power in north-west China and beyond, until it was destroyed by Chinggis Khan in 1227. For a brief while, Tun-huang was within its sphere of influence, so it was not surprising that documents in the Hsi-hsia script should be discovered there. One of the Princeton fragments from Tun-huang appears, however, to have been printed as part of a Tangut Buddhist *Tripitaka* printing project based at Hangchow in eastern China, under the Mongol Yüan dynasty, about 1340-1350.<sup>25</sup> (See Illustration 13.) That copies of the important Hsi-hsia printing of the *Tripitaka* should then find their way back to Tun-huang



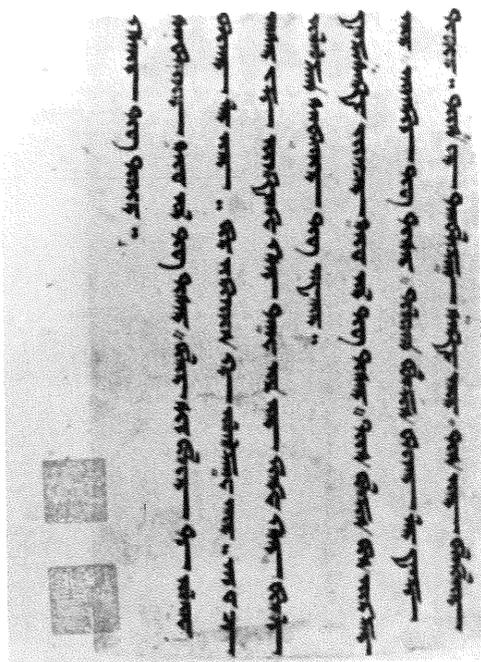
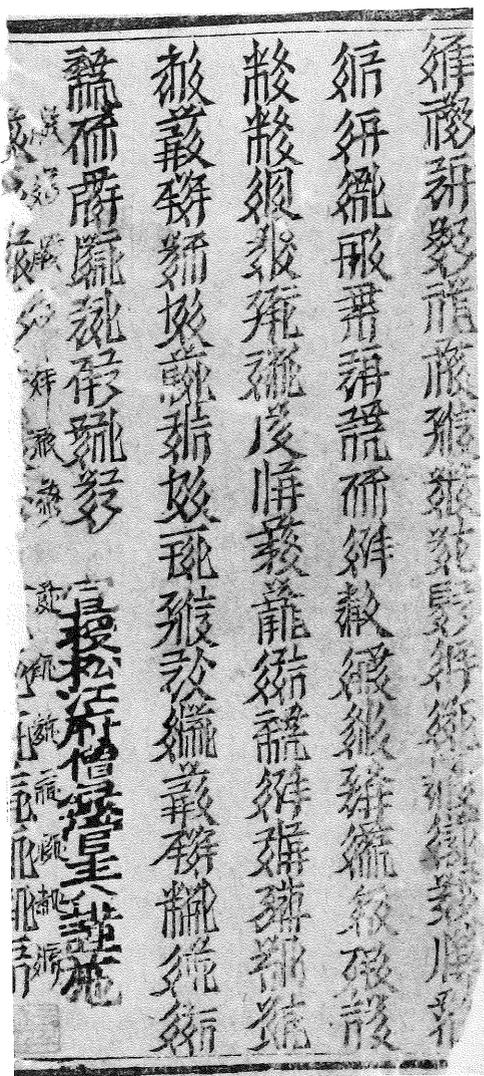
12a. A fragment of a Hsi-hsia official document. This may be two documents; see the obverse (Illustration 12b).



12b. This obverse of 12a contains two Uighur fragments. Ink on paper; the left side reveals some sort of religious charm.

and the former Hsi-hsia domains in the northwest is not at all surprising. These quite tentative views may well be revised when further advances are made in Tangut studies.

Another printed document in Uighur, also from a book, is more problematical. These handsomely printed eight lines must date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Not only do they have punctuation, but initials, which were late linguistic developments.<sup>26</sup> (See Illustration 14.) The eight pages of printed Hsi-hsia and this Uighur manuscript present a phi-



14. Uighur document; late 15th to early 16th c. Printing on paper.

13. Fragment of the Buddhist canon (*Tripitaka*) in printed Hsi-hsi (Tangut) script; part of the Hangchow printing project of 1340-50.

lologist with the problem that confounded Stein and Pelliot when they worked on the original cache from Tun-huang. Given the presence of Uighur and Hsi-hsia documents in the sealed library, Denison Ross and others claimed a later date and reason for the sealing than Stein's original postulate of 1030 A.D. These manuscripts may very well have come from the northernmost detached group of grottos, which Pelliot discovered in 1908. The monk Wang Yuan-lu knew them, and probably took the best preserved specimens and deposited them in the library.<sup>27</sup> Princeton's must have come from a similar location — votive offerings displaced, blown by



15a. Fragment of a Bodhisattva. Ink and colors on paper (enlarged).



15b. Bodhisattva; late 8th to early 9th c.; Cave T046 (Lo Archive 046NL).

the wind to a sheltered place, there to be sanded up through time, and preserved in a moisture-free environment.

Finally, there are several important pages of paintings, ink on silk and paper, which will help students of T'ang Buddhist painting date other work through comparison with details, such as the small fragment of the *bodhisattva* head, which can be compared to material in the British Museum (Stein no. 5, Ch. lv.0023, which is dated to the ninth century from such details as the lines above the little pursed mouth), as well as to photographs in the Lo Archive of a wall painting from Tun-huang (see Illustrations 15a



16. Album leaf; late 10th to early 11th c. This painting of a weeping figure is done with ink and color on silk. In the left center of the painting is an indistinct gray figure, perhaps a ghost or demon.

and b). Furthermore, a most important album leaf from the late tenth to early eleventh century of a weeping figure still awaits identification (see Illustration 16).

This cursory review of Gest Library's important Tun-huang documents indicates how much more work there is for the scholar and conservationist. There are problems remaining of attribution, provenance, and of new research into cultural and archaeological history. These require understanding of the texts' factual details and comparative work with the materials in London and Paris. The Princeton materials will stimulate the Chinese rare book and art connoisseur, and along with the So Tan manuscript and the Gest Buddhist sutra,<sup>28</sup> provide future historians with a small but very important cache.

NOTES

1. M. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia* (Oxford, 1928) 1, p. 449.
2. In particular see: M. Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, ed. J. Mirsky (N.Y., 1961), p. 191; F.H. Andrews, *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities, Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein during His Exploration in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran* (Delhi, 1935); Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (Oxford, 1913); Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London, 1931).
3. M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford, 1921) 2, p. 802.
4. On the development of ethnological museums, see R. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1967). The Musée Guimet, first established in Lyon in 1879, then in Paris in 1889, is one of the finest examples of the new taste in the comparative and the exotic.
5. V. Segalen, *Essais sur l'exotisme: Une esthétique du divers* (Montpellier, 1978). Besides Segalen's interest in the monumental sculpture of China, he had earlier been interested in Oceania. See also Pierre Ryckman's "The Chinese Attitude toward the Past," Morrison lecture (Canberra, 1987), which is devoted to an explication of Segalen's ideas.
6. Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), p. 26.
7. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 822.
8. These photos were originally commissioned by the second Director of the Tun-huang Institute, Ts'ang Shu-hung, and some were later exhibited in a small show in Shanghai during the winter of 1947-48. A full set of these photographs is to be found in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton and in the Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyujo.
9. Notably, Denis Twitchett, "Chinese

- Social History from the Seventh to the Tenth Centuries: The Tun-huang Documents and their Implications," *Past and Present* 35 (December 1966), pp. 28-53, and L.I. Cuguevskii, *Touen-houang de VIIIe au Xe siecle: Nouvelle contributions aux etudes de Touen-houang*, ed. Michel Soymie (Geneve, 1981).
10. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *Esoteric Buddhist Art of the Western Himalayas: The Silk Route and the Diamond Path* (U.C.L.A. Art Council, 1982), p. 112.
  11. Arthur Waley, *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* (London, 1960).
  12. Denis Twitchett, "Local Financial Administration in Early T'ang Times," *Asia Major* 15.2 (1969), p. 82.
  13. Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum* (London, 1957).
  14. Michel Strickmann, "India in the Chinese Looking-Glass," in Klimburg-Salter, *Esoteric Buddhist Art*, p. 58.
  15. See the lining of a shoe in Stein, *Inner Asia* 2, pl. XCIII.
  16. Henry Yule, ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edn. revised by H. Cordier and J. Murray (London, 1903) 2, p. 191. See also T.H. Tsien, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 1; Paper and Printing*, in vol. 5.1, J. Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 110. The shoe shown in Fig. 1086 is the same as that in Stein.
  17. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*, p. xxiii.
  18. Only three other examples of this Sino-Tibetan language have, so far, been identified: two in the British Museum, Or.8212 (188) from the Stein Collection, and a third from the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain, n.1251). All three are from Tun-huang and were considered by the late Dr. F.W. Thomas to be medical texts. See F.W. Thomas, "The Zan-Zun Language," ed. by A.F. Thompson, *Asia Major* 13.1-2 (December 1967), pp. 211-17.
  19. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pl. CXXI and M. Tagh 0430, which Stein calls a Tibetan pothi leaf.
  20. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), p. 170.
  21. Stein, *Serindia* 1, p. 816.
  22. Cuguevskii, *Touen-houang*, p. 17, using P.2992.
  23. This document is a composite, with two different fragments mounted together. Further conservation work is needed not only on this, but with many of the fragments.
  24. Gerard Clauson, "The Future of Tangut (Hsi Hsia) Studies," *Asia Major* 11.1 (1964).
  25. I am indebted to Professor F.W. Mote for his observations on these mss. as well as the identification of the relationship with the *Tripitaka* printing project.
  26. However, although this document was found at Tun-huang, it was a gift to Lo Chi-mei from Chang Dai-ch'ien and not part of the other finds.
  27. Stein, *Serindia* 2, p. 828. Pelliot in 1908 went to Tun-huang and made a rapid classification of texts. He sorted at the rate of 1,000 a day for 15 days. As a result of his survey, he stated that the documents must have been sealed up in the first two reigns of the Sung, as not one is dated after 1035 A.D. That view is now being challenged.
  28. Frederick Mote, "The Oldest Chinese Book in Princeton," *The Gest Library Journal* 1.1 (1986).

GLOSSARY

Chang Dai-ch'ien	懷大千
Ch'ien Fo tung	千佛洞
Fa-hu	法護
Kao-ch'ang	高昌
Kuan-yin	觀音
Lung-men	龍門
P'u-ch'ang	蒲昌
Sha-chou	沙州
T'ien-shan	天山
Tun-huang	敦煌
Wang Yuan-lu	王元祿
Yun-kang	雲岡

# The Significance of the Zhang Henshui Revival

KING-FAI TAM

Repeatedly during my research trips to Shanghai and Beijing in 1986 and 1987, scholars took great delight in telling me the following two stories about Zhang Henshui (1895-1967), the famous popular fiction writer.

The first story presumably took place some time during Zhang Henshui's stay in Nanjing from 1936 to 1937. Japanese aggression against China had become quite overt at the time, and the invasion force sought to consolidate its military conquest in China by cultivating the goodwill of her cultural celebrities. Zhang's popularity made him a prime target of this policy. The person given the responsibility of winning Zhang Henshui to the Japanese side was none other than Doihara Kenji (1883-1948), reportedly the mastermind behind the abduction of Pu I to Manchuria in 1931 to head the puppet government of Manchukuo. Doihara first pretended to be an avid reader of Zhang Henshui's works and declared that he hoped to have the honor of meeting face to face with his favorite author. Divining the real reason behind this sudden show of friendship from a Japanese militarist, Zhang went to extreme lengths to avoid meeting Doihara. Not a bit discouraged, Doihara then asked through a third person to have two autographed novels from Zhang Henshui. Zhang realized that he would have to take stronger measures to bring this unsolicited association to an end, and, at the same time, he saw an opportunity to make his feelings known. A package containing two books were then sent to Doihara, who, upon opening the package, found that Zhang had sent him two of the most anti-Japanese novels he had written. One was the famous *Wangong ji* (*Stretching the Bow*), the title of which suggests the expression "*wangong sheri*" (literally, stretching the bow to shoot down the sun — the Japanese), and which

Zhang had composed in a fit of creative fervor over the Mukden Incident. How Doihara reacted to this undisguised demonstration of hatred of the Japanese is not reported, but one can assume that he left Zhang Henshui alone after that.

The second story involves an even more well-known historical figure. Six and seven years later, Zhang was working for *Xinmin Bao*, a newspaper in Chongqing, writing essays and novels about the corrupt wartime government. *Bashiyi meng* (*Eighty-one Dreams*), a series of satirical short stories, was particularly scathing in its attacks. This time, he became the target of Communist propaganda. Although not a communist, Zhang had shown sympathy for the Communist course over the years. On a certain night in the fall of 1942, Zhang was invited to an evening gathering at the home of Chen Mingde, a colleague at *Xinmin bao*. Also present was Zhou Enlai who, as a guest of the newspaper, had come to discuss with the newspaper staff the state of the country at war. Turning to Zhang Henshui, Zhou delivered the following remarks, now frequently quoted: "In our struggle against the backwardness of society, we can launch a frontal attack or a lateral attack. I think that using the novel as a tool to expose the dark side of society is in itself a very good way of attacking laterally, because it avoids having empty spaces left in newspapers when the censors decide at the last minute to take out things that they don't like, the way they do with unacceptable news reports. Has Mr. Zhang's *Bashiyi meng* not alerted us to the corrupt rule of the Chongqing government?" From that time on, Zhang's relationship with the Communist Party became closer and closer, and the Communist leaders saw to it that he was presented from time to time with dates and rice harvested in Yanan.

Putting aside the veracity of these two stories,<sup>1</sup> their circulation betrays a lingering sense of uneasiness among scholars in China who study Zhang Henshui. The points of the two stories are obvious: the first underscores Zhang's patriotism and the second establishes his correct political affiliation. They are products of the rhetoric of the defensive, whereby Zhang's position in Chinese literary history is not secured solely by his literary accomplishments but has to be buttressed by his ideological stance. The study of Zhang Henshui is being carried out, as it were, with a false consciousness.

Although these two stories have come into circulation only in the nineteen eighties, they are more representative of the first vintage of Zhang Henshui

scholarship, characterized by the amassing of anecdotes about Zhang and his associates. In many cases, these anecdotes are pure fabrications, and, though amusing, are informative only insofar as they shed light on the forms in which curiosity about popular figures is expressed. Apocryphal stories are told, for example, about Zhang's remarkable ability to play mahjong and write the latest episode of a serialized novel simultaneously, with the messenger from the newspaper waiting at the mahjong table for Zhang to finish so that he could rush straight to the typesetting room. His unrequited love for the famous writer Xie Bingxin is the gist of another story, which serves to explain his pseudonym, Henshui (literally, "hate water"), as an expression of his spitefulness towards the unresponsive Xie Bingxin (literally, "icy heart").<sup>2</sup> Scattered among periodicals, such as *Chunqiu*, *Daren*, and the leisure pages of various newspapers, a sampling of these anecdotes can now be conveniently found in two research sources: *Zhang Henshui ziliaoji* (*Materials on Zhang Henshui*) and *Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita* (*Biographical Materials on Zhang Henshui and Miscellaneous Writings*),<sup>3</sup> both of which also contain information more credible than the stories mentioned above.

Fortunately, thanks to a number of publications which have come out in the last ten years, facts about Zhang's life have now been more or less set straight. Zhang Henshui's real name was Zhang Xinyuan. Because his father, a minor official, had to move from place to place as his assignment dictated, much of Zhang's childhood was spent on the road and his education was frequently interrupted. His interest in novels was initiated on a boat trip to Nanchang for his father's new assignment, where he inadvertently came across a copy of *Cantang yanyi* (*The Romance of Late Tang*) in the cabin of the boat. His formal education, such as it was, consisted of attending traditional clan schools and, later, western-style schools with modern curricula. When he reached seventeen, he intended to go to England for further studies, but the plan was aborted by the sudden death of his father in the same year.

Zhang began to try his hand at writing novels the following year and, from that time on, devoted his life to this literary pursuit. However, as a novelist's income was undependable, Zhang, like most writers of his times, relied for his livelihood on his income as a journalist, though this could be a considerable drain on his creative energy at times. Nevertheless, he soon gained a reputation as a novelist based on his early works, most of which

are dramatizations of current events and famous personages. His style changed a number of times in his life — from love stories, to war stories, and finally to historical stories.

Zhang's mature years were spent in three cities. As a budding novelist and journalist, he lived in Beijing, seeking inspiration from the lives of celebrities in this cultural center. In 1936, after a brief stay in Shanghai, he discovered that he had been blacklisted by the Japanese in Beijing. Unable to return to Beijing, he moved to Nanjing and started a newspaper, *Nanjing Renbao*, which had an impressive circulation of 15,000. (See Illustration 1.) With the occupation of the city by the Japanese in 1937, Zhang had to close the newspaper. By a circuitous route he reached Chongqing, the seat of the wartime government. Now more aware than ever of the magnitude of the national crisis, he continued to speak critically of the corrupt government in his capacity as a journalist at the *Xinmin bao*. At one point, he was approached by a government agent who threatened him with imprisonment at Xifeng, the notorious prison for political offenders, if he kept up his anti-government attacks.

The end of the war saw Zhang returning to Beijing, where he served as the editor of the Beijing edition of *Xinmin bao*, until his resignation in 1948. He suffered a stroke in 1950, which prevented him from attending a meeting of writers that eventually gave birth to the National League of Writers (Quanguo wenlian). Slowly recovering, he managed to resume writing, and published a number of novels before he died in 1967.

The most notable source of information about Zhang's life is of course the book *Xiezuozhengyashuiyi* (*Memories of a Life of Writing*), titled after the main essay of the volume, written by Zhang in 1949.<sup>4</sup> In addition to a number of essays, the book contains a table of Zhang's major works compiled by his sons: Zhang Xiaoshui, Zhang Ershui and Zhang Wu. Zhang Mingming, Zhang Henshui's daughter, published on her own a memoir about her father, *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui* (*In Memory of My Father, Zhang Henshui*),<sup>5</sup> which focuses on Zhang's later life, and, as the intimate title suggests, provides a glimpse into Zhang's family life. Hsiao-wei Wang Rupprecht is the first scholar to have made extensive use of available materials to reconstruct Zhang's life. In the first part of her dissertation on Zhang Henshui,<sup>6</sup> she details Zhang's development, bringing in information obtained through personal communications with Zhang's descendants when public sources prove inadequate. The most systematic treatment of

1. This is an advertisement for the literary wares of the Xinzhi Bookstore that appeared in several major newspapers in August of 1939. Zhang Henshui is the major attraction and his name is in the column of extra-large typesize: "The stories of Zhang Henshui." Other authors like Ba Jin and Zhang Ziping, who are considered more important today, are appended to the remainder of the advertisement, in smaller type.

張恨水小說

28種李涵秋 20種巴金 張資平 72種暨其他數千種  
出借每月四角專差掉送目錄電話38967新智書局

織補台灣席 特別加快 隔日可取

限  
電話  
支行分行  
電話七〇六一三  
電話三九三五〇

Zhang's activities, however, is found in "Chronology of the Life of Zhang Henshui" in *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao* (*Research Materials on Zhang Henshui*), compiled by Wei Shouzhong and Zhang Zhanguo.<sup>7</sup> Their painstaking research has yielded a year-by-year chronology that provides easy reference for researchers.

There is always a danger, however, of allowing the meticulous attention one gives to an author's life to spill over into one's study of his literary works. As is evident in the early serious attempts to study Zhang Henshui's works rather than his life, there is a great temptation to take his fictional characters as thinly disguised journalistic portraits, a reading strategy that is no doubt encouraged by Zhang's lifelong career as a journalist and his occasional remarks about the close relationship between his fictional works and the contemporary events. For example, Zhang openly admits that the wealthy clan in "A Tour of Heaven," one of the stories in *Bashiyi meng*, is based on the family of Kung Xiangxi, who, as the Minister of Finance in the wartime KMT government, brought havoc to the unstable economy.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the practice of approaching Zhang's repertoire as thinly disguised

real events was encouraged, if not established, by Zhang himself. Hou Rongsheng demonstrates what can be achieved by this method of reading. In a 1973 article,<sup>9</sup> she identifies the real-life individuals on whom a number of characters in *Chunming waishi* (*The Unofficial History of Beijing*) and *Sirenji* (*This Man*) are based. While the true identities of these fictional characters may appear irrelevant to the modern reader's appreciation of the novels, earlier readers found that the knowledge of the correspondence between reality and fiction enhanced their reading pleasure.

In the nineteen eighties, as the study of Zhang Henshui in the West emerged from the simplistic biographical approach common in earlier decades, it has apparently benefited from the proliferation of modern literary methodologies. Perry Link, in a chapter of *Mandarin Duck and Butterfly*,<sup>10</sup> discusses at great length the cultural implications of the romantic triangle in *Tixiao yin yuan* (*Fate in Tears and Laughter*), and supplements his close reading of the text with a profusion of sociological data about readers, book markets and publishing. Hsiao-wei Wang Rupprecht, on the other hand, represents a combination of literary approaches. In her *Departure and Return*, she first periodizes Zhang's career and then examines seven of his representative works, applying extensively Andrew Plaks' model of complementary bipolarity and multiple periodicity. Rey Chow's dissertation, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Towards a Rewriting of Modern Chinese Literary History* (Stanford, 1986) also contains sections on Zhang Henshui, where she argues that the narrative model one finds in the so-called Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school can be described as the "feminization" of the otherwise predominantly masculine Confucian tradition.

In mainland China, scholarly efforts are now focused on the compilation of research materials and the explication of individual texts. Often categorized as a Mandarin Duck and Butterfly writer, Zhang Henshui is included in Wei Shaochang's *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* (*Research Materials on the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School*) and Fan Boqun et al., *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao* (*Materials on the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School of Literature*).<sup>11</sup> Apart from short biographies of Zhang Henshui, these two titles offer samples of Zhang Henshui's writings together with several critical articles on his novels. *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao*, mentioned above, stands out in this category of scholarship in that it is wholly devoted to the study of Zhang Henshui. Matching in usefulness the chronology of Zhang's life is the chronology of his works, which lists poems and essays as well as

novels. Each entry gives the title of a work, and the date and place it was published. Although the list is far from exhaustive and is marred by occasional misprints, it is indisputably the most complete record of Zhang's works available.

Unlike these compilations, which provide in single volumes the basic data about Zhang Henshui, critical analyses of his works are difficult to locate in the Chinese literature. However, the present state of confusion may soon be corrected, thanks to the preliminary steps taken by the organizers of the Anhui Conference on Zhang Henshui (October 1988) towards the establishment of a Zhang Henshui archive in Zhang's ancestral home, Qianshan, Anhui. A landmark in the study of Zhang Henshui, the conference attracted Zhang Henshui scholars in China as well as the United States. Some forty papers were distributed for discussion at the conference. Apart from close readings of individual texts, a wide variety of broader issues were raised, including such questions as the domain of "*xiandai wenxue* (modern literature)" and "*tongsu wenxue* (popular literature)," and Zhang's position in the history of Chinese literature. All these questions betray, I believe, the anxiety felt by scholars regarding the legitimacy of studying Zhang Henshui, a matter that I raised earlier.

The conference roughly coincided with the publication of two new books on Zhang Henshui: *Xianhua Zhang Henshui (Casual Notes on Zhang Henshui)* by Xu Chuanli and Dong Kangcheng (Anhui: Huangshan, 1987) and *Zhang Henshui pingzhuan (A Critical Biography of Zhang Henshui)* by Yuan Jin (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1988). As the clearly worded titles suggest, the first book collects in one volume essays about various aspects of Zhang Henshui's life and art written by the two authors, while the second book, the only full-length treatise in Chinese about Zhang Henshui to date, combines critical examination of Zhang's works with a detailed account of his life and times. The conference itself will also contribute to the growing literature about Zhang Henshui since Anhui Wenyi Chubanshe, which has previously issued reprints of Zhang's novels, has agreed to publish the conference proceedings. To my knowledge, this will be the first collection of essays devoted specifically to Zhang Henshui.

Ironically, when it comes to systematic analysis of the novels, Zhang's very popularity presents the first road-block. The question of editions of Zhang Henshui's novels, while in no way comparable to the complicated arguments surrounding the multiple rescensions of some traditional works

of fiction, is nevertheless baffling enough for a writer of so recent a period. Zhang wrote so much during his lifetime that apparently even he could not keep count of all his works. The announcement of the Qianshan Conference estimates that Zhang published from twenty to thirty million characters in his lifetime. Assuming that he started writing the day he was born, this works out to an average of 750 to 1,100 characters a day. Another way of measuring his prolific output is to count the number of his works, which turns out to be more complicated than it sounds. Rupprecht counts 48 novels in book form,<sup>12</sup> while a list compiled by Zhang's children totals 93 novels, and 2 volumes of prose essays.<sup>13</sup> If one includes works which appeared only in serialization in newspapers, the number can easily exceed 120 titles. The most reliable source on this question is the article "Xiezuo shengya huiyi," which Zhang wrote in 1949. While it provides a considerable amount of detailed autobiographical information, "Xiezuo" is nevertheless far from clear when it comes to the question of Zhang's total literary output. Enumerations of works produced are often accompanied by noncommittal qualifications, such as "some of the books I wrote in that period are . . ." or "as I remember . . .," which, instead of settling questions, only engender more.

Zhang's uncertainty as to the number of books he was responsible for contrasts strikingly with the determination of others to capitalize on his reputation. The division of China into different spheres of jurisdiction provided book-pirates with an added protection from lawsuits concerning copyright violations. And, especially in the northeastern provinces, where Chinese law carried little weight even before the onset of full-fledged Japanese aggression, forgeries of Zhang's works proliferated. Even to this day, libraries in Dalian are reported to have in their possession the largest number of forgeries of Zhang Henshui's novels in the world. *Nuehai chenyuan* (*Injustice Forgotten in the Sea of Sin*) which can be found in the Gest Library, but does not appear in any of the reliable sources about Zhang's repertoire (including the lists compiled by Zhang himself, Zhang Mingming, Zhang Wu and others), most probably is a forgery. While the issue can only be settled by deeper research, the stylistic and dramatic crudities of the book, which are a far cry from the sophistication one expects to find in Zhang Henshui, also seem to corroborate this speculation. (See Illustration 2.)

More difficult to identify than the wholesale forgeries are books that misappropriate portions of Zhang's writings. Some of these appear in the form



2. This is the cover illustration to a “Zhang Henshui” novel, *Nuehai chenyuan*, the edition of which is in the Gest Library collection. But despite Zhang’s name, it is most likely a forgery.

of unauthorized revisions of his novels, where, for example, the original main story line is preserved, but characters are added or deleted at the whim of the forgers. This disregard for the integrity of the texts caused so much confusion during Zhang's lifetime that he was forced on a number of occasions to publish books for the sheer purpose of forcing these unauthorized editions off the market. One recalls the publication of the sequel to *Tixiao yinyuan* in this connection. For a long time, Zhang resisted entreaties from his readers to provide in a sequel a happy ending for the characters of *Tixiao yinyuan*, on the grounds that the open-ended conclusion of *Ti* was a true reflection of life, where things are seldom brought to a satisfying end. In 1933, however, after learning that others had seized the opportunity to publish their own sequels to *Ti* in his name, Zhang grudgingly complied with his readers' requests.<sup>14</sup> As it turns out, the sequel to *Ti* is one of the most contrived stories that Zhang ever wrote. Incidentally, it ends with the death of all but the two major characters, thus precluding any possibility of yet another sequel.

Readers of today may skirt the danger of confusing a forgery with an authentic work by relying on recent reprints of Zhang Henshui's novels. Not only have these reprints been verified as genuine by Zhang Henshui, they are often accompanied by critical prefatory materials written by modern scholars. The most ambitious publisher in this task is Anhui Wenyi Chubanshe, whose *Zhang Henshui xuanji* (*Selected Works of Zhang Henshui*) is a series, including eight volumes as of November 1987; it contains some of the best-known novels by Zhang. Zhang Yuluan's essay "Zhanghui-xiaoshuo dajia Zhang Henshui" (Zhang Henshui, the Master of Linked-Chapter Novels), which prefaces the reprint of *Chunming waishi*, is one of the most insightful overviews of Zhang's career as a novelist.

Despite the convenience of using new reprints, the reader must be forewarned of two possible pitfalls. First, there is in the new reprints a general over-representation of works originally published in the thirties and forties. Although, by scholarly consensus, these years coincide with the most productive and mature period of Zhang's life, readers seeking a complete understanding of Zhang's literary career cannot afford to lose sight of his earlier and later creations. Second, one must bear in mind that these modern editions represent only the last stage of what can be called a long process of evolution of the texts. However useful the modern prefaces are, they should not take the place of older ones, which unfortunately are often left out in

the new reprints. The Gest Library copy of an old edition of *Tixiao yinyuan* (n.p.: Wenyi, December 1930) is prefaced by two pages of poems by Li Haoran that the editors of many later reprints see no harm in leaving out. There are other unexpected minor inconveniences, such as the use of simplified characters, which, at least in one case, neutralizes the symbolism of a highly symbolic name.<sup>15</sup>

The study of Zhang Henshui is in its beginning stage. While facts about Zhang Henshui's works are admittedly baffling, secondary literature about him has not proliferated to such an extent that it has become unmanageable for researchers or libraries. The collection of Zhang Henshui material at the Gest Library, which surpasses any major research library in the West, makes it the best place to study Zhang Henshui. It holds more than fifty titles of novels, of which at least forty were published with Zhang's knowledge and acquiescence. The others are new reprints, which the Library continues to acquire. Users of the Gest Library will also find all existing scholarship on Zhang Henshui. Like other libraries, however, holdings of newspapers and journals that carry Zhang's writings are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, there is reason to believe that such a shortcoming can be soon corrected. The Beijing Municipal Library is at present reproducing a sizeable portion of its unrivaled collection of Chinese newspapers in microfilm and photo-facsimile. As soon as these reproductions are available on the market, the Gest Library will have the option of further strengthening its impressive collection.

What is one to do about that lingering sense of uneasiness evident in the current study of Zhang Henshui? What can be added to existing scholarship?

In many respects, the Zhang Henshui revival in recent years has come as a surprise. One would have expected that years of dominance of modern Western-inspired literature in the critical circles would once and for all have relegated writers such as Zhang Henshui to oblivion. However, our interest in alternative literary traditions seems too deeply ingrained to be totally uprooted by an artificially established taste, brought about in this case by a series of movements that are often literary in name but political in nature.<sup>16</sup> With the relaxation of ideological control in China, it has now become possible as well as profitable to reprint reading matter that had previously fallen into disfavor. And Zhang Henshui, the perennial popular author, has become once again a much sought-after writer in the book market.

This is where the sense of uneasiness originates: Zhang Henshui scholars are embarrassed to be on the side of popularity when it is pitted against respectability. The two can be reconciled, for example, by making the popular respectable. In the study of literature, such an effort may call for an ingenious story or two about the author. At times, it may involve the elevation of ignored texts to the position of classics (what Rey Chow calls “restorative appropriation”),<sup>17</sup> thus opening the door of the hall of fame to admit new members. In the case of Zhang Henshui, however, it becomes more and more evident that the introduction of new data necessitates an adjustment of our approach, so that not only does the subject, but also the perspective, have to change. In other words, one may be able to break new ground by putting Zhang Henshui in a new critical context.

Several possibilities present themselves. Zhang Henshui has up to this point been studied as a novelist, to the neglect of his huge corpus of poems and essays. This lop-sided emphasis on his novels is most unfortunate, as Zhang often claimed that he was a much better essayist than a novelist. Scholars interested in this direction may thank Wei Shouzhong and Zhang Zhanguo for their *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao*, which provides the only guide to those of Zhang’s essays that were published in newspapers, but are as yet uncollected. Tracking down the newspapers pertinent to the study of Zhang Henshui will probably lead one to the Beijing Library, where the largest collection of newspapers from the Republican period is found.

Another new direction would be to treat Zhang Henshui as a writer of the popular tradition, as opposed to the literati tradition. Without going to undue length into the nature of popular literature, it stands to reason that an author writing for newspaper serialization would have a higher stake in pleasing the audience than someone writing with the mere purpose of self-expression. In fact, Zhang’s prefatory and autobiographical writings demonstrate this very thing — a writer of popular literature who could even publish books the messages of which he had outgrown and renounced.<sup>18</sup> Once the role of readers’ preferences in literary creations is ascertained, one can then theorize about the influence of reality on literature through the shaping of popular taste, a mechanism that is still awaiting thorough study. (See Illustration 3.)

Lastly, instead of being the last major figure in the classical narrative tradition, Zhang is more appropriately and fruitfully seen as providing a transition from the classical to the modern period. The early part of his career



3. This illustration shows a melange of editions of Zhang Henshui's novels. Catchy and elaborate cover designs indicate the market into which the books were introduced and the character of the reading audience.

saw him learning to master the traditional linked-chapter form. By no means accepting the tradition unquestioned, he subjected it to different experiments. Later, he abandoned the linked-chapter form briefly, probably because he wanted to be free from its strictures to deal with modern subject-matter. In his later years, he returned to the linked-chapter structure, especially with historical themes. Rarely does one find an author who moves so expertly and facilely between the classical and modern narrative models. For this reason, Zhang is an ideal case study; an overview of his novels will cast light on, among other things, the aesthetics of the two narrative models, their different thematic associations and philosophical underpinnings.

Critical interest in the works of Zhang Henshui is significant in several ways at this juncture of literary history. It parallels, however distantly, the West's departure from the tradition of narrative realism in search of alternatives — often seen as less developed and hence “primitive” — like folk tales and tribal mythologies. Within the Chinese context, it gives us an indication of the tenacity of cultural conditioning, which reasserts its influence under the most unexpected circumstances. The Zhang Henshui revival leaves one perplexed; and one is left with the hope that our understanding of the nature of literature will advance when the reasons behind this revival are fully comprehended.

## NOTES

1. The story about Zhang's interaction with Zhou Enlai was first recorded in Luo Chenglie, "Nanwang di shenqing jiaohui," *Sichuan wenyi*, Vol. 2 (1977). The same story is repeated by Zhang Mingming in *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui* (Tianjin: Baihua chubanshe, 1984). Since then, it has been quoted in a number of essays and has now become part of the common lore about Zhang Henshui. A more elaborated version of Zhang's joke aimed at Doihara Kenji is recorded in *Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui*, where the book in question is the *Sequel to Tixiao yinyuan*, whose anti-Japanese message, though shrouded, is just as intense as that of *Wangong ji*.
2. See, respectively, *Zhang Henshui ziliao ji*, pp. 9 and 10.
3. *Zhang Henshui ziliaoji* (Hong Kong: n.p., n.d.); *Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita* (n.p.: 1977).
4. *Xiezuo shengya huiyi* (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1982).
5. See note 2.
6. The dissertation was published as *Departure and Return: Chang Hen-shui and the Chinese Narrative Tradition* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1987).
7. *Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao* (Tianjin: Remin chubanshe, 1986).
8. *Xiezuo shengya huiyi*, p. 64.
9. "Jiantan Zhang Henshui xiansheng di chuqi zuopin," *Mingbao yuekan*, Vol. 91 (July 1973).
10. *Mandarin Duck and Butterfly* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981).
11. *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao*, first edition (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi, 1962; revised edition for internal circulation, 1984). *Yuanyang hudie pai wenzue ziliao* (Fujian: Renmin chubanshe, 1984).
12. See "Introduction," *Departure and Return*.
13. "Zhang Henshui xiansheng xiaoshuo chuanguo nianbiao," *Xiezuo shengya huiyi*, pp. 157-62.
14. See the Preface to the *Sequel to Tixiao yinyuan*, in *Tixiao yinyuan* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1981), pp. 375-76.
15. I have in mind the character Chen Gonggan in *Yanguilai*. The name in the old script can be interpreted as "working for the public." In simplified characters the symbolism is lost.
16. Starting with the May Fourth Movement, all literary movements in twentieth-century China have in effect been only para-literary. With these movements invariably motivated by a sense of mission, literature is a subject of reform only because it is taken as a vehicle towards a better society and a stronger country.
17. *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Towards a Rewriting of Modern Chinese Literary History*, p. 7.
18. See, for example, "Preface," *Sirenji* (Shanghai: Baixin, 1946).

## GLOSSARY

<i>Bashiyi meng</i>	八十一夢
<i>Cantang yanyi</i>	殘唐演義
Chen Gonggan (old script)	陳公幹
Chen Gonggan (new script)	陳公干
Chen Mingde	陳銘德
<i>Chunming waishi</i>	春明外史
<i>Chunqiu</i>	春秋
<i>Daren</i>	大人
Doihara Kenji	土肥原健二
Dong Kangcheng	董康成
Fan Boqun	范伯群
Hou Rongsheng	侯榕生
<i>Huiyi wo di fuqin Zhang Henshui</i>	回憶我的父親張恨水
Jiantan Zhang Henshui xiansheng di chuqi zuopin	簡談張恨水先生的初期作品
Kung Xiangxi	孔祥熙
Li Haoran	李浩然
Luo Chenglie	羅承烈
<i>Mingbao yuekan</i>	明報月刊
<i>Nanjing renbao</i>	南京人報
Nanwang di shenqing jiaohui	難忘的深情教誨
<i>Nuehai chenyuan</i>	孽海沉冤
Quanguo wenlian	全國文聯
<i>Sirenji</i>	斯人記
<i>Tixiao yinyuan</i>	啼笑因緣
tongsu wenxue	通俗文學
<i>Wangong ji</i>	彎弓集
wangong sheri	彎弓射日
Wei Shaochang	魏韶昌
Wei Shouzhong	魏守忠
xiandai wenxue	現代文學
<i>Xianhua Zhang Henshui</i>	閒話張恨水

Xie Bingxin	謝冰心
Xiezuo shengya huiyi	寫作生涯回憶
Xifeng	息烽
Xinmin bao	新民報
Xu Chuanli	徐傳禮
Yuan Jin	袁進
Yanguilai	燕歸來
Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao	鴛鴦蝴蝶派文學資料
Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao	鴛鴦蝴蝶派研究資料
Zhang Ershui	張二水
Zhang Henshui	張恨水
Zhang Henshui pingzhuan	張恨水平傳
Zhang Henshui xiansheng xiaoshuo chuangzuo nianbiao	張恨水先生小說創作年表
Zhang Henshui xuanji	張恨水選集
Zhang Henshui yanjiu ziliao	張恨水研究資料
Zhang Henshui zhuanji ji qita	張恨水傳記及其他
Zhang Henshui ziliaoji	張恨水資料
Zhang Mingming	張明明
Zhang Wu	張伍
Zhang Xiaoshui	張曉水
Zhang Xinyuan	張心遠
Zhang Yuluan	張友鸞
Zhang Zhanguo	張占國
Zhanghuixiaoshuo dajia Zhang Henshui	章回小說大家張恨水
Zhou Enlai	周恩來

# *Glowing Clouds in an Azure Sky:*

## A Newly Discovered

## Royal Pageant

WU XIAOLING

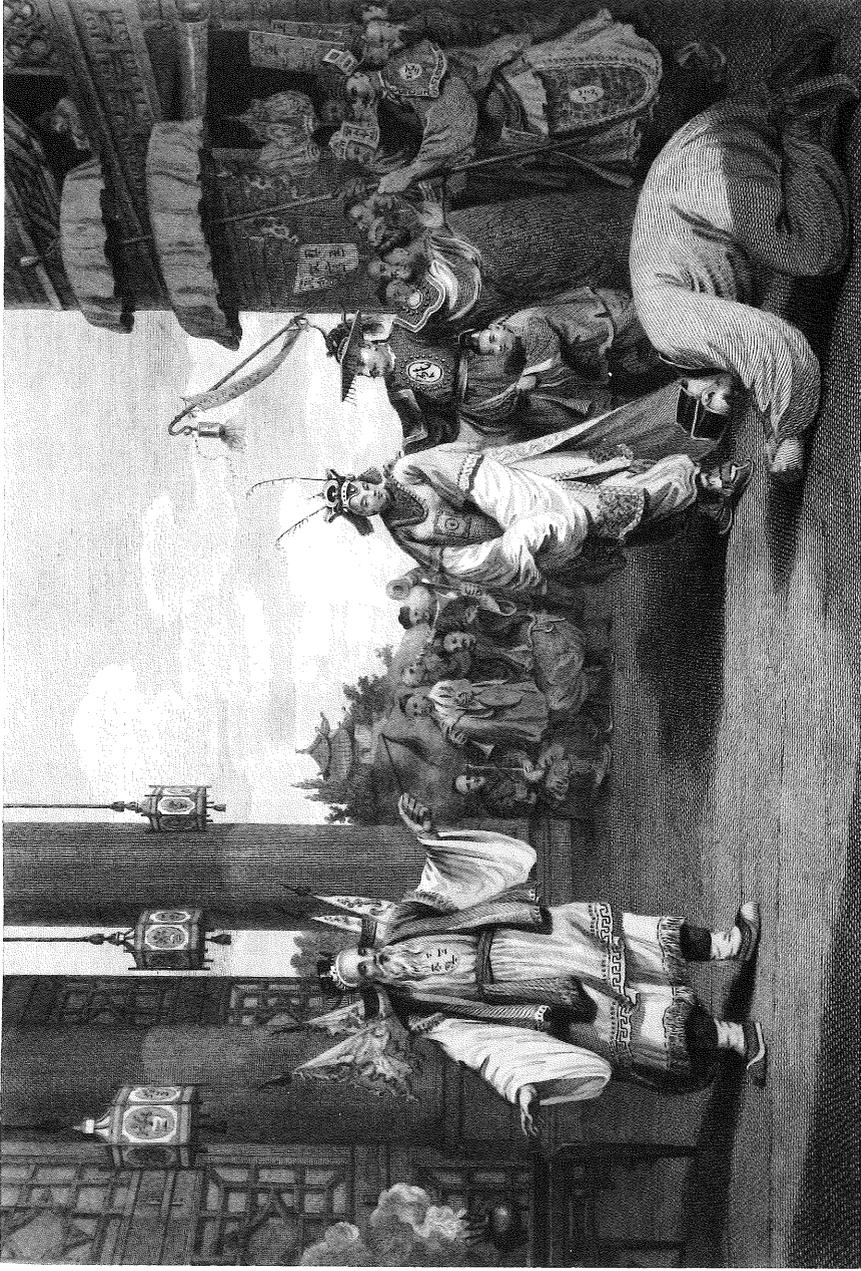
[Translated by LINDY LI MARK and SAMUEL H. H. CHEUNG]

During the spring and summer of 1982 I visited seventeen American universities under the sponsorship of the Committee for Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. My goals were both to participate in discussions with Sinologists and to survey rare book collections, focusing on items of classical Chinese literature and drama.

In the Gest Library of Princeton University I discovered a rare and perhaps singular copy of a one-volume play entitled *Bitian xiaoxia* [*Glowing Clouds in an Azure Sky*] (see Illustration 1). Its story concerns a pilgrimage of the second emperor of the Qing dynasty, Aisingoro Ye, to the sacred mountain Wutai.<sup>1</sup>

Qu Wanli's [Ch'ü Wan-li] *Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library* says this about *Bitian*:

*Bitian xiaoxia*. Six chapters, two volumes in one binder. Hand-copied manuscript. Eight columns of twenty characters per page. Block — 17.8 x 11.8 cm. This play is divided into six scenes, relating the story of court officials greeting the Qing emperor on his third pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai. The fifth scene is titled "Ten Thousand Nations Pay Homage," including the king of Holland and other European nations. The play appears to have been composed during the Kangxi reign. This is probably a corrected man-



1. Pictured here is one of the engraved plates published in Sir George L. Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (pub. in London, April 12, 1796, by G. Nicol), in the Firestone Library Collection. This mission was in fact the Macartney mission to the Qianlong court. *Bitian xiaoxia* must have been performed in a fashion similar to the play depicted here, which is being performed on the palace stage in the late 18th century.

uscript [*qinggao ben*]. There is no record of other circulated editions.

In the following I expand on these remarks.

### THE EDITION

Ordinarily, the printed format of plays is as follows: the lyrics are in single columns, starting vertically at the top marginal frame. The dialogue may be in single or double columns of smaller characters, indented from the top by two characters. Manuscript plays also follow this convention, with the exception of musicians' copies, which do not have the standard format.<sup>2</sup>

The Gest Library manuscript has an unusual feature, namely that both lyrics and dialogue are indented by two characters. However, all expressions involving an imperial reference are raised to the top margin. Examples of this are *wansui*, *tianzi*, *huangchao*, and *jinluan*. From this one can conclude that it is an imperial household manuscript (*nei chaoben*).

There were four types of imperial household manuscript. One type was for the emperor's personal reference when attending a performance. These manuscripts, known as *andian ben* [palace repository copy] were bound in yellow silk with titles in cinnabar red ink. Another type was kept in the Palace theatre department (Shengping shu) and were called *kucang ben* [archival copies]. A third type, the *neixue ben* [internal instructional copy], was for the instruction of eunuch actors. Finally, texts used by outside troupes during special command performances were called *waixue ben* [external instructional copies]. By style and format, *Bitian* belongs to the palace repository category. But, as the text is not free of graphic errors, it has to be a yet unedited copy; not a "corrected" manuscript as Qu surmised. The existence of "other circulated copies" is indeed highly improbable.

### TYPES OF DRAMA

Palace performances comprise four major types. The first is that of grand historical dramas, covering almost all dynasties from Qin to Ming. These dramatizations, some as long as 240 scenes, were mostly based on legends and stories. For example, *Ding zhi Chunqiu* tells the story of the Three Kingdoms, and *Zhongyi xuantu* is taken from the Water Margin sagas.

A second type of palace drama is composed of calendrical celebration plays, called *yueling chengying*. An example of a New Year celebration play is *Xichao wuwei*; an example of an early spring celebration play is *Zhuixu mianshan*; then there are *Pujian xianxie* for the fifth month celebration, *Shuangdu yinhe* for the seventh month celebration, *Dangui Piaoxiang* for the mid-autumn celebration, and *Ruyuan yingxin* for the New Year's Eve celebration, and so on for each month of the year.

A third type consists of short plays celebrating royal *rites de passage*, referred to as *fagong yazou*. For example, *Hongsi xieji* is a play performed to celebrate an imperial engagement; *Ciyun xilei* is performed in celebration of the birth of a prince; *Zhufu chengxiang* is performed upon the establishment of a new reign; *Jiyao chenghuan* is performed for the ceremony of Receiving the Imperial Chariot.

Finally, a type of short play was composed for imperial *red-white* (birthday-funeral) rituals. For example, for the birthday of the queen mother there is *Huajia tiankai*; for the birthday of the emperor there is *Sanyuan baifu*; for the empress's there is *Lingshan chengqing*; and for the crown prince — *Chunyang zhuguo*.

A close examination of these court plays has revealed special ones for banquets, for triumphant returns, sacrificial rituals, military reviews, receiving and sending off the royal entourage and so forth. It seems that *Bitian* was performed for the occasion of the Emperor's Pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai for the celebration of the Wenshu Bodhisattva. Therefore, it most likely belongs to the category of royal receptions. This classification, however, is merely conjectural on my part. This play is not found in any other library in the world, private or public. Neither is it included in the admittedly incomplete Shengpingshu [Palace theatrical department] catalogue in the PRC National Archive.

#### PERFORMANCE

Palace performances of all types had several noteworthy characteristics: grandiose pageantry, elaborate stage props, sumptuous costumes, and mechanized stage scenery. Two large stages have been preserved in Beijing: one in the Palace Museum and the other in the Summer Palace. Both are three stories high. Gods and buddhas could be made to descend from above in "cloud carriages"; demons and monsters would rise up from below.

When the celestial maidens strewed flowers, blossoms would fill the air; when Guanyin appeared in a vision, golden lotuses would float up from the ground. A rough estimate of the number of actors required for a performance of *Bitian* is 243 persons, including 18 Arhats, 60 Stem-Branch patron gods, 4 dragon kings of the seas, 8 heavenly dragons, 5 gods of the mountains, tribute-bearing envoys from 10 nations, portraying the proverbial "Divine bureaucracy in heaven, royal household on earth." Appearing in this play are also processions of blue lions, red carp, divine turtles, and immortal cranes. While such extravaganzas unquestionably show the materialistic indulgence of the Qing court, the contribution that palace plays have made to the progress of the theatrical arts in Chinese history is also an undeniable fact. The grand staging of *Damingfu* with the 108 Water Margin stalwarts, the procession of soldiers and cavalry of *Shanghai Guan*, the lantern parade of *Yezhan Ma Chao*, the dance of the flower gods of *Youyuan jingmeng*, all stem from palace theatricals. These products of the palace performance tradition with spectacular stage effects enrich the cultural experience of mass audiences today.

#### DATING

The composition of *Bitian* can be dated through its relation to the Qing emperor's pilgrimages to Mt. Wutai. Qu Wanli remarked that it was probably written during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722). Although conjectural on Qu's part, I believe that he is largely correct. There is evidence that pins down the date further.

Among the Qing emperors who made pilgrimages to Wutai were: Emperor Xuanye (reign title Kangxi); Emperor Hungli (Qianlong); and Emperor Yongyen (Jiaqing). Emperor Xuanye made five pilgrimages: the first and second were in 1683; the third in 1689; the fourth in 1702; and the fifth in 1710. Now, in which year was *Bitian* written?

In the text of the play, the following lines point to a birthday celebration of the emperor: "To celebrate the eternal life of the sacred one, by way of the ceremony for Wenshu [*jie Wenshu zhi daochang, zhu shengren zhi wan-shou*] . . . when the fragrant and colored clouds shift, it is the birth time of the eternal Divinity [*fuyu caiyun yi, qitian shengshou qi*] . . . Million more years for the Holy Son of Heaven [*wei sheng Tienzi tien shou baiwan*]." The fifth scene of the play contains the following line which tells that the age of

the emperor that year must have been a multiple of ten: "On the day when the Holy Son of Heaven celebrated the beginning of a new decade" [*qing yuan zhi ri*]. Furthermore, there are six references to the *jiazi* year in the lyrics and speeches in the sixth scene, which would place the play precisely in the year 1684, the year when Emperor Xuanye became thirty years of age.

However, there are yet a few discrepancies to be accounted for. The play also mentions that "the Sacred entourage ascended Mt. Wutai for the third time" and "the Holy Son of Heaven visited Wutai for the third time." Yet among the five pilgrimages to Wutai enumerated above, not one took place in 1684. What is the explanation?

According to records in the *Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* [*Qingshigao*], the three Qing emperors visited Mt. Wutai altogether 13 times. Yet, in the biographies of these three monarchs, only Xuanye was recorded as having gone 5 times. Huangli went 4 times, Yongyen went only once. Evidently, there must have been gaps and errors in this draft history of Qing. In the biography of the emperor in question, *juan* seven of *Qingshigao*, it was mentioned that in the third month of 1684, a *jiazi* year, "His Majesty composed an Wutai commemorative essay." This entry could have referred to an unrecorded visit. Xuanye ruled for sixty-one years, the longest reigning monarch of the empire. Unofficial reports claimed that his father, Emperor Shunzhi, abdicated the throne at the death of his favorite consort Dong E Fei and became a monk on Mt. Wutai in 1661. It is therefore very likely that Xuanye visited Wutai more than five times. Although this supposition has yet to be substantiated, it appears reasonable to conclude that the play was written during the Kangxi reign.

#### CONTENTS

*Bitian* consists of six scenes. The first, titled "Da Fo sheng dian" [Great Buddha ascends the throne] describes how the Buddha of Longevity, Guanyin, and the Arhats order the heavenly maidens to scatter blossoms in preparation for receiving the emperor. The second scene, "Zhu xian zhu jia" [Birthday blessings from the immortals], enacts the gathering of immortals, such as Xiaofu, Han Xiang, Magu and all those who have achieved immortality, to gather in the celestial pavilion to await the royal arrival. The third scene, "Qianqui haiyan" [Long life blessing from the ocean and river



*ing Lisao*], won the admiration of the emperor, who decreed it to be set to music as part of the repertoire of elegant songs. During the Kangxi reign, it was known that Emperor Xuanye was deeply attracted to a *chuanqi* composition, *Changshengdian* [*Palace of Eternal Life*], by Hong Sheng. However, until now no records, let alone actual scripts, of Qing palace theatrical performances dated earlier than the Qianlong reign (1736-1795) have been known. *Bitian* is the only play preserved from the Kangxi period (1662-1722). It is indeed a great privilege for me to have been able to fill a gap in the history of Chinese drama with an Wutai drama that has been preserved thousands of miles from its homeland.

## NOTES

1. I acknowledge my thanks to Profs. Andrew Plaks and Yu-kung Kao of Princeton for making available a xerox of *Bitian*.
2. The translators of Mr. Wu's text note that the script of *Bitian* does not include a musical score. However, alternation between northern and southern tune titles (in all but scene 2) indicates the use of pentatonic and heptatonic modes. Scene 2 has only southern tune titles.

## GLOSSARY

andian ben	安殿本
<i>Bitian xiaoxia</i>	碧天霄霞
Changshengdian	長生殿
Chuanxiong	穿胸
<i>chunyang zhuguo</i>	純陽祝國
<i>Ciyun xilei</i>	慈雲錫鬚
Da Fo sheng dian	大佛昇殿
Da'er	大耳
<i>Damingfu</i>	大名府
<i>Dangui piaoxiang</i>	丹桂飄香
Diaoti	雕題
<i>Ding zhi chunqiu</i>	鼎峙春秋
<i>Du Lisao</i>	讀離騷

fagong yazou	法宮雅奏
fuyu caiyun yi, qitian shangshou qi	馥郁彩雲移 齊天聖壽期
Gushe	姑射
Han Xiang	韓湘
Hangao	漢皋
Hongsi xieji	紅絲綸吉
Huajia tiankai	花甲天開
huangchao	皇朝
jiazi	甲子
jie Wenshu zhi daochang, zhu shengren zhi wanshou	借文殊之道場，祝聖人之萬壽
jinluan	金鑲
Jiyao chenghuan	吉曜承歡
kucang ben	庫藏本
Lingshan chengqing	靈山稽慶
Lochuan	洛川
Magu	麻姑
nei chaoben	內鈔本
neixue ben	內學本
Pujian Xianxie	蒲劍閒邪
Qianqiu haiyan	千秋海晏
qinggaoben	清稿本
Qingshigao	清史稿
qingyuan zhi ri	慶元之日
Ruyuan yingxin	如展迎新
Sanyuan baifu	三元百福
Shanghai guan	山海關
Shanling chaochu	山靈朝履
Shengping shu	升平暑
Shuangdu yinhe	雙渡銀河
Sihai shengping	四海昇平
Taihang	太行
Taiyue	太岳
tianzi	天子
waixue ben	外學本

WU XIAOLING

Wanguo laichao	萬國來朝
wansui	萬歲
wei sheng Tianzi tian shou baiwan	為聖天子添壽百萬
Wenshu	文殊
Wutai	吾台
Xiaofu	嘯父
Xichao wuwei	喜朝五位
Yangjiao	羊角
Yezhan machao	夜戰馬超
Yinniu	銀牛
Youyuan jingmeng	游園驚夢
yueling chengying	月令承應
Zhongyi xuantu	忠義璇圖
Zhu xian zhu jia	諸仙祝嘏
Zhuixu mianshan	追敘綿山
Zuochi	齋齒

# A New Gest Library

PHYSICAL SPACE PROBLEMS — BY THE JOURNAL STAFF

Talk of a new building to increase space for the Gest Library is much in the air. The Library's Curator has recently sent what has become in recent years her annual spring notice to faculty users, telling what emergency measures will be implemented over the summer to deal with the continuing crisis. For a third year there is no space for shelving newly acquired books, the ten to twelve thousand volumes purchased each year. That means shifting some less frequently used items temporarily to storage from which they can be recalled as needed, but placing them beyond the access of stack browsers. It also means adding more temporary shelving in hallways and reading room spaces. The Gest, long known for its gracious, quiet spaces for study, has become crowded and inconvenient. That taxes the patience of our greatest resource, our splendid and devoted staff, and it interferes seriously with the users.

This problem was accurately foreseen and reported to Princeton University's administration at least five years ago, but it takes that long for an institution to find ways of solving such a problem and to assign it effective priority among competing demands. It is reported that President Harold Shapiro, familiarizing himself with current conditions since his arrival in January, 1988, has walked through the Gest to see the problem at first hand, and agrees with the urgent need for action. The University Librarian, Dr. Donald Koepp, responding to our inquiries in a memorandum dated April 26, notes that he cannot think "in concrete terms, no pun intended, about future East Asian Library space since I do not know where it will be." But he goes on to make the assumption that it will be close to the East Asian Studies Department.

Mr. Koepp further assumes that primary consideration must be given to providing space for continued growth of the collection, needing something like 800 square feet of space a year. Secondarily, enlarged facilities for users must be provided, and the temperature- and humidity-controlled space that houses the rare book collections must be provided, probably enlarged. In

conclusion, Mr. Koepp says: "Needless to say, these are only my own ideas, and I can tell you from considerable experience that the actual planning of such a facility is a long and complicated — if also exciting and rewarding — process in which different points of view get meshed and merged and reformulated within the always pressing constraints of funds available and limitations inherent in the site."

Those constraints of funds and site limitations are very real; solving them will be the challenge that all of us interested in the Gest Library must share. In this first of a series of articles we shall explore the site problem; future articles will look at the uses to which the new space may be put, and the truly exciting place that a new Gest facility will assume in the life of the University and the East Asian fields. The Friends of the Gest Library have a large interest in this planning and may contribute to all aspects of its realization. We can be one of the voices helping to reformulate the different points of view. We urge you to become involved, to send us your views, and to help us to think realistically about the ideals that we shall be articulating.

How and where can new space be built? The assumption of all the persons we have consulted is that it must take the form of an addition to Palmer Hall, in which the Gest Library now occupies the east end of the third and fourth floors. (See Illustrations 1 and 2.) This fine old building was constructed for the Physics Department before World War I. The larger physics courses and their elementary laboratories are still housed in the west end of the building, although the Department offices moved in 1969 across Washington Road to the new Jadwin-Fine complex built at that time for Physics and Mathematics. Palmer Hall extends roughly 180 feet more or less east-to-west, with its main entrance at the center facing north. Wings at the east and west turn to the south, forming an inverted "U" shape open to the south. A narrow lane runs along that open south side, beyond which the ground falls off sharply some ten feet, down to the Isabella McCosh Infirmary. The narrow lane continues on along the south side of adjoining Jones Hall, built in 1928 as Fine Hall to house the Mathematics Department. It now houses East Asian Studies and Near Eastern Studies. The lane descends the slope behind Jones, to the level of the rear of the infirmary, and serves as a fire-lane into that part of the campus.

This constricted area, presumably, must be redesigned to allow for a new building at the back of Palmer Hall, attached to it in some way. A fire-lane

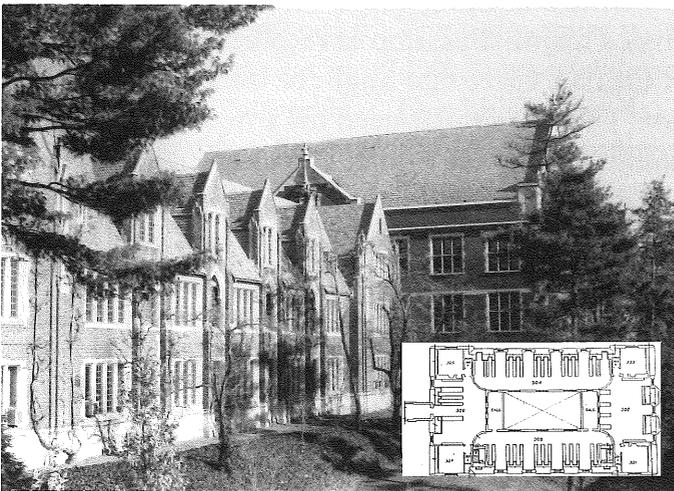


1. This is a view of the south side of Palmer Hall, with its two wings — east on the left and west on the right. Jones Hall (barely visible through tree branches immediately to the left of Palmer's east wing) abuts Palmer longitudinally at the east wing. It is easy to see the "U" shape courtyard in the rear of Palmer, with the shed-like structure, trucks, and loading docks at its lower level, on the narrow fire-lane. Washington Rd. runs diagonally across the picture at the lower right. McCosh Infirmary is not shown in the photograph. It is below the slope on which Jones Hall and the far end of the fire-lane are located.

to the rear of the infirmary must continue to be provided. This is a site to tax the ingenuity of a good architect. Palmer, Jones, and the Infirmary all are superior buildings; their architectural integrity must be respected and the space should be enhanced by whatever is done.

A conversation with Mr. John D. Hlafter, M.F.A., Director of the Physical Planning Department, provided informed opinion about how some of the problems might be handled. Mr. Hlafter and the Department are responsible for all the University's building projects, from refurbishing existing buildings, planning space use, improving sites, and the actual construction of all new buildings. He has borne these responsibilities for more than twenty years and clearly is the first person from whom to seek advice as we look forward to the new Gest Library. He has not, however, been asked by the University to commence any formal planning for this project, so he offered only his speculative thoughts about some of the possibilities; he would not want what follows to be taken as his considered planning or as the University's official views.

Mr. Hlafter reported that the administration would like to see all of the central campus area, to which Palmer belongs, used wholly for academic purposes. This directly affects planning for Palmer Hall because many years ago a one-story shed-like building was placed adjacent to its long central part inside the open "U", atop a loading dock. (See Illustration 1.) That now provides space for building maintenance offices serving the campus, and those could be relocated. If the shed-like structure and loading



2. Here is a closer view of the rear of Jones Hall, at the fire-lane. The view looks toward the east wing of Palmer (the darker building), which Jones joins by means of an internal passageway. McCosh Infirmary (not pictured) would be down the slope farther right. Currently the Gest Library is housed in the third floor of Jones (where the gabled windows run; compare with the Jones floor plan, shown in inset) and in part of Palmer's third- and fourth-floor east wing, through the passageway.

dock were removed and a fourth side were added to close the "U" on the south, it could turn Palmer's open "U" space into an enclosed, or partially enclosed garden courtyard. The new building of course would extend over the fire-lane, but that probably could be relocated on the level of McCosh Infirmary, to be entered from the Infirmary driveway.

Palmer Hall sits just at the point where the banks lining Washington Road are the highest. Mr. Hlafter speculated that a pedestrian bridge could be added, crossing over Washington Road. It has long been felt that such a safe pedestrian crossing is needed; it would link Prospect Street, the Computer Center and the Engineering Quadrangle to the central campus. Such a walkway might pass through the new Palmer courtyard; perhaps the main entrance in the center of Palmer (see Illustration 4a) could be converted into another of Princeton's distinctive open archways.

Mr. Hlafter also noted that the Borough zoning regulations permit this part of the campus to have buildings up to sixty feet tall. With the possibility of placing one or two stories of the new building below the ground level of Palmer, but above the ground level to the south so that windows could be provided on that side, a building of seven or eight stories could be constructed. Were its ground floor dimensions to match those of the main east-west portion of Palmer, it could provide almost 4,500 square feet on one floor. Thus we are speaking of a building that might reach as much as 36,000 square feet of floorspace. We are looking at a multi-million dollar building.

We cannot fault the University for having allowed Gest's space problems to reach crisis proportions before launching a new building project of this magnitude; it clearly involves a major allocation of resources. We do not of course anticipate that all of the new space that might be built here would be devoted to the Gest Library. There is similar need for a new Near Eastern Studies Library, which should be adjacent to that Department's offices on the ground floor of Jones Hall. The ground floor of the present east wing of Palmer plus adjacent space in whatever new building will evolve here undoubtedly should be given over to that library. And, the University probably has other space needs in mind, perhaps to occupy a significant portion of the new building. Nonetheless, there seems to be a possibility that the Gest Library and associated East Asian Department and East Asian Program requirements for space can be generously met, if the new-south-side-of-Palmer idea can be realized.

## HYPOTHETICAL DESIGN OF THE GEST EXPANSION

— By Cary Y. Liu

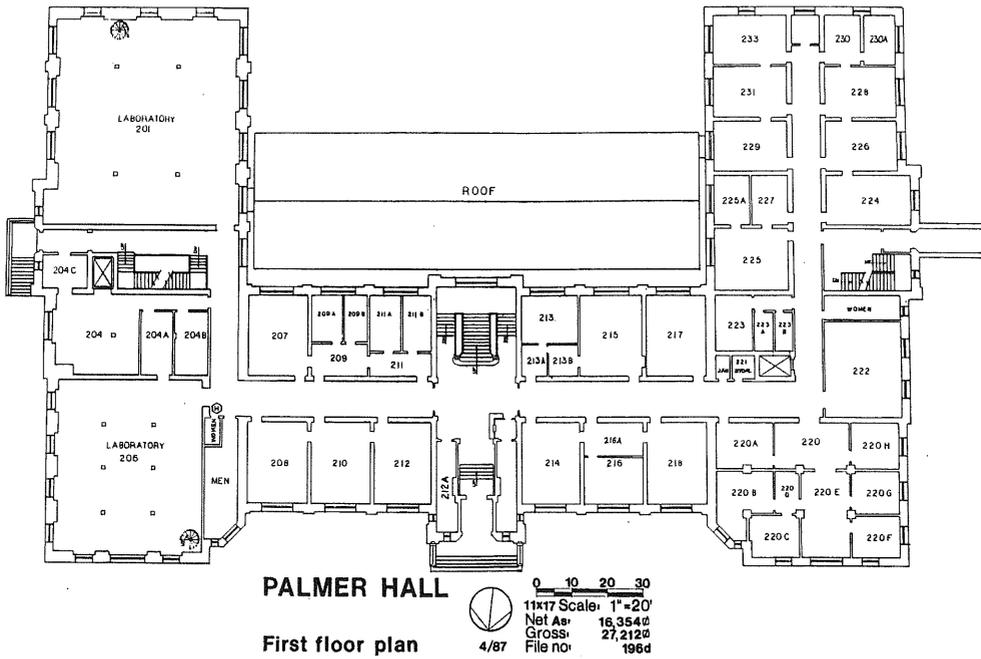
The following set of architectural diagrams (Illustrations 3a-c) are intended as a hypothetical exploration into the possibility of expanding Gest Library into the Palmer Hall courtyard, as proposed in the above section. These diagrammatic plans are not intended as a detailed proposal for the exact layout, instead, they are designed as preliminary investigations into square footage and organization of entrance, circulation, and other design considerations. It is hoped these diagrams will be helpful in raising some issues that should be further explored as planning for a Gest Library extension progresses.

*Plan Description*

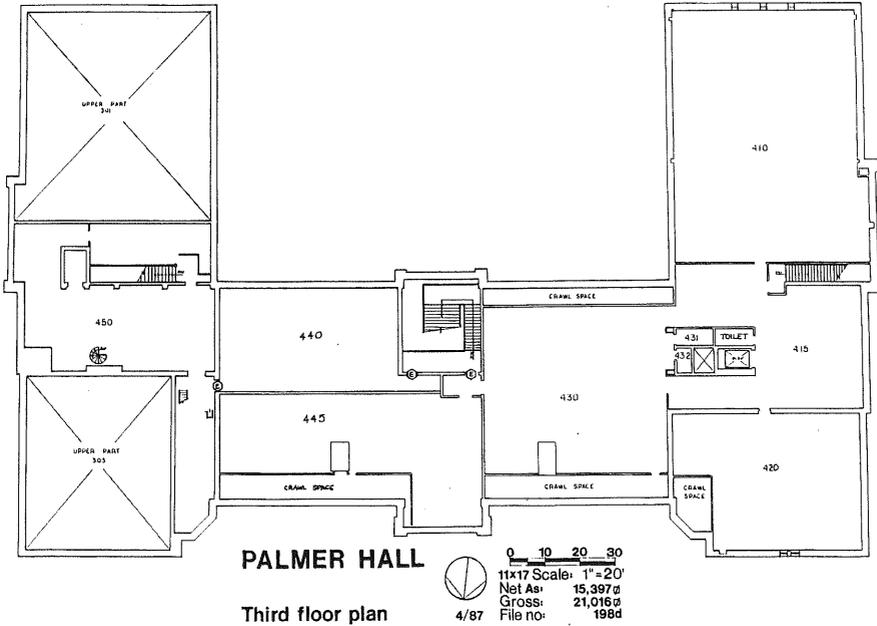
A library extension in Palmer courtyard should be designed as an independent structure with as few penetrations of the old structure as possible. Four stories can be placed in this location: basement and floors one to three. The basement floor would cover the entire courtyard area (approx. 9,960 sq. ft.), replacing the existing temporary structures, which would be relocated. Above this level, three floors (approx. 4,460 sq. ft. per floor) can be built to the south with a central light-court to their north (see Illustration 3a). This would produce a library extension with a total gross area of approximately 23,340 sq. ft. The light-court would not only serve the new library extension, but would also preserve most of the classroom windows at the rear of Palmer Hall (see Illustration 4a). The addition of windows along the south wall of the library extension would also act to provide natural light for each floor. In this layout, interconnections with the present Gest Library could be limited to three doorways on the first through third floors and can be built utilizing existing window openings along the west wall facing into Palmer courtyard. A fourth interconnection (not drawn in the diagrams) at the basement level could also be constructed at center of the north wall (at the Palmer central staircase) giving access to the Palmer basement. Parts of this area, perhaps, could be converted to library use or used for mechanical space.



# NEW GEST LIBRARY



4a.



4b.

These are two of Princeton University's official floor plans for the existing Palmer Hall. Its first floor (4a) currently has no area given over to Gest Library use.

*Entrance and Circulation*

Two viable entry alternatives for the expanded library exist. The first would be to maintain the present second floor entrance at the connection between Palmer and Jones Halls (Illustration 3b), but this would result in overly circuitous and discontinuous routes between the various floors of the old and new library sections. The second alternative (Illustration 3a, left arrow) would create a new first-floor access directly into the new section. The primary advantage is that the new section, with continuous vertical circulation cores (staircases and passenger elevator), could then function to link all four floors of the library, with access on each floor to the old library. It would make sense in such a layout to relocate the existing library offices and the various card catalogs to the first floor of the new section, while converting the space they presently occupy to stack space (Illustration 3b).

*Future Expansion*

In the design of any library the question of future expansion must also be seriously considered. The logical location for a later addition would be to the south of the proposed courtyard extension; however, the southern edge of Palmer Hall and its courtyard is bordered by an emergency fire-lane. Inquiries should be made into the possibility of rerouting this fire-lane in the future. If not possible, plans for a connection by bridge over, or tunnel under, the present fire-lane must also be considered in the design of the courtyard extension.

## FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

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

As a group, the Friends sponsor colloquia and exhibitions on East Asian books, calligraphy, art and their historical relationships. They secure gifts and bequests for the Library in order to add to its holdings items and collections of great worth. They disseminate information about the Library (and about other East Asian libraries) so that members and non-members alike can benefit from its resources.

### JOINING THE FRIENDS

Membership is open to those subscribing annually twenty-five dollars or more. With that membership fee is included a yearly subscription to *The Gest Library Journal*. Members will be invited to attend special exhibitions, lectures, and discussions that occur under the aegis of the Friends. Checks are payable to the Trustees of Princeton University and should be mailed to:

Friends of the Gest Library  
c/o East Asian Studies Department, Jones Hall 211  
Princeton University  
Princeton, N.J. 08544 USA

All monies exceeding the cost of the subscription (fifteen dollars for individuals) are considered donations for tax purposes.