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The issues of the *Gest Library Journal*, volume III, are numbered differently from previous volumes. The first issue was numbered volume III, numbers 1–2; this second issue is therefore numbered volume III, number 3.



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# From the Editor

## NOTE

This issue of the *Gest Library Journal* initiates the practice of segregating news of general interest to all readers from news and information of narrower concern to the Friends of the Gest Library; the latter will be found at the end of each volume under the heading News and Notes: For the Friends of the Gest Library.

## VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY

Ch'iao Yen-kuan of the Department of Chinese Literature, National Chengchi University, visited the Gest Library on January 22, 1990. Professor Ch'iao pointed out that the library's edition of the *T'ung chih* is commonly regarded by scholars as having been engraved and printed during the *Ta-te* period (1297–1307) of the Yüan Dynasty. Careful examination of this work, however, shows that some sections of it appear to have been printed by woodblocks engraved during the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127–1279), with minor alterations made to the original woodblocks, such as changing the term “this dynasty” (*pen-ch'ao*) to “Sung Dynasty” (*Sung-ch'ao*). This is an interesting practice in that rather than highlighting the fact that part of this edition of the *T'ung chih* was printed by the original Southern Sung woodblocks, a practice commonly used by contemporary publishers to enhance the value of their publications, the publisher of the *T'ung chih* deliberately obscured it in order to give himself all the credit for publishing this work.

After his visit, Professor Ch'iao also kindly presented copies of his recent works to the Gest Library.

On April 12, 1990, the Gest Library welcomed a distinguished visitor, Yang Ch'ung-sen, director of the National Central Library, Taiwan. He was accompanied by Teresa Wang Chang, head of the Bureau of International Exchange of Publications and four other librarians from the same library.

## FROM THE EDITOR

A team of experts on Chinese rare books from Peking, headed by Cui Jian-ying, completed its six-month stay in Princeton and returned to China in October 1989. The project is jointly funded by the Association of Research Libraries and the National Endowment for the Humanities. While in Princeton, the experts advised on standards to be adopted for a proposed union catalogue of Chinese rare books in North America and helped perfect the catalogue of Chinese rare books held in the Gest Library. Cao Shu-wen, a member of the team, remained in Princeton. She will continue working on the Chinese rare books at least through September 1990.

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

Andrew L. Markus is an assistant professor of East Asian Language and Literature at the University of Washington. He received his doctorate from Yale University in 1985. His specialty is Edo-period Japanese literature. The author of two articles published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* and the *Journal of Asian Studies* respectively and the translator of "Kabuki and Its Social Background" by Gunji Masakatsu, Professor Markus is currently revising his doctoral dissertation for publication by the Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Cui Jian-ying is head of the Division of Special Collections, Library of the Academy of Sciences, and research scholar of the academy, as well as serving as research scholar for the Committee of Research on Old Editions of the Association of Chinese Libraries. He is also advisor to the Institute for the Historical Study of Chinese Seismology. All the above research units are located in Beijing. Professor Cui was born in 1931 in what was then called Peiping, and since 1949 has been known as Beijing. After graduating from college in 1954 he taught in college before joining the Academy of Sciences, eventually becoming head of his division, and concurrently professor in Beijing Normal University. He has at one time or another borne responsibility for curatorship and cataloguing of epigraphy and rubbings, producing catalogues of the tomb inscriptions and other epigraphic remains held by the Library of the Academy of Sciences. He has written on the acquisition of old editions, local gazetteers, genealogical materials, local history materials, and the historical documentation of earthquakes. Since 1977 Professor Cui has participated in the planning for and organization of

the "Comprehensive Catalogue of China's Rare Books," and has been a member of the working committee responsible for guiding that work, serving simultaneously as head, Section Number Four, responsible for cataloguing all works in the category of "chi" or "literary collections." He has produced a number of specialized studies on the literary collections of Ming- and Ch'ing-dynasty authors. He has also published *A Record of Rare Chinese Gazetteers in Japanese Collections*. We are fortunate that Professor Cui and two assistants were able to spend April through September 1989 working at the Gest Library on a project helping to define the standards for the compilation of a union catalogue of all Chinese rare books held in North American collections. During the summer of 1989 he gave three workshop presentations at Princeton on problems of handling rare Chinese books; these were widely attended by scholars from the staffs of East Asian libraries in this region. His article in this issue of the *Gest Library Journal* is based on the first of those presentations. We hope to present a second article in a later issue.

In the study of old Chinese editions, Professor Cui places equal weight on the identifying features of block format and the examination of the content of the book, noting in particular the differences in printing made at different times from the same set of printing blocks, in establishing the criteria for distinguishing among different editions. In his current work at the Library of the Academy of Sciences in connection with the union catalogue of all rare Chinese books in China he has to date produced catalogue entries for about twelve thousand items, running to about six million words.

F. W. Mote, who contributes an article on the place of rare books in the East Asian research library, is professor emeritus of East Asian Studies at Princeton University and faculty advisor to the *Gest Library Journal*.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor of the *Gest Library Journal* wishes to extend thanks to several persons who helped prepare this issue. Martin Collcutt, director of the East Asian Studies Program at Princeton University assisted with editorial procedures; an article by Professor Collcutt will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*. Cui Jian-ying kindly had a rare picture of Liu-li-ch'ang pho-

tographed and sent the negative to us from Peking. Illustrations used in Professor Cui's article were selected and photographed with the help of Martin Heijdra and Cao Shu-wen. Soowon Kim of Gest Library painstakingly checked the Japanese romanizations. Thanks are also extended to Andrew Markus of the University of Washington, who provided us with the valuable illustrations for his article.

# The Daisō Lending Library of Nagoya, 1767–1899

ANDREW MARKUS

I ncreasingly rewarding to the study of Edo-period literature has been the new emphasis, in the latter half of the twentieth century, on understanding the circumstances, and not merely the objects, of readership. While the author, his creative effort, and the resulting text retain a rightful primacy in every discussion, no study of Edo literature can neglect the role of publishers, illustrators, block carvers, or the shadowy masses of readers in determining the directions of that creativity. Nor can a study of this literary community be complete without an account of the avenues of circulation for material once printed. The *kashihon'ya* (rental book supplier), little studied before 1950, now claims an increasing share of attention as a vital intermediary between producers and consumers of the printed word. These circulating libraries, distinctive institutions after about 1700, rapidly became a part of the fabric of everyday life; their itinerant colporteurs fed and fostered the reading habit over a surprising range of regions and social strata. An economic no less than cultural force, the *kashihon'ya* exerted broad influence: as in contemporary England, large segments of the book trade presumed circulation through the popular circulating or more affluent subscription library, and designed their price scales and edition sizes accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

The study of the Japanese *kashihon'ya* lenders, as of their Western counterparts, is, however, fraught with difficulties. Book lending often existed as a mere sideline of printer-publishers or retailers, or was the temporary occupation of independent “gypsy” colporteurs, who had little need or desire for elaborate record keeping. Few detailed inventories of the stock

owned by *kashihon'ya* lenders survive, even if the general range of their offerings is reasonably clear. Although the figure of the lender appears in prints, casual comic verses, or occasionally diaries or memoirs, an accurate profile of the patrons is far from distinct. Personal records of borrowing are almost nonexistent, or as sporadic as, one imagines, records of current commercial videotape rentals will be in the twenty-second century. A lack of durability and documentation, or at least documentation minutely assessed, provides an obstacle on every front.

The Ōnoya Sōhachi lending library of Nagoya — universally known by its acronym “Daisō” — stands out as a gratifying exception to the ephemeral term and anonymity of most contemporary *kashihon'ya*. Its huge collection, unrivaled in size until the Meiji period, distinguishes it as one of the largest libraries ever amassed in Japan, and certainly the largest library open freely to the general public. The collection boasted over twenty thousand items — a figure all the more impressive when one considers that the population of Nagoya did not exceed 90,000–100,000 during the period of library operations.<sup>2</sup> Its longevity, too, is exceptional, for the institution flourished in one form or another from the mid-eighteenth century until the early twentieth. Whereas most lending libraries have left little record of their existence, let alone the principles of their day-to-day business, the Daisō is unique for the quantity and detail of the data generated by its operations, and preserved for the use of researchers. Its significance as a local, if not national, cultural resource, and its archival functions, equally, bear mention. Among *kashihon'ya* lending libraries, the Daisō certainly is no typical specimen; rather, it represents the most vigorous expression of the institutional commercial lending library, and defines the outermost limits of such an enterprise in contemporary Japan.

Though no yearly chronicle remains of the institution, enough information exists to piece together a reasonably detailed history of the Daisō and describe the principal phases in its development.<sup>3</sup> The Eguchi family, hereditary proprietors of the library through seven generations, originated in the small village of Ōno on the Chita Peninsula southeast of Nagoya. A certain degree of prosperity in the family business of selling sake and pharmaceutical “simples” permitted the head of the household to amass a personal library, which in turn circulated freely among local acquaintances who shared his literary tastes. The family removed to Nagoya in the early

eighteenth century — a period of vigorous commercial and cultural expansion for the city under the direction of the daimyo Tokugawa Muneharu (1696–1764; r. 1730–1739). Here, too, the family practiced free lending from its library. Indeed, a spirit of philanthropy, even educational mission, continued to dominate the family operation after the conversion to a fully commercial footing in the mid-eighteenth century.

Such, at least, is the early history of the Daisō transmitted by its last generation of users. Hosono Tadanobu/Yōsai (1811–1878), a local Confucian scholar whose voluminous diaries and jottings provide a broad panorama of regional intellectual life in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, paints a somewhat different picture of the genesis of the firm. The efforts of Eguchi Shinroku (1728–1811) to establish a business in pharmaceutical components in Nagoya, Yōsai notes, met with dismal failure at every turn: insolvency led to bankruptcy, and the household was no stranger to indigence. Happily, Shinroku's brother, an affluent paper wholesaler in Gifu, forwarded at this most precarious juncture a large quantity of cash. Thanks to this timely donation and the earnings from diligent labor as a copyist, Shinroku was able to invest in an initial stock of several hundreds of volumes, and devote himself exclusively to a rental book trade — a trade inherited and greatly expanded by his son Seijirō/Sōhachi (1766–1847) and grandson Seibē (b. 1802?).<sup>4</sup> Failure in a traditional enterprise thus led to remarkable success in a new category of venture, though one may question whether the Eguchi family in any generation were naturally gifted businessmen. The persistence of commercially unsound practices in the Daisō — a refusal to alienate stock, however outmoded; a preference for first-run editions over the cheaper, blurry later run-off editions acquired by most lenders; an extravagant proliferation of identifying seals — suggests an appealingly impractical or eccentric side to the operation, and a lack of concern for absolute profitability.

The formal establishment of the Daisō, or Kogetsudō “Lake Moon Hall,” to provide its official designation, dates from 1767, when systematic lending on a fee basis began.<sup>5</sup> The era was perhaps one of increased literary demand in Nagoya, since the Eirakuya Press, one of the oldest and largest printer-publishers of the region, began its operation almost simultaneously, in the 1770s.<sup>6</sup> The Daisō was by no means unchallenged as a local resource for procuring reading material: of 106 bookstores operating in Nagoya dur-

ing some portion of the Edo period, 37 made provisions for book rental.<sup>7</sup> The size and scale of the Daisō, however, allowed it unique advantages over its competitors.

The collection grew rapidly. Unlike the typical *kashihon'ya* lender, who constantly acquired new titles and sold off the old to keep the stock “fresh” for a limited circle of patrons, the Daisō adopted the unusual principle, more suggestive of a private family collection, of keeping in perpetuity all titles once acquired, and not allowing the sale of its collection. From this policy of permanent acquisition resulted the perennial problem of all modern libraries, overcrowding. By the middle of the nineteenth century, three storehouses were required to house the expanding collection, though even this proved inadequate for shelving needs.<sup>8</sup>

The political upheavals of the *bakumatsu* period immediately preceding the Meiji Restoration had little impact on the operations of the Daisō, though from these years dates the single most dramatic event in its history. A major urban fire, probably in 1865, threatened the complex in Nagashima-chō; flames and smoke invaded one of the three storage facilities. Local *han* officials, however, well aware of the treasures in jeopardy, dispatched samurai brigades to assist in the removal of the collection; overall damage, as a consequence, was not appreciable. Soon after the fire, operations resumed on a normal basis from a temporary office.<sup>9</sup>

Far more detrimental than fire, of course, and ultimately fatal to the Daisō were the profound social and cultural changes brought by the Restoration. A precipitous decline of popular interest in *gesaku* fiction, the heart of the book-lender's stock; the rise of inexpensive daily newspapers; demographic upheavals; and above all the advent of cheap, mechanically printed books eroded the importance of the traditional *kashihon'ya* lender.<sup>10</sup> Although its large, variegated stock and provincial location were to its advantage, inevitably the Daisō lost whatever margin of profitability it had maintained, and succumbed to the new age.

At the death of the senior Eguchi in 1897, none of his three sons — a career army officer, a “salary man,” and a would-be *nō* actor — showed an inclination to continue the operation; his survivors determined to sell the bulk of the collection. Tsubouchi Yūzō/Shōyō (1859–1935), the most illustrious patron of the Daisō, records with a note of anguish that Waseda University would not even consider the asking price of ¥3,000 for the lot. Shōyō himself, a successful but by no means affluent academician and jour-

nalist, had no means to furnish the discount price of ¥2,000 the Daisō offered him as a personal favor.<sup>11</sup> Unskilled at commercial negotiations, the Daisō heirs delivered their collection to the publishing magnate Yoshikawa Hanshichi in 1898 for a mere ¥2,500 — a sum grossly under market value, and further diminished by the numerous middlemen involved in the transaction. Yoshikawa almost immediately resold the stock at an antiquarian book auction in May 1899 for ¥10,000. The huge profit suggests at once a superior publicity strategy, and the dramatically variable appraisals of Edo popular literature in the 1890s. Prices for period editions of Saikaku (1642–1693) specifically, and for Genroku fiction in general appreciated considerably on the Tokyo and Osaka book markets after their strong showing at the Daisō auction.<sup>12</sup>

While 1898 represents the conclusion of the Daisō in all its full glory, in fact a reduced version of the enterprise, animated by the widow of the proprietor, continued operations for fifteen more years, until 1912. A single warehouse now was sufficient for all holdings. At the final sale of these remnants in 1917, the widow, no doubt moved to caution by the painful memories of rapacious professional dealers, negotiated exclusively with an invited circle of private collectors, academics, and cognoscenti. Mizutani Yumihiko/Futō (1858–1943), a Nagoya-born scholar, gladly purchased the greater part of these nostalgic reminders of his youth. The Daisō ceased to exist with this final dispersal of its collection, but the great numbers of volumes that still bear its seal, now secure in the Diet Library, in the libraries of Kyoto, Tokyo, and Tsukuba universities, and occasionally in Western collections, perpetuate even today the spirit of the enterprise.<sup>13</sup>

Although the managers of the Daisō have left no journals or rules of operation, the reminiscences and memoirs of certain patrons provide a fair understanding of the nature of daily business. Users hailed from all social classes, samurai and townsmen alike. No restrictions of age governed the clientele. To judge from extant memoirs, even very young children were encouraged to select and borrow for themselves, and at least one title circulated with two rental fees: forty-eight *mon* (copper cash) each day for adults, thirty-two a day for children.<sup>14</sup> Men and women were equally welcome. The fact that the Daisō also offered on a retail basis lines of beauty rinse and hair dyes suggests that women beyond their first youth formed a sizable portion of the clientele.<sup>15</sup>

The patrons of the Daisō, it is clear, found few of the amenities the users

of a modern library take for granted. No general index of titles was available for their reference, nor was there any display of new acquisitions. Apart from a privileged few customers, access to the “stacks” was quite out of the question, and browsing was impossible. Perhaps on the model of larger contemporary retail firms, customers were entirely dependent on the mediation of clerks to procure desired items or a range of possibilities from the bowels of the establishment. In the absence of any thoroughgoing scientific system of classification, moreover, the clerks themselves were frequently at a loss to locate titles, especially those in lesser demand, and a patron often received the invitation to “check back tomorrow.” Even if the title requested was readily available, the patron disposed of no comfortable place to peruse the selections on the premises. The small reading space — “reading room” seems too grand a term — off the main office was available only for a select few. Unlike most *kashihon'ya* lenders, finally, the Daisō was entirely stationary in its operations: no couriers or agents provided delivery, or ran regular routes to patrons’ homes.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps in compensation for these inconveniences, the patrons of the Daisō benefited greatly from relatively modest rental fees. Tsubouchi Shōyō, a constant customer, offers a full table of rates for the standard ten-day rental period:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Manuscript works (per 4–5 fascicles)   | 0.8–1.0 <i>monme</i>                          |
| <i>Kusazōshi</i> novellas (per 10 fascicles)   | 0.5–0.8 <i>monme</i>                          |
| <i>Jōruri</i> scripts  | 0.3–0.6 <i>monme</i>                          |
| <i>Chūbon</i> [i.e., comic <i>kokkeibon</i> and <i>ninjōbon</i><br>“books of sentiment”] (3 fascicles) | 0.5 <i>monme</i>                              |
| <i>Yomihon</i> romances  | “slightly higher<br>than above” <sup>17</sup> |

The extreme inflation prevalent throughout the 1850s and 1860s makes conversion of these rates more than usually difficult, though the price of ten days’ mental sustenance seems to be about the same as a cheap meal or two. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) records, for example, that during his student days in Nagasaki and Osaka in the 1850s, a party platter of second-rate *sukiyaki* cost 150 *mon* (i.e., approximately 1.5 silver *monme* at this period), and that a student’s total daily boardinghouse expenses were just short of 100 *mon*.<sup>18</sup>

All sources unanimously praise the inexpensiveness of borrowing from

THE DAISŌ LENDING LIBRARY



1. An artist's reconstruction of the Daisō in its heyday. In the foreground, customers sit and chat or smoke while awaiting requested titles. In the left background, a clerk emerges from the "stacks" carrying a number of desired items. The black *noren* shop curtain bears the character *dai* in a double frame — a symbol of the enterprise. At right, a clerk behind a grille keeps records of all transactions, while a nearby assistant either wraps or unwraps a stack of borrowings in a *furoshiki* carrying-cloth. Reproduced from Shibata Mitsuhiko, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū* (Tokyo: Seishōdō Shoten, 1983), with the kind permission of the publisher.

the Daisō, and compare its modest rates favorably with the extortionate demands of Tokyo *kashihon'ya*.<sup>19</sup> Certainly the Daisō was far more moderate in its rates than the contemporary Nakaya Jinzaemon, a small-scale lender at the hot-springs resort of Kinosaki (northern coastal Hyōgo Prefecture), whose rental fees, equally, are known in considerable detail. Patrons of the Kinosaki lender, captives of circumstance, paid on the average eight to ten times the Daisō rates for access to Nakaya Jinzaemon's rather battered and outdated stock, and enjoyed little of the variety of the Nagoya lender.<sup>20</sup> At no time was there any general subscription fee or prohibitive schedule of dues: all Daisō transactions reflected actual lending. Nor was there any limit on the number of titles one might check out. Shōyō's listing of rental fees by quantities suggests that a patron typically assembled several titles on each visit, and perused without particular difficulty as many as ten fascicles, that is, five titles of *kusazōshi* novellas in a ten-day lending period.

There is no record of fines or provisions for overdue books, though it is reasonable to assume, on the model of similar operations, that the rental fee was reapplied automatically for any extension beyond the stated period. Shōyō as late as 1901 was haunted by traumatic dreams about overdue books, or experienced moments of panic imagining that on returning to his studies in Tokyo, he had included by accident vacation borrowings from the Daisō in his luggage.<sup>21</sup> Less conscientious were the samurai of the Owari domain, who would borrow and hoard titles, refusing to return them against all reasonable appeal. Like other entrepreneurs of the period, the Daisō had little real recourse against this high-handed behavior, and simply resigned itself to the immutable.<sup>22</sup>

Although only fragmentary documentation exists of the collections of most *kashihon'ya* lenders, we are exceptionally privileged to own a detailed inventory of the complete holdings of the Daisō. This listing, contained in fifteen closely written notebooks of fifty or sixty pages apiece, probably was compiled from an in-house master list in 1898, on the eve of the primary dispersal. Its detailed enumerations provide an invaluable record of the reading interests of patrons, the principles governing new acquisitions, and unusual resources unique to the Daisō.<sup>23</sup>

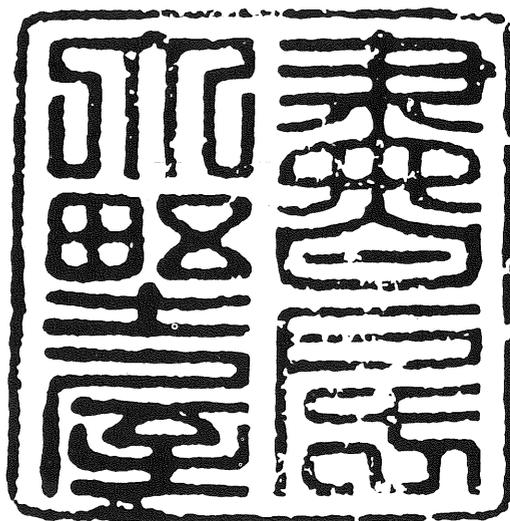
Nagatomo Chiyoji, in his careful analysis of the huge volume of data contained in the inventory, finds a total of 16,734 distinct titles in a collection of 21,401 items.<sup>24</sup> Remarkably, 2,268 titles (13.6 percent of all titles) are in manuscript form — testimony to the continued importance of the

manuscript as a medium even in the latter Edo period. Also significant is the high proportion of *okibon* (reserve books), in other words, duplicate items: Nagatomo counts 4,710 *okibon* items (22.0 percent of all items) in the collection. Unfortunately, no circulation or acquisition records remain to impart a chronological dimension to the bare inventory, to reflect patrons' borrowing habits, or to suggest reading vogues or tendencies within sample periods. The relative frequency of *okibon* duplicate copies in each subject category, however, serves as a rough index of popularity, since the most commonly requested titles would require multiple shelf copies, whereas an obscure title was adequately represented in a single copy. The category of illustrated war tales (*e-iri gunsho*), for example, accounts for a modest 200 titles (1.2 percent of all titles), and figures low on an absolute numerical ranking of categories; the huge number of *okibon* reserve copies of the war tales, 298 in all, suggests that this was in fact the single most heavily circulated category in the Daisō. A converse case is the category *zatsu* (miscellaneous), responsible for an impressive 960 titles (5.7 percent of all titles), but fewer than 1 percent of them available in *okibon* copies.

In conformity with the bibliographical approach still firmly ingrained in modern scholarship, the Daisō classified its books primarily by size, and only secondarily by general subject matter into some two dozen categories. Rather than adhere precisely to these individual categories — many of them too gross, others gratuitously refined by modern standards — I approach the collection under the two more general headings of works intended for serious or educational reading, and those whose value was primarily recreational. The division, of course, is not adamant — the war tales mentioned earlier, for example, probably attracted many readers because of their claims to both categories of appreciation — but has a rough-and-ready applicability.

What might be termed serious reading obviously represents a minority use of Daisō resources: the categories of factual or informative material are secondary in absolute numbers and in apparent circulation. This does not indicate that Daisō patrons had no significant interest in those categories, but implies only that the circulating library was not a first recourse for many types of reading. To judge from available data on patterns of purchase and rental, the literate public of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by preference purchased serious works of permanent value — the accessories of scholarship, reference, or personal edification — but was

2. Shobō Ōnoya (Ōnoya Library); original dimensions 18 x 17 mm. This seal and the ones shown in Illustrations 3–5 were used by the Daisō lending library to mark its books. The illustrations were selected from the dozen or so seals that appear in Shabata Mitsuhiko, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū* (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1983). It would be of great interest to know whether books formerly in the Daisō library are now held in collections in the West, or elsewhere throughout the library world.



content to rent recreational titles, regardless of the cost of the former or cheapness of the latter.<sup>25</sup>

The largest of all serious categories in the Daisō classification is undoubtedly “religious and occult,” comprising works on Shintō, Buddhism (primarily of True Pure Land and Pure Land sectarian orientation), astronomy and astrology, almanacs, geomancy, and physiognomy — the latter divinatory topics still strongly represented on the shelves of the average Japanese neighborhood bookstore. A full 2,093 items (9.8 percent of total items in the Daisō) fall into this comprehensive category. Items on ethics, filial piety, and Shingaku “Heart Learning,” many of them no doubt destined for instructional purposes, account for 488 items; a significant number of these improving works circulated in manuscripts prepared by the library itself. Medical self-help and longevity manuals, 352 items, constitute a third large category.

The classics of early literature — *monogatari* tales, artistic diaries, treatises, and anthologies of *waka* poetry — at 300 items are a category of middling importance only, and, with the notable exception of Yoshida Kenkō’s (1283?–1350?) *Tsurezuregusa* (17 copies), were probably little in demand as circulating items. Only one copy of *Genji monogatari* and one copy of Ki-

tamura Kigin's (1624–1705) classic commentary *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* (Lake moon commentary on *Genji monogatari*, 1675) satisfied demand for the 130 years of Daisō operations. Perhaps because of the proximity of Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) and the local importance of his school, however, the Daisō carried five complete sets of his miscellany *Tamakatsuma* (Basket finely wrought; published 1795–1812) and of his anthology of poems and poetic prose *Suzunoya shū* (Suzunoya collection; published 1799–1803) — the most impressive representation for any nonfiction titles.<sup>26</sup> The growing geographical curiosity of everyday readers finds ample representation: *meishoki* (guides to famous places) for each province, gazetteers, and travel guides number 97 titles. Accounts of foreign countries and *hyōryūki* narratives of the “drifting” of shipwrecked sailors — invariably in manuscript form, to circumvent any qualms of censors on such sensitive topics — number 195 items. Unique to the Daisō, perhaps, is a small but impressive accumulation of 93 titles of strictly local interest, primarily descriptions of the customs and antiquities of Nagoya and the surrounding province of Owari. This concentration of items suggests that the Daisō had begun to assume some characteristics of a local archive, and that its librarians actively sought or perhaps even sponsored these depictions and compilations.

Recreational reading — or simply “recreational looking” for many patrons, since literacy was by no means essential to the enjoyment of many Daisō offerings — was undoubtedly the primary concern of most patrons; recreational categories constitute the heart of the collection, and include most of the largest categories, in absolute numerical terms and in terms of *okibon* duplicate copies. In sheer numbers of titles, the various categories of popular fiction, drama, or embellished chronicle excel. Here we note, in descending order of representation, *kusazōshi* novellas (an indifferent grouping of eighteenth-century *kibyōshi* and nineteenth-century *gōkan* fiction), 1,482 titles; *sharebon* vignettes of the prostitution quarters, 802 titles; “military, strategy, war tales,” 727 titles; puppet-*jōruri* play scripts, 552; accounts of private vendettas or of disputed succession in daimyo households, 495; *ninjōbon* (books of sentiment), 359; and humorous productions of all sorts (compilations of jokes, riddles, comic song lyrics), 357 titles. A huge category of picture books, albums, art books, and pictorial erotica of all descriptions (727 titles) underlines the general popularity of these nontex-

tual publications, though a heavy pictorial element is prominent in most of the categories of popular fiction in widest circulation, and in the much-favored category of illustrated *jōruri* scripts.<sup>27</sup>

In terms of *okibon* duplicates, the most imposing single grouping is the official subcategory of illustrated war tales: 200 titles were available, and 298 “back-up” reserve copies. Among these figured the uncontested favorite among all the Daisō offerings, *E-hon Taikōki* (Illustrated *Chronicle of the Retired Regent*, 1797–1802), Okada Gyokuzan’s (1737?–1812?) controversial reissue of Oze Hoan’s (1564–1640) 1625 biography of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536?–1598).<sup>28</sup> Fully ten sets of the voluminous work were available to patrons — a far greater representation than any other title in the library. Some of the popularity of *E-hon Taikōki* undoubtedly reflects a local interest and regional pride in the career of Hideyoshi, or may even connote a local undercurrent of anti-Tokugawa sentiment. But the greater appeal of *E-hon Taikōki*, like other illustrated *gunsho* (military accounts), most certainly derived from its epic sweep and dramatic historical panorama, its dual value as entertainment and sober instruction.

Hosono Yōsai (1811–1878), in a scene from the end of his term as *tenseki* (junior professor) at the Meirindō Confucian feudatory college, personifies the typical *gunsho* reader eager to color diversion with a palliative tincture of serious purpose. To pass the sultry summer hours, Yōsai records in his diary, he compelled his adult son Ittoku (1834–1897) to read aloud:

From the end of the Sixth Month of Ansei 4 through the beginning of the Seventh Month [i.e., August 1857], had son Ittoku read me *Taihei-ki gunden* [Military narrative of the encampment during the Great Pacification], in sixty books (A military chronicle of the Battle of Sekigahara). Apparently this is based on some recent recitation performance, but its argumentation, logic, etc. are sound and its details exact — most interesting to listen to. Looks very much like a companion text to *Taikō shingenki* [Chronicle of the authentic manifestation of the Retired Regent]. A rental book from the Kogetsudō. Manuscript, *hanshi* “half-sheet” dimensions.<sup>29</sup>

The popularity of categories when evaluated in terms of *okibon* duplicates correlates roughly with the sequential ranking of categories by numbers of



3. Daisō [no] kashihon (Rental book [from the ] Daisō); original dimensions 21 x 21 mm.

available titles. Behind illustrated war tales (ratio of *okibon* duplicates to titles available, 1.49:1; similarly below) are illustrated *jōruri* scripts (1.23:1), *ninjōbon* (0.88:1), all *kusazōshi* (0.72:1), kabuki scripts (0.62:1), humorous *kokkeibon* (0.60:1), and *sharebon* (0.41:1). The high number of duplicates for *ninjōbon* or *kusazōshi* titles suggests that the Daisō as a matter of course obtained two or three copies of newly published titles from Edo, perhaps on a “standing order” subscription basis. The most popular titles might require five or six sets to satisfy circulation demands. Six sets were necessary for *E-hon Nankōki* (Illustrated chronicles of Lord Kusunoki, 1801–1809), *E-hon Chūshin-gura* (Illustrated treasury of loyal retainers, 1800–1808), and Jippensha Ikku’s (1765–1831) picaresque best seller, [*Tōkai dōchū*] *Hiza-kurige* (Hoofing it down the Tōkaidō Road, 1802–1814).<sup>30</sup> Five copies circulated of the major *yomihon* titles of Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848) and Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), of Tamenaga Shunsui’s (1790–1843) *Shunshoku umegoyomi* (Spring voluptuousness plum almanac, 1832–1833) and Ryūtei Tanehiko’s (1783–1842) *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (An impostor Murasaki and a rustic Genji, 1829–1842), of the script for *Kana-dehon*

*Chūshin-gura* (Exemplary alphabet treasury of loyal retainers, 1748) — the new classics of the late Edo popular canon.

The abundance of recreational titles in manuscript form is another remarkable feature of the collection. In some instances, notably kabuki scripts (15 percent of category in manuscript form), the handwritten version simply supplemented an inadequate printed supply. Still other categories circulated largely or exclusively in manuscript to avoid the strictures against publications, even those strictly historical, that mentioned daimyo and *hatamoto* (bannermen), living or deceased.<sup>31</sup> In this cautious category are narratives of vendettas and “disorder in noble houses” (72.6 percent of category in manuscript), and the somewhat nebulous classification *busho* “martial works,” all of whose 101 titles circulated in handwritten copies.

Although the earliest imprints in the library reportedly were from the Meireki period (1655–1658), a strong inclination toward modern literature characterizes the Daisō collection.<sup>32</sup> The inventory of 1898 does establish a separate category for the fictional works of Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693; 14 titles), but the category includes almost no duplicates — an indication suggestive of anemic circulation. Saikaku’s successors fare somewhat better: readers might select any of 297 volumes of *ukiyozōshi* from the Hachimonjiya publishing house, their choice further facilitated by a detailed subdivision of the class by author or author team. Nineteenth-century plays and *gesaku* fiction, however, dominated circulation at the Daisō in its heyday. The lack of detailed subdivisions for the huge *kusazōshi* or *ninjōbon* categories suggests that readers chose those works primarily by genre, and only secondarily by author or title. Four major authors — Santō Kyōden, Jippensha Ikku, Kyokutei Bakin, and the now sadly faded Nansenshō Somahito (1749–1807) — however, were popular enough to warrant a consolidated category of their own (286 titles, 44.4 percent duplicated in *okibon*; 415 volumes). These elect four enjoyed a distinctive reputation that transcended conventional divisions by genre, and were of sufficiently high circulation to justify separate shelving.

How representative of the rest of the country were the tastes of Daisō readers? The inventory of Nakaya Jinzaemon, the local book lender whose services benefited patrons at Kinosaki from the 1790s, provides some basis for comparison.<sup>33</sup> Geographical factors, and the distinct preference of Ki-

nosaki patrons for brief and entertaining works, suitable for drowsy reading while soaking or lounging, do play a part, but the similarities in patterns of reading outnumber the differences. Here, too, illustrated *jōruri* scripts are prime favorites (52 percent of Kinosaki collection), while novels and fiction of all categories are second in popularity. Unlike the Daisō, “Naka-Jin” stocked few *yomihon* titles — though this may be the result of an apparent discontinuation of new acquisitions around 1806, on the very threshold of the *yomihon* “boom.” Relatively larger numbers of compilations of light verse, of *haikai* and *kyōka* titles, appear here than in the Daisō, and an inclination toward comic *kokkeibon* is also more pronounced. Quantities of picture books and illustrated military chronicles constitute a common feature of both collections. Here as in Nagoya, Genroku classics met a mixed reception: while twenty-four Chikamatsu titles (6.9 percent of total collection) were available to distract bored hot-springs visitors, the extant copy of the solitary Saikaku title, *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (Life of an amorous man, 1682), is crisp and sadly virginal, apart from the scribbled graffito of one unhappy borrower: *Naganaga to omoshirokaranu monogatari* (Long-winded, tedious story).<sup>34</sup>

Apart from its primary role as a supplier of diverse recreational reading, the Daisō of Nagoya throughout its operation served as an informal reference library or scholarly resource. The proprietors — apparently a sociable dynasty, fond of “book talk” — readily responded to questions where they could about titles or authors.<sup>35</sup> Literary figures, from the region and later from metropolitan centers, were welcome guests at the establishment, though unfortunately, the detailed “guest book” maintained by the owners to commemorate these illustrious comings and goings has failed to survive.

Jippensha Ikku possibly visited the Daisō around 1802, during the course of his own pedestrian peregrination down the Tōkaidō Road.<sup>36</sup> More certain is the visit of Kyokutei Bakin, who spent a full seventeen nights in Nagoya during his Kansai tour of June–September 1802. Bakin’s published diary of the journey does not actually record a visit to the Daisō, but does mention the “Kogetsudō” as a primary cultural asset of the city.<sup>37</sup> For their part, the managers of the Daisō proudly displayed throughout the nineteenth century a folding screen, said to bear an inscription granted by Bakin during his visit, and a playful calligraphic eulogy, also by Bakin, in praise of their services:

*With My Profound Respects*

A man of old deemed the zither, books, and wine his “three companions.” But wine makes the abstemious spin in confusion, and the zither involves a ruinous outpouring of gold to attain certification. Books alone are suitable companions for rich and poor alike. On occasion, though, there are books difficult to obtain; still other books oppress us with their exorbitant prices. Just as a “wife” hired for a single month does not trouble us at a later date with a painful convalescence from childbirth, so there is no need to vex oneself about the possible ravages of bookworms in a rental book one peruses for a ten-day period. Truly, “Borrowers suffer no losses!”

*Yūdachi no  
hisashi ame no hi no  
kashihon*

Rental books —  
a long read under the eaves  
one summer’s cloudburst.

For the proprietor of the Kogetsudō

By Kyokutei Bakin from Edo<sup>38</sup>

The association between Bakin and the Daisō must have remained amicable in later years, since Mizutani notes that autograph manuscripts of the author’s complete *Keisei Suikoden* (Courtesan’s *Shui hu chuan*, 1825–1835) and the first four chapters of *Fūzoku Kingyo den* (The transformed goldfish; portion printed 1829–1831) figured in the inventory eventually offered for sale in 1912.<sup>39</sup>

More enduring was the role of the Daisō in the careers of two outstanding modern scholars of Edo-period literature, Mizutani Futō and Tsubouchi Shōyō. Their reminiscences, heavily tinted with nostalgia, evoke better than any array of dry statistics the value of the Daisō as a citadel of fancy, and a refuge from the arid wastes of formal learning.

Mizutani Futō in his delightful informal autobiography records his earliest experiences with the Daisō during a childhood in Nagoya. His father, Mizutani remembers, dispatched him almost daily to the nearby institution with books to return or lists of items to borrow, as early as age four or five. Even before he could read, he began to borrow for himself. In 1864, at age seven, he was enrolled in *terakoya* (temple school) to suffer the horrors of rote indoctrination and uncomprehending repetition that were the corner-



4. Daisō; original dimensions 12 x 12 mm.

stone of the traditional educational curriculum. To compound the unpleasantness of the experience, the senior Mizutani directed the instructor to drill his son separately in the text of the *Kojiki* — a distinction that won him the jeers and taunts of the other boys, all of whom were toiling over the more conventional texts of the Confucian canon. To provide some assistance, Mizutani notes, his father procured from the Daisō a *kusazōshi* illustrated popularization of *Kojiki* tales, and allowed it to him as a reference. The “trot” failed to have the desired effect of inducing a love for the *Kojiki* and an appreciation of the craggy grandeur of the mythic past, but did trigger, ironically, a fascination with popular illustrated *gesaku* fiction that rapidly approached addictive levels.<sup>40</sup>

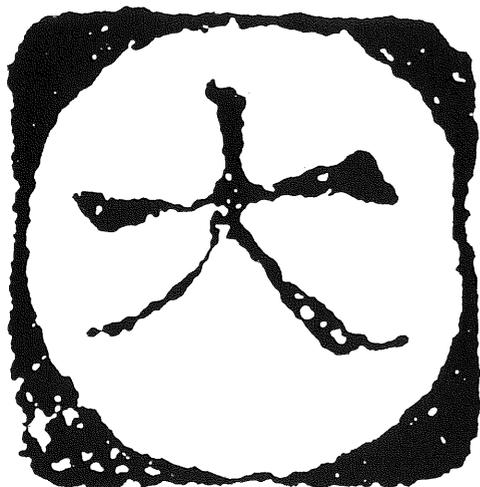
Tsubouchi Shōyō discovered the Daisō somewhat later, at the time of his family’s relocation to Nagoya in 1869, but was equally enthusiastic about its resources.<sup>41</sup> For young Shōyō no less than for Mizutani, the Daisō afforded a delectable oasis from the gray tedium of *terakoya* recitation and, later, the arduous discipline of prefectural English school. Until his departure for university preparatory studies in Tokyo in 1876, Shōyō found his greatest solace in the “daily pilgrimages” he undertook to the familiar sanctuary. Evenings he devoured bundles of fresh titles while copying or memorizing passages of note; Sundays he ensconced himself with a box lunch and futon bedding in the musty storehouses, and idled the entire day amid

the companionable volumes. A college associate later recalled glimpsing Shōyō's personal inventory of more than a thousand titles borrowed and read while in Nagoya.<sup>42</sup> Even after his establishment at Waseda University in 1883, Shōyō infallibly visited what he fondly termed *kokoro no furusato* (the hometown of my heart) on every return to Nagoya, and consulted its holdings extensively while researching literary histories and historical dramas. A courtesy correspondence with the widow of the last Eguchi proprietor persisted well into the 1930s.<sup>43</sup>

Although his literary reminiscences, in deference to contemporary opinion, are quick to condemn the long hours squandered, heedless, on the unworthy trivialities of a benighted past, in more candid moments Shōyō does not hesitate to acknowledge the Daisō as the true teacher of his youth. From his *terakoya* travails and his desultory early instruction at the hands of reluctant family members, Shōyō recalls, he retained little beyond distasteful memories. From omnivorous readings in the Daisō collection, however, he acquired an encyclopedic knowledge of popular literature, and formulated his first critical insights.<sup>44</sup>

Few Daisō patrons, one imagines, could have rivaled Shōyō's insatiable appetite, but his tastes in literature probably were not atypical of the average contemporary borrower. Popular fiction of the Bunka (1804–1818) through Kaei (1848–1854) periods firmly dominated his selections, while a few works of the later 1850s and 1860s claimed a lesser attraction. Earlier works, like eighteenth-century *kibyōshi*, Shōyō glanced at and put aside. The three or four Hachimonjiya titles he surveyed impressed him indifferently; his knowledge of Chikamatsu plays was sketchy at best; and Saikaku existed merely as a name on the outer periphery of his consciousness. The works of Shikitei Sanba (1776–1822), Ikku, Shunsui, Tanehiko, and Ryūkatei Tanekazu (1807–1858), by contrast, were supremely engrossing; the massive *yomihon* of Bakin inspired an adolescent reverence verging on idolatry.<sup>45</sup> For Shōyō, as for most Daisō readers, the early nineteenth century shone as the golden age of Japanese literature; its precedents or sequels were of much lesser concern.

In addition to the acquisition and circulation of books, finally, the Daisō actively sponsored the generation of new books and manuscripts, and occasionally, new titles as well. Like other larger *kashihon'ya* of its day, the institution maintained an informal corps of copyists, whose manuscripts supplemented lost or missing volumes in sets, or augmented the existing



5. Dai[sō]; original dimensions 17 x 17 mm.

stock of titles in highest demand. Koderu Gyokuchō (1800–1878), the prolific local antiquarian authority, periodically eked out a meager living as a Daisō copyist, while his wife took in sewing and both hoped for renewed petty appointments in samurai households and the Meiji civil service.<sup>46</sup>

Of greater interest are the titles circulating exclusively through the Daisō — though whether these were donated by their authors or actively sponsored by the institution is difficult to determine. Here the best illustrations may derive from the productions of Kinome no Dengaku (fl. 1796–1819), the most prominent of a small coterie of litterateurs who emulated in their provincial setting the glamorous literary spirits of Edo. Of Kinome no Dengaku’s career, little is certain: neither Bakin nor Kimura Mokurō (1774–1856), the genial senior councilor of Takamatsu fief in Shikoku who took a passionate interest in *gesaku* fiction and biography, is able to scrape together more than a few facts.<sup>47</sup> In spare moments during his practice as a suburban physician — or “quack,” to adopt Bakin’s less charitable characterization — Kinome no Dengaku took in work as a *yomihon* copyist for the Daisō, later devoting himself to writing and sketching in the style of the booklets emanating from Edo. The *sharebon* genre, distinguished by its pungent and evocative vignettes of fashionable repartee in the prostitution quarters, had all but vanished from the literary scene in Edo after the terror of the Kansei Reform in 1790–1791; in Nagoya, however, among a circle of amateurs associated with the Daisō, it continued an attenuated existence.

In 1800, Kinome no Dengaku illustrated and contributed a preface to *Keiseikai shijūhat-te* (Forty-eight stratagems for the light-o'-love) — a *sharebon* production by a consortium of Nagoya dilettantes, in deliberate imitation of Kyōden's *Keisei-kai shijūhat-te* (Forty-eight stratagems to redeem a prostitute, 1790). A similar production “edited by Daisō” in 1801, *Ama no iwato* (The rock cavern of heaven), also includes a preface by Kinome no Dengaku before its narrative — a thinly fictionalized tour of the contemporary Furuichi pleasure district immediately beyond the sacred precincts of Ise Shrine. Never formally printed, these works circulated after redaction in manuscript form through the Daisō, and presumably piqued the interest of regional cognoscenti.<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps dissatisfied with the limitations of a strictly local reputation, Kinome no Dengaku aspired to a name in the Edo literary firmament. Around 1800, he approached Kyokutei Bakin — then a struggling author of *kibyōshi* only beginning to enjoy a reputation — and sought his patronage. A *sharebon* manuscript of 1801 for the Daisō proudly blazons the distinction “disciple of Kyokutei Bakin” next to the author's name, and in 1802, Bakin's intervention helped to secure the Edo publication of one *kibyōshi* submitted by the provincial aspirant.<sup>49</sup> This modest success was a fluke, however, and apart from a single *yomihon* title of 1819 — the belabored account of an *onnagata* kabuki actor who, to accomplish a vendetta against a female acrobat, must pursue her throughout Ise Province in feminine disguise — Kinome no Dengaku fades immediately from the scene. Though Bakin does include an account of the provincial in his 1834 compendium of *gesaku* authors' literary biographies, the chief virtue of the subject is as a novelty or oddity: “But it is most unusual,” Bakin notes, “that someone from remote areas or the outlying provinces should do this sort of [*gesaku*] writing, and so I record it here.”<sup>50</sup> Clearly, the Daisō offered a much kinder arena for local talent than the strongly exclusive and doggedly competitive commercial publishers of Edo and Osaka.

Although the artist and antiquarian Takariki Tanenobu/Enkōan (1756–1831) did journey to Edo at least once, in 1786, his productivity remained closely tied to Nagoya. Though largely self-taught, his familiarity with Western techniques of shading and perspective may betoken a debt to Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), a periodic visitor and resident in Nagoya between 1812 and 1818.<sup>51</sup> Never without his pocket brush, inkstone, and colors, one contemporary observed, Enkōan sketched furiously and in

minute detail each artifact he encountered on excursions throughout the city. At least sixteen of these works — primarily heavily illustrated descriptions of local shrine festivals and *kaichō* temple fairs, painted between 1801 and 1830 — circulated exclusively through the Daisō, and figured prominently in its collection of *Owari-mono*, that is, items concerned with Owari Province.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, no records remain to indicate whether Enkōan hoped for the eventual printing of his albums, or painted them entirely for private satisfaction; whether the library acquired the works by donation or purchase; or whether the Daisō provided any form of stipend or active subsidy for the productions. Shōyō does note, however, that Enkōan's albums enjoyed wide circulation, and frequently were abstracted by borrowers. A disciple, Odagiri Shunkō (1810–1888), did what he could do to remedy the depredations by generating copies of the vulnerable records.<sup>53</sup>

The study of the *kashihon'ya* lender, and an appreciation of his vital role as intermediary and commercial influence, entertainer, and educator, are still in their early stages; much work remains before a comprehensive study can emerge. The example of the Daisō lending library, however, is sure to figure largely in any discussion, as much for the unrivaled treasure of data it provides as for the wealth of its users' nostalgic reflections.

## NOTES

All Japanese sources originate in Tokyo, unless otherwise designated.

1. Hamada Keisuke, "Bakin ni okeru shoshi, sakusha, dokusha no mondai," in *Bakin*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō, 1974), pp. 238–241. English examples in Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader — A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 59–66, 260–267, 294–312.
2. Population figures in Tomita Yashirō, ed., *Nagoya* (Yūhikaku, 1961), p. 16. By 1889, the urban population had risen to 157,000; see *ibid.*, p. 19.
3. Major sources are Mizutani Futō, "Ko-

sho no kenkyū," in vol. 6 of *Mizutani Futō chosaku shū* (Chūōkōronsha, 1975), pp. 244–258; Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Kinsei kashihon'ya kenkyū* (Tōkyōdō, 1982), pp. 144–148; and above all, Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Kabuki no tsuioku," in vol. 12 of *Shōyō senshū* (Shun'yōdō, 1927), pp. 179–187 and 190–196. Shōyō, in his 1920 "Kabuki no tsuioku," hazards the guess that the Daisō was in fact the oldest *kashihon'ya* operative in Japan (p. 185).

4. In an entry of 1851, Yōsai mentions that the Daisō has been in operation "through three generations"; see Hōsono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, in *Zuihitsu hen (II)*, ed. Nagoya-shi Kyōiku

Iinkai, Nagoya sōsho (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1960), vol. 19, p. 342. In a much more detailed entry of November–December 1852, Yōsai provides brief biographies for each of these three proprietors; see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, in *Zuihitsu hen (III)*, ed. Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, Nagoya sōsho (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1961), vol. 20, p. 21. No birth date appears for Seibē in this biography, but an entry of May 1871 records verses celebrating the seventieth birthday of the Daisō proprietor; see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, in *Zuihitsu hen (V)*, ed. Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, Nagoya sōsho (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1962), vol. 22, p. 285.

- On the combination of apothecary and book-lending services, see Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, pp. 108–109, and P. F. Kornicki, “Books from Japanese Circulating Libraries in the British Library,” *British Library Journal* 6.2 (Autumn 1980), pp. 192 and 196.
5. The formal designation “Kogetsudō” may echo the title of Kitamura Kigin’s commentary on *Genji monogatari*, but much more strongly suggests the designation of one of the two oldest Nagoya publishers, Fūgetsu Magosuke/Fūgetsudō “Wind Moon Hall.” This Fūgetsudō had been in operation since the Jōkyō period (1684–1688) as a regional branch of the venerable Kyoto publisher Fūgetsu Shōzaemon/Fūgetsudō “Wind Moon Hall.” On these latter, see Nagatomo Chiyoji, “Hon’ya to dokusha — Shimogō Senzō-ate Fūgetsu Magosuke shokan,” *Kinsei bungei* 31 (September 1979), pp. 31–32. I have not been able to trace any direct correspon-

dence or association between the library and these publishers, however.

6. On the origins of the Eirakuya Tōshirō/Tōhekidō in the An’ei period (1772–1781), see Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, p. 124. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 180, affirms that the Eguchi family operations antedate the establishment of the Ei-Tō, i.e., Eirakuya Tōshirō, customarily assumed to be the earliest bookstore in Nagoya.
7. Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, p. 6.
8. In fact the Daisō did occasionally allow the sale of its titles. *Kankyō manpitsu* (Random jottings on points of interest, 1837?–1877), the voluminous *zuihitsu* diary maintained by Hosono Yōsai, refers in entries of 1861, 1863, and 1875 to the purchase of manuscripts and printed works released from the Daisō collection — unwanted titles, to judge by the tone of the entries. See Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, in *Zuihitsu hen (IV)*, ed. Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, Nagoya sōsho (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1961), vol. 21, p. 308; and Nagoya sōsho, vol. 22, pp. 24 and 353. Original notice of these references in P. F. Kornicki, “Notes on Some Former *Kashihon'ya* Books in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43.3 (1980), p. 545, n. 6.
- In a description of the firm in 1851, Hosono Yōsai suggests that in fact there were two *kura* warehouses and a third storage facility that doubled as an office; see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 19, p. 342.
9. Account of the fire in Tsubouchi, “Ka-

- buki no tsuioku,” p. 182. Mizutani Futō’s more detailed account of the incident is transcribed in Shibata Mitsuhiko, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū* (Seishōdō Shoten, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 11–12.
- The final location of the Daisō in Nagashima-chō corresponds to Nishiki 2-7-8, Naka Ward, in the central commercial district of the modern city.
10. An excellent study of the fortunes of the *kashihon’ya* in Meiji times is P. F. Kornicki, “The Publisher’s Go-Between: *Kashihon’ya* in the Meiji Period,” *Modern Asian Studies* 14.2 (April 1980), pp. 331–344. Kornicki points out that the Daisō did make some efforts to accommodate the new age by introducing movable-type titles into the collection around 1888 (p. 338).
  11. For the unedifying details of the sale, see Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” pp. 191–192, and Mizutani, “Kosho no kenkyū,” pp. 247–248.
  12. Mizutani, “Kosho no kenkyū,” p. 266.
  13. On a Daisō volume of a portion of the *yomihon*, *E-hon tama no ochibo* (Picture book jeweled gleanings, 1806–1808) by Koeda Shigeru (1759–1826), now in London, see Kornicki, “Notes on Some Former *Kashihon’ya* Books,” pp. 544–545.
  14. Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon’ya no kenkyū*, p. 161. Since the volume in question bears the seals of two other *kashihon’ya* lenders, however, it is not absolutely certain that these rental fees are those imposed by the Daisō.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 109. Not surprisingly, hair dyes and women’s cosmetics were among the primary advertisers in the back pages of nineteenth-century *gōkan* fiction.
  16. Kornicki, “Books from Japanese Circulating Libraries,” p. 188, mentions delivery of requested items to senior samurai, and Mizutani Futō, in a memorandum from around 1920, alludes to receiving deliveries of Daisō books while a college student in Tokyo; see Shibata, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to Kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 10. These appear to be highly unusual exceptions to the general policy, for the benefit of honored patrons.
  17. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” pp. 180–181.
  18. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuō jiden*, ed. Konno Washichi (Kadokawa Shoten, 1975), pp. 66 and 88–89. A listing of prices for daily staples in Nagoya during the Bunsei period (1818–1830) appears in Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 22, p. 318.
  19. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 180, and Mizutani, “Kosho no kenkyū,” p. 245.
  20. Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon’ya no kenkyū*, p. 116.
  21. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 195. In fact such mishaps did occur, since Shōyō later discovered in his father’s diaries of 1876 records of returning quantities of overdue volumes, and paying the balance on his son’s account; see Yanagida Izumi, *Wakaki Tsubouchi Shōyō*, Meiji bungaku kenkyū (Shunjūsha, 1960), vol. 1, p. 48.
  22. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 181.
  23. By 1934, Waseda University Library had acquired the inventory; see Waseda Daigaku Toshokan, ed., *Sōrui no bu*,

- vol. 1 of [*Waseda Daigaku Toshokan*] *Wa-Kan tosho bunrui mokuroku* (Waseda Daigaku Toshokan, 1936), p. 12. An exhaustive transcription of this inventory, including shelf numbers of all Daisō titles known in modern collections, appears on pp. 91–819 of Shibata Mitsuhiko, ed., *Honbun hen*, vol. 1 of *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū — kashihon'ya Ōnoya Sōhei kyūzō shomoku*, Nihon shoshigaku taikai 27(A) (Seishōdō Shoten, 1983). A companion title index volume also appeared from the same publisher in 1983.
- Hosono Yōsai — by 1852 on the teaching staff of the Meirindō academy of Owari *han* — accepted a commission from the Daisō in June 1851 to revise, classify, and correct the current untidy inventory of the collection. The resulting catalogue in ten volumes (preface date 1852) may have served as the basis for this inventory of 1898. See Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 19, pp. 342 and 399. One volume of this Yōsai catalogue is preserved in the Diet Library; see Shibata, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū*, vol. 1, pp. 81–83.
24. The analysis that follows reassembles the data in Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, pp. 148–160.
25. See, for example, the patterns of rental, purchase, and resale in the Mita family of rural Kashiwara (the eastern portion of modern Ōsaka-*fu*) between 1719 and 1722; discussion in Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, pp. 94–97. Further analysis of purchasing and lending in several affluent rural households of the Kansai region in Konta Yōzō, *Edo no hon'ya-san — kinsei bunka-shi no sokumen* (Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1977), pp. 41–49.
26. Upon borrowing a copy of Norinaga's *Kojiki den* (Commentary on the *Kojiki*; comp. 1764–1798) in 1847, Yōsai received the proprietor's assurances that the manuscript text was in Norinaga's own hand. See Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 19, p. 120.
27. Shōyō states that a comprehensive study of the “evolution of eroticism” from the age of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618?–1694) onward would be possible using the holdings of the Daisō; see Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 183.
28. The tremendous circulation of *E-hon Taikōki* is reflected in a *zappai* informal comic verse from a collection of 1800: “*Yakko no / heya ni E-hon / Taikōki*” (In the lackey's quarters — *E-hon Taikōki*). Quoted in Nagatomo Chiyoji, “[Edo jidai] Shomin no dokusho,” *Bungaku* 45 (1977), p. 1131.
- This extreme popularity must derive at least in part from the scandalous reputation of the work. Soon after the initial chapters of *E-hon Taikōki* had appeared, the work ran afoul of new publishing edicts prohibiting the depiction of names or crests of any personages of samurai descent alive during or subsequent to the Tenshō period (1573–1592) — and not merely those closest to the shogunal dignity. On the prosecution of *E-hon Taikōki*, see Suwa Haruo, *Shuppan kotohajime — Edo no hon*, Edo shirizu 11 (Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1978), pp. 172–174, and Miyatake Gaikotsu, *Hikka shi* (Osaka: Gazoku Bunko, 1911), pp. 60–62. The prosecution ex-

tended beyond *E-hon Taikōki* itself to the numerous derivatives of the popular title: Jippensha Ikku was sentenced to fifty days in manacles for his *kibyōshi* title *Bakemono Taiheiki* (The bogies' *Taiheiki*, 1804), while Utamaro (1753–1806), a scapegoat, suffered a similar fate for his *ukiyo-e* triptych on the theme. See Kaikō Sanjin (Kyokutei Bakin), [*Kinsei*] *Mononohon Edo sakusha burui*, ed. Kishigami Misao/Shikken, Onchi sōsho 5 (Hakubunkan, 1891), fasc. 3, pp. 31 and 85. (Bakin on p. 31 remembers the title of Ikku's work incorrectly as *Bakemono Taikōki*.)

Okada Gyokuzan is the illustrator of *E-hon Taikōki*, and may be its author as well. Another theory attributes real authorship to a certain Takeuchi Kakusai of Osaka, here working under an alias; see Kimura Mokuō (Kimura Mokurō), “Kei-Setsu gesakusha kō,” ed. Ichijima Kenkichi, *Zoku Enseki jissu* 1 (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1908), p. 282.

29. Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 20, p. 324. I cannot identify *Taihei-ki gunden. Taikō shingenki* may be an alternative title of the anonymous *Shinsho Taikōki* (The authentic *Taikōki*).

On the vitality of *gunsho* works, see Nagatomo, “[Edo jidai] Shomin no dokusho,” pp. 1123–1124; also see Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, pp. 188–203. So prominent were military chronicles and *jitsuroku*, embellished “actual accounts” among the offerings of the book lender that these most characteristic categories enjoyed the popular designation *kashihon'ya-mono* “book-lender titles”; see remarks by Asakura Kamezō/Musei (1877–1927)

in Yamazaki Fumoto, [*Kaitei*] *Nihon shōsetsu shomoku nenpyō*, rev. and ed. Shoshi Kenkyūkai, *Shoshi shomoku shirizu* 6 (Yumani Shobō, 1977), p. 124.

30. Interestingly, these most popular authors all claimed origins in the Kansai region, or at least to the west of Edo: Jippensha Ikku was a native of Sunpu (modern Shizuoka); Yamada Tokuōsai (1788–1846), the author of *E-hon Nan-kōki*, taught as a professional *kyōka* master in Osaka; while the author of *E-hon Chūshin-gura*, Hayamizu Shungyōsai (d. 1823), divided his residences between Osaka and Kyoto, his activities among painting, fiction, and managing a brothel.
31. On these provisions of the Kyōhō Reform publishing edicts in 1722–1723, see Suwa, *Shuppan kotohajime*, pp. 163–167.
32. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 182. From the Daisō, Hosono Yōsai purchased manuscript copies of two Muromachi *otogizōshi* works, *Fuji no hitoana sōshi* (The story of Mt. Fuji's magic passage) and *Kibune no sōshi* (Story of the god of Kibune); see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 21, p. 308. *Kibune no sōshi*, he continues, suggests a printed work in the Daisō, *Kibune no honji* (True nature of the god of Kibune). This latter title appeared in two hand-colored *tanrokubon* editions, during the Kan'ei (1624–1644) and Jōō or Meireki periods (i.e., 1652–1658); either edition would be the oldest imprint I have remarked for a Daisō holding.
33. A tabular presentation of the inventory appears in Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashi-*

- hon'ya no kenkyū*, pp. 216–229; analysis of the data on pp. 106–123.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–118.
35. The willingness of the Daisō staff to respond to questions, however, was no guarantee of a definitive response. A copy of *Kijidan* (Tales of the remarkable, 1763) in the collection of Waseda University Library bears an inscription detailing a former owner's fruitless attempts to ascertain the origins of the work, acquired at a second-hand book dealer's, by inquiring at the Daisō; see Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, p. 83. Young Shōyō, equally, received no satisfaction from the clerks at the Daisō when he asked impatiently about the conclusions to Bakin's unfinished titles *Asaina shimameguri no ki* (Asaina's tour of the isles, 1817–1828) and [*Kaikan kyōki*] *Kyōkaku den* (Amazement from the first page: Tales of chivalrous wanderers, 1832–1835); see Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Shin-kyū kadoki no kaisō," in vol. 12 of *Shōyō senshū* (Shun'yōdō, 1927), p. 325. (Conclusions for both titles did exist, but were the productions of minor authors noticeably inferior to Bakin.)
36. Tsubouchi, "Kabuki no tsuioku," p. 182.
37. Kyokutei Bakin, "[Mizunoe-inu] Kiryo manroku," ed. Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshūbu, *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* [new] first series (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), vol. 1, p. 188.
38. Quotation from Tsubouchi, "Kabuki no tsuioku," pp. 181–182. The inscription, still extant, is housed in the Nagoya Municipal Museum; see Shibata, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 18 and frontispieces. The "three friends" of the "man" or "men of old" seems to be an allusion to the Po Chū-i (772–846) poem, *Pei ch'uang san yu* (Three friends at the northern window), though the "friends" in the Chinese version are the zither, wine, and poetry (*shih/shi*) — not, as here, books or calligraphy (*shu/sho*). See Po Chū-i, "Pai Hsiang-shan shih hou chi," in *Pai Hsiang-shan shih chi* (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1978), 3, p. 7b. Alternatively, Bakin may have had in mind a traditional listing of four genteel diversions: zither (*kin*), wine (*shu*), calligraphy (*sho*), and painting (*ga*).
- The reference to "Borrowers suffer no losses" sounds like a reference to the proverb *Karite kari-doku kashite kashizon* "The borrower [always enjoys] profit from his borrowing; a lender [inevitably incurs] loss in his lending." See *Zoku Koji kotozawa jiten*, 1962 ed. The reference to "'wife' of a single month" (*hitotsuki-yatoi no tsuma*) also sounds proverbial, but I cannot trace it. Bakin's wife O-Hyaku (1764–1841), whatever her other qualities as a conjugal partner, was admirably fertile: between 1794 and 1800, she had given birth to three daughters and one son. Bakin's reference to the trials of postpartum recuperation must reflect his recent personal experiences.
- I assume that the concluding phrases of the piece are meant as a *senryū* verse, despite their ragged meter, and have translated accordingly.
- Hayashi Hideo, "Hikifuda," in *Edogaku jiten*, ed. Nishiyama Matsunosuke et al. (Kōbundō, 1984), p. 479, claims that this piece is in fact a *hikifuda* or circulating handbill intended to promote

- the Daisō, but the condescending tone and the absence of any identifying address or the name of the proprietor dis-incline me to think it could have functioned as an advertisement.
39. Mizutani, "Kosho no kenkyū," pp. 254–256. Both titles are long serial *gōkan*.
40. Mizutani Futō, "Futō-ō hachijū-nen no omoide-banashi," in vol. 8 of *Mizutani Futō chosaku shū* (Chūōkōronsha, 1977), pp. 140–142. The helpful *kusazōshi* version of the *Kojiki* was probably *Shinpen moshio-gusa* (Salt kelp in new edition, 1849–1853) by Mantei Ōga (1818–1890).
41. A convenient compendium of the scattered allusions to the Daisō throughout Shōyō's works is Yanagida, *Wakaki Tsubouchi Shōyō*, pp. 46–50. See also note 45 below for Shōyō's youthful readings.
42. Yanagida, *Wakaki Tsubouchi Shōyō*, p. 50. The friend was Ichijima Kenkichi (1860–1944), celebrated as a journalist, bibliographer, and director of the Waseda University Library.
43. Shōyō's use of Daisō materials in planning his dramas in Shibata, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū*, vol. 1, pp. 26–28. A transcription of all extant correspondence between Shōyō and the Eguchi family appears on pp. 26–36 of this same source.
44. Tsubouchi, "Kabuki no tsuioku," p. 179. On his indifferent early education, see Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Jussai izen ni yonda hon," in vol. 12 of *Shōyō senshū* (Shun'yōdō, 1927), pp. 43–44.
45. Early readings discussed in Tsubouchi, "Jussai izen ni yonda hon," pp. 44–45; see also Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Kyokutei Bakin" and "Shin-kyū kado-ki no kaisō," both in vol. 12 of *Shōyō senshū*, pp. 296–297 and 324–325, respectively.
46. Shibata Mitsuhiko, "Kodera Gyokuchō," *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, 1983–1985 ed. On the numerous Daisō manuscripts in Gyokuchō's hand, see Tsubouchi, "Kabuki no tsuioku," p. 185.
- Occasionally, the Daisō itself printed or collaborated in the printing of works, although this seems to have been infrequent. Illustrated descriptions of the colorful Ryūkyūan good-will embassies to Edo, in 1832 and 1850, appeared from the Daisō, and the library also cooperated with publishers in Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Sakai to produce *Ehon Wada gunki* (Picture book Wada military chronicle, 1833–1834) by Hayamizu Shungyōsai (see note 30 above). Description of these publications in Nagatomo, *Kinsei kashihon'ya no kenkyū*, p. 77. (On the local sensation caused by the transit of the exotic Ryūkyūan ambassadors in 1850, see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 19, pp. 306–307.)
47. See the brief notice in Kimura, "Kei-Settsu gesakusha kō," p. 278 (under the heading "Saikō Dengaku"). The most detailed study of Kinome no Dengaku is apparently Ishida Motosue, "Owari no gesakusha Kinome no Dengaku," in *Geki kinsei bungaku ronkō* (Shibundō, 1973), pp. 321–328.
48. Description of titles in Nagatomo Chiyōji, "Ama no iwato" and "Kei-seikai shijūhat-te," *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, 1983–1985 ed. For transcriptions, see Kyokutei Shujin, "Ama no

- iwato,” ed. Sharebon Taisei Henshū In-kai, Sharebon taisei 16 (Chūōkōronsha, 1982), pp. 317–333; and “Kei-seikai shijūhat-te,” ed. Sharebon Taisei Henshū In-kai, Sharebon taisei 18 (Chūōkōronsha, 1983), pp. 345–371.
49. The *kibyōshi* title is *Chōchin-gura yamiyo no nana-yaku* (Treasury of paper lanterns seven theatrical roles in darkest night, 1802) — inspired by an 1801 kabuki performance of *Kana-dehon Chūshin-gura* at the Nakamura-za in Edo, at which Ichikawa Danzō IV/Shikō (1745–1808) created a sensation by assuming seven diverse roles. On this production, see Ihara Toshirō, *Kabuki nenpyō*, ed. Kawatake Shigetoshi and Yoshida Teruji (Iwanami Shoten, 1960), vol. 5, p. 302 (premiere date Kyōwa 1:2:7/March 21, 1801). Kinome no Dengaku’s work, illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825), appeared through the celebrated firm of Tsuruya Kiemon/Senkakudō.
- The single published *yomihon*, mentioned below, is *Fukushū rien* (A thesopian vendetta), issued jointly by four publishers, including the Edo firm of Tsuruya Kinsuke/Sōkakudō. For further detail, see Ishida, “Owari no gesa-
- kusha Kinome no Dengaku,” pp. 325–326.
50. Kaikō Sanjin (Kyokutei Bakin), [*Kinsei*] *Mononohon Edo sakusha burui*, p. 50.
51. On Enkōan, see Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” pp. 183–184, and Mizutani, “Kosho no kenkyū,” pp. 259–261. Tsubouchi, “Kabuki no tsuioku,” p. 184, quotes an enumeration of Enkōan’s works from *Nagoya-shi shi* (A history of the city of Nagoya), which includes the title *Hokusai taiga sokusho saizu* (Large paintings and specimens of impromptu calligraphy by Hokusai, in reduction; 1817).
52. An unorganized inventory of *Owari-mono* titles appears in Mizutani, “Kosho no kenkyū,” pp. 257–259. See also the listing in Shibata, *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū*, vol. 1, pp. 70–72.
53. On the career of Odagiri Shunkō, see Hosono Yōsai, *Kankyō manpitsu*, Nagoya sōsho, vol. 19, p. 162 (conducts *shogakai* fund-raising banquet in 1847); vol. 19, p. 382 (composes *Owari saijiki* [Poetic almanac of Owari province] in 1852); and vol. 21, p. 21 (compiles sketches and description for gazetteer during tour of Owari Province in 1858).

## GLOSSARY

*Ama no iwato* 天岩戸  
*Ansei* 安政  
*bakumatsu* 幕末  
*Bunka* 文化  
*busho* 武書  
*Chikamatsu* 近松  
*Chita* 知多

*chūbon* 中本  
*Daisō* 大惣 (also 総)  
*Eguchi* 江口  
*Eguchi Shinroku* 江口新六  
*E-hon Chūshin-gura* 絵本忠臣蔵  
*E-hon Nankōki* 絵本楠公記  
*E-hon Taikōki* 絵本太閤記

- Eirakuya 永樂屋  
 e-iri gunsho 絵入軍書  
 Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉  
 Fūzoku Kingyo den 風俗金魚伝  
 Genji monogatari 源氏物語  
 Genji monogatari kogetsushō 源氏物語湖月抄  
 Genroku 元禄  
 gesaku 戯作  
 Gifu 岐阜  
 gōkan 合巻  
 gunsho 軍書  
 Hachimonjiya 八文字屋  
 haikai 俳諧  
 han 藩  
 hanshi 半紙  
 hatamoto 旗本  
 (Tōkai dōchū) Hiza-kurige (東海道中) 膝栗毛  
 Hosono Tadanobu/Yōsai 細野忠棟・要斎  
 Hyōgo 兵庫  
 hyōryūki 漂流記  
 Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴  
 Ise 伊勢  
 Ittoku 一徳 (also 得)  
 Jippensha Ikku 十返舎九  
 jōruri 浄瑠璃  
 Kaei 嘉永  
 kaichō 開帳  
 Kana-dehon Chūshin-gura 仮名手本忠臣蔵  
 Kansai 関西  
 kashihon'ya 貸本屋  
 Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎  
 Keisei-kai shijūhat-te 傾城買四十八手  
 Kei-seikai shijūhat-te 傾城世界四十八手  
 Keisei Suikoden 傾城水滸伝  
 kibyōshi 黄表紙  
 Kimura Mokurō 木村默老  
 Kinome no Dengaku 椒芽田楽  
 Kinosaki 碓崎  
 Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟  
 Kodera Gyokuchō 小寺玉龍  
 Kogetsudō 湖(胡)月堂  
 Kojiki 古事記  
 kokkeibon 滑稽本  
 Kōshoku ichidai otoko 好色一代男  
 kusazōshi 草双紙  
 Kusunoki 楠木  
 kyōka 狂歌  
 Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴  
 Meireki 明暦  
 Meirindō 明倫堂  
 meishoki 名所記  
 Mizutani Yumihiko/Futō 水谷与彦・不倒  
 mon 文  
 monme 短  
 monogatari 物語  
 Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長  
 Nagashima-chō 長島町  
 Nagatomo Chiyoji 長友个代治  
 Nakaya Jinzaemon 中屋甚五衛門  
 Nansenshō Somahito 南仙笑山人  
 ninjōbon 人情本  
 Nise Murasaki inaka Genji 偽紫田舎源氏  
 Odagiri Shunkō 小田切春江  
 Okada Gyokuzan 岡田玉山  
 okibon 置本  
 onnagata 女形  
 Ōno 大野  
 Ōnoya Sōhachi 大野屋惣(鯨)八  
 Owari 尾張  
 Owari-mono 尾張物

- Oze Hoan 小瀬甫庵  
 Ryūkatei Tanekazu 柳下亭禪員  
 Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭禪彦  
 Saikaku (井原) 西鶴  
 Santō Kyōden 山東京伝  
 Seibō 清兵衛  
 (Eguchi) Seijirō/Sōhachi 清次郎・総八  
 Sekigahara 関ヶ原  
 sharebon 洒落本  
 Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬  
 Shikoku 四国  
 Shingaku 心学  
*Shunshoku umegoyomi* 春包梅曆  
 Shunsui 春水  
*Suzunoya shū* 鈴屋集  
*Taihei-ki gunden* 太平記單位  
*Taikō shingenki* 太閤貞顕記  
 Takamatsu 高松  
 Takariki Tanenobu/Enkōan 高力禪信・猿猴菴  
*Tamakatsuma* 玉勝間  
 Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水  
 tenseki 典籍  
 terakoya 寺子屋  
 Tōkaidō 東海道  
 Tokugawa Muneharu 徳川宗春  
 Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉  
 Tsubouchi Yūzō/Shōyō 坪内雄藏・道遙  
*Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草  
*Ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子  
 waka 和歌  
 yomihon 読本  
 Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好  
 Yoshikawa Hanshichi 吉川半七  
 zatsu 雑

The Scope of the Term “*Shan-pen*,”  
the Identification of Woodblock  
Editions, and the Organization of  
Catalogues, in Relation to  
Traditional Chinese Books

CUI JIAN-YING

[Translated by the Gest Journal Staff]

An American organization, the Research Libraries Group, Inc. [RLG], has a plan to produce a union catalogue of all the old and rare Chinese books held in the East Asian libraries of North America and throughout East Asia as well. Should this plan be realized it will have positive significance for the fuller utilization, as well as for the care and preservation of this portion of mankind's cultural heritage. Since the decade of the seventies in mainland China a provisional rare books union catalogue of nationwide scope has been in preparation. Although it has not yet been completed, some of the problems encountered in its preparation fully merit consideration by subsequent compilers of catalogues. I offer here some brief comments based on my own experience as a participant in that work.

DETERMINING THE SCOPE OF “*SHAN-PEN*” BY  
CHRONOLOGY

In the Chinese language the term “*shan-pen*” originally conveyed two concepts: complete texts in well-edited editions [i.e., “superior editions”]; and precious, rarely seen editions. The former are important as documents; the latter may be classed as cultural objects. The English term “rare books” also conveys the sense of the precious and rarely seen.

As used in library work, the term “*shan-pen*” has the latter meaning, focusing on classifying and managing these books, and calling special attention to their value as cultural objects.

Because the term is used somewhat more widely in that latter sense, it frequently gives people the impression that it represents a single concept, thereby leading to frequent disagreement over its definition, but that truly is unnecessary. In certain specific circumstances, for example in the work of collating texts, or in establishing a corrected edition, the term can be used to convey one quite specific sense with no need thereby to reject the other.

The idea that *shan-pen* belong to the realm of cultural objects is a product of the mid-Ming period. Exemplars of that category originally were few in number: they were Sung-period editions characterized by both excellence of printing standards and limited numbers of copies printed. Because such books were at that time already seldom encountered and difficult to procure, they came to be grouped with objects affording cultivated pleasures, along with ancient bronze vessels, calligraphy and painting, and porcelain from the famed kilns — all classed as *ku-tung* or “antiques.” There occurred in that age instances of exchanging beautiful serving girls or even lands and estates for rare Sung editions. By late Ming times, Sung editions had grown ever more rare, to the point that their market value was calculated by the page. In early Ch’ing times collectors had to lower their sights. Even the imperial collectors turned their attention to the best-produced books of the Ming and to carefully printed facsimiles of Sung editions. By the end of the Ch’ing period the Ming dynasty was more or less rigorously taken as the cut-off point for the use of the term “*shan-pen*.” The standards adopted by the catalogue made for the collection of the Ting family of Hangchow, the “Catalogue of the Hall of Shan-pen Books,” were particularly influential throughout the subsequent half-century.<sup>1</sup> A number of sub-

sequently produced catalogues were modeled on it, including the *Catalogue of Rare Books in the Imperial Capital Library*<sup>2</sup> and the *Catalogue of Books Held in the Sinological Library*.<sup>3</sup>

During recent decades the number of old books has grown steadily fewer. Among Ch'ing-dynasty books, editions engraved and printed during the Shun-chih, K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung reigns [1644–1795] have entered the class of books that occasionally, to be sure, may turn up but that are no longer readily available. In mainland China, although the new libraries founded in the late 1950s have tried to acquire old books, the majority of their holdings in traditional editions were printed from blocks engraved in the T'ung-chih and Kuang-hsü reigns [1862–1908] and later, together with books printed by lithography, from cast lead type, or by colotype facsimile methods.

Since the 1950s, even those libraries with extensive holdings and with a broad vision of the field have nonetheless tended to relax their criteria in determining what should be considered *shan-pen*, shifting the chronological boundaries later and placing value on scarcity, excellence, and beauty. In this broadening of the category it is of course inevitable that people tend to have their own criteria for *shan-pen*.

At the end of the seventies in mainland China, as plans were developed to compile the “National Union Catalogue of *Shan-pen* among Old Chinese Editions,” establishing the scope of inclusion of rare books was one of the first problems to come under consideration. Discussions and consultations throughout the entire country led ultimately to agreement on a clearly specified written “charter,” namely, the “Scope of Inclusion of ‘Rare Books’ [*shan-pen*] in the National Union Catalogue.”<sup>4</sup> It is commonly referred to as the “Three Characteristics and Nine Articles” [*san-hsing chiu-t'iao*]. The “Three Characteristics” are character as a cultural object; character as a document; and character as art. The last two characteristics [or “qualities”] in fact both fall under the heading of “character as a cultural object.” Most of the “Nine Articles” are specifically relevant to the issues presented by Ch'ing-period books, yet when put into practice they become difficult to apply. For example, the third article is worded: “Ch'ing-dynasty printed books and manuscript copies, of Ch'ien-lung [1736–1795] or pre-Ch'ien-lung date, which are extant in relatively small numbers.” What is meant by “extant in relatively small numbers”? Subsequently, clarifications of the criteria were formulated: (1) Writings by Ming or pre-Ming persons

first printed during the reigns from Shun-chih to Ch'ien-lung [1644–1795]; or those works that previously had been engraved and printed but whose printing blocks were destroyed, or that had long disappeared, and that during that time [i.e., 1644–1795] were newly engraved; or where previously engraved editions were not of complete texts, and during that time newly supplemented editions were made. (2) First editions of writers of that period [i.e., 1644–1795]. (3) Works frequently engraved and printed in earlier ages and for which a number of different editions were extant and which during that period appeared in what are simply reprintings or republications made with no new editing or supplementation of the text. Works in the third category are not to be included.

All that seems to be quite clear, yet almost eight-hundred persons have been engaged in the compilation work and their levels of attainment are not uniform, making it difficult to ensure precise adherence to the outlined distinctions. The facts make it clear that when a union catalogue is to be produced jointly by a large number of participants, the standards for inclusion of books should not be too minutely detailed.

Here I would like to propose that the sixtieth [i.e., the final] year of the Ch'ien-lung reign, or 1795, might be adopted as an appropriate chronological boundary. Just in terms of the time element, printed books of two-hundred years ago, as part of the cultural heritage of mankind, fully merit being looked upon as having value. Additionally, in recent years in mainland China there has emerged a new kind of recognition among the specialists on old Chinese books that the period of the Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang reigns [1796–1850] was one of cultural florescence. Not only were many important historical materials and scholarly writings published in those years, but the craftsmanship of the printers in many cases displays great skill and beauty. That activity was in large part concentrated in the Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Anhwei, and Hunan regions, where many distinguished scholarly works were produced, but not long thereafter the wars and disorders attendant on the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion caused much destruction of books and of printing blocks. Much of what is to be seen today are reprints dating from the following T'ung-chih and Kuang-hsü reign periods [1862–1908]; printings originally from the Chia-ch'ing and T'ao-kuang periods are hard to find.

One might assume that in the future there will come a day when all woodblock printed books will be looked upon as possessing high value.

It therefore is appropriate to maintain a fluid, developmental view of the scope of *shan-pen*; to cling stubbornly to the established views of the past is inappropriate. More good can come from adopting a broad norm than from applying a rigid one.

#### THE IDENTIFICATION OF EDITIONS

As the transmission of writings evolves from copying the manuscripts to engraving them on printing blocks and then printing them, any transmitted version of any particular work will display shared group characteristics [or "group character," "*ch'ün-t'i hsing*"].<sup>5</sup> All the versions of the work can be ranked on a scale from superior to inferior according to their value as documents, or their value as cultural objects by readers, by critical collators, by collectors, or by book dealers. Their group character is made evident by the date of engraving (printing) and the personal name (or hall name, "*t'ang*" or studio name, "*shih*") of the person who sponsored the engraving (or printing). The difference between a catalogue with information on editions (*pan-pen mu-lu*) and one that merely lists titles lies precisely in the former's being able to discriminate edition A from edition B, and also to reveal the identifying features of the different groups to which they belong.

From the Sung-period catalogue by Yu Mou known as the *Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu*,<sup>6</sup> all the way to more recent works such as the *Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu piao-chu*,<sup>7</sup> the *Fan-shu ou-chi*,<sup>8</sup> and the various catalogues of old Chinese books produced by various libraries, one can observe that in those catalogues with information on editions, the data indicating group identity gradually increase, from quite scanty to more detailed coverage. Where one group only is involved the data can be set forth in generalized summary fashion. Where a large number of groups representing different publishing undertakings must be dealt with, the data must be detailed and concrete. Since mid-Ming times the bulk of engraving of blocks and printing of traditional-style books has vastly increased. In recent times the trends in book collecting have been toward concentration in large libraries, and books representing different groups have been assembled together, with the consequence that the catalogues have become endlessly detailed in revealing group identities.

Nonetheless, for a number of different reasons, it is by no means easy to achieve a detailed, clear, and wholly precise recording of those identifying

features. It is frequently the case that the more precise the date given for the blocks' engraving, the higher the probability of error in identifying the edition.

To speak in general terms, most traditional editions have directly or indirectly expressed verbal statements or other indications of the date of engraving. The reason that error nonetheless occurs is lack of care in examining these or in conducting critical research to establish the facts.

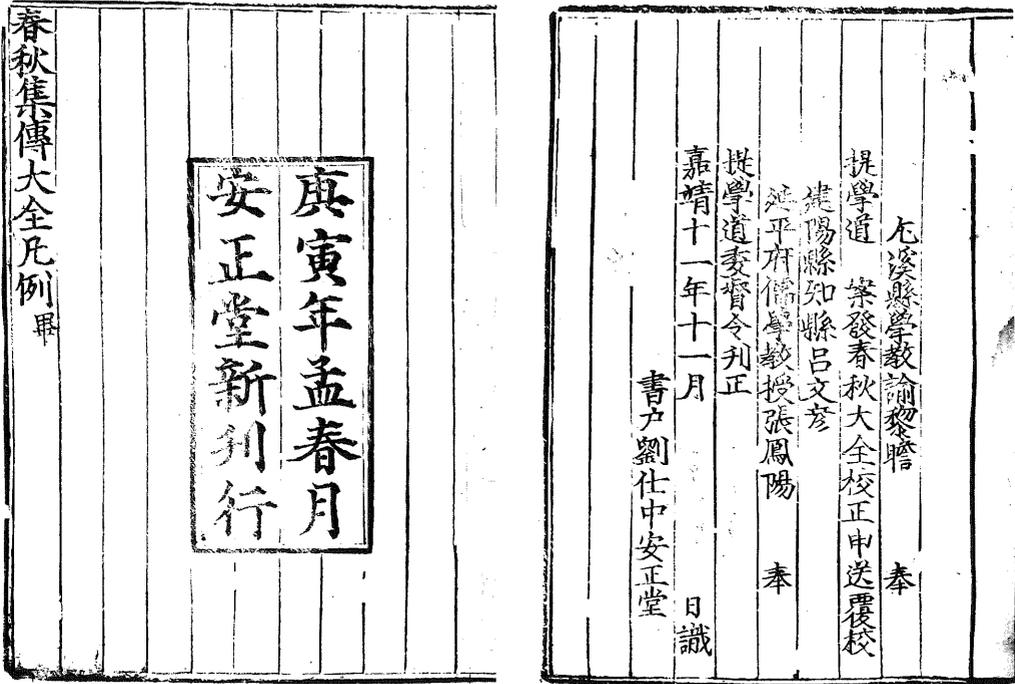
Most problems develop on the following three fronts:

1. *The error of accepting the "latest date given in prefaces and postfaces as the date of engraving."*

In the engraving and printing of traditional books there originally was in most cases a printer's cartouche or colophon (*p'ai-chi*), which appeared on the opening or the last page and clearly indicated the date.<sup>9</sup> But in subsequent exchanges of the book from one collection to another, this page was most easily lost, and in later ages cataloguers would usually base their datings of publication on information recorded in prefaces and postfaces. Nonetheless, the actual circumstances affecting those data are fairly complex, and persons in the past have frequently failed to undertake detailed research, simply perpetuating the quite erroneous view that "the latest date appearing in prefaces and postfaces should be taken as the date of engraving." Beginners in this kind of work delight in the ease and simplicity of this solution, and therefore grant it the status of an essential principle. Seldom indeed does it not lead to error. That is because prefaces and postfaces in most cases were composed when the manuscript was completed, but completed manuscripts seldom were immediately engraved and printed; moreover in some cases dates have even been mistakenly taken from prefaces and postfaces written for earlier editions; among a group of prefaces those that record information about engraving and printing may often bear no date, and thus are easily overlooked; and, there may be information concerning the engraving and printing that is not found in prefaces and postfaces, but instead can be found in readily overlooked "*fan-li*" [prefatory "principles of compilation"], "*fu-lu*" [appendixes], or "*t'i-chih*" [added "comment" on the publication of a work].

2. *Judgments made in isolation, based on distinctive features of the printing.*

It is indeed true that the printing of woodblock editions has quite often displayed features distinctive to a period or a place. For example, wood-



1. A Ming-dynasty *p'ai-chi* (printer's colophon) giving the date of the block engraving and the name of the publisher. An unusual printer's note at the end of the work supplies additional information on the process of engraving and printing. Such detailed printing information is, unfortunately, quite rare in Ming-dynasty books. From Hu Kuang et al., *Ch'un-ch'iu chi-chuan ta-ch'uan*, 37 ch. (20 vols.), 1530. Eleven cols. of 21 chars.; block 16.3 x 12 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

block editions engraved in Chekiang during the Southern Sung period [1127–1279] quite often have characters cut in a style close to that of Ouyang Hsün's [551–641] calligraphy; most of those from Fukien follow the calligraphy of Liu Kung-ch'üan [ca. 778–865]; from the early Ming through the Hung-chih reign [1368–1505] most woodblock editions adopt the "*hei-k'ou*" page format [i. e., "black mouth" — they have a solid black strip running through the upper portion of the page fold] and use a fluid-script style of characters; during the following Cheng-te and Chia-ching reign periods [1506–1562] in books printed in the Lower Yangtze region we more often see the "*pai-k'ou*" format ["white mouth" — the page fold left white, or blank] with printed characters of square and regular style; in the T'ien-ch'i and Ch'ung-chen reign periods [1620–1644] most books printed in the Soochow and Sung-chiang region [of southeastern Kiangsu] adopt narrow

皇明崇禎元年

暢月吉日繡梓

南昌熊鳴惠寫

金陵徐世濟梓

2. This is an example of a Ming-dynasty *p'ai-chi* (printer's colophon); it identifies the calligrapher and the publisher, and dates the engraving of the blocks. The Gest copy bears the personal book collector's seal of the famed Confucian reformer K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927). From Lu Yi-tsou, *Ku-chin tzu-k'ao*, 6 ch. (20 vols.), Nanking, 1628. Ten cols. of 20 chars.; block 19.5 x 14 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

明文奇賞卷之一

史官陳仁錫明卿父評選

序

會試紀錄序

宋濂

皇明設科倣古者六藝之教參以歷代遺制欲兼收文武而任之既詔天下三年一賓興其薦于州郡者凡五百人五拔其一而授之以官猶以為未足復勅有司自壬子至甲寅三歲連貢歲擢三百人逮于乙卯始復舊制其恩至渥也先是京畿遵行鄉試中程式者七十二未及貢南宮上求治之切皆採用之至有拜監察御

古今有好  
上若渴如  
此者否

3. This illustrates Professor Cui's description of a typical late Ming book format of the T'ien-ch'i and Ch'ung-chen periods (1620-1644). From Ch'en Jen-hsi, *Ming-wen ch'i shang*, 40 ch. (82 vols.), Soochow, 1623. Ten cols. of 20 chars.; block 19.5 x 14.3 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

columns<sup>10</sup> with characters cut in the “*ch’ang-Sung*” style [imitation of Sung-dynasty style]. But these are all loose generalizations about the distinctive features of the printing. They are not absolute criteria, and their upper and lower time boundaries do not wholly accord with the changes of reign-period names. Using these features as the sole basis for determining the actual date of the engraving, without considering other factors as well, will readily produce error.

In the past there emerged the dictum: “Throughout the entire Yüan period, both officially and privately, woodblock printing revered and emulated the calligraphy of Chao Meng-fu.” The adherents of this view have been numerous. When, however, we examine it closely, “throughout the entire Yüan period” should begin with the Mongols’ conquest of the Chin dynasty in the year 1234 when, north of the Huai River and the Ch’in-ling Range, they established what they then called their “Great Mongol Nation.” Chao Meng-fu, born in 1254, was a native of Hu-chou in the Liang-che West Province of the Southern Sung dynasty. When the Southern Sung ended in 1279, Chao Meng-fu at first fled into hiding, and by the time he was sought out and appointed to office by the Yüan court, and thereafter established his fame to the extent that his calligraphy exerted an influence on the age, it was already the fourteenth century. How, therefore, can one say that “throughout the entire Yüan period his calligraphy was revered and emulated both officially and privately”?<sup>11</sup>

### 3. *Carelessness in examining content.*

In attempting to determine the date at which a book was engraved for printing, one must not only thoroughly study the prefaces and postfaces and appended notices, and take note of distinctive features of the block engraving, one must also further examine the relevant aspects of the entire book’s content. Traditional books are documents. One must ascertain the dates of the authors of any book’s principal text, commentaries, prefaces, and postfaces; note the terms used for their titles and offices; the names for place designations; the wording of time designations and the like; and even examine the texts of the seals. All of these data may bear on the time the blocks were engraved, for all can be indicators of dates. Finding out about all these elements can assist in making determinations; carelessness in these regards can lead to common-sense-type errors.

Many persons in the past have prepared catalogue entries for an edition, described as engraved in the T’ai-ho reign period of the Chin dynasty

[1115–1234], of the pharmacological compilation known as *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao* [New revision of the pharmacopoeia of the Cheng-ho reign period; The classified and consolidated armamentarium].<sup>12</sup> Why is this book designated as the edition engraved in “the T'ai-ho reign period of the Chin dynasty”? This is based on the place in this edition where a printer's colophon is attached to a “Memoir on the Revised Compilation of the *Pharmacopoeia*”; the colophon at that point is worded: “On the winter solstice of the year *chi-yu* following the *chia-tzu* year of the T'ai-ho reign period, recorded at the Hui-ming Studio.” What is meant by “the year *chi-yu* following the *chia-tzu* year”? Cataloguers have not understood this, but have only taken note of the words “T'ai-ho reign period.” T'ai-ho was a reign-period name from the reign of the Chin Emperor Chang-tsung [r. 1190–1208]; therefore this book has usually been catalogued as one engraved during the Chin dynasty. What has not been perceived is that this dating refers to the *chi-yu* year following the *chia-tzu* year (1204) of the T'ai-ho reign period; that *chi-yu* year was 1249, corresponding to the fourth year in the reign of the Mongol Emperor Güyug, posthumously known as the Emperor Ting-tsung. That was already fifteen years after the fall of the Chin dynasty.

The *Yung-ch'un-t'ang chi* by Feng Yu-ching [ca. 1589] of the Ming dynasty has only a single, undated preface, the “Preface for the Yung-ch'un-t'ang” written by Yüan Ying-t'ai [ca. 1593]. That preface includes a reference: “His [Feng's] heir had already turned [the manuscript] over to the block cutters whose work was not yet completed, when he suddenly demanded that I write a preface for it.” When that might have happened is not easily determined. But, under Yüan Ying-t'ai's name here is [engraved the facsimile] of a seal impression bearing the wording: “The seal of the Ministry of War's Commissioner for the Suppression of the Barbarians to whom a sword was presented, and Censor.” According to [Yüan's biography in *chüan* 259 of] the *Ming History*,<sup>13</sup> Yüan Ying-t'ai was promoted in the ninth moon of the first year of the T'ai-ch'ang reign period [1620] from the post of Judicial Commissioner to that of Assistant Censor-in-Chief of the Right, and concurrently Grand Coordinator for Liao-tung Province; that accounts for the word “censor.” One month later he was promoted to the [concurrent] post of Vice President of the Right of the Ministry of War to succeed Hsiung T'ing-pi as Military Commissioner [in Liao-ning]. That accounts for the words “Ministry of War's Commissioner.” When the Em-



此書世行久矣諸家因革不同今取證類本尤善者為窠模  
 增以寇氏衍義別本中方論多者悉為補入又有本經別錄  
 先附分條之類其數舊多差互今亦考正凡藥有異名者取  
 其俗稱注之目錄各條下俾讀者易識如蚤休云紫何車較  
 蘇云荊芥之類是也圖像失真者據所常見皆更寫之如竹  
 分淡苦董三種食鹽著古今二法之類是也字畫謬誤殊關  
 利害如升斗疽疸上下十未末之類無慮千數或證以別  
 本質以諸書悉為釐正疑者闕之敬俟來括仍廣其裨行以  
 便綴緝庶歷久不壞其間致力極意諸所營制難以具載不  
 敢一毫苟簡與舊本頗異故目之曰重修天下名賢士夫以  
 舊鑒新自知矣泰和甲子下巳酉冬日南至晦明軒謹記



4. The elaborate *p'ai-chi* (printer's colophon) in this palace edition of 1587 of the famous pharmacopeia of Sung times, revised in subsequent reprintings and incorrectly known as the "T'ai-ho edition," copies the *p'ai-chi* of the 1249 recutting, with slight modifications. From T'ang Shen-wei, *Ch'ung-hsiu Cheng-ho ching-shi Cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao*, 30 ch. (10 vols.), Nanking, 1587. Twelve cols. of 23 chars.; block 28.5 x 21.7 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

peror Hsi-tsung ascended the throne [in the ninth moon of 1620, on October 1, 1620], he presented to Yüan a sword from the Imperial Manufactory; that accounts for the words "to whom a sword was presented." The Military Commission in Liao-tung was set up to defend against the Manchu leader Nurhaci, hence the words: "for the suppression of the barbarians." Moreover, during the tenth moon of the first year of the T'ien-ch'i reign period [November 13 to December 12, 1621], Shen-yang fell to the Manchus and Yüan Ying-t'ai died there. From all that we can conclude that this seal could only have been cut for and used by Yüan Ying-t'ai within the space of the single year from the tenth moon of the first year of T'ai-ch'ang [October–November 1620] to the tenth moon of the first year of T'ien-ch'i [November–December 1621], and therefore the *Yung-ch'un-t'ang chi*, with the preface by Yüan Ying-t'ai, could not have been engraved any earlier than 1620. A previous owner, on the basis of the style of characters, determined that it dated from the Wan-li reign period [1572–1620]; that is incorrect.

In addition to such problems, there are also those resulting from the fact that after printing blocks are engraved they may subsequently be used for more than one printing, and in the process of producing successive printings, differences reflecting the stage to which a subsequent printing belongs may often appear. Those differences may show changes in the number of items included or the number of *chüan*, in wording of the text, or even in the words identifying the publisher. And yet, in a larger sense, all the variants belong to the same edition.

An illustration is to be found in the *Kuei Hsien-sheng wen-chi*, in thirty-two *chüan* with an appendix in one *chüan*, by Kuei Yu-kuang [1507–1571] of the Ming dynasty. There exist four kinds of catalogue identifications: (a) that dated in the first year of the Wan-li reign [1573] in the Ming dynasty, engraved at Weng Liang-yü's Yü-chin Hall; (b) one dated to the fourth year of the Wan-li reign [1576], engraved at Weng Liang-yü's Yü-chin Hall; (c) one dated to the sixteenth year of the Wan-li reign period [1588], engraved for Ch'en Wen-chu; (d) one engraved in the eighth year of the Ch'ung-ch'en reign period [1635] for Kuei Ch'ang-shih. Close comparison of these shows them all to be the same edition, namely "b." "A" is but a preliminary printing of "b." When this engraving was first completed a printer's colophon (*p'ai-chi*) was engraved at the end of the work bearing the wording: "Edited in the year *jen-shen* of the Lung-ch'ing reign period [1572] by sons Tzu-hu

and Tzu-ning — initiated and published in the year *kuei-yu* of the Wan-li reign period [1573] by Weng Liang-yü of Chekiang.” There are no prefaces or postfaces. After that edition had been published and put into circulation, it was felt that in certain respects it was unsatisfactory. It had not yet been widely circulated (today we know only of one copy held by the Yü-hai-lou Library in Chekiang, and one held by the Anhwei Provincial Museum), when, shortly thereafter in the third year of Wan-li [1575], a “Short Preface” written by Chou Shih was added, an “Offertory Essay” (*chi-wen*) put together by Weng Liang-yü dated to the fourth year of Wan-li [1576] was attached to the appendix, and the printer’s colophon immediately following the offertory essay was altered to read: “Edited in the year *kuei-yu* [1573] by sons Tzu-hu and Tzu-ning — Initiated and published in the year *ping-tzu* [1576] by Weng Liang-yü of Chekiang.” This then became the standard edition. After that was in circulation, in the sixteenth year of Wan-li [1588], there were added to it a preface by Ch’en Wen-chu bearing the title: “Kuei T’ai-pu chi hsü” and the text of a mortuary inscription: “T’ai-p’u-ssu ch’eng Kuei Chen-ch’uan hsien-sheng mu-piao.” Further, in the eighth year of the Ch’ung-chen reign [1635] there was added a postface by [Kuei Yu-kuang’s grandson] Kuei Ch’ang-shih. Some collectors, slavishly adhering to the erroneous notion that “the latest date of a preface or postface is to be taken as the date of engraving” have in consequence decided that the latter two should be taken as editions “c” and “d,” whereas in truth they are but later printings [from the blocks of “b”].

Another example is that of the Ming figure Ho T’ang’s [1474–1543] *Ho Po-chai wen-chi* [The collected writings of Ho T’ang]. There are two kinds of catalogue entries for existing versions of the work, both describing an edition dated to the thirty-third year of the Chia-ching reign period [1554] in the Ming dynasty. One version in eight *chüan* is said to have been engraved for Chou Hao; the other is in ten *chüan* and states that it was engraved for Ma Ju-chang. Comparison of these shows that they are in fact the same edition. In the thirty-third year of Chia-ching, Chou Hao had the eight-*chüan* edition engraved; subsequently Ma Ju-chang had two additional *chüan* engraved, and also had the block for printing the last page of Chou Hao’s “Preface on Engraving Master Ho Po-chai’s [i.e., Ho T’ang’s] Collected Writings” recut, putting his own name there and leaving the original date as it was. The ten-*chüan* version thus should be entered in cat-

alogues as the edition engraved for printing in the thirty-third year of Chia-ching by Chou Hao, subsequently supplemented by Ma Ju-chang.

The work known as *Shuo-wen ch'ang-chien* [Extended critical commentary on the *Shuo-wen* dictionary], in one-hundred *chüan* with "Front Matter" in two *chüan* and "Explication" in one *chüan*, printed together with a work called *Liu-shu Han-i* [The six scripts as understood in the Han dynasty] is by Chao Huan-kuang [1559–1625] of the Ming dynasty. Today we find two different catalogue entries referring to it: the edition engraved for [his son] Chao [Ling-]chün<sup>14</sup> in the fourth year of the Ch'ung-chen reign period [1631]; another engraved in the forty-third year of the K'ang-hsi reign period [1704] of the succeeding Ch'ing dynasty, this latter engraved for Ch'eng Hsü at his Yü-ho Hall. The latter includes a "Publisher's Preface on Re-engraving the *Shuo-wen ch'ang-chien*," dated 1704, in which it says: "Master Chao Fan-fu [i. e., Chao Huan-kuang] of Soochow Prefecture . . . composed this work, but it was not engraved and printed; shortly thereafter he passed away. His son [Chao] Ling-chün edited it and turned it over to the engravers for printing. But now many years have passed and times have changed; the printing blocks are incomplete, causing me deep regret, so I have had the work newly edited and engraved." At the end this preface is signed: "Respectfully written at the Yü-ho Hall at Kuang-ling [Yangchow]." When the two versions are compared, what is referred to as "newly engraved" is in fact a case of using the old blocks engraved for Chao [Ling-]chün, in 1637, repairing and supplementing these, so that original and replacement blocks have been intermingled, but nonetheless are clearly distinguishable. The descriptive phrase "engraved for Ch'eng Hsü at his Yü-ho Hall" in the catalogue entry should say: "edition engraved for Chao [Ling-]chün in the fourth year of the Ch'ung-chen reign period [1631], with some blocks repaired or replaced in the forty-third year of the K'ang-hsi reign period [1704] in the Ch'ing dynasty by Ch'eng Hsü."

To offer yet another example, we see in a number of union catalogues the work recorded as: "*Liu-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards of diagnosis and treatment in the six divisions (of medicine)], compiled by Wang K'ent'ang [b. 1553; ca. 1589] of the Ming dynasty, edition engraved between the thirtieth and thirty-sixth years of the Wan-li reign period [1602–1608]." Yet what most collections actually possess are separately held "partial versions." Those "partial versions" were in fact separately engraved and pub-

lished. The separately published parts are: *Cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards of diagnosis and treatment] in eight *chüan* and *Tsa-ping cheng-chih lei-fang* [Classes of prescriptions in diagnosis and treatment of miscellaneous illnesses] in eight *chüan*, engraved together in the thirtieth year of Wan-li [1602]; *Shang-han cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards . . . in typhoid fever] in eight *chüan*, engraved by Ho Chih-jen in the thirty-second year of Wan-li [1604]; *Nü-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards . . . in gynecology] in eight *chüan*, engraved in the thirty-fifth year of Wan-li [1607]; *Yu-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards . . . in pediatrics] in nine *chüan*, engraved in the thirty-fifth year of Wan-li [1607]; and *Yang-yi chun-sheng* [Standards of treatment in dermatology] in nine *chüan*, engraved in the thirty-sixth year of Wan-li [1608]. Each of these separate publications has its own preface and postface, in which are set forth accounts of the compilation, the writing, and the engraving of each part; they did not originally constitute a collectanea. Assembling the five parts comprising the six titles into a work in one set of covers was first done in the thirty-first year of the K'ang-hsi reign period [1692] in the Ch'ing dynasty, when Wang K'en-t'ang's blocks all came into the possession of a certain Mr. Yü of Chin-t'an [in Kiangsu Province]. Yü had them printed as a set which he labeled *Yi-shu liu-ching* [Six standard works on medicine]. By this time, because the printing blocks had become worn and cracked, the books presented an appearance far different from that of their original separate publications. Moreover, the general title *Liu-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* [Standards of diagnosis and treatment in six divisions of medicine] has been applied to the work only in recent times.<sup>15</sup> This kind of phenomenon is frequently encountered in "collectanea," "comprehensive collections," and "complete works." If the relationships in these kinds of aggregations are not clearly worked out, then names will not correspond to reality, producing one confusion after another in matters of differentiating separately published works from various kinds of real collectanea.

There are also problems of "converted blocks" (*chuan-pan*); these are blocks engraved for printing a certain book that subsequently are acquired by another person and converted to new uses by alterations, such as adding new cover and title pages, or inserting a new name for the printer or owner of the blocks, after which books are printed from them and circulated. This makes it easy for them to be taken as a new edition.<sup>16</sup>

There also are examples of books seemingly identical but actually of dif-

ferent editions. Before one can distinguish such “second engravings” (*ch’ung-k’o pen*) and “re-engravings” (*fan-k’o pen*),<sup>17</sup> it is necessary to make the most minute examination of fine details, character by character and line by line.

Such matters may not be so readily discerned when only one person is involved with determining the edition of one book. But when a number of persons and many editions are brought together, the problems can be immediately discerned. If one does not adopt a seriously rigorous attitude in discerning the distinctive features when dealing with such problems, it may be that the foot will be trimmed to fit the shoe, forcing different editions into one identity; or, it may be that on the basis of errors in recognition, two examples of the same edition will seem quite naturally to acquire distinct identities, inevitably generating confusion about which is subordinate to which, so that a single edition may come to be catalogued as a number of editions.

Although it is no doubt quite difficult, by adopting a rigorous attitude in dealing with the identification of editions one can resolve such matters of investigation and discrimination. The most detailed guidelines on cataloguing can only draw one’s attention to norms and models, and provide a standard terminology. Whether one can go beyond those formalities to carry out study and observation, analysis and judgment, depends on the individual bibliographer’s vision and cultivation, and on one’s cataloguing department’s accumulation of materials relevant to editions.

### THE ORGANIZATION OF CATALOGUES

Most Chinese catalogues of traditional books adopt a classified arrangement. A book’s position within the sequence of classification headings calls attention to and clearly reveals the development of academic learning. Catalogues of high quality frequently constitute outline histories of learning.

Nonetheless, there have long existed differing views on these matters. In most general terms, except for persons who have specialized in the study of China’s traditional learning and culture, a majority will advocate the use of more universal [i.e., cross-cultural] classification systems. Most specialists in the study of Chinese traditional learning and culture, on the other hand, will favor continued use of the “four treasures” [*ssu-k’u*] classification of Classics, History, Philosophy, and Literature. This difference in

views is not accidental; it is based on differing levels of knowledge about traditional Chinese learning and culture.

The fourfold classification system of Classics, History, Philosophy, and Literature has taken form through a long historical process of selection and development.

With respect to culture, traditional China adopted a policy of state control. From the Han dynasty onward one branch of learning took form as the "Six Arts" (*liu-i*),<sup>18</sup> conveying the guiding thought on the establishment and governing of the state; its didactic content provided guidance to the ruler, the great lords, and the functionaries. Through subsequent development this came to be labeled "Classics" (*ching*). Another branch of learning dealt with specific measures for establishing and governing the state, drawing lessons from past experience; this came to be called "History" (*shih*). Those two branches of learning united principles and applications, mutually supplementing and supporting each other. Still other works [i.e., "Philosophy," or *tzu*] were looked upon as mere miscellaneous learning (*tsa-hsüeh*): "For the scholar studies principles from the Classics whereby to set straight all the world's issues of true and false; he invokes events from the Histories whereby to make clear the reasons for success and failure. All the rest is miscellaneous learning" ("General Preface" to the "Division of Philosophy" in the *Comprehensive Catalogue to the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, i.e., "*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*," [1782]). The division of "Literature" (*chi*) comprises works specially organized to assemble together the poetry and prose of individual writers. The basic import of those four divisions lies in that, embodying a grand overview, they placed in chronological sequence all the cultural monuments produced in an age and arranged them according to definite logical relationships.

Within those Four Divisions (*ssu pu*), that is to say, within the overall system, subclassifications were established, to be increased or decreased, eliminated or changed, with considerable flexibility. One might describe this as "establishing the classifications according to the books themselves," so that when there were certain books to be included there then would be relevant classifications. Among all the listings of works found in the "Treatises on Literature" in various dynastic histories, and in the various influential collectors' catalogues and general catalogues, no two are wholly the same. The *General Catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* is

only one among all these, and the classification system of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* is suited for use only with the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*; it is one classic representative of the Four Divisions classification system, but it should not simply be taken as being in itself the Four Divisions classification system.

The origins of the Four Divisions classification system can be traced to the *Ch'i-lüeh*,<sup>19</sup> took fixed form in the *Sui shu*, "Ching-chi chih" [Official history of the Sui Dynasty, "Treatise on Literature"],<sup>20</sup> and reached its final perfection in the *General Catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* [1782]. These classification systems were continuously developing, ever changing.

The *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* is but a selective compilation, and its "General Catalogue" is a catalogue of recommended or favored works;<sup>21</sup> it is different from the various "treatises on literature" (*ching-chi chih*, *i-wen chih*) in the dynastic histories in that it was not intended to cover comprehensively all the works produced in a dynastic era. Further, it excluded the works in collectanea that touch on the fields of Classics and Histories, works on religions other than Buddhism and Taoism, short story collections, detective fiction, and historical romances, for which works its classification system provides no place. In addition, with the growth of scholarship, writings started to appear after the end of the Ch'ien-lung reign [1796] in fields such as epigraphy that pushed scholarship to new heights; in breadth of development, excellence of research, systematic character of presentation, and bulk of production, scholarship far surpassed that of earlier eras. That work, of course, must be provided a place in classification schemata.

How most appropriately such matters should be resolved is a problem still awaiting a full solution. This problem has been debated for close to a century during which scholars have often been constrained by their personal particularisms, so that there has been little chance for relatively complete and ideal proposals to assume form.

In the process of compiling the "National Union Catalogue of *Shan-pen* among Old Chinese Editions," a classification table has, to be sure, been set forth, but it is no more than a temporary proposal; it is neither complete nor ideal, as problems still exist. To solve these there must be a process of preparation, and a penetrating qualitative recognition of the issues involved

in such a system will be necessary, along with the need to make quite clear just what kinds of books are to be included in such a systematically organized catalogue.

For these reasons there exists at the present time no generally used classification system for old books, or for rare books, and it will be necessary to establish such a system on the basis of actual experience, and then only when the final text of the catalogue has been completed.

As for storing such a catalogue in computers in order to provide searching from many different points of departure, does that mean that it would then become unnecessary to compile a classified catalogue apart from the computerized one? I personally hold a conservative view of that issue: (1) It continues to be appropriate to preserve that feature of Chinese old book catalogues that allows them to function as outline histories of learning, whereby "learning and scholarship are discerned and made manifest, and the evidence for successive stages of development is revealed." The function of bibliographic guidance that supplies to those first undertaking a new field of research is simply not to be improved upon by any other system for searching. (2) Although machine-readable catalogues have gradually come into prominence, because of a number of circumstances they must for some time continue to be used in tandem with printed catalogues, somewhat in the manner in which following the rise of woodblock printing techniques, manuscript copies still continued to exist. Moreover, to have only the name of the book, the author's name, the date of engraving and printing, and a note on the content would not provide a framework adequate to support a catalogue of traditional Chinese books.

#### NOTES

This essay by the eminent scholar-bibliographer of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Beijing, is based on his lecture delivered at Princeton University in May 1989. His Chinese text has been translated for publication here; the footnotes and all interpolated words in square brackets have been added by the translators. Parentheses are as in the original. The editor hopes that a future

issue of the *Journal* will include another article written by Mr. Cui, based on a lecture presented to a workshop for Chinese bibliographers during the summer of 1989.

1. For the collector Ting Ping (1832–1899), see his biography by Tu Lien-che in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,

- 1943–1944), pp. 726–727. His family collection's catalogue, *Shan-pen shu-shih ts'ang-shu-chih*, in 40 *chüan*, was prepared between 1896 and 1899 and first printed in 1901.
2. The *Ching-shih t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* is the rare books catalogue of the library founded in 1909 by the Ministry of Education; in 1928 it became the famed National Library of Pei-p'ing, a portion of whose rarest books were stored at the Library of Congress in Washington during the years of the Sino-Japanese war and are now held by the National Central Library in Taipei. The catalogue referred to here is that in 5 *chüan* prepared by Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1929), perhaps the most famed scholar-bibliographer of his time.
  3. The *Kuo-hsüeh t'u-shu-kuan ts'ang-shu mu-lu* is the catalogue of the library founded in Nanking in 1909 to house the Ting family collection (see note 1, above) acquired at that time by the imperial government to prevent its being sold to Japan. Miao Ch'üan-sun became its first librarian. This library was first known as the Chiang-nan t'u-shu-kuan; in 1929 its name was changed to the Kiangsu Provincial Sinological Library (Chiang-su sheng-li kuo-hsüeh t'u-shu-kuan). Its extensive catalogue first appeared in 1935.
  4. "Ch'üan-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu tsung-mu shou-lu fan-wei."
  5. In a letter responding to the editor's request for clarification of this point, Professor Cui replied as follows: "My intent is to point out that as any text undergoes copying of the manuscript and transmission in manuscript form, and then is engraved on blocks, for a

number of reasons such as differences among the copyings that could serve as the basis for cutting printing blocks, differences in division of the text into chapters and sections, errors and omissions of words and passages, principal text and commentary becoming confused with each other, copying and transmitting of text being variously dated, and the material elements (e.g., paper) often being different from one specimen to another, each specimen of a printed work comes to possess its specific individual qualities. In woodblock printing a number of copies can be printed from one set of blocks, and despite the passage of time and great distances separating the places where specimens of that printing are held, the exemplars printed from the same blocks will possess their special shared characteristics (block format, number of lines, style of characters, printers' colophons and cartouches, prefaces and postfaces, textual errors), so that the books printed from the same blocks constitute a group. All the members of a group have the same special characteristics. When a particular exemplar displays differences in appearance, those can be compared with another specimen for verification. In preparing a catalogue that includes information on editions, one must pay particular attention to these factors in order not to produce different entries for the same edition or the same entry for different editions." We may amplify Professor Cui's comments as follows: The use of terms can be confusing; normally we use the word "copy" to designate one example of the printing of a book, but "six copies" may

- or may not refer to identical copies. Here the words "specimen" and "exemplar" are used to mean a book as a physical unit. The specimens or exemplars within a single group as defined here may or may not be identical copies, for in a later printing from the same set of printing blocks, differences can be introduced. The problem is to distinguish those exemplars that, despite some such introduced differences (such as added prefaces or postfaces, new title page with different data, slight alterations of printing blocks to credit a different publisher, alteration of certain characters to observe taboos of a subsequent reign), nonetheless are printings from the same engraving of the original blocks, and thus constitute members of one "group," and to differentiate them from exemplars printed from a different engraving of the printing blocks. The latter, even when based on the former in some closer or less close fashion, must be taken to represent a different group. In practice such distinctions can be readily overlooked, and may be difficult to establish. The cataloguer must have access to the actual exemplars or to facsimile (xerox) reproductions, and cannot rely solely on descriptive data of the kind that appear in catalogues.
6. "Catalogue of the Library of Sui-ch'u," by Yu Mou (1127-1193/94); see Yves Hervouet, comp., *A Sung Bibliography of Bibliographies* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), p. 103, where it is described as "Earliest extant catalog of a private collection, with information on editions."
  7. "Annotations on Editions of Books Listed in the Abridged Catalog of the Ssu-k'ü Collection," comp. Shao I-ch'en (1810-1861); see Tsuen-hsui Tsien, *China: An Annotated Bibliography of Bibliographies* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), p. 171.
  8. "A Bookseller's Random Notes," by Sun Tien-ch'i (Peking, 1936); see Tsuen-hsui Tsien, *China*, p. 20.
  9. See Ming-sun Poon, "The Printer's Colophon in Sung China, 960-1279," *Library Quarterly* 43.3 (January 1973), pp. 39-52.
  10. In recent correspondence with the editor, Mr. Cui further elaborates this point: "The so-called narrow columns page format of traditional Chinese books by and large is a matter of the visual impression it conveys. In some such Chinese books, the shape of the characters tends to be long and slender, giving the impression that the line spacing is narrower than that of other books. However, there are also books the line spacing of which is indeed narrower, if we take into consideration the length and width of the page."
  11. For a discussion of Chao Meng-fu's calligraphy, see Frederick W. Mote et al., "The Impact of Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), in Late Yüan and Ming," *Gest Library Journal* 2.2 (1988), pp. 111-132.
  12. The translation of the title is taken from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. 6.1, p. 291. The edition in question is discussed in *ibid.*, vol. 5.1, "Paper and Printing," by Tsien Tsuen-hsui, pp. 170 and 216. The Library of Congress holds an incomplete (13 of 30 *chüan*) copy of the edition in question; it and other editions of the work are discussed

- in *A Descriptive Catalog of Rare Chinese Books in the Library of Congress*, comp. Wang Chung-min, ed. T. L. Yüan, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1957), pp. 529–537. Princeton possesses only one rare edition of this. It is a later reprinting of the work, a palace edition dated to 1587; see Ch'ü Wan-li, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library* (Taipei: Yi-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1975), p. 244. Cataloguers have described this work as a T'ai-ho reign period (1201–1208) revision of a work originally compiled in the Cheng-ho reign period (1111–1118) of the Southern Sung dynasty.
13. *Ming Shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), ch. 259, p. 6689.
  14. Chao Chün's name occasionally appears as Chao Ling-chün.
  15. The Gest Collection holds four works in Ming editions related in various ways to Wang K'en-t'ang's medical compilations; see Ch'ü Wan-li's *A Catalogue*, pp. 256–257. Three works in Ming editions held by the Library of Congress that relate to this publication are described in Wang Chung-min's *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 521–522. It is apparent that various rare books collections' holdings of this work should be re-examined in the light of the discussion here.
  16. An important example of this is the *Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien*, by Cheng Jo-tseng (fl. 1505–1580; see Cheng's biography by Stanley Y. C. Huang in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. Carrington Goodrich [New York: Columbia University Press, 1976], pp. 204–208). A famous geographical work stressing coastal defense, it was first printed in 1561 in an edition that was not widely circulated. The blocks later came into the possession of the Hu family whose ancestor, Hu Tsung-hsien, had been supreme commander for coastal defense in the 1550s and 1560s, and who had sponsored Cheng Jo-tseng's compilation. Hu's descendants had the blocks altered to indicate that Hu Tsung-hsien had written the work, and published it from the "converted blocks" in 1592 and 1624. The latter printing was widely circulated, and until the 1930s it was not known that Cheng Jo-tseng was the actual author-compiler. The Princeton copy of the original 1561 edition is perhaps the only printed copy in existence, although an apparently unique copy of a reprinting of 1572 was discovered in the Tsing-hua University Library in the 1930s, allowing Cheng's authorship to be established at that time.
  17. Both terms, somewhat interchangeable, imply engraving new blocks that closely adhere to the model of, but are not necessarily exact facsimile re-engravings (*ying-k'o*) of, existing editions.
  18. The "Six Arts" refer to propriety (*li*), music (*yüeh*), archery (*she*), riding (*yü*), writing (*shu*), and arithmetic (*shu*).
  19. A survey of writings compiled by Liu Hsin, who died in A.D. 23; it is generally regarded as the starting point in the history of Chinese cataloguing systems. It established seven major subject categories for books then extant. See Chang Shun-hui, "Chung-kuo ku-shu te pu-lei" (The classification categories of ancient Chinese books), originally published in Peking, 1962, as reprinted in Liu Chia-pi (J. B. Liu), *Chung-kuo t'u-*

- shu shih tzu-liao chi* (Resources on the history of Chinese books and printing) (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1974), pp. 271–282.
20. Compiled about A.D. 650, it was the first official bibliography to adopt the fourfold classification scheme and the only bibliography compiled for standard histories between the Han and the T'ang dynasties; see Tsuen-hsui Tsien, *China*, p. 49.
21. It provides annotated bibliographical entries for 3,461 approved works and for 6,793 others that were criticized as not meriting inclusion in the *Complete Library*. Between ten and twenty thousand other works then extant are not mentioned. See Tsuen-hsui Tsien, *China*, pp. 17–19; there is an extensive literature on the selection for and exclusion from the so-called *Complete Library*.

GLOSSARY

- Anhwei 安徽
- Chang Shun-hui 張舜徽
- ch'ang-Sung 長宋
- Chang-tsung 章宗
- Chao Fan-fu 趙凡夫
- Chao Huan-kuang 趙管光
- Chao [Ling-]chün 趙鏗均
- Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫
- Chekiang 浙江
- Ch'en Wen-chu 陳文燭
- Cheng-chih chun-sheng 証治準繩
- Cheng-ho 政和
- Ch'eng Hsü 程籍
- Cheng Jo-tseng 鄭若曾
- Cheng-te 正德
- chi 集
- Ch'i-lüeh 七略
- chi-wen 祭文
- chi-yu 己酉
- Chia-ching 嘉靖
- Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶
- chia-tzu 甲子
- Chiang-nan t'u-shu-kuan 江南圖書館
- Chiang-su sheng-li kuo-hsüeh t'u-shu-kuan 江蘇省立國學圖書館
- Ch'ien-lung 乾隆
- Chin 金
- Ch'in-ling 秦嶺
- ching 經
- Ching-chi chih 經籍志
- Ching-shih t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu  
京師圖書館善本書目
- Chou Hao 周鎬
- Chou Shih 周詩
- Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien 籌海圖編
- chüan 卷
- Ch'üan-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu tsung-mu  
shou-lu fan-wei 全國古籍善本書總目收錄範圍
- chuan-pan 轉版
- Ch'ung-chen 崇禎
- Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei  
pei-yung pen-ts'ao 重修政和經史證類備用本草
- ch'ung-k'o pen 重刻本
- Chung-kuo ku-shu te pu-lei 中國古籍的部類

- Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*  
中國圖書史資料集
- Cui Jian-ying 崔建英  
fan-k'o pen 番禺刻本  
fan-li 凡例  
*Fan-shu ou-chi* 販書偶記  
Feng Yu-ching 馮有經  
fu-lu 附錄  
Güyug 貴州  
Han 漢  
Hangchow 杭州  
hei-k'ou 黑口  
Ho Chih-jen 賀知忍  
*Ho Po-chai wen-chi* 何柏齋文集  
Ho T'ang 何瑋  
Hsi-tsung 熹宗  
Hsiung T'ing-pi 熊廷弼  
Hu Tsung-hsien 胡宗憲  
Huai River 淮河  
Hu-chou 湖州  
Hui-ming Studio 晦明軒  
Hunan 湖南  
Hung-chih 弘治  
*I-shu liu-ching* 醫易六經  
I-wen chih 藝文志  
jen-shen 壬申  
K'ang-hsi 康熙  
Kiangsi 江西  
Kiangsu 江蘇  
ku-tung 古董  
Kuang-hsü 光緒  
Kuang-ling 廣陵  
Kuei Ch'ang-shih 歸昌世  
*Kuei Hsien-sheng wen-chi* 歸先生文集
- Kuei T'ai-p'u chi hsü 歸太僕集序  
kuei-yu 葵酉  
Kuei Yu-kuang 歸有光  
*Kuo-hsüeh t'u-shu-kuan ts'ang-shu mu-lu*  
國學圖書館藏書目錄  
li 禮  
Liang-che 兩浙  
Liao-ning 遼寧  
Liao-tung 遼東  
Liu Chia-pi 劉家璧  
Liu Hsin 劉歆  
liu-i 六藝  
*Liu-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* 六科證治準繩  
Liu Kung-ch'üan 柳公權  
*Liu-shu Han-i* 六書漢義  
Lung-ch'ing 隆慶  
Ma Ju-chang 馬汝彰  
Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫  
*Nü-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng* 女科証治準繩  
Nurhaci 努爾哈齊  
Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢  
p'ai-chi 牌記  
pai-k'ou 白口  
pan-pen mu-lu 版本目錄  
ping-tzu 丙子  
san-hsing chiu-t'iao 三姓九條  
*Shang-han cheng-chih chun-sheng*  
傷寒証治準繩  
shan-pen 善本  
*Shan-pen shu-shih ts'ang-shu-chih*  
善本書室藏書志  
Shao I-ch'en 邵懿辰  
she 射  
Shen-yang 瀋陽

- shih 室  
 shih 乂  
 shu 書  
 shu 術  
 Shun-chih 順治  
 Shuo-wen ch'ang-chien 說文長箋  
 Soochow 蘇州  
 ssu-k'u 四庫  
 Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu piao-chu  
 四庫簡明日錄標注  
 Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu 四庫全書總目  
 ssu-pu 四部  
 Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu 遂初堂書目  
 Sui shu, "Ching-chi chih" 隋書經籍志  
 Sung 宋  
 Sung-chiang 松江  
 T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌  
 T'ai-ho 泰和  
 T'ai-p'ing 太平  
 T'ai-p'u-ssu ch'eng Kuei Chen-ch'uan hsien-sheng chi 太僕寺丞歸震川先生集  
 T'ai-p'u-ssu ch'eng Kuei Chen-ch'uan hsien-sheng mu-piao 太僕寺丞歸震川先生墓表  
 t'ang 堂  
 Tao-kuang 道光  
 t'i-chih 題識  
 T'ien-ch'i 天啟  
 Ting Ping 丁丙  
 Ting-tsung 定宗  
 tsa-hsüeh 雜學  
 Tsa-ping cheng-chih lei-fang 雜病證治類方  
 T'ung-chih 同治  
 tzu 子  
 Tzu-hu 子祐  
 Tzu-ning 子寧  
 Wan-li 萬曆  
 Wang K'en-t'ang 王肯堂  
 Weng Liang-yü 翁良喻  
 Yangchow 揚州  
 Yang-i chun-sheng 瘍醫辨論  
 yü 御  
 Yü-chin Hall 雨金堂  
 Yü-hai-lou 玉海樓  
 Yü-ho Hall 玉禾堂  
 Yu-k'o cheng-chih chun-sheng 幼科証治辨論  
 Yu Mou 尤袤  
 Yüan 元  
 Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰  
 yüeh 嶽  
 Yung-cheng 雍正  
 Yung-ch'un-t'ang chi 詠春堂集

# Chinese Rare Books in the Modern Research Library

F. W. MOTE

## ANOMALIES

Most research libraries have a division for rare books and special collections, and these often hold the items by which an institution's library is best known. Their importance for scholarship, as well as their value as rare objects, justifies specially qualified curators, preservation and conservation facilities, special reading and seminar rooms, and a full range of support facilities. In some, like New York's famed Morgan Library, rare books and manuscripts plus priceless prints and drawings comprise almost the entire library collection. In the Princeton University Library, as in most research libraries, recent and more ordinary publications form the bulk of the collection, although Princeton's Firestone Library too has truly grand collections of Western rare books and manuscripts. Grand as those special collections are, the Rare Books Division does not account for a large percentage of the total library holdings, yet it would be difficult to imagine our university functioning without that invaluable and well-served asset. Nor could that asset serve the university and the scholarly world if it were not provided the space, the specialized curatorial staff, the maintenance and acquisitions budgets, and all the other rather elaborate supports that it possesses.

In those spheres of East Asian scholarship in which we at Princeton participate, there are both similarities and differences. On the one hand, the Gest Collection possesses one of the two or three largest and most important Chinese rare books collections in the Western world. Its "rare books,"

depending on how one defines the term, constitute 25 or 30 percent of the entire East Asian Library, and it possesses significant beginnings of collections in Japanese, Korean, Manchu, Tibetan, Mongolian, and other East Asian fields as well. That library serves a strong group of resident scholars as well as many who come from elsewhere just to use the library. It is an unusually well staffed library. Its physical space in Palmer Hall, until it began to run out of space two or three years ago, was one of the most pleasant places on campus to study, or to enjoy oneself just quietly reading for recreation. Everyone who uses the Gest Library, as the East Asian Research Library is usually called, knows that behind the locked doors of the special collections room there is a rare books collection of fabled richness. Yet that collection has no curator, no seminar rooms or study spaces, no supports such as photographic equipment, no conservator in a conservation workshop, not even its own microfilming shop. On Tuesday mornings and Thursday afternoons during the school year a member of the library staff sits behind the locked door, prepared to open it at the knock of anyone who may wish to use the books, but it is well known that the librarian assigned to that task is not there to service that collection.

Compared with the place of the Rare Books Division in the university's main library, the rare books collection in its East Asian Research Library appears to be a curious anomaly. On the one hand, it is at the very least of comparable importance in size and quality to the university's Western rare books holdings. Moreover, thanks to the devoted support provided by the Friends of the Gest Library in recent years, the rare books collection in the Gest Library has acquired (I would estimate) more, and more important, new additions to its holdings than any other East Asian university library in North America. Moreover: (1) it has been the base for a just concluded (with outside funding) four-year bibliographic project for Chinese rare books; (2) its curator has headed a national project just now getting underway to compile a union register of all Chinese rare books in North America; (3) it is alone among American university collections in having published a scholarly catalogue of its rare books holdings (as of 1972) and has a supplement to that now in press; and (4) it publishes the *Gest Library Journal*, the only specialized East Asian library journal in this country. The rare books section of the Gest Library, on that evidence, seems to be a rather lively place. Yet it languishes without the physical and staff supports that it clearly would need to function the way the library's Western Rare Books

Division functions in the life of the university and of the scholarly world. Moreover, no other university collection of East Asian rare books in the country fares a great deal better, and few fare as well. The problem is not unique to Princeton. One thus is forced to bring into review the question, What is the proper place of the East Asian rare books collections in the operations of the research library? *Is it enough* that we collect (through the generosity of special Friends) and house (in cramped and not very usable space) and preserve (but without the services of conservators) our rare books? Or is our field of study diminished by our undeniable failure to service more fully, and to exploit more thoroughly, the priceless resource represented by the rare books collections? The way that question is phrased of course leaves little doubt about this writer's answer; *it is not enough*.

Some of the responsibility for that state of affairs rests above all with the scholars in the field. East Asian scholars, in general, are not themselves well trained in the uses of rare books, and even when they are they seldom train their students thoroughly in their uses. First of all, the truism that rare books collections have high utility for scholarship must be meaningfully demonstrated to a student audience for which that is but one among many difficulties to be faced in becoming highly competent. The dilemma is that while one cannot expect all scholars in the field also to be their own experts on this subject, neither can scholars dispense with that expertise. The way that Chinese and Japanese scholars in the past have always used their highly specialized bibliographic knowledge is still the way by which sound scholarship should be done, yet many younger scholars (here and in Asia) do not feel that they have the luxury of doing scholarship in that way. That means, simply, that they are not being trained to be good scholars.

There is another important dimension to the utility of rare books collections. Beyond allowing scholars to get at the content of our rare books, rare books collections also must help students of the East Asian civilizations understand the relevance of the traditional book for the life of the society that produced them. Simply as material objects, old books whether rare or not are cultural artifacts. As such, they reveal the aesthetic, intellectual, technological, and practical aspects of the great East Asian civilizations. If that seems to be an obvious point, it is nonetheless one that is not well established in scholarship. To confine these remarks to China, the society that produced most of the Gest Library's present rare books holdings (though important Mongolian, Korean, and Japanese holdings have re-

cently been added), there as yet exists no social history of the Chinese book, or of Chinese printing, in any language. Most of what we might call the social aspects of books, including the technology and the organization of book production; the nature of specialized skills in book production and distribution, and their transmission; the place of books in commerce and in the local and national economy; their market value; cultural and psychological aspects of their significance for collectors; their changing functions in learning and in the transmission of knowledge; and their aesthetic importance — all these and other aspects of the problem remain to be fully understood.

But which must come first? Must the field generally acquire the sophistication in this subdivision of its scholarly activities that will lead scholars to demand a fully functioning rare books library operation, at Princeton and at comparable research centers? Or must those scholarly librarians and specialists who are responsible for our rare books collections first demonstrate the books' undeniable (but often ignored) importance and intrinsic value, in order to bring the field along to a higher standard? In my view, libraries are always far ahead of scholars in anticipating needs and preparing the means by which scholarship functions. This clearly is a task that the library must perform, for the future soundness of the field. This is made especially important because East Asian studies is a recent implant in our society's life. It is a field in which we have expected intellectual standards and scholarly leadership to come from the countries studied, not from our own society. But that no longer provides an adequate basis for the greatly expanding scope and importance of our nation's East Asian studies. There are now aspects of this field in which leadership must come from within our own society. That is true in many developing fields of East Asian research, and it also is true in many aspects of East Asian librarianship. A new era for the rare books divisions of our East Asian libraries is with us. We must give thought to the implications of this fact.

The present writer is not competent to address the full range of issues facing East Asian rare books collections, and hopes that others may offer thoughts on the special problems of Japanese, Korean, Inner Asian, and Southeast Asian rare books. The issues confronting the place of Chinese rare books collections in our libraries, seen from the vantage point offered by our experience in our Gest Library, form the subject of the discussion that follows.

## THE PRIMARY CONCERN — BOOKS AS TEXTS

As scholars using libraries, we all know that books are valued for their content, for the meaning of the words on their pages. Rare books may be texts of intrinsic importance that exist in no other edition. That is especially the case for Chinese rare books. Often, however, we have modern standard editions that make it possible, if not wise, to skip the steps of determining facts about the transmission of a text, and deciding whether modern standard editions are adequate for our purposes. For in many cases, our older editions (including of course our rare editions) may have words, passages, whole items, that do not appear in other more ordinary editions. These may be writings not otherwise preserved, or variant versions that can be used for correcting standard texts, or they may preserve alternative traditions of explanation and interpretation of classic texts. Exploiting these features of rare books are the straightforward scholarly uses of rare books; they represent what we may call the concern for the text.

For these uses, a modern facsimile reproduction or a microfilm would seem to serve as well as the original. If we could systematically procure such reproductions when we needed them, would that not obviate the need for research libraries to have their own rare books collections? Good efficient managerial types in library administrations (who, usually, do not themselves use books) have been known to say that we should film all of our bulky, difficult-to-manage old editions and give the originals away, or just place them in some form of inaccessible storage where they will be out of the way. That logic might turn the Morgan Library into a very small museum, or might transform the Folger Library of Shakespearean rare books into a few feet of shelves containing rolls of microfilms. Microfilming indeed is desirable for preservation (although there is as yet no clear evidence that film will last nearly as long as the paper on which our thousand-year-old books are printed), but microfilm and other facsimile reproductions in any event can spare rare books the wear from handling and reading that fragile old books and manuscripts may suffer. Yet they will never replace all the uses to be realized from examining the original objects, even for scholars narrowly concerned with the texts per se.

Beyond these narrowly focused concerns with their content, all rare books and especially East Asian rare books and manuscripts have other kinds of relevance, as objects, not as texts. Some, especially Western and

Middle Eastern rare books antedating the use of printing, possess inestimable value as works of art. Even more prosaic rare books, including most Chinese rare books, reveal to us central aspects of the civilizations that produced them. The shelves filled with sixteenth- to nineteenth-century European and American editions of the Greek and Latin classics in Firestone Library's Rare Books Division, with their fine paper, outstanding typography, and elegant bindings, as objects indeed reveal much about Western civilization in those centuries. But it may be fair to say that the scholarly concerns with their texts — as preserved in those rare editions — have been heavily worked over and are more or less exhausted, hence not often at the forefront of current scholarly attention in the late twentieth century. That does not diminish their value, nor should it suggest that they should be preserved only in the form of readily stored rolls of microfilm.

A large portion of our Chinese and other East Asian rare books are the cultural analogues to those sixteenth- to nineteenth-century editions of the Greek and Latin writers, but they have different and perhaps somewhat larger scholarly significance for East Asian scholarship. Our concerns with them as texts have not been exhausted. To a larger extent than in comparable Western scholarship, whole works exist that are not otherwise preserved in modern editions. There also are many variant versions of texts, of high significance for basic scholarship, that have not been studied. Scholars can be expected to come to the Gest Library to gain access to rare or even unique versions of the Chinese classics in their two-thousand-year-old exegetical traditions, and of the later writers whose place in history is subject to ongoing reevaluation. To continue the comparison with the Western classics, the uses to which the Chinese rare books in the Gest collection can be put undoubtedly have larger and more important significance for students of Chinese civilization than have the comparable Greek and Latin classics in their rare books editions for Western students of our classical history. The texts of Herodotus and Cicero, as well as the traditions of their explication, probably draw few scholars to the rare books divisions of our research libraries. The well-developed scholarly bases for such study are to be found in the regular stacks of the research library. The Chinese rare books in the Gest and similar collections themselves represent the well-developed scholarly bases for comparable study of the East Asian civilizations. Yet these traditional bases of modern scholarly effort have been only

partially and imperfectly utilized in recent times, and only in small proportion have they been transferred into the formats of ordinary modern books.

The scholarly concern with the texts per se thus gives the rare books divisions of the East Asian research library a central place in its functioning. These concerns are the essential justification for properly housing, staffing, and supporting our East Asian rare books collections.

#### OPENING NEW VISTAS

The place of what we now call “rare books” — though it would seem more correct just to say “books” — in the life of Chinese civilization is an important adjunct to our study of China. This gives our rare books collections a further realm of meaning. The book in its traditional formats, as object, and the lore associated with it, become evidence for the character of the civilization itself. Our libraries, and especially our rare books collections, must be able to present this aspect of the civilization to their users. For this they might best combine the methods of both museums and libraries, as adjuncts to teaching. Collections must be studied with this function in mind, and the books must be regularly displayed and discussed, as well as being catalogued and safely stored.

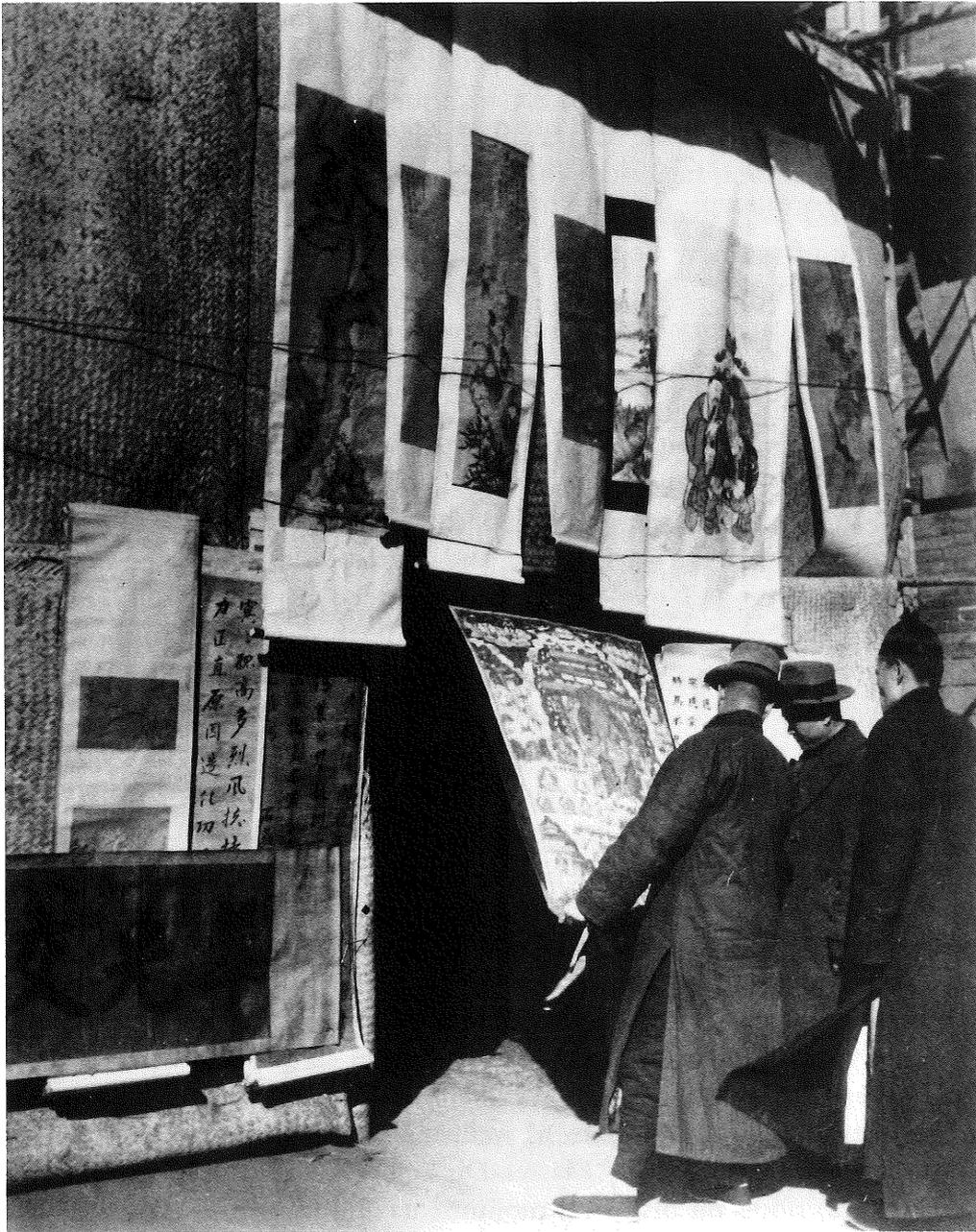
To establish my point more clearly, I would like to digress from the foregoing argument long enough to discuss at some length two scholarly studies that offer valuable insights into the importance of books and book collecting in the life of China from late imperial days to the mid-twentieth century. One, produced in mainland China, offers absorbing accounts of the national rare books market in late Ming and Ch’ing times at Peking. The other, produced in Taiwan, tells of the collectors who created the most important collections from the closing decades of the last dynasty through the mid-twentieth century. They unexpectedly open new vistas on the entire civilization of China. By revealing to us those aspects of the place of books in the old Chinese society, they can help us understand how the research library must be prepared to make the entire subject of the East Asian book accessible to students of those civilizations.

I begin with the book whose title may be translated *A Small Gazetteer of the Liu-li-ch’ang*.<sup>1</sup> The Liu-li-ch’ang, literally “the glazing workyard,” is a

district within the city of Peking. It takes its name from the workyard and kilns where glazed roof tiles for the imperial palaces were manufactured, from the fifteenth century when Peking was being rebuilt to serve as the Ming capital, until the tile factory was moved away in the nineteenth century. The main street running through that quarter was called simply Liu-li-ch'ang, and that name was extended to the surrounding quarter, with its many side streets, temples, gardens, open spaces, and bridges over a small stream. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the end of the Ming, it was becoming the location for book dealers. It also attracted dealers in other things that book buyers might appreciate, such as brushes, paper and ink, rubbings, paintings, and antiques. There were two or three other sites within Peking where some bookstores existed, but by the eighteenth century, at the height of the Ch'ing dynasty under the Ch'ien-lung emperor (r. 1736–1796), the Liu-li-ch'ang dominated the book trade at the capital.



1. This photograph, entitled "Beijing's Antique Alley: Liulichang Street," appeared in *MOR China Letter* 2.11 (Detroit, December 1988). It was taken by Barbara Kelley in September 1988 and is used with her kind permission. In her article in that issue of *MOR China Letter* she describes how the Liu-li-ch'ang (in mainland romanization: Liulichang) has become a street of small businesses, mainly selling antiques and art products to tourists. The street is preserved for its unusually elegant shop buildings, but these no longer hold any old Chinese books.



2. The New Year Fair at Liu-li-ch'ang was of special importance for the sale of paintings and other works of art. This picture and the one of the bookshop (Illustration 4), with their captions, are taken from Hedda Morrison, *A Photographer in Old Peking* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), with the permission of Oxford University Press.

Some of the booksellers also became small-scale publishers. Many of them were recognized as experts whose specialized knowledge drew the scholarly elite of the nation into contact with them. The book world that centered on the Liu-li-ch'ang was a principal element in the life of Chinese scholar-officialdom, hence one of the keys to our understanding of the society in which they lived.

The title of the new book about the Liu-li-ch'ang in Ch'ing and later times uses the term "*hsiao-chih*," loosely translated "small gazetteer." That places it in the category of *chih* or gazetteers, the distinctive format for local histories. "Small gazetteers" were local histories of localities smaller than a county ("*hsien*"), the base unit in Chinese administrative geography. A "small gazetteer" might focus on the history of a sub-county district, a quarter of a city, a temple or an academy, or some other feature of special interest. Sun Tien-ch'i, the compiler of this small gazetteer, was himself the owner of a bookstore in the Liu-li-ch'ang district called the Studio of Comprehensive Learning (T'ung-hsüeh chai), founded in 1919 (page 121).<sup>2</sup> Earlier he had been an apprentice in another bookstore, founded in the 1880s, called the Majestic Capital Hall (Hung-ching t'ang). The old bookstores all had elegant names of that kind, suggesting an aura of learning and elite lifestyles, not one of crass commerce. In his prefatory comments, Sun states that over the years he collected writings about the Liu-li-ch'ang, drawing on old books, diaries, magazines, even the modern newspapers. The writings range from formal essays to snippets from larger works, from poems to scholarly notes. To that he has added systematic information based on his own experiences and observations. His "small gazetteer" thus is a fairly large work in six chapters: (1) a general historical introduction; (2) "The Cultivated Tastes of the Times," consisting largely of poems by Ch'ing-dynasty persons recording experiences in the Liu-li-ch'ang; (3) "Changes in the Book Trade," with the most detailed essays on the stores in the district at different times, as well as discussions of the other refined businesses located there; (4) "Master-Disciple Traditions among the Book Dealers"; (5) notes on historical monuments and sites within the district; (6) notes on scholars and important books they owned, or bought in the district.

The detailed data in Chapter Three on the individual stores in the Liu-li-ch'ang provide some of the most intriguing information. This chapter opens with a memoir on the Liu-li-ch'ang written in 1769 by Li Wen-tso,<sup>3</sup>

a scholar-official, when he spent several months in Peking awaiting a new assignment in provincial government. He arrived in the capital in the fifth lunar month of 1769, was formally received at court in the tenth month (after the Bureau of Personnel had decided on his next posting), was given the new posting three weeks later, and departed the capital on the long journey to his new post early in the eleventh month. A confirmed and quite expert bibliophile, he writes in his memoir:

On this occasion I resided in the capital for more than five months. I had few social obligations, and I am not fond of theatricals. My feet never crossed the doorways of tea-houses or wine-shops. My only activity was borrowing books to copy, and, when idle, to walk to the Liu-li-ch'ang to look at books. Although I did not buy so many books, there were few stores that I did not visit. During the long and sleepless nights while traveling away from the capital [he was posted to far-off Kwangtung Province] I would recall the name and location of each bookstore, and the general character of the books it sold, and I recorded that. The Liu-li-ch'ang takes its name from the kilns located there for firing glazed tiles. From east to west the street is more than two *li* in length [about two-thirds of one mile]. Just before entering the gate at its east end, there is a shop called The Hall of Far-off Sounds whose books are ragged and worn and often incomplete. Among those I nonetheless found a few items to buy, including *New Tales about Kwangtung* (*Kuang-tung hsin-yü*), perhaps an omen about the new post I was to receive.

Then he goes on to describe a walk from the east end of the street to the west, listing in sequence the names of twenty-nine bookstores and their owners, adding comments on their specializations, where they procured the books they sold, and in some cases, the books he acquired from them. For one example:

Next, to the west, on the north side of the street, one comes to the Hall of Treasured Name, owned by Mr. Chou. It originally specialized in selling printed lists of officials, laws and precedents, route books, and the like, but now has suddenly bought up the books from the residence of Prince Kuo,<sup>4</sup> more than two-thou-



3. The gate over the western entrance to the Liu-li-ch'ang as it appeared in the earlier part of the present century. From Andō Kōsei, *Peking annai ki* (Peking: Shin min yinshokan, 1941).

sand *t'ao* [stiff wrappers for sets of stitched volumes], all displayed there on shelves and racks, with gorgeous bindings and all bearing his seal.

He goes on to name some of the books he bought at that shop, including manuscript copies of rare items, and two Sung editions among several printed works. He mentions seeing there manuscript copies of the Ming-dynasty *Veritable Records* for certain reigns, and the manuscripts of some of the writings of the eminent scholar-litterateur Fang Pao.<sup>5</sup>

On the north side of the street the next store to the west is the Five Willows Residence of Mr. T'ao. It has only recently opened, yet its old books are particularly numerous. Every year he goes with the owner of the Hall of Literary Purity to Soochow to buy books which they transport back by the boatload.

Many of the bookstore owners were natives of Soochow or other places in the lower Yangtze region at the southern end of the Grand Canal; another large contingent was from Kiangsi Province. Those from the Peking region all seem to have been natives of one or two counties. Expertise in the book trade appears to have been highly localized, for reasons that social historians have not yet explored. The Peking region, except for the imperial printing works in the palace, was not a principal publishing center, nor could the North compare with the rich South in numbers of book collectors and book publishers. Yet all scholar-officials were compelled to reside in Peking while sitting for the examinations, and on several occasions later in their careers while awaiting new postings in the provinces. It was that repeated circulation of the scholar-official elite through the capital that enabled Pe-

king to play a central role in the book trade. Of course, those scholar-officials whose careers developed in the central government could form even closer associations with the book experts there, acquiring collections that eventually would be taken back to their native places when they retired. Thus one can see how the Liu-li-ch'ang functioned as the major book distribution and redistribution center for books from all over China used by the elite.<sup>6</sup>

A century-and-a-half later Li Wen-tsao's memoir inspired a similar description of the Liu-li-ch'ang, written by the famed bibliophile Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844-1919) in Shanghai in 1911 while Miao was sitting out the revolution that ended the Ch'ing dynasty. Miao states that during forty years' residence in Peking he developed close connections with the booksellers of the Liu-li-ch'ang. Following Li Wen-tsao's course through the booksellers' street from east to west, he listed twenty-seven notable bookstores within the Liu-li-ch'ang and three elsewhere in the city.<sup>7</sup> In the autumn of 1914 he returned to Peking to reside for a year, during which he noted many changes attendant on the new order following the revolution, and added a supplement to record the changes in the Liu-li-ch'ang. This time he listed and described thirty-nine bookstores, but he was not encouraged by that evidence of change; he commented: "The ways of the world change, each passing day a decline from the previous day; who knows where it will lead?" His comments on bookstore owners who were experts on rubbings, or manuscripts, or other bibliophile concerns as well as on old books, are often of great interest, and they show that the old standards still largely prevailed in 1914. Here is one example:

Next to the west is the Hall of the Precious Forest belonging to Li Yü-t'ing. He and Hsü Ts'ang-yai are now the doyens of the bookstore quarter. From him, in the past, I have purchased the writings of . . . ; as for what are called Sung-engraved or Yüan-engraved printings, he could distinguish them at a glance; as for Szechwan editions or Fukien editions, under his eyes no deception was possible.

And he goes on to tell how Mr. Li had once handed him a book and asked, "Is this a genuine Sung edition?" Miao wanted to say yes, on the basis of its elegantly antique appearance, but was not sure the paper looked that old, so hesitated to reply. Mr. Li then told him how to identify this particular



4. The bookshop. Old Chinese literary texts were frequently reprinted with or without additional commentaries, resulting in an enormous literary output and a great volume of work for booksellers, bibliophiles, and librarians.

pseudo-Sung piece of fakery.<sup>8</sup> Such skill was a major element in the mystique of rare book identification, a skill that all learned persons should attempt to know something about, yet one in which the most learned scholars could be confounded by the best book dealers.

Sun Tien-ch'i, the compiler of this "small gazetteer," adds a third account of the Liu-li-ch'ang written by himself about 1946. The great changes in the modern publishing industry had induced the virtual demise of block printing, and the mass production of cheap new books printed by typography also brought about new ways of book selling; these modernizing changes are clearly reflected in Sun's account. He lists all the bookstores on all the side streets as well as the main Liu-li-ch'ang thoroughfare, including all those known to have existed after 1911 whether or not still in existence. His list, which appears to be exhaustive, thus runs to 218 stores in the Liu-li-ch'ang quarter, as well as 85 in other parts of the city. He does not rigorously distinguish those specializing in old books from all those now selling ordinary modern mechanically produced editions; thus his long list does not necessarily imply an expansion of the old book trade. But the information about each store's owners and staff as well as comments on noteworthy books that passed through their hands is more detailed than in the previous accounts. Finally, a further supplement (page 231) by Lei Meng-shui, described as a disciple of Sun, brings the account up to 1958, the year that the nationalization of all private businesses finally brought an end to the existence of the old bookstores. In that ninth year of the Communist state (pages 140-157), Lei still could describe 47 bookstores in the Liu-li-ch'ang, a few of which represent continuations from stores listed in Miao Ch'üan-sun's 1911 list. It is of interest to me that the Lai-hsün Ko store (that name means something like "approach and immerse yourself in noble fragrance"), at which I purchased books in the mid-1940s, and which was founded in 1911 (pages 128, 145), was still in existence in 1958, and its owner is described as one of the most knowledgeable old-style experts still in the trade. I have a copy of that store's two-volume catalogue of their stock in hand, printed in 1944; now when I look through the tens of thousands of listings, and note the prices, I am forced to sigh with regrets that echo those of Miao Ch'üan-sun in 1914 (above). There is no bookstore like that in all of East Asia today. The trade in old books has virtually ended, there being no longer the possibility of going to Soochow to "transport them back by the boatload." The few rare, or even "ordinary" old-

style books that come on to the market now are treated like antiques. None can be legally exported from China. It is no longer possible to create important new collections, and the few extensive collections in existence at places like Princeton, practically speaking, must serve the needs of the entire growing field of East Asian studies in the West, now and for all time.

The second recent book that brings the nature of the Chinese rare book clearly into focus is called *Thirty Book Collectors of Recent Times* (*Chin-tai ts'ang-shu san-shih-chia*), and is written by Su Ching.<sup>9</sup> This elegantly written collection of thirty studies of eminent book collectors, born between 1844 and 1907, brings us to the middle of the present century. Their collections have virtually all been dispersed, most of their holdings going, in one way or another, into public collections. These studies show us the last phase of private rare book collecting in China. The thirty individuals range from aesthetes who looked upon rare books as beautiful objects of admiration, to scholars who looked upon them as tools for collating and emending texts of old writings, to other scholars who valued them for their historical and literary content. Some were old-style scholar-officials of the late Ch'ing and the Republican era, some were politicians who carried on family traditions of book collecting but were not themselves knowledgeable, some were new-style scholars who helped to establish the modern critical uses of old texts for scholarship. In all these widely varied kinds of careers, we see the continuing if changing importance of old books in the life of the society. They were objects of a highly specialized form of commerce in a nationwide organization of buying and selling. They were objects of pride in maintaining the forms and values of elite life. They were objects of a new kind of national interest, to be protected and collected by the modern nation-state in competition with foreigners (especially the national enemy in the first half of this century, the Japanese) who would like to buy them and take them away. Above all, they were indispensable tools of a critical scholarly activity, a changing activity at once heir to old traditions in learning and a vehicle for intellectual modernization. The most valued rare books prior to about 1900 were still the ancient classics, the histories, and the classical writings of the later scholar-official elite. After the early part of the century the new trends in scholarship led to the search for old editions of novels and entertainment literature, dramas and storytellers' prompt books, and tracts of popular religious sects. The focus of what could be termed "rare books" was broadened, in tandem with the broadened view of what was to be valued in traditional China.

Su Ching's book is not just an account of the collecting careers of a few notable personages. In fact it should be read as a richly informative view of Chinese society in the period from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. Many aspects of history are revealed in his brief studies of thirty families that, in different ways and for widely varying reasons, collected old books. Parallel accounts of important book collectors in Western countries in that same century (or at any other time) probably would not reveal that their rare books collections constituted so central a set of concerns in the life of the entire society. The careers of the thirty collectors were played out in a wide variety of contexts. Those collectors touched a full range of the nation's life and work. A fascinating appendix to the book reveals something of that. It recounts the underground effort to acquire important rare books after Pearl Harbor in 1941 when the foreign concessions were taken over by the Japanese, so that collections that previously had been transported to the International Settlements in Shanghai or Tientsin to avoid Japanese confiscation had become vulnerable. The government enlisted patriotic scholar-bibliophiles in a grand conspiracy to secretly buy up and conceal rare books, singly or in important collections, in order to prevent this part of China's national treasure from falling into enemy hands. Nonetheless, the Japanese did acquire some important holdings, a portion of which were returned to China at the end of the war. The return of those items was considered an important part of the peace settlement.

To return to the central argument, the social history of the book in China must be seen as importantly different, and thus it becomes one of the essential keys to our understanding of China. Two dimensions of the rare books phenomenon thus emerge; both must be given consideration as we plan for the care of our rare books collections. One dimension is that of the texts per se: the content of Chinese rare books is indispensable to scholars in diverse fields of Chinese studies. In addition, there is the fact that as objects rare books (and all old books) further provide us with clues to many aspects of Chinese life and values, and the patterns of behavior by which those were maintained. Old books must thus play a considerably larger role in the study of China, and of all East Asia, than we at present grant to them.

#### A RARE BOOKS STRATEGY FOR THE RESEARCH LIBRARY

"Rare books" is the usual translation for the Chinese term "*shan-pen*," more literally meaning simply "excellent editions." In conventional usage that

term has been applied to all books whose blocks were engraved before the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1645. Recently the use of the term has been broadened to include many books of excellence, including some important manuscripts, produced as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The term "rare books" now should be further broadened to include virtually all books printed in traditional formats, even up into the present century, all manuscripts of scholarly interest, and certain other exceptionally important recent books produced by typography. For, in point of fact, all are now increasingly "rare." The changes in China during the past forty years have greatly reduced the quantity of such materials in China, and have essentially eliminated China as a further source of such materials. We must strive to add to our collections of rare books, broadly defined, whenever the occasional opportunity presents itself. Above all, we must protect and preserve all such rare books in our collections, and strive to make them more conveniently and properly usable. A strategy for adequately accomplishing those objectives will not emerge of itself. We must produce such a strategy, and we must devote ourselves to achieving it.

The place of our Chinese rare books, as broadly defined here, should be a matter of high importance to university and library administrators, as it is to all users of the research library. To express a quite general sense of the problem, with no specific case in mind, it seems unlikely that university administrators and heads of large library systems will come forth eager to devote new funds to this objective. Improved space and facilities, enhanced staff, and enlarged supporting activities in this field cannot lay a claim to solving the pollution problem or restoring our inner cities. Nor will it support scholars who might win the Nobel Prize or produce lucrative patents. It is purely a matter of intellectual engagement, of scholarship for its own sake. Nonetheless, it is learning of greatest relevance for the understanding of East Asian civilizations as we encounter them today. Indeed, we must be quite realistic about the likelihood of gaining the means to deal with this problem. University library administrators will not welcome this set of claims on their limited resources; they will not assume the lead in increasing commitments to the East Asian divisions of their libraries. The necessary next steps in the development of our East Asian rare books collections may have to proceed without their active encouragement, without, in fact, their understanding. Nonetheless, by defining our objectives we may help to create an impulse toward the eventual realization of those necessary next steps.

In my view, the essential next steps are:

1. To formulate specific plans for space and equipment, so that whenever problems of space are being considered, clearly defined needs can be articulated and justified. East Asian faculty, library staff, students, and other users should assume some initiative in requesting that their views be heard in all situations where space and funding allocations are being considered. They should not assume that library administrators or other members of the administration will have represented these needs in such situations.

2. Faculty and student users of the library should place active demands on the East Asian library that will be met only by the establishment of a separate rare books division, staffed by an expert curator and a conservator-photographer, as a minimum.

3. Faculty and student users and other concerned persons should organize extramural support for the upgrading of the East Asian library in general, and specifically for its rare books division.

4. Scholarship should be encouraged that draws attention to the need for East Asian scholars in all fields to become more conversant with old books, with traditional bibliography, with the history of printing, and with the uses of specialized collections in various fields of research.

5. Owners of East Asian books, especially old or unusual items, should be encouraged to recognize their importance and donate or sell them to libraries equipped to make good use of them.

6. In urging university or library administrators to provide for these needs, the users of special collections should make a practice of never taking an official "no" for more than a temporary answer.

Those six points may constitute something like a strategy for achieving needed progress in our East Asian research libraries, but they are not intended to imply criticism of university and library administrators for past leadership, nor irritation with the realities of university financing at the present. If the strategy here proposed can be carried out, that will place burdens on all of us interested in its success; such stresses are implicit in the vigorous life of a vital university community.

## NOTES

1. *Liu-li-ch'ang hsiao-chih*, comp. Sun Tien-ch'i about 1946, with a supplement by Lei Meng-shui, first published 1962, rev. ed. (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1982), p. 524.
2. The author, Sun Tien-ch'i, is best known for his book *Fan-shu ou-chi* (A bookseller's random notes), Peking, 1936. See Tsuen-hsuei Tsien, *China: An Annotated Bibliography of Bibliographies* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1978), p. 20.
3. Li was a native of Shantung who lived from 1730 to 1778; see *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943-1944; hereafter referred to as *ECCP*), p. 175.
4. The Imperial Prince Kuo, named Yin-li (1693-1738), was one of the sons of the K'ang-hsi emperor; see *ECCP*, p. 331.
5. Fang Pao (1688-1749) of T'ung-ch'eng in Anhwei had died twenty years earlier; all of his writings had been published in many editions by this time.
6. This appears to have still been true in the early years of the Republic, when many of the reasons for Peking's earlier dominance had vanished. See the comment on this by the important scholar-collector Lun Ming (1875-1944), as quoted in *Liu-li-ch'ang hsiao-chih*, p. 13.
7. I assume that neither Li's list of 1769 nor Miao's of 1911 is an exhaustive list of all booksellers in Peking, but are confined to those stores in the Liu-li-ch'ang and elsewhere in the city that had a certain standing as dealers in good books.
8. It was a facsimile recutting of a Sung printing made by the great scholar-collector Huang P'ei-lieh (1763-1825). See Fang Chao-ying's biography of Huang in *ECCP*, pp. 340-341; there it tells that Miao Ch'üan-sun later became a collector of Huang's editions and an expert on his bibliographic notes on other rare books. See also Su Ching, *Chin-tai ts'ang-shu san-shih-chia* (Taipei: Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh ts'ung-kan, preface date 1982), pp. 206-207.
9. Su Ching, *Chin-tai ts'ang-shu*, p. 262.

## GLOSSARY

|   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| chih 志  | Hung-ching t'ang 宏景堂           |
| <i>Chin-tai ts'ang-shu san-shih-chia</i> 近代藏書三家 | Kiangsi 江西                     |
| <i>Fan-shu ou-chi</i> 販書偶記                      | <i>Kuang-tung hsün-yü</i> 廣東新語 |
| Fang Pao 方苞                                     | Kwangtung 廣東                   |
| Fukien 福建                                       | Lai-hsün ko 來薰閣                |
| hsiao-chih 小志                                   | Lei Meng-shui 雷夢水              |
| hsien 縣   | Li Wen-tso 李文藻                 |
| Hsü Ts'ang-yai 徐蒼厓                              | Li Yü-t'ing 李雨亭                |
| Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈                             | Liu-li-ch'ang 琉璃廠              |

*Liu-li-ch'ang hsiao-chih* 琉璃殿小志

Lun Ming 倫明

Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫

shan-pen 善本

Soochow 蘇州

Su Ching 蘇精

Sun Tien-ch'i 孫殿起

Szechwan 四川

t'ao 套

T'ung-ch'eng 銅城

T'ung-hsüeh chai 通學齋

Yin-li 胤禮

# News and Notes: For the Friends of the Gest Library

## PERSONNEL

The appointment of Antony Marr to the position of Curator of the Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections was announced on January 4, 1990. Mr. Marr joined the Gest Library staff on March 1. A welcome party in his honor was held by the Department of East Asian Studies on March 15.

Martin Heijdra was appointed Chinese Bibliographer on February 1, 1990. Mr. Heijdra, a Dutch citizen, holds two bachelor's degrees and two master's degrees from Leiden University, in Sinology and in Japanology. He is now a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, concentrating on Ming-Ch'ing social-economic history. He has also studied at Beijing University (1977-1978) and at Kyoto University (1979-1981).

Diane E. Perushek, Curator of the Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections, left the library on October 15, 1989. She now works at the University of Tennessee as the Associate University Librarian for Collection Development. Noting the departure of Ms. Perushek and assessing her contributions to the Gest Library, D. W. Koeppe, the University Librarian, supplied the following comment in the *Princeton University Libraries Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 4: "Her tenure here was notable for a considerable increase in the number of Chinese books acquired, following on the opening of the People's Republic of China. This increase in receipts was accompanied — to everyone's satisfaction — by a substantial *reduction* in the uncataloged arrearage of East Asian material. These unlikely events were a spin-off of

Diane's emphasis on a rigorous application of RLIN CJK and of a reorganization, under her initiative, of the Gest Library staff which centralized the technical services activities. . . . She has served Princeton well in a complex and rapidly changing field." During her curatorship at the library, Ms. Perushek also helped the publication of and occasionally contributed to the *Gest Library Journal*. We feel grateful for her help and wish her well on the new job.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Zhen-ping Wang joined the editorial board of the *Gest Library Journal* in February 1990. He completed his doctorate in June 1989 at Princeton by defending a dissertation on Sino-Japanese relations before the eleventh century. He was a 1987–1988 Japan Foundation Fellow, and spent one year at Kyoto University doing research for his dissertation. Besides working for the *Gest Library Journal*, Mr. Wang is a research associate of the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University.

Our former editor, Hung-lam Chu, has accepted a research post in the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica. Our former managing editor, Howard L. Goodman, now holds a teaching post at Harvard University. With the help and guidance of the faculty in East Asian Studies and the Advisory Council of the Department, and the support and encouragement of the Friends, they launched the *Gest Library Journal* in 1986, and since then have made valuable contributions to the journal. Even after their departure, Dr. Chu and Dr. Goodman have continued to show their concern for the *Journal* and render help to us. We want to extend thanks to them and wish them success in their new positions.

THE GEST LIBRARY IN THE NINETIES:  
AN INTERVIEW WITH ANTONY MARR

"I was born in Nanking, but my family was originally from An-yang, Honan Province." Antony Marr, the new curator of the Gest Oriental Library and the East Asian Collections started the conversation by telling his own story. "In 1949, I boarded the last train to leave China for Hong Kong, where I attended high school until 1951. I then went to Taiwan to enter National Taiwan University. I studied English literature and earned a bach-

elor's degree. In the late fifties, I came to the United States with a scholarship granted by Rutgers University, and was going to enroll in a master's program in English literature. However, I switched to library science at the persuasion of my wife, who at that time was already attending Rutgers Library School." Since that time, Mr. Marr's life has been closely related to libraries. Besides a degree of Master's in Library Science from Rutgers University, he also received a diploma from the Institute for Advanced Far Eastern Librarianship at the University of Chicago. Before coming to Princeton, Mr. Marr worked for six years in the Catalogue Department at Rutgers University and helped establish its Asian Library. He then went to Yale in 1970 and worked there for twenty years as associate curator of the East Asian Collection of Yale University Library. In that position, Mr. Marr was responsible for the development and maintenance of the Chinese collection. He also provided bibliographic assistance to faculty, gave bibliographic instruction to students, and served as the representative of the library in dealing with institutions and scholars from abroad.

"Although quite comfortable in New Haven," said Mr. Marr, "I was willing to move to New Jersey to pursue a new career, leaving behind me my only son, who graduated from Yale in 1985 and is now working in the Yale Computing Center. The reason is simple: jobs like Princeton's just do not come up every day. Besides, New Jersey is not at all a new place for me. Coming to Princeton and working for the university is a special pleasure, because the town and the campus are very beautiful."

When asked to compare the two East Asian libraries in Yale and Princeton, Mr. Marr pointed out that the East Asian library in Yale is under the administration of the Sterling Library, which takes care of such things as circulation and binding, whereas in Princeton, the Gest Library is an independent unit. The two libraries, however, do share some characteristics: the size of their holdings and the close relations between the library and the faculty as well as students in the Department of East Asian Studies.

Mr. Marr then went on to discuss the challenges that face the Gest Library: "With the departure of Diane Perushek and the arrival of myself as the new curator, the Gest Library entered into a transitional period. During this period, providing leadership for the library and its staff is crucial. Efforts should be made to improve the morale of the staff, to maintain good service to readers, and to acquire more space for the library."

Elaborating on these efforts, Mr. Marr pointed out: "Good librarianship

is to provide excellent service to readers. A library with poor service will be regarded as a poor library no matter how excellent a collection it may possess. I am confident that our library staff, who are very hard-working and dedicated to their job, will continue their good service to readers and further improve it."

Space has been a major problem for the Gest Library. The increasing library holdings have resulted in new stacks taking up the space for carrels and narrowing the corridors. The library, which used to be one of the most pleasant places for research and study, is becoming more and more crowded. This situation has caused concern among faculty and students. As a temporary means to gain badly needed breathing space for the library, Mr. Marr has decided to move some books into storage. "We now have the authorization to use some of the space in the Forrestal annex to store up to one hundred thousand books from the Gest Library. Although not a long-term solution to our space problem, this nevertheless is a very much appreciated help. It gives the library immediate relief as well as the room for storing the books that the library will acquire in the coming five years." In response to the concern expressed by some East Asian Studies faculty and students that the removal of books from the Gest Library to the annex will limit their access to the library collection and cause inconvenience to them, Mr. Marr said: "A compromise and perhaps a reasonable solution to the problem have been worked out by myself. I am currently going through the stacks, selecting books that have never been circulated. Since they have been staying there untouched, the chance of their being used by readers is relatively slim. Therefore, it should not matter too much where they are stored." According to Mr. Marr, as of April 17, 1990, he had selected 3,444 such books, which were to be moved to the annex. He stressed that readers will have access to these books. If any of them are paged by readers, they will be sent to the Gest Library within twenty-four hours. "Although burdened by limited space," Mr. Marr further pointed out, "the Gest Library will not narrow the scope of its purchasing. Our library is dedicated to collecting all the necessary publications so as to support scholarly research related to China and Japan."

The Gest Library has been famous for its collection of Chinese rare books and of secondary scholarship on the history and literature of premodern China. In recent years, to broaden the scope of its Chinese collection, publications, journals, and books concerning modern Chinese history and

literature have also been systematically acquired. The same efforts have been made to strengthen the Japanese collection. "We are prepared for the increasing interest in Japan, especially in its economic development, among scholars and students." Mr. Marr also wished that the Japanese collection in the Gest Library could expand even more by new acquisitions.

Admittedly, no library would have the resources to cover all the major publications in China and Japan. Only a cooperative purchasing project can make such publications available to readers in America. Currently, one such project involves Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia, New York Public Library, and Princeton. Princeton is responsible for purchasing the major publications in five provinces in China: Inner Mongolia, Liao-ning, Ninghsia, Shan-hsi, and Peking. Similarly, Princeton is also collecting publications concerning the local histories of Kyūshū, Ryūkyū, Okinawa, and Shikoku in Japan.

Another area of cooperation is the book exchange program with major libraries in China and Japan. The exchange is on a one-for-one basis (that is one English book for one Chinese or Japanese one). However, since in America books are usually priced much higher than in China, any such exchange on a large scale would cause the Gest Library financial difficulty, and therefore exchanges of books have been limited in scope.

The Gest Library has been more active in another area of national and international cooperation, the compilation of a union catalogue of Chinese rare books. A great undertaking initiated by the Research Library Group (RLG), this catalogue will eventually include Chinese rare books held by libraries in the United States, Taiwan, and China. Librarians in Peking University and in the Academy of Sciences had already expressed their interest in joining the project. An office to coordinate the project will be set up in the Gest Library.

Talking about this project with enthusiasm, Mr. Marr said: "Automation, that is the application of computers in cataloguing Chinese books, will have a great impact on the participating libraries. The union catalogue of Chinese rare books in automated form, when completed, will greatly improve our reader service in searching and locating Chinese rare books. To perfect the catalogue, we need some experts to work with us, helping solve the problems specifically related to cataloguing Chinese rare books, such as the identification and authentication of such books. RLIN is another national cooperation project, which now involves almost every East Asian

library in the United States. A catalogue in automated form, RLIN enables one library to use the catalogue entries created by others, thus substantially cutting down the cost and the labor of original cataloguing." Mr. Marr believes that the development of automation in library science will eventually make card catalogues obsolete. "There is still much room for national as well as international cooperation," said Mr. Marr. "Funding certainly is crucial for any cooperative project. But leadership is perhaps more important. I hope that the Library of Congress, as the recognized leader among American libraries, will make a still greater contribution to the coordination of national and international cooperation."

The conversation then switched to the *Gest Library Journal*. Having kindly agreed to serve the *Journal* as its advisor, Mr. Marr offered his opinion as to how the *Journal* can be improved. "I would like to see the *Journal* appeal to both scholars and educated general readers. Scholarly articles are essential for keeping up the high academic standards of the *Journal*. Articles of popular interest, however, are equally important. Many of the general readers may not have mastered Chinese and Japanese to appreciate the contents of our East Asian collection. However, with the help of articles with vivid illustrations showing the beauty of the printing, the binding, and the layout of traditional Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other East Asian books, they certainly can appreciate them as cultural and art objects. Such appreciation will help deepen their understanding of the history and culture of East Asia. In a sense, the *Gest Library Journal* and the library share the same goal: offering excellent service to anyone interested in East Asian cultures. Let's cooperate with each other, and try our best to achieve this goal."

The Gest Journal Staff

## 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  
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