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From the Editor

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO TANGUT SUTRAS

In June 1990, Martin Heijdra, the Gest Library's bibliographer, discovered two hitherto-unnoticed Tangut sutras in the library's rare book room. This is an important discovery: these may be the only portions of Tangut sutras to exist in North America, since most extant Tangut works are held by libraries in Europe (especially those in Paris and Leningrad), in China, and to a lesser extent in Japan.

Placed inside these two sutras are librarians' notes written on strips of paper, indicating that these sutras may have been purchased in Peking well before 1940; thus they are part of the old Gest Library collection, which the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton purchased from McGill University in Montreal in 1937. Since its arrival in Princeton at that time, the collection has been housed and administered as part of Princeton University Library. Dr. Nancy Lee Swann, who was curator of the Gest Library, first in Montreal, and then, from 1931 to 1948, in Princeton, and Dr. Hu Shih, a famed Chinese scholar and curator of the Gest Library from 1950 to 1952, attempted to identify these two sutras. The two works remained uncatalogued, however, since Tangut, the language in which they are written, has long been a dead language, and it is only in the last two decades that real progress has been made in deciphering its script.

The Tangut people were of Tibeto-Burmese stock. They lived in northwestern China, their state covering areas of modern Kansu, Ningsia, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. A semi-independent Tangut regime emerged as early as the late ninth century. Its rulers in the tenth and eleventh centuries rapidly developed its economy, military forces, and culture. In 1036, they ordered the adoption of the newly invented Tangut script, a complicated writing system based loosely on the principles of Chinese writing. Two years later the Tangut king proclaimed the independence of his Tangut empire, which flourished for two centuries. In 1227, however, Chinggis Khan led his armies in an attack on the Tangut state that obliterated it, killing or dispersing much of its population. The Tangut language and its

script fell into disuse in the centuries that followed, except within Buddhist circles where they were kept alive, surviving until perhaps the fifteenth century.

According to Mr. Heijdra, the two sutras are both in the accordion-type binding that is also standard for Chinese Buddhist sutras. One is *chüan* 77 of the *Hua-yen ching* (Garland sutra) and is printed from movable wooden type. The major characteristics of this volume appear to be identical with those of the *Hua-yen ching* preserved in the Beijing Library, which, however, possesses only *chüan* 59 to 75 and 78 to 90. *Chüan* 5 to 10 of the same sutra are held by the library of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University, in Japan. Modern scholars believe that this edition was produced during the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and is therefore later than the famous woodblock edition of the *Tripitaka* in the Tangut language printed at Hangchow around 1302 during the Yüan dynasty.

The other sutra found in the Gest Library is *chüan* 4 of the *Lien-hua ching* (Lotus sutra). It lacks a cover, but has a beautiful frontispiece woodblock illustration showing a group of Buddhas. This volume is perhaps from an earlier Yüan-dynasty woodblock edition, of which the Beijing Library holds *chüan* 2 and 3. Another possibility is that it could belong to the 1302 edition of the *Tripitaka*.

All these attributions, however, are tentative. Mr. Heijdra will have the two sutras photographed so that copies can be sent to experts on Tangut history, in the hope of establishing their identity. They complement in an interesting way the Tangut items included among the Tun-huang fragments described by Judith Ogden Bullitt in "Princeton's Manuscript Fragments from Tun-huang" (*Gest Library Journal*, vol. 3, nos. 1–2, 1989, pp. 7–29).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The editor is delighted to announce that the *Catalogue of Traditional Chinese Books in the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University*, prepared by Peter Ch'ang, vice director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, and Wu Che-fu, associate curator in charge of the Rare Books Section in the same museum, with the assistance of members of the Gest staff, has been published by the Commercial Press in Taipei. It is a handsomely produced book, in Chinese, of 914 pages. The next issue of the *Gest Library Journal*

will carry a short article about this important new publication. In the meantime, inquiries about it may be directed to Antony Marr, curator of the Gest Library.

VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY

In the past year, the Gest Library hosted several distinguished visitors. In early June, Yasushi Hirano, professor of Japanese history at Ibaraki University, Japan, visited the library. One month later, Dr. Michael Y. K. Ying, dean of the College of Humanities, National Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan, visited the library during his stay in Princeton, from July 23 to July 27.

In mid-July, the Gest Library hosted Tang Yijie, professor and president of the International Academy of Chinese Culture in Peking. During his visit to the library, Professor Tang did research on the *Chi-sha pan Ta-tsang ching*, a Buddhist canon in Chinese translation which consists of 1,532 sutras in 6,362 *chüan*. The cutting and printing of the whole set started as early as ca. 1225 and was not completed until 1349. Both Dr. Hu Shih, curator of the Gest Library in the early fifties, and Professor Ch'ü Wan-li, who compiled "A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library" (1974), did some preliminary research on the work. Professor Tang hopes that his study will further the knowledge of this Buddhist canon.

Wang Zengyu, professor of Chinese history at the Institute of History, Academy of Social Sciences, China, was a visiting fellow in the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, from June to November. A specialist in Sung history who has published numerous articles on the institutions, the military, and the economy of the Sung dynasty, Professor Wang was invited to Princeton by the Cambridge History of China project. During his stay in Princeton, he also kindly contributed an article, "Sung Historical Documents Preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*," to the *Gest Library Journal*; it will appear in the next issue.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Martin Collcutt is professor of Japanese history and director of the Program in East Asian Studies at Princeton University. He did his undergrad-

uate studies at Cambridge University in England, then lived in Japan for some years before going on to graduate studies at Harvard University. His doctoral dissertation became the important book *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (1981). As his many publications show, he has broad interests in the cultural history of Japan, extending to literature, art, and religion, as well as in the political and social bases of the civilization. His contribution to this issue of the *Gest Journal* draws on all these fields of his special expertise.

Wang Liqi (Wang Li-ch'i) is a professor in the History Department at Peking University (Beijing Daxue), consulting editor at the People's Literature Publishing Company, special research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China, and a member of many associations and advisory boards. The *Gest Library Journal* is pleased to offer an article by this eminent Chinese scholar, which has been translated and adapted by his son, our editor, Dr. Wang Zhen-ping.

Professor Wang, born in Szechwan Province, now approaches his eightieth birthday. His career in scholarship reflects the continuity of the best in modern Chinese scholarship through a century of vicissitudes. After graduating in the Department of Chinese at Szechwan University in 1937, he went on to do graduate research at the Chinese Humanities Research Institute at Peking University. During the anti-Japanese war he returned to teach in Szechwan, the base of resistance in unoccupied China. At the end of World War II he returned to Peking, taking up his position at the university at that time.

In a lecture at Princeton two or three years ago a professor from the History Department at Peking University was explaining the difficulties that most young Chinese, whose educations have been repeatedly interrupted by the disorders of recent decades, face in reading classical Chinese texts. "But," he added, "we have made a special effort to confront this problem: we have invited the famous senior scholar, Professor Wang Liqi, to tutor our students in the reading of old texts." (The visitor did not know that Wang Zhen-ping was in the audience.) That a scholar of Professor Wang's eminence would undertake such a relatively low-level but absolutely crucial task tells us much about his sense of responsibility to the cultural tradition. It also reveals how far that tradition has declined in our time. When Professor Wang was himself a college student in the 1930s, instruction at that level

was part of middle-school education; all college students in the humanities and most in other fields as well had at least read the major monuments of the classical tradition, and had memorized large portions of them. Nowadays most college students, even those in the humanities, are totally unfamiliar with the entire corpus of classical writings.

Much of Professor Wang's career has been devoted to preparing definitive punctuated and annotated editions of the major literary monuments, enabling younger scholars in China and abroad to gain easier access to them, and to the basic methods of scholarship. In such widespread fields as history, philosophy, poetics, and literary criticism, as well as vernacular fiction and drama, his accomplishments in meticulous textual research are indeed impressive. The breadth of his scholarly expertise is virtually unmatched among scholars of our time. His publications include twenty major books and more than one hundred scholarly articles. He truly embodies the import of the old Chinese term: "*Yi-tai hung-ju*," or "the master scholar of our time."

For this issue of the *Gest Library Journal* Professor Wang contributes a short scholarly notice about the recent coming to light of two previously unnoticed *chüan* ("books") of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. A compilation of complete texts and portions of texts in existence during the reign of the early Ming dynasty Yung-lo emperor (r. 1402–1424), it was prepared in one manuscript copy, in an effort to preserve the best of all the literature known at that time. More than two thousand scholars worked on it for five years. It comprised 22,877 *chüan*, bound in 11,950 stitched volumes of large page size. In the sixteenth century another complete set was produced, a manuscript copy matching the quality and format of the original set. The original set disappeared soon thereafter; some scholars speculate that it may be found in the tomb of the Chia-ching emperor who died in 1567, if that still-intact tomb is ever excavated. The copy was preserved in the imperial palace, through the change of dynasties and into the nineteenth century, when what remained of it was scattered in the plunder of Peking carried out by the British and French armies at the close of the Second Opium War, in 1860. Single volumes of it became collectors' items. The Gest Collection contains two *chüan* in two stitched volumes. They are described by Dr. Hung-lam Chu in his notes for the Special Catalogue Issue of the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 2, no. 2, 1988, pp. 78–81), with an illustration. (See also Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collec-

tion of the Princeton University Library," in *Ch'ü Wan-li hsien-sheng chüan-chi*, vol. 13 [Taipei: Lien-Ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1983].) No more than thirty to forty percent of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* remains in existence today. In recent years photolithographic reprints of the extant volumes available in public collections have appeared in Taiwan and in mainland China. Their value for scholarship is high. In many cases they represent the only existing copies of works otherwise totally lost, and in others they are the earliest extant copies of works otherwise known only in later abridgments or inferior editings. Wang Liqi's work has frequently drawn on this resource for materials relevant to his scholarly editing of texts. Here he reports on one of two important *chüan* newly come to notice whose content is of special significance for the study of Sung-dynasty (A.D. 960–1279) history.

F. W. Mote

Cui Jian-ying, who contributes a second article on the organizing, cataloguing, and handling of traditional Chinese woodblock-printed books, is head of the Division of Special Collections, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Beijing. He also serves as research scholar for the Committee of Research on Old Editions of the Association of Chinese Libraries and as adviser to the Institute for the Historical Study of Chinese Seismology. His first article, "The Scope of the Term 'Shan-pen,' the Identification of Woodblock Editions, and the Organization of Catalogues, in Relation to Traditional Chinese Books," was published in the last issue of the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 3, no. 3, 1990, pp. 35–60).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor of the *Gest Library Journal* would like to acknowledge his indebtedness to the many persons who helped prepare this issue of the journal. Cao Shu-wen, a disciple of Professor Cui Jian-ying and a specialist on Chinese rare books who is now working for the Gest Library in Princeton, helped clarify and elaborate certain important points made in Professor Cui's article, "The Identification of Woodblock-Printed Chinese Books." She was also instrumental in finding the appropriate illustrations for the article.

As part of an effort to solicit articles for the journal, the editor wrote to

various Japanese scholars. Haruko Wakabayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, translated the letter from English to Japanese and Professor Collcutt carefully polished the Japanese translation.

The Gest Library recently received a xerox copy of the *Meng-shui chai ts'un-tu* (Documents preserved in the Meng-shui Hall) from Xian-en Ye, director of the Division of Economic History, Institute of History, Kwangtung (Guangdong) Academy of Social Sciences, China. An extremely rare Chinese work, the *Meng-shui chai ts'un-tu* contains judgments made by officials in Kwangtung Province during late Ming times. This work will provide valuable materials for scholars interested in the social history of the Kwangtung area. Professor Ye also kindly agreed to write an article for the *Gest Journal*, introducing the work to Western readers.

The editor's gratitude is also extended to Ralph Meyer, publication manager and a computing specialist in the Department of East Asian studies. Thanks to Mr. Meyer's help and patience, the editor was able to complete his work using a complicated word-processing program, which, although immensely helpful, from time to time proved puzzling and frustrating.

An Illustrated Edition of the *Tale of
the Heike (Heike Monogatari)* in the
Gest Library Rare Books Collection

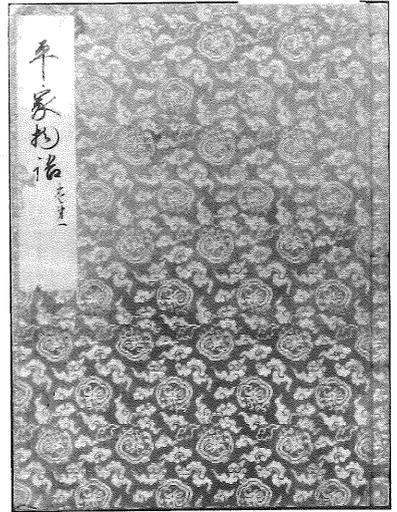
MARTIN COLLCUTT

Among the rare Japanese books in the Gest Library one of the finest sets is a richly illustrated edition of the Japanese classic the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike). This edition comprises thirty traditional thread-bound volumes, *kan*, in six cases.¹ Each of the thirty volumes is bound in green and gold figured silk brocade. The inner covers are decorated in flecked gold foil. Each volume is of thirty-six or forty folded pages of thick, soft-beige colored rice paper, *washi*. Worked into the *washi* are designs of flowing water, billowing waves, vines, iris, wagon wheels in a stream, autumn grasses, and maple leaves. The soft paper provides a fine background for the confident flowing calligraphy of the text.

Eight or ten pages in each volume are decorated with brilliantly colored scenes illustrating incidents from the *Heike monogatari*. Thus, among the thirty volumes there are more than two hundred illustrations. Except for volume one, which shows some slight signs of wear on its cover, the volumes are in pristine condition, and the rich reds, greens, blues, and purples of the illustrations, as well as the gold lines, have maintained all their brilliance.

It is not clear when or how this superb set came into the Gest collection. The volumes themselves provide no information about the calligraphers, artists, or previous owners. From the style of the painting it is likely that these volumes were produced in the Edo period, perhaps for the family of

1. The cover of volume 1 of the *Heike monogatari*. The text in the top left-hand corner reads: *Heike monogatari maki dai-ichi* (*Heike monogatari*, volume 1). Dimensions of the books: 30 x 22.5 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



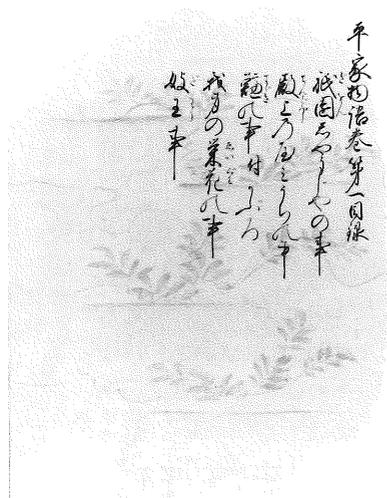
a feudal lord or wealthy merchant. Because the volumes have not been subjected to heavy use, it is unlikely that they were used by professional *Heike* chanters or passed around from hand to hand. They may have been commissioned as a particularly beautiful New Year's gift or as part of a young bride's wedding trousseau.

Whenever they were produced, and for whatever purpose, these volumes have a place in the complex history of the compilation and diffusion of the *Tale of the Heike*, one of Japan's literary and emotional masterpieces. Most critics of classical Japanese literature would rank the *Heike monogatari* second only to the *Genji monogatari* (The tale of Genji) in literary stature.

The *Heike monogatari* is based on historical events: the rise to political power during the mid- and late twelfth century of the Taira (Heike) warrior clan led by Taira no Kiyomori, the challenge to that power made by the Minamoto (Genji) warriors of eastern Japan—led by Minamoto no Yoritomo, his cousin Yoshinaka, and his younger brother, the brilliant general Yoshitsune—and the destruction of the Taira at the battle of Dan-no-ura in 1185. The action covers about sixty years, circa 1131–1191, and ranges over wide areas of central and western Japan. Unlike some other versions of the same events, it pays less attention to what happens in northern and eastern provinces but keeps the spotlight on Kyoto and the western provinces where the Taira were most powerful. The downfall of the Taira is suffused with a Buddhist sense of the impermanence of all things. And yet the *Heike*

itself gave life and glory to a family who was routed and humiliated first in the political arena and then in battle. As Earl Miner has stated, “This is a story about the doom of those who are glorious. It is also, perhaps, even more concerned with the glory of the doomed.”²

Contemporaries were so awed and moved by the fleeting glory and terrible destruction of the proud and powerful Taira that historical chronicles and stories recalling incidents in the conflict must have been recounted and written down by courtiers and monks even before the final rout of the Taira in 1185. Some early versions, such as the *Gempei seisuiki* (Tales of the rise and fall of the Minamoto and the Taira), were historical in tone and focused on the victorious eastern warriors, the Minamoto, led by Yoritomo. Other versions, compiled in Kyoto for a courtly audience, focused on the vicissitudes of the Taira. In the *Heike monogatari*, as it now survives, the focus is held firmly on the tragedy of the Taira family. Compared with the *Gempei seisuiki*, and other versions of the same events, the *Heike monogatari* seems to have a Kyoto focus. Recent criticism suggests that the viewpoint is that of the nobility and townspeople of Kyoto. They do not necessarily like the proud Taira who have been lordling it over them. But the Taira are warriors who have, at least, accepted court values and Kyoto ways. The Minamoto, as eastern warriors, seem harsher and more brutal. The major exception is Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who leads the Minamoto to victory, but whose



2. The contents page for volume 1 of the *Heike monogatari*. The text reads: *Heike monogatari maki dai-ichi moku-roku* (*Heike monogatari*, volume one, contents). Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

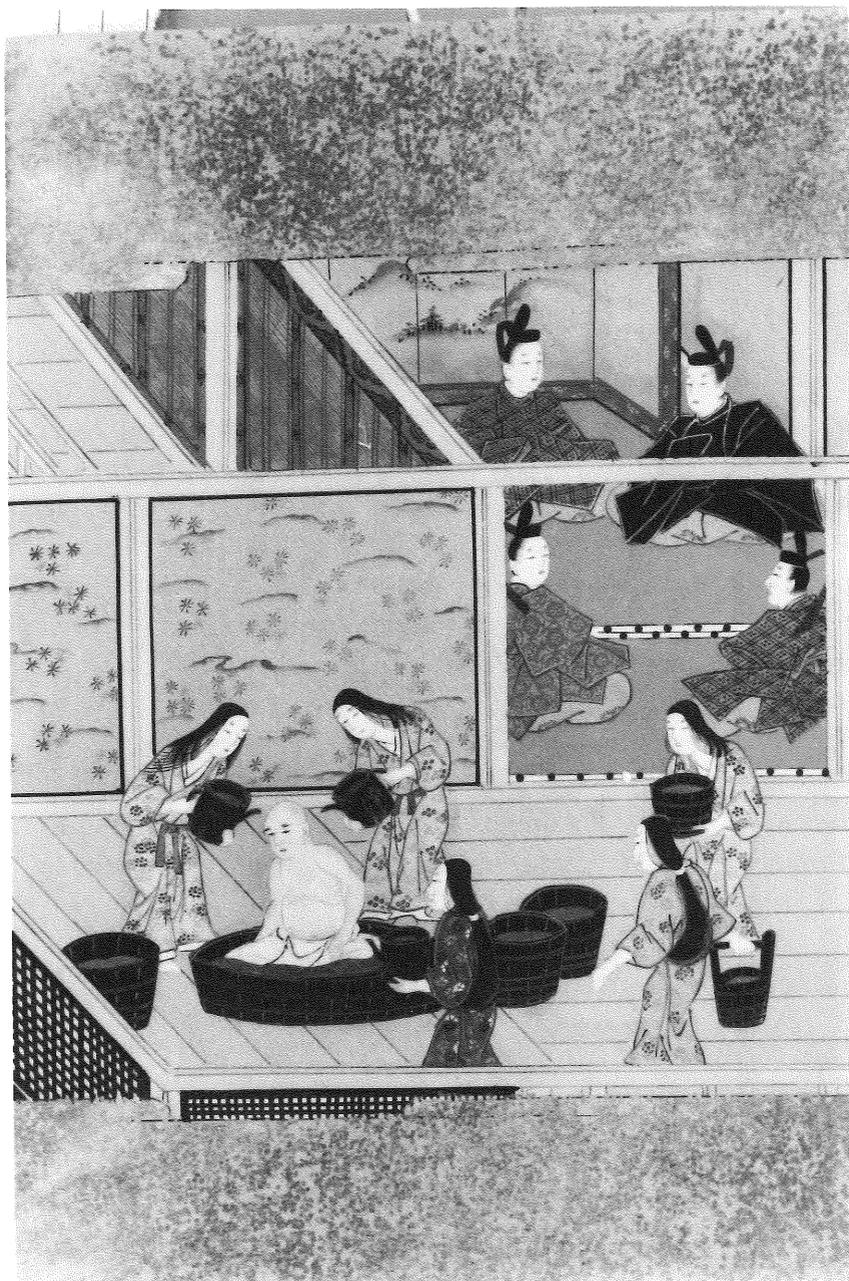
time in Kyoto gave him court connections and at least a patina of courtly manners. The *Heike monogatari* understands and points out the faults of the Taira but is more sympathetic to their plight than other works that promote the victorious Minamoto no Yoritomo and the eastern warriors. In fact, Yoritomo's role in the *Heike monogatari* is quite slight. On the Minamoto side the two most impressive figures are Yoshitsune, who was hounded to death by his jealous brother after the events depicted in the *Heike monogatari*, and Kiso Yoshinaka, a valiant but arrogant man, whose efforts for the Minamoto cause end in a miserable death.

On the Taira side, Kiyomori leads the Taira clan to the pinnacle of glory. Through military force and political maneuvering he asserts control, as the Fujiwara had done earlier, over the sovereign and the major court offices. Kiyomori's character is portrayed in the *Heike* as calculating, cruel, and arbitrary but shot through with impulsive flashes of generosity. Ironically, his one great act of clemency, sparing the life of the child Minamoto Yoritomo, lives to haunt him and undermine the Taira hegemony. He shows few redeeming virtues and his macabre death is one of the striking scenes in the book:

On the Twenty-Seventh, Munemori postponed the eastward march of the punitive force, which had been imminent, because his father had fallen ill. From the Twenty-Eighth on, it became known that the Chancellor-Novice's [Kiyomori's] condition was critical. "Ah! His deeds have come home to roost," people whispered in the city and at Rokuhara.

Kiyomori could swallow nothing, not even a sip of water, after the disease took hold. His body was fiery hot; people could hardly bear to remain within twenty-five or thirty feet of the bed. His only words were, "Hot! Hot!" It seemed no ordinary ailment.

The mansion's people filled a stone tub with water drawn from the Thousand-Armed Well on Mt. Hiei, but the water boiled up and turned to steam as soon as Kiyomori got in to cool off. Desperate to bring him some relief, they directed a stream of water onto his body from a bamboo pipe, but the liquid splattered away without reaching him, as though from red-hot stone or iron. The few drops that struck him burst into flame, so that black smoke filled the hall and tongues of flame swirled toward the ceiling.³



3. "Nyudō Shikyo" (The death of Kiyomori). From volume 13, section 3 of the *Heike monogatari*. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

This is one of a series of endings to the lives of Heike and Minamoto warriors in which the character of the individual is illustrated in the act of dying. Shigemori, Kiyomori's eldest son, the best and bravest of the Taira, is a foil to his arrogant father. Throughout his short life he is the voice of Confucian moral order, an ideal to which the Taira might have aspired. His death is a sign that the Heike have lost any claim to moral authority. But at the same time, the *Heike monogatari*, which is a work of fiction not a moral tract, hints that Shigemori's virtue without Kiyomori's driving, ruthless energy would have been an insufficient foundation for the Taira achievement and assertion of political power.

There are other moving deaths in the *Heike monogatari*. By the time the text was taking shape in the thirteenth century Japanese warriors had already perfected and institutionalized the grisly ritual of *seppuku*, or self-disemboweling, and the ultimate assertion of warrior bravery and honor. Such incidents abound in the *Heike*, and several such scenes are included among the illustrations in the Gest edition.

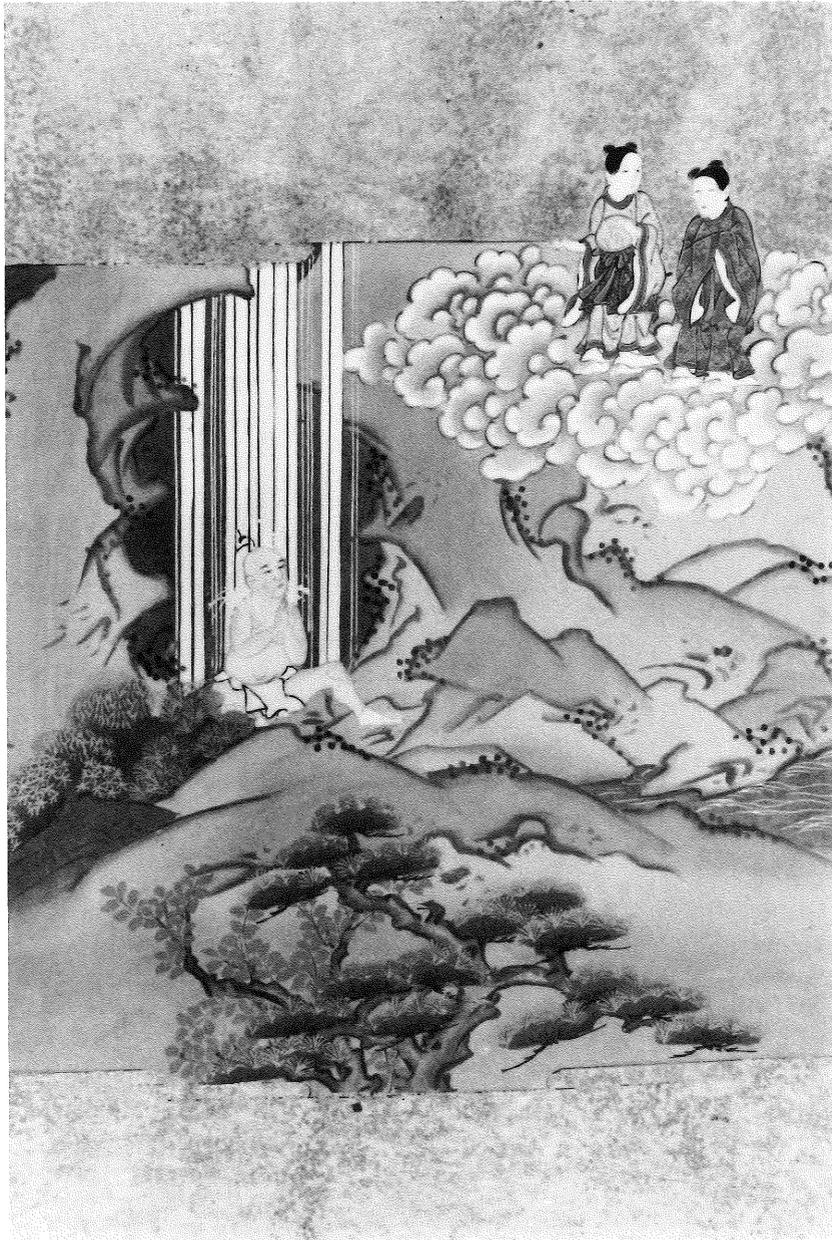
One of the most impressive death scenes in the *Heike* is that of the aged Minamoto warrior Yorimasa who had risen in an early revolt against the Taira in response to an appeal by the monk Mongaku and Prince Mochihito. The rising was premature and ended with the supporters of Prince Mochihito being cut down in the grounds of the Byōdōin temple at the battle of the Uji River. Yorimasa dies with all the courage expected of a warrior after composing a verse that would have done justice to a courtier:

Giving battle at the age of more than seventy, the Third-Rank Novice Yorimasa was hit in the left knee by an arrow. It was a grievous wound, and he resolved to dispatch himself with a tranquil heart, but enemies bore down on him as he retreated toward the Byōdōin gate. . . .

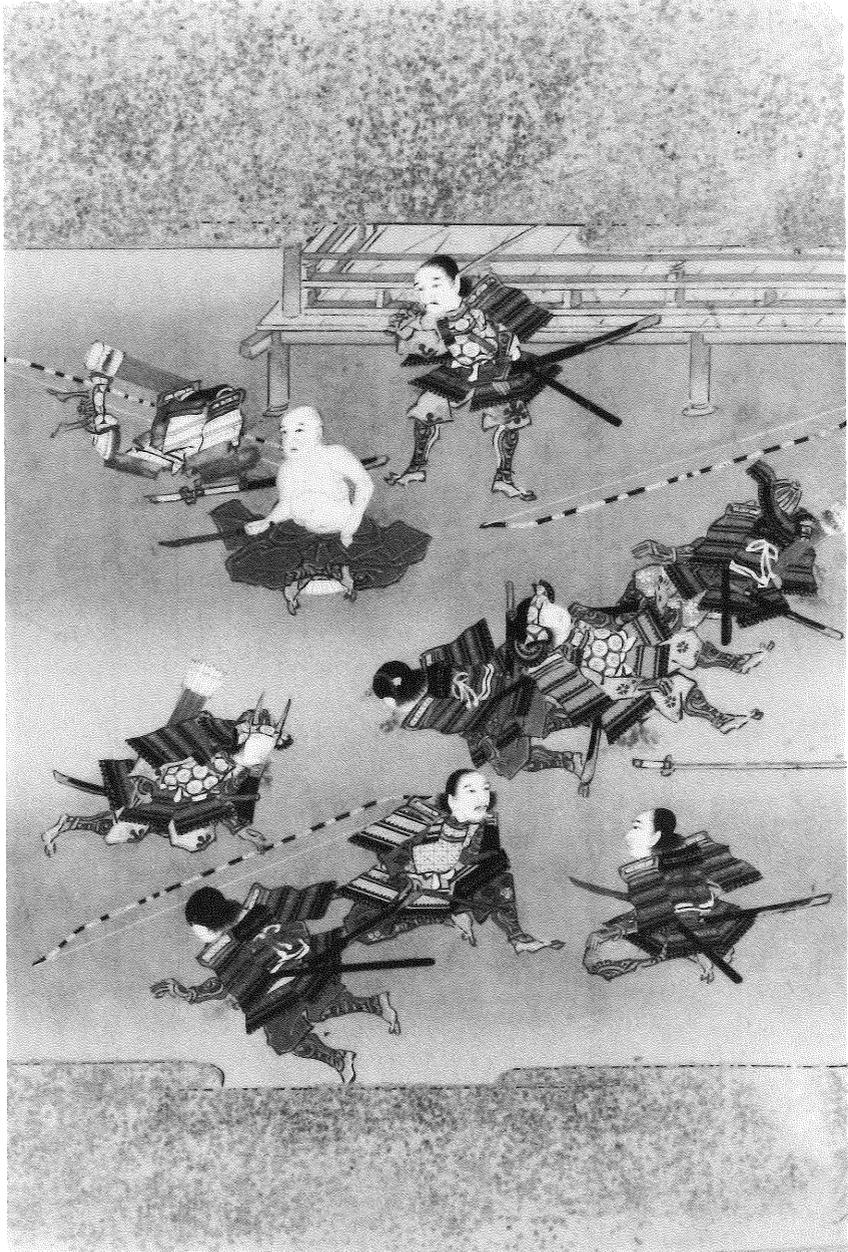
Yorimasa summoned Watanabe no Chōjitsu Tonō. "Cut off my head," he said.

Tonō burst into tears, unable to bear the thought of taking the head from his master's living body. "I cannot kill you. I promise to cut it off after you kill yourself," he said.

"Your feelings are natural." Yorimasa turned toward the west, chanted ten Buddha-invocations in a loud voice, and spoke his last sad words:



4. "Mongaku Aragyō" (Mongaku's austerities). From volume 11, section 6 of the *Heike monogatari*. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



5. "Miya no Gosaigo" (The death of the prince). This scene shows Minamoto Yorimasa ending his own life. From volume 2, section 10 of the *Heike monogatari*. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

umoregi no
hana saku koto mo
nakarishi ni
mi no naru hate zo
kanashikarikeru

No flower of fortune
has blessed a life resembling
a long-buried tree —
yet how bitter is the thought
that all should end like this.

Without another word, he thrust the tip of his sword into his belly and fell forward, his vitals pierced. Although we would not expect a verse of a man at such a time, Yorimasa had been an ardent poet since boyhood, and he did not forget his avocation at the end. Tonō took the head, fastened it to a rock, his tears streaming, stole undetected through the enemy ranks, and sank it in the depths of the Uji River.⁴

But the most moving death in the *Heike* is surely that of the child emperor Antoku, Kiyomori's grandson and the great hope for Taira control of the imperial lineage. When the Taira are driven from Kyoto after Kiyomori's death they take Antoku with them, hoping to restore him to the throne when their fortunes recover. At the final sea battle of Dan-no-ura, when it is clear that the Minamoto fleet is superior and that the Taira will be defeated, his grandmother takes the child in her arms and leaps into the Inland Sea rather than have him fall into the hands of Yoshitsune and the Minamoto.

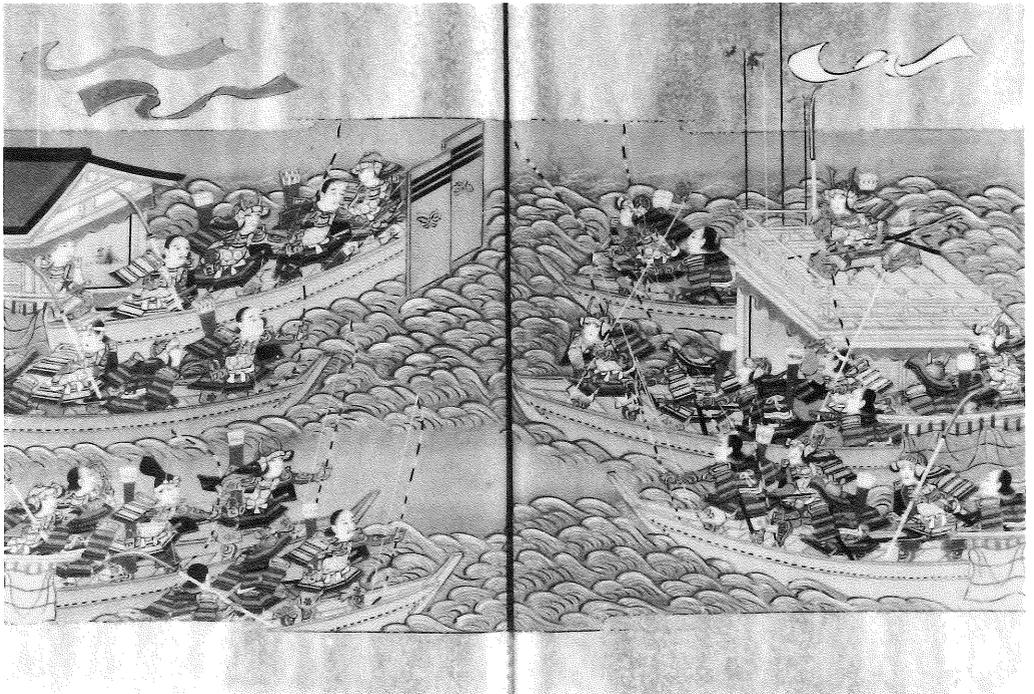
The Nun of Second Rank, who had long ago decided on a course of action, draped her two dark-gray underrobes over her head, hitched up her divided skirt of glossed silk, tucked the Bead Strand under her arm and the sword into her belt, and took the Emperor in her arms. "Although I am only a woman, I will not fall into enemy hands. I will go where His Majesty goes. Follow swiftly, you whose hearts are loyal to him." She walked to the side of the ship.

The Emperor had turned eight that year but seemed very grown up for his age. His face was radiantly beautiful, and his abundant black hair reached below his waist. "Where are you taking me, Grandmother?" he asked, with a puzzled look.

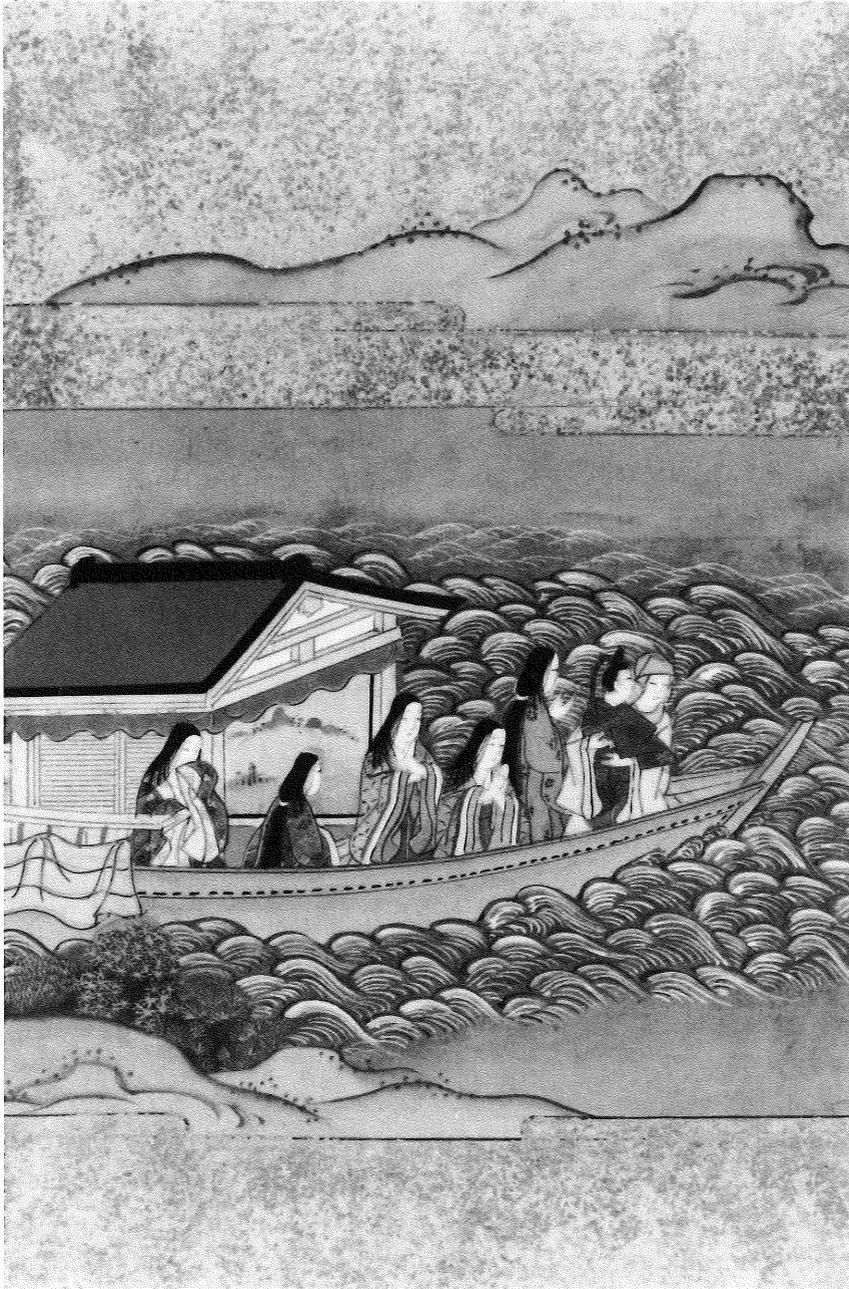
She turned her face to the young sovereign, holding back her tears. "Don't you understand? You became an Emperor because

you obeyed the Ten Good Precepts in your last life, but now an evil karma holds you fast in its toils. Your good fortune has come to an end. Turn to the east and say goodbye to the Grand Shrine of Ise, then turn to the west and repeat the sacred name of Amida Buddha, so that he and his host may come to escort you to the Pure Land. This country is a land of sorrow; I am taking you to a happy realm called Paradise.”

His Majesty was wearing an olive-gray robe, and his hair was done up in a boy's loops at the sides. With tears swimming in his eyes, he joined his tiny hands, knelt toward the east, and bade farewell to the Grand Shrine. Then he turned to the west and recited the sacred name of Amida. The Nun snatched him up, said in a comforting voice, “There is a capital under the waves, too,” and entered the boundless depths.⁵



6. “Tōya” (Distant arrows). Double page illustration of the battle of Dan-no-ura. Minamoto vessels (white banners) attack the Taira (dark banners) in the final encounter. From volume 26, section 2 of the *Heike monogatari*. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



7. "Sentei Minage" (Drowning of the child emperor). From volume 26, section 3 of the *Heike monogatari*. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

The incidents of the Heike story were originally written to be read to the accompaniment of a *biwa* (lute) by traveling balladeers. At some point, probably early in the thirteenth century, the stories comprising the ancestral version of the epic cycle that has come down to us as the *Tale of the Heike* took something like their final form.

Numerous versions of the *Heike monogatari* have survived, dating from the thirteenth century to the Edo period (1600–1868). They are very varied. The interrelationships among surviving texts are complicated and ill-understood. Some were written to be read, others were for Buddhist preachers or lay Buddhist chanters known as *biwa hōshi*. The *biwa* was a Chinese instrument, the *p'i-p'a*, introduced to Japan many centuries before. *Hōshi* means teacher of the law. Many of them were lay preachers and wandering musicians and entertainers who wore priests' robes. Some were blind. In the capital they mixed with Buddhist monks and courtiers who probably told them of recent incidents and asked to hear them chant. By the thirteenth century many of these *biwa hōshi* were traveling the roads of Japan reciting the tragic heroic incidents of the Heike story. By the early fourteenth century the *Heike* narrators had developed a specialized style of *Heike* narration known as *heikyōku* and had formed their own guild, known as the *Tōdōza*, under the patronage of a noble house.

Although the origins of the *Heike monogatari* are unclear, by the fourteenth century its composition was being attributed to a court noble Fujiwara no Yukinaga. This attribution was made, for instance, by Yoshida Kenkō, a courtier-monk and scholar in his *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in idleness), written around 1350.

In Retired Emperor Go-Toba's time, the Former Shinano Official Yukinaga won praise for his learning. But when commanded to participate in a discussion of *yūeh-fu* poetry, he forgot two of the virtues in the "Dance of the Seven Virtues," and consequently acquired the nickname "Young Gentleman of the Five Virtues." Sick at heart he abandoned scholarship and took the tonsure.

Archbishop Jien [the Enryakuji abbot] made a point of summoning and looking after anyone, even a servant, who could boast of an accomplishment; thus he granted this Shinano novice an allowance. Yukinaga composed *The Tale of the Heike* and taught it to a blind man, Shōbutsu, so that the man might narrate

it. His descriptions having to do with Enryakuji were especially good. He wrote with a detailed knowledge of Kurō Hōgan Yoshitsune's activities, but did not say much about Gama no Kanja Noriyori, possibly for lack of information. When it came to warriors and the martial arts, Shōbutsu, who was an easterner, put questions to warriors and had Yukinaga write what he learned. People say that our present day *biwa hōshi* imitate Shōbutsu's natural voice. [*Tsurezuregusa*, section 226]

Yukinaga is a historical figure of the period. Whether, as Kenkō states, he wrote the ancestral text of the *Heike* or not cannot be substantiated, but it is likely that the work was the product of the kind of collaboration between courtiers, monks, *biwa hōshi*, and warriors that Kenkō describes.

By the time Kenkō was writing *Tsurezuregusa* the great *Heike* chanter Kakuichi was thrilling audiences all over Japan with his complex, melodic renderings of the *Heike* story. Kakuichi seems to have been born about 1300 in Harima Province, west of present-day Osaka. After losing his eyesight in middle age, he turned to recitation of the *Heike* as a vocation. He made his way to Kyoto, which was the center for *biwa hōshi*, was active in the Tōdōza guild of narrators, and became head of the *Heike* reciters around 1350. During his life the Tōdōza split into two factions, the Ichikata-ryū and the Yasaka-ryū. Kakuichi was the leader of the Ichikata-ryū, and it is his rendering of the *Heike* story that has come down to us. Kakuichi is thought to have reshaped the existing traditional stories into a literary work, now the standard text, memorized and narrated by many successive generations of blind performers, around 1371. This, however, did not eliminate variant texts.

There are six manuscripts bearing Kakuichi's name. The one generally accepted as the definitive text is in the library of Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. At the end of this manuscript a notation in Chinese states that on the fifteenth day of the third month of 1371, three months before his death, Kakuichi dictated his version of the *Heike* and bequeathed it to his disciple Teiichi. The Kakuichi text undoubtedly became the standard version partly because of Kakuichi's brilliance in developing the dramatic potential and melodic diversity of the narrative and partly because it offered the best blend of oral and written forms.

The great age of *Heike* narration was the fourteenth and fifteenth centu-

ries. Warriors and nobles as well as temples and shrines hired *biwa hōshi* to chant for them. The *biwa hōshi* also wandered through towns and villages chanting incidents from the tale wherever they found a receptive audience. By the time the Ōnin War (1467–1477) was fought, other types of entertainment, including Noh drama, the comic Kyōgen, and *Taiheiki* narration, were beginning to rival *Heike* recitation in popularity. The *Heike monogatari*, however, never fell out of favor. Incidents from the struggles between the Taira and Minamoto, as they were depicted in the *Heike monogatari*, were incorporated into the repertoires of the medieval Noh theatre, and the Kabuki and puppet dramas of the Edo period. *Heike* characters and scenes were widely used in Edo prose fiction and became favorite subjects for the popular woodblock prints known as “pictures of the floating world.” The *Heike* has always served as a great emotional, literary, and cultural repository for the Japanese, and it is still read and chanted today.

The writing style of the *Heike monogatari* is a blend of Chinese and Japanese (*wakan konkōbun*).

The Japanese fondness for this work derives not only from the compelling story but also from the rhythm of language. Japanese is a syllabic language, and Japanese poets have long made effective use of variations on the seven–five or five–seven syllable phrases. *Heike* narrators made skilled variations on these basic patterns. When chanted, each section, *ku*, or subdivision of a chapter, *maki*, had its own declamatory and narrative style, *katari*, to suit the mood and pace of the section and to hold an audience’s attention. The resounding sinified opening, setting the Buddhist mood of impermanence, *mujō*, is a fine example of verse–prose in which a seven–five syllable pattern is used to powerful effect :

Heike monogatari, maki dai-ichi

Gion shōja no koto
 Gion shōja no / kane no koe
 Shōgyō mujō no / hibiki ari
 Shara sōju no / Hana no iro
 Jōsha hissui no / Kotowari o arawasu
 Ogoreru hito mo / Hisashikarazu
 Tada haru no yo no / Yume no gotoshi
 Takeki mono mo / Tsui ni wa horobinu
 Hitoe ni kaze no / Mae no chiri ni onaji.

other incidents in the *Heike* this vignette serves to point out the theme of *mujō* impermanence set in the opening phrases. Giō, the favorite dancer of Taira no Kiyomori, is ousted from his favor when a younger dancer (Hotoke) takes his fancy. In spite of Hotoke's pleas, Giō, her mother, and her sister are dismissed from Kiyomori's palace.

In the stable and affluent feudal society of the Edo period there was great demand among daimyo, wealthy samurai, courtiers, and merchants for illustrated fans, scrolls, and books in a popular genre of narrative painting illustrating favorite historical incidents, stories, and legends. Editions of the *Genji mongatari*, *Heike monogatari*, and other books were produced in considerable numbers. Many of these were woodblock-printed editions with simple black and white line illustrations. Others, however, were more elaborately produced. Talented calligraphers and painters of the Kano and Tosa schools of painting produced lavishly illustrated books. At the same time, some of these illustrated books and paintings of the Edo period, in bright colors with heavy use of gold ink and foil, have come to be known as the *Nara-e* (Nara paintings) or *Nara ehon* (Nara illustrated books), although most of them seem to have been produced in Kyoto.

The text of the Princeton *Heike monogatari* is written in a vigorous, flowing cursive style mixing Chinese characters, *kanji*, and Japanese syllables, *kana*. Many of the *kanji* combinations have Japanese readings, *furigana*, beside them to make the work readily accessible to readers whose command of Chinese characters or the readings of Japanese personal and place names may have been uncertain. Anybody with a modicum of education could have read this edition quickly and fluently. There do not seem to be any markings that would have guided a chanted recitation of the text. The vividly colored illustrations follow the main incidents of the *Heike* story. They do more than illustrate Heike leaders and famous battle scenes, although both these types of illustration are generously included. As in many so-called *Nara ehon* the illustrations in the Princeton *Heike* are painted in bright colors—reds, greens, blues, whites, purples—with gold used to highlight the most important characters. However, whereas many *Nara ehon* are simple and unsophisticated in their use of color, the illustrations in the Princeton set are refined and accomplished. They were clearly produced with great attention to details and overall conception by accomplished artists who sought to blend calligraphy, ink, painting, paper, and book production into a work of art befitting the lingering tragedy of the Heike.

NOTES

1. Call number TJ. 5296.1370.
2. Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, eds., *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 162–163.
3. *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Helen McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 209–210.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–157.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 377–378.
6. See the *Kōya nikki* (Diary of the poet-priest Ton'a [1289–1372]), in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, ed. Ota Toshiro, vol. 18.2 (Tokyo, 1924), p. 1247.
7. Tanaka Ichimatsu, “Heike Kintachi Sōshi ni tsuite” (A Heike Kintachi Sōshi picture scroll), *Kokka* 665 (August 1947), pp. 279–285. Miyako Murase discusses the *Takafusa-kyō Tsuyakotoba emaki* (Love songs of Lord Takafusa) in *Emaki, Narrative Scrolls from Japan* (New York: Asia Society, 1983), pp. 71–75.

GLOSSARY

Antoku 安徳	<i>Ise monogatari</i> 伊勢物語
biwa 琵琶	Jien 慈円
biwa hōshi 琵琶法師	Kakuichi 覚一
Byōdōin 平等院	Kamakura 鎌倉
Dan-no-ura 壇, 浦	kan 巻
Edo 江戸	kana 仮名
Enryakuji 延暦寺	kanji 漢字
Fujiwara no Takanobu 藤原隆信	Kano 狩野
Fujiwara no Yukinaga 藤原行長	katari 語
furigana 振仮名	Kiso Yoshinaka 木曾義仲
Gama no Kanja Noriyori 蒲の冠者範頼	ku 句
Gempei seisuiki 源平威衰記	Kurō Hōgan Yoshitsune 九郎判官義経
Genji 源氏	Kyōgen 狂言
<i>Genji monogatari</i> 源氏物語	maki 巻
Giō 祇王 (妓王)	Minamoto 源
Gion 祇園	(Minamoto no) Yorimasa 源頼政
Go-Toba 後鳥羽	Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝
Harima 播磨	Minamoto no Yoshinaka 源義仲
Heike 平家	Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経
<i>Heike monogatari</i> 平家物語	Mochihito 以仁
heikyōku 平曲	Mongaku 文覚
Hiei 比叡	mujō 無常
Hotoke 仏	Nara ehon 奈良絵本
Ichikata-ryū 一方流	Nara-e 奈良絵
Ise 伊勢	Ōnin 応仁

p'i-p'a 琵琶
 Rokuhara 六波羅
 Ryūoku 龍谷
 seppuku 切腹
 Shinano 信濃
 Shōbutsu 生仏
 Taiheiki 太平記

Taira 平
 Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛
 (Taira no) Munemori 平宗盛
 (Taira no) Shigemori 平重盛

Teiichi 定一
 Tōdōza 当道座
 Tosa 土佐
 Tsurezuregusa 徒然草
 Uji 宇治
 wakan konkōbun 和漢混淆文
 washi 和紙
 Watanabe no Chōjitsu Tonō 渡辺長七唱
 Yasaka-ryū 八坂流
 Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好
 yūeh-fu 染府

The *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* and
One of Two Newly Discovered
Volumes of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*

WANG LIQI

During the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1023–1063) in the Northern Sung dynasty (960–1127), a vast compilation project was initiated by imperial order. The idea was to collect contemporary government documents concerning state affairs and compile them into a reference work. This work was intended to serve court officials by providing precedents applicable to the handling of governmental affairs. It was believed that the compilation of such a work would play a crucial role in helping court officials continue the state policies laid down by the founding emperors of the Sung dynasty, and therefore great importance was attached to the project. An office under the guidance of the Palace Library (Pi-shu sheng) was established, to which high-ranking officials who were to supervise the compilation were assigned. This project continued during the successive reigns of the Northern Sung dynasty on into the Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279). For the compilation of the collection, an imperial edict was issued in the sixth year of the Ch'ien-tao reign period (1170) to ministries in the capital and to circuit supervisors throughout the country, ordering them to copy edicts previously issued to them and to send the copies to the court. Consequently, in the roughly two hundred years from the eighth year of the T'ien-sheng reign period (1030) to the second year of the Ch'un-yu reign period (1242), eleven works containing imperial edicts issued during various reign periods

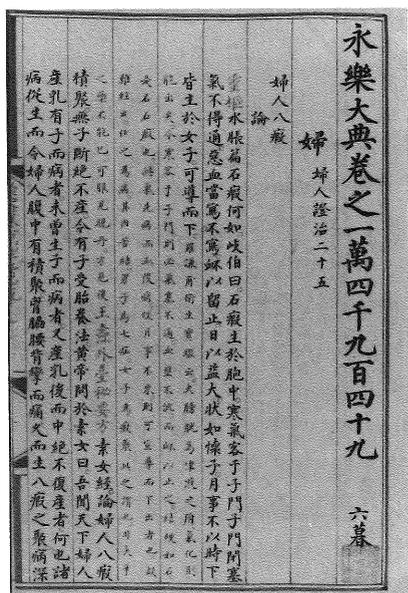
were successively compiled, amounting to more than three thousand *chüan*.¹

These works were collectively referred to by later scholars as the *Sung hui-yao* (Documents pertaining to matters of state in the Sung dynasty). The *Sung hui-yao* classifies the related imperial edicts, memorials, and records of court discussions into seventeen sections. It deals with the whole spectrum of state affairs during the Sung dynasty, ranging from the succession of emperors to the relations with various "barbarian" countries.

The Sung court, however, severely restricted the circulation of the *Sung hui-yao* since it contained information vital to national security. To prevent the Liao state (916–1125), its formidable enemy in the north, from obtaining such information, the Northern Sung court prohibited the *Sung hui-yao* from being engraved for printing. The court did, however, allow its officials to make manuscript copies of the work so as to give them some access to this enormous collection of imperial edicts. It was not until the early thirteenth century that one of the eleven constituent works, the *Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao* (Documents pertaining to matters of state during the thirteen [Sung] reign periods),² was approved for engraving in Szechwan. But the printing blocks were kept in the Directorate of Education (Kuo-tzu chien), which maintained tight control over the distribution of the published book.³

Unfortunately, most of the *Sung hui-yao*, which would otherwise have provided us with valuable information about the political, economic, and military situation during the Sung dynasty, was lost or destroyed when the Southern Sung dynasty fell in 1279. Nevertheless, segments and certain volumes of the *Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao* and the *Ch'un-hsi hui-yao* survived into the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). It is believed that in early Ming times, when the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (The Yung-lo collectanea) was being compiled, the *Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao* and the *Ch'un-hsi hui-yao* were copied into it.⁴

The *Yung-lo ta-tien* (see illustration 1) was the largest compilation the world had yet known when it was completed in the sixth year of the Yung-lo reign period (1408). The compilation of this collectanea, which comprises 22,877 *chüan*, was imperially commissioned in 1403. A staff of 147 scholar associates worked under the general directorship of Hsieh Chin (1369–1415).⁵ Modern scholars believe that the *Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao* and the *Ch'un-hsi hui-yao* were lost at some time in the middle of the Ming dynasty, after they had been incorporated into the collectanea. From then



1. From *Yung-lo ta-tien*, 2 ch. (2 vols.), 1562–1567. Sixteen cols. of 28 small chars.; border 35.3 x 23.3 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

on, the *Sung hui-yao* existed only in the form of the extensive quotations preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.

During the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), some scholars attempted to gather all the passages copied from the *Sung hui-yao* into the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and put them into a separate work. One of these scholars was Ch'ien I-chi (1783–1850), a “presented scholar” (Chin-shih) during the Chia-ch'ing reign period (1796–1820), who was later promoted to supervising censor of the Office of Scrutiny for Revenue (Hu-k'o Chi-shih-chung). According to the *P'u-shu tsa-chi*, a late Ch'ing-dynasty work, Ch'ien I-chi once noticed the passages from the *Sung-hui yao* preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. He then consulted officials in the Bureau of Historical Writing about initiating a project to collect these quotations and quotations of other works that had not yet been gathered by contemporary scholars. Ch'ien's suggestion received warm support from these officials, who decided to present Ch'ien's project to the throne. However, the timing could not have been worse for initiating such a project, as the court was then preoccupied with its military action against the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion.⁶ As a result, Ch'ien's proposal was never brought to the throne for consideration.⁷ Had Ch'ien's project been approved by the court, an office for compilation, like the one created in 1808 for the compilation of the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (The complete prose works of T'ang-dynasty writers), would have been established. The result-

ing compilation would then have been comparable to the *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* (Collected data for a continuation of the *Comprehensive mirror for aid in government*), a Northern Sung-dynasty work that had long been lost but was restored by Ch'ing scholars assembling quotations preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.⁸

Another person who made an effort to collect quotations of the *Sung hui-yao* was Hsü Sung (1781–1848).⁹ He was appointed chief compiler and supervisor of the Institute for the Compilation of the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* in the fourteenth year of the Chia-ch'ing reign period (1809). Hsü Sung ordered his subordinates to copy from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* quotations from the *Sung hui-yao*, and these quotations eventually amounted to about six hundred *chüan*.¹⁰ In the course of having these voluminous quotations transcribed, Hsü emended only a small portion of them. Furthermore, his project was a private one, which had never been authorized by the court. As the chief compiler of the *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, Hsü Sung actually took advantage of his position and exploited public office for his own purposes. He had to carry out his project covertly and was therefore unable to revise his *Sung hui-yao kao* and put it into final form for engraving.

After Hsü Sung's death, his manuscript of the *Sung hui-yao kao* was bought during the T'ung-chih reign period (1862–1874) by Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1919), the famed scholar and bibliographer who lived during the late Ch'ing period and into the Republican era. The manuscript, after changing hands several times, was eventually acquired by the Peiping Library in 1931. A few years later, in 1936, the manuscript was first published in facsimile, by the Ta-tung shu-chü (The Great East Book Company), under the title *Sung hui-yao kao* (Draft of documents pertaining to matters of state in the Sung dynasty). In 1957, the Chung-hua shu-chü (China Book Company) in Peking reprinted the work under the title *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* (Draft of documents pertaining to matters of state in the Sung dynasty).

The publication of the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* greatly facilitates modern scholars' research into Sung-dynasty history. The work, however, does contain many mistakes and calls for careful emendation. Some of the errors result from miscopying by Hsü Sung's subordinates. But the more serious ones arise from Hsü Sung's carelessness in editing, which has long invited criticism from modern scholars.

An example of a serious mistake is found in volume 185 of the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*. Included in this volume are quotations of the *Sung hui-yao* col-

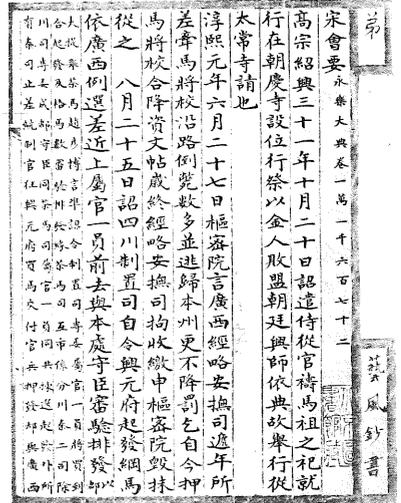
lected from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. These records concern "the management of military horses" (*ma-cheng*). The volume in question starts with an edict dated the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month, the sixteenth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1189), and ends with an edict issued in the twelfth year of the Chia-ting reign period (1219).¹¹ At first glance, nothing seems to be wrong with this volume. In fact, however, some lengthy and important passages that are in the original *Sung hui-yao* have been left out. A study of a late Ch'ing work entitled the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* (Transcriptions by I-feng) will clarify this point.

The *I-feng ch'ao-shu* (see illustration 2) compiled by Miao Ch'üan-sun consists of his manuscript copying from early works, some of which are no longer extant. Item seven in the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* is entitled the "Sung-Yüan *ma-cheng*" (The management of military horses during the Sung and Yüan dynasties). The first half of this item consists of Miao Ch'üan-sun's transcription of a section of the *Sung hui-yao* preserved in volume 11672 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. The second half, copied from volume 11678 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* derives from an important Yüan-dynasty compilation of materials on Yüan-period government.¹²

Comparing the relevant sections in Hsü Sung's *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* with the parallel sections in Miao Ch'üan-sun's copying, we are surprised to find that about 149 lines in Miao's version are missing from Hsü Sung's version. As the format for the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* provides twenty-four characters per line, this means that about thirty-five hundred words of the original *Sung hui-yao* were omitted from Hsü Sung's reconstructed text.

These thirty-five hundred words, according to Miao Ch'üan-sun, were part of the original *Hsiao-tsung hui-yao* (Documents pertaining to matters of state during the reign of the Sung emperor Hsiao-tsung). They concern edicts and memorials relating to the management of military horses during the Southern Sung dynasty, edicts that were issued between the thirty-first year of the Shao-hsing reign period (1161) and the fifteenth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1188). In traditional China, horses played an important role in wars against nomadic peoples in the north. It was a particularly urgent task for the Southern Sung court to acquire for its army sufficient horses to face the Jurchen army, whose cavalry posed a formidable threat to China.

The importance of horses to the Southern Sung court is evident in an edict of 1161, which ordered arrangements for a court ceremony to wor-



2. From Miao Ch'üan-sun, comp., *I-feng ch'ao-shu*, number of vols. unknown, late Ch'ing dynasty. Eleven cols. of 24 chars.; border unknown. Collection of the Beijing Library.

ship the horse god when the Southern Sung army was about to launch a military offensive against the Jurchens. The larger part of the thirty-five-hundred-word record, however, deals with practical matters related to horse management, such as the purchasing, the dispatching, the health care, and the training of battle steeds. The following is a paraphrase of the major events described in the recently recovered record.¹³

In the first year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1174), the Bureau of Military Affairs (Shu-mi yüan) reported that in the past many soldiers dispatched by the military commissioner in Kwangsi to lead military horses to their destination fell sick or died while performing their duty. Some abandoned their duty and fled back to their homes. The responsible authorities, however, had never punished the deserters. The bureau requested that official documents be issued to soldiers dispatched to lead battle horses and these soldiers should report to the bureau by the end of every year to hand in their documents. The request was granted by the throne. In the same year, an edict was issued in response to a memorial presented by the chief official of the Supervisorate of Horse Trading. It ordered the authorities in Szechwan to dispatch

a ranking official to cooperate with officials from the Supervisorate of Horse Trading in purchasing and transporting the battle horses. Horse trading, according to a report presented to the throne by the Bureau of Military Affairs, had formerly been handled by civil officials who were not at all knowledgeable about horses. They often bought weak or ill horses in order to meet the purchasing quotas assigned to them. The court therefore ordered that in the future officials in charge of horse purchasing should be selected from persons, civil or military, with a good knowledge of horses.

Edicts issued during the second year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1175) concern measures to improve horse management. It was stipulated that mules should not be bought to meet the purchasing quotas for horses. A veterinarian should be assigned to each group (*kang*) of horses to be sent to its destination.¹⁴ Whether or not he held an official rank, the veterinarian had to be a professional. It was discovered that previously some of the newly acquired horses were too young to haul the covered wagons. In view of this, the emperor instructed that in the future all such horses had to be inspected before they were sent to the army. Young horses should be retained by authorities of the localities where they were bought. The authorities should inform the court of the number of such retained horses by the end of every year. To meet their purchasing quotas, they were requested to send the same number of qualified horses to the designated destination the next year.

In the third year of the Ch'un-hsi period (1176), an edict was issued to encourage military personnel to take better care of their horses. This edict set an annual death rate of battle steeds for military units. At the end of every year, commanders of these units were to count the number of horses that had died during the year and report the death rate to the court. Rewards would be granted to those who took good care of their horses. Demotions and punishments would also be extended to those whose negligence resulted in the death of their horses. These measures were adopted in response to a report complaining that battle steeds in some

units were weak and thin because soldiers often failed to feed them regularly.

During a court audience held in the second month of the fourth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1177), an official from the Bureau of Military Affairs suggested that rewards should also be granted to those leading the "reserve" horses. These horses traveled along with the newly acquired battle steeds, replacing any that fell sick or died on the way to the destination. The Ministry of War's regulations, however, only governed rewards and punishment for those leading the battle steeds. No similar regulations had ever been formulated for those leading the reserve horses. To encourage them to take better care of the reserve horses, and in view of the fact that they often experienced hardship in leading these horses to their destination, the official suggested that it was appropriate for rewards and punishment to be extended to them too. The emperor praised the suggestion and ordered an edict to be drafted. It was stipulated that the amount of the reward to those responsible for the reserve horses should be half that granted to those responsible for the battle steeds, and that they were subject to punishment of fifty light blows if their horses died on the way to the destination.

To purchase forage for the battle horses, a campaign commander (Tu-t'ung) in Szechwan sent up a request to the Ministry of Revenue in the sixth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1179), asking that a specific amount of copper cash for each horse be granted every year from the third to the tenth months. Granting the request, the emperor also restricted the use of such funds to the purchase of forage for "regular" battle steeds of 1.5 meters or taller. The amount of copper cash for smaller horses was reduced to half that granted to the regular battle steeds.

In the seventh year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1180), the Metropolitan Infantry Command (Pu-chün ssu) suggested that special methods should be taken to train the new battle steeds. Previously, these steeds, especially the well-fed ones, were immediately equipped with heavy military armor after they were sent to the army. Although fat, they were not yet sturdy, and they often fell sick when overused or overtrained. It was suggested that

these horses should attend only ordinary training courses. And such courses should not be held too frequently if they involved the use of heavy military armor and equipment. The new steeds should not join other horses in battle training courses before they had matured and grown sturdy.

To further improve the management of battle horses, a series of edicts was issued from the tenth year (1183) to the twelfth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1185). These edicts ordered the drafting of detailed ordinances governing the rewards and punishment for veterinarians responsible for the health of these horses, for military officials and soldiers who used battle steeds, and for special envoys and their entourages dispatched to escort the horses to their destination.

The battle steeds had to travel a long distance from the place where they were purchased to their destinations, and providing forage for these horses imposed a great financial burden on local authorities when the horses arrived in their jurisdictions. Often unprepared, the local authorities had to levy extra taxes on local people in the form of *corvée* labor or cash to cover the expense incurred by feeding and taking care of the battle steeds. The situation was particularly severe when several groups of horses arrived in and stayed overnight at the same place on the same day.

To help local authorities cope with the problems, the Fiscal Commission (Chuan-yün ssu)¹⁵ in each circuit was ordered to allocate cash to local authorities. The cash was to be used to pay for forage and other services provided to the battle steeds. With the allocation of such cash to local authorities, the court strictly prohibited local officials from levying extra taxes under the pretext of providing forage and service to battle steeds. The Judicial Commission (T'i-hsing An-ch'a ssu) in each circuit was made responsible for supervising local officials to carry out this program. Those who violated the relevant regulations would be investigated and impeached. People who believed that they were extorted by local officials under the pretext mentioned above were allowed to bring their complaints to higher authorities. In the same edict, it was also ordered that battle horses should be dispatched to their destinations in an orderly manner. The responsi-

ble officials should avoid sending several groups of horses from the same place on the same day.

The court encouraged local officials to improve the breed of battle steeds. In the fourteenth year of the Ch'un-hsi reign period (1187), an edict to Hsiang-yang Prefecture in modern Hupeh granted the request made by its prefect to build stables to the south of the prefectural capital and to assign officers and soldiers to raise there fifty mules and ten battle chargers. These horses, especially the battle chargers, called "*liu*," were taller and stronger, and were considered improved breeds.

As the foregoing paraphrase of the thirty-five hundred words preserved in the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* shows, the passage preserves detailed information about the management of battle steeds during the Southern Sung dynasty. The study of the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* has also brought about an unexpected result: the discovery of volume 11672 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in Miao Ch'üan-sun's carefully copied version, including the otherwise missing passages. This volume had long been considered lost by modern scholars, and it is Miao's transcription that offers them an opportunity to grasp the contents of this volume.

Miao Ch'üan-sun's work also indicates that he did some careful emendations to the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text when copying quotations of the *Sung hui-yao* from it. This can be seen by comparing the corresponding passages about horse management during the reign periods of Emperors Kuang-tsung (r. 1190–1194) and Ning-tsung (1195–1224) in Hsü Sung's *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* and the *I-feng ch'ao-shu*.¹⁶ The content of these passages in the two works is basically identical. But in the *I-feng ch'ao-shu*, Miao Ch'üan-sun corrected certain wrong characters, making the passages more readable than the parallel passages in the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*. The *I-feng ch'ao-shu* was also beautifully produced. It exists in the form of a manuscript copied with fine calligraphy (*ching-ch'ao pen*), although Miao Ch'üan-sun may not have done the copying himself.

However, there are also sentences in the *I-feng ch'ao-shu* that contain incorrect characters, making the meaning of these sentences obscure. In contrast, these errors do not appear in the relevant sentences in the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*.¹⁷ This points to the possibility that Hsü Sung and Miao Ch'üan-sun might not have made their copies of the *Sung hui-yao* materials from

the same sources. Whereas the former probably assembled his materials from an original version of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* preserved in the palace libraries, the latter, working over a century later, probably copied them from a later manuscript version, albeit one also based ultimately on the Ming collectanea.

Introducing the quotations from volume 11672 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* preserved in Miao's *I-feng ch'ao-shu* to modern scholars will contribute to their knowledge of the problems involved in horse management during the Southern Sung dynasty. These quotations also shed some light on the original forms of both the *Sung hui-yao* and the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. It is therefore highly desirable that Miao's versions of both the missing volumes, *chüan* 11672 and 11678 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, be reproduced in facsimile, or in a modern edited version, and made known to the scholarly world. For, in substance, their discovery amounts to the recovery of two more lost volumes of the great early Ming collectanea, and to the invaluable historical materials it contained.

NOTES

1. These eleven works are (1) the *Ch'ing-li kuo-ch'ao hui-yao*, 150 *chüan*; it covers the period from 960 to 1043 and was compiled under the directorship of Chang Te-hsiang; (2) the *Yüan-feng tseng-hsiu wu-ch'ao hui-yao*, 300 *chüan*; it covers the period from 960 to 1077 and was presented to the throne by Wang Kuei; (3) the *Cheng-ho ch'ung-hsiu kuo-ch'ao hui-yao*, 110 *chüan*; it covers the period from 960 to 1118 and was compiled by Ts'ai Yu and others; (4) the *Ch'ien-tao hsü Ssu-ch'ao hui-yao*, 300 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1064 to 1127 and was compiled by Wang Ta-yu and others; (5) the *Ch'ien-tao chung-hsing hui-yao*, 200 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1127 to 1262 and was compiled by Ch'en K'uei and others; (6) the *Ch'un-hsi hui-yao*, 368 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1162 to 1189 and was presented to the throne by Chao Hsiung and others; (7) the *Chia-t'ai Hsiao-tsung hui-yao*, 200 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1162 to 1189 and was compiled by Shao Wen-ping; (8) the *Ch'ing-yüan Kuang-tsung hui-yao*, 100 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1189 to 1194 and was presented to the throne by Ching T'ang and others; (9) the *Ning-tsung hui-yao*, 150 *chüan*; it covers the period from 1194 to 1224 and was presented to the throne by Shih Sung-chih; (10) the *Chia-ting kuo-ch'ao hui-yao*, 588 *chüan*; it covers the period from 960 to 1173 and was compiled by Chang Ts'ung-tsu; (11) the *Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao*, 588 *chüan*; it covers the period from 960 to 1224 and was completed by Li Hsin-ch'uan.

2. This work is also referred to as the *Kuo-ch'ao hui-yao tsung-lei*.
3. *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), 5, p. 163.
4. Wang Yün-hai, *Sung hui-yao chi-kao k'ao-chiao* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1986), pp. 3-4.
5. The Gest Library holds two volumes of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. For a discussion of this work and the two volumes preserved in the Gest Library, see F. W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu, "Handwritten Books after the Invention of Printing," *Gest Library Journal* 3:2 (1988), esp. pp. 78-81.
6. The most serious rebellion against the Ch'ing regime, it originated in about 1850 and was led by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan in Kwangsi Province. Hung's army marched from southern China to the north and seized Nanking, which became its capital. The Ch'ing armies eventually put down the rebellion in 1864.
7. Ch'ien T'ai-chi (1791-1863), *P'u-shu tsa-chi* (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng chien-pien edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1965-1966), c, p. 94.
8. For an account of the compilation of the *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, see *Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu piao-chu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 5, p. 214.
9. Hsü Sung has a biographical entry in the *Ch'ing shih kao* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977), 486, pp. 13413-13414.
10. I have collected, apart from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, more than twenty-three hundred passages from the *Sung hui-yao* appearing in some sixty Sung, Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing works. Some of these quotations are identical with and some are slightly different from their correlates in the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*; some are more detailed, others more brief. Some of the quotations that I have gathered are not found in Hsü Sung's work at all. These quotations, which will shed some light on the original form of the *Sung hui-yao*, have been incorporated into my recent work "Sung hui-yao chi-kao pu" (Supplement to the draft of documents pertaining to matters of state in the Sung dynasty) to be published by the Pa-shu shu-she in Szechwan, China.
11. See *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* (Peking, 1957), pp. 7227-7238.
12. This article focuses on the texts preserved originally in volume 11672 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, which primarily concern the management of military horses during the Sung dynasty. The texts preserved in volume 11678 deal with the management of military horses during the Yüan dynasty; they will be discussed in another article.
13. A full quotation in Chinese of the thirty-five hundred words can be found in my article "Yung-lo ta-tien yu fa-hsien liang-chüan," *Hsü-chou shih-fan hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao* 3 (1989), pp. 14-16.
14. A group consisted of fifty horses.
15. A governmental branch located in the capital of each circuit for tax assessments and collections and other fiscal matters.
16. See *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*, 185, pp. 7227-7238.
17. For a detailed discussion and examples of specific errors, see my "Yung-lo ta-tien yu fa-hsien liang-chüan," pp. 16-17.

GLOSSARY

- Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶
 Chia-ting 嘉定
 Ch'ien I-chi 錢儀吉
 Ch'ien-tao 乾道
 Ch'ing 清
 ching ch'ao-pen 精鈔本
 Chin-shih 進士
 chüan 卷
 Ch'üan T'ang wen 全唐文
 Chuan-yün ssu 轉運司
 Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局
 Ch'un-hsi 淳熙
 Ch'un-hsi hui-yao 淳熙會要
 Ch'un-yu 淳祐
 Hsiang-yang 襄陽
 Hsiao-tsung hui-yao 孝宗會要
 Hsieh Chin 解縉
 Hsü Sung 徐松
 Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien
 續資治通鑑長編
 Hu-k'o Chi-shih-chung 戶科給事中
 Hupeh 湖北
 I-feng ch'ao-shu 藝風鈔書
 Jen-tsung 仁宗
 kang 綱
 Kuang-tsung 光宗
 Kuo-tzu chien 國子監
 Liao 遼
 liu 馬留
 ma-cheng 馬政
 Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫
 Ming 明
 Ning-tsung 寧宗
 Peiping 北平
 Pi-shu sheng 秘書省
 Pu-chün ssu 步軍司
 P'u-shu tsa-chi 曝書齋記
 Shao-hsing 紹興
 Shih-san ch'ao hui-yao 十三朝會要
 Shu-mi yüan 樞密院
 Sung hui-yao 宋會要
 Sung hui-yao chi-kao 宋會要輯稿
 Sung hui-yao kao 宋會要稿
 "Sung-Yüan ma-cheng" 宋元馬政
 Szechwan 四川
 T'ai-p'ing 太平
 Ta-tung shu-chü 大東書局
 T'ien-sheng 天聖
 T'i-hsing An-ch'a ssu 提刑按察司
 T'ung-chih 同治
 Tu-t'ung 都統
 Yung-lo 永樂
 Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典

The Identification of Woodblock-Printed Chinese Books: Five Case Studies

CUI JIAN-YING

Arranging and cataloguing traditional Chinese books involves the identification of these books. Scholars, modern and ancient, have put forth many ideas concerning the grounds and the focus of attention, as well as the methods to be adopted in identifying books. Their opinions, with the exception of a few that tend to be extreme and biased, are all based on their practical experience in identification, and are therefore instructive and useful to us. This article does not repeat these opinions in detail.

We are, however, often completely at a loss when trying to apply these methods, even when we are already quite familiar with them and have studied some traditional Chinese books. This situation can be properly described as “the easy part is to understand the principles; the real challenge is to authenticate a specific book.” Book identification, which requires practical skills and the accumulation of experience, also involves scientific examination of the book in question. A sound identification calls for comprehensive studies conducted from different angles and under different conditions. It would be a gross simplification to think of book identification as a judgment made by someone after his or her first glance at a book.

In the summer of 1989, while reading the Chinese rare books in the Gest Oriental Library, I found that some entries in the Gest Library catalogue contain incorrect information about the edition of certain Chinese rare books.¹ Using these entries as examples, I gave a lecture explaining the cor-

rect and incorrect ways to identify a book. My explanations covered such topics as how to authenticate a book from different angles by examining the different editions of the book; which matters must be paid attention to; and how to present evidence necessary for establishing the identification. Although it was not my original intention, these explanations did expose the audience to the practical procedures of book identification. I would like to introduce these examples to the readers of the *Gest Library Journal*, in the hope that they may come up with valuable comments on my opinions.

HO WEN-TING KUNG WEN-CHI

The *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* of Ho T'ang (1474–1543), in eleven *chüan*, was engraved during the Chia-ching period (1522–1566; see illustration 1).² Its title consists of the author's family name and his posthumous title. Posthumous titles were used in traditional China to praise deceased emperors, nobles, and ministers. In principle, the career of the deceased would be assessed and a posthumous title be conferred on him right after his death. In certain cases, however, the title was granted a few years after a person's death. Sometimes, a revised posthumous title might replace the old one. The exact time a posthumous title was granted could therefore vary considerably, and this often necessitates further research on the posthumous title in question.

It happens that in the Gest Library version of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* a biography of the author precedes the text. This biography was written by Chang Lu (1523–1598). It reads: "In 1522, the Emperor Su succeeded to the throne, and appointed him (Ho T'ang) vice censor of education-intendant (T'i-hsüeh fu-shih) of the Surveillance Commission in Shan-hsi" (Shan-hsi An-ch'a ssu).³ The title "the Emperor Su" was the posthumous title of Chu Hou-tsung (1507–1566), who ruled China during the Chia-ching period. The use of this posthumous title in the biography immediately raises a question: since any posthumous title would be granted only after a person's death, how could the posthumous title for Chu Hou-tsung appear in a work that is alleged to have been engraved when Chu Hou-tsung himself was still alive? This already shows that the assertion that the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* was engraved during the Chia-ching period is incorrect. The biography of Ho T'ang goes on to say: "During the early years of the Lung-ch'ing period (1567–1572), an edict was issued, ordering

何文定公文集卷之一

講章

尚書講章

禹曰都帝慎乃在位。帝曰俞。禹曰安汝止。惟幾惟康。其
茲直惟動。丕應後志。以昭受上帝。天其申命用休。

這是虞書益稷篇。史臣記大禹告舜的言語。都是歎
美辭。帝是指帝舜。俞是然其言。止是事物之理。具於
吾心。各有至善。所當依據而不可移易的意思。幾是
事之發動處。康是事之安穩處。弼是指輔弼之臣。後
是待。申是重。休是美。大禹將要告舜。先歎美曰都。又

1. From Ho T'ang (1474-1543), *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*, 11 ch. (10 vols.), 1522-1566. Eight cols. of 21 chars.; block 19.8 x 12.1 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

the 'speaking officials'⁴ to list the deceased officials who had served during the previous reign, that is the reign of the Chia-ching emperor, and thus deserved posthumous titles. Chang Lu then had the honor of serving the emperor in the Remonstrance Bureau. He took the liberty of presenting a memorial to the throne, specifically asking the grant of a posthumous title to Ho T'ang. The emperor had always respected Ho T'ang for his reputation. As a special favor, the emperor granted Ho the posthumous title 'Wen-ting.' This record makes it quite clear that the posthumous title "Wen-ting" was conferred during the Lung-ch'ing period. To verify this date, we can refer to a record in the *Mu-tsung shih-lu* (The veritable records of the Emperor Mu-tsung), in which it says: "On the ninth day of the twelfth month, 1567, Wang Hao, the chief supervising secretary of the Office of Scrutiny for Personnel (Li-k'o Tu chi-shih-chung), and others memorialized: 'Ho T'ang, former vice minister of the Ministry of Rites, was a pure subject devoted to ethical teachings. It is therefore appropriate to grant him a laudatory posthumous title.' . . . An edict was handed down, granting Ho T'ang the posthumous title 'Wen-ting.'"⁵

The assertion that the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* was engraved during the Chia-ching period is therefore not tenable. But how was this identification established in the first place? Perhaps the identification was made under the influence of a generally accepted notion: "The dating of a book can be based on the time its preface was composed." In the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*, there are five prefaces. One was written by the author himself in 1525, another in 1549 by the prince of Cheng,⁶ the third in 1558 by Hsü Tsung-lu, and the fourth and fifth in 1562 by K'ung T'ien-yin and Wu San-lo respectively. Since all the prefaces were drafted during the Chia-ching period, it would seem quite safe to suggest that this book was also engraved during that period. However, that possibility is absolutely ruled out by the appearance in the book title of the posthumous title "Wen-ting" for Ho-t'ang, since this title was granted during the Lung-ch'ing period. When, then, was this book engraved?

Examining the book in terms of the style of its characters, we notice that it has evolved beyond the "soft style" prevalent during the early years of the Ming dynasty. The dash stroke of these characters tends to become horizontal, and the down stroke vertical. But these characters have not yet taken on the so-called square and regular style, a new style that closely imitates the Sung-dynasty style. In the past, some scholars referred to this

new style as the "Chia-ching style." This, however, may have been a simplification. Characters in this style are seen not only in books engraved during the Chia-ching period, but also in those cut during the Lung-ch'ing and Wan-li (1573–1620) periods. The Gest Library catalogue lists this book as a "Chia-ching edition." This incorrect identification is perhaps based on the notion that only characters in books engraved during the Chia-ching period display the "Chia-ching style."

Having pointed out that characters in books engraved during the Chia-ching, the Lung-ch'ing, and the Wan-li periods may all display the same style, and that the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* preserved in the Gest Library is not a Chia-ching edition, we now face the question, During which period was this book engraved—the Lung-ch'ing or the Wan-li period? To answer this question, we need to refer to the relevant catalogues. One such catalogue, which contains detailed information on traditional Chinese books, is the *Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu*, a work that is still being compiled in China.⁷ This catalogue lists a copy of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*, which is described as "an edition engraved in the fourth year of the Wan-li period (1576) under the auspices of Chia Tai-wen" (1533–1602). The major title of the book, the number of its columns, and the number of spaces in each column are identical with those in the Gest Library copy. Is the Gest Library copy then a "Wan-li edition"? My opinion is that the evidence available to us is still not sufficient to allow a sound identification.

It would be ideal if more detailed records concerning editions of traditional Chinese books were available, allowing us to check the Gest Library copy of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*. Such records for Ming-period collected works do exist, and have been collected in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* (A monograph of the identification of Ming writers' collected works), which was compiled by the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences in China. Comparing the Gest Library copy of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* with the one listed in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*, we find that the two books are identical in terms of their titles, the words printed in the *pan-hsin*, the leaf, the number of columns, the number of spaces in each column, and the general features of the printing woodblock format. The *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* lists the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* as "a book engraved in 1576 under the auspices of Chia Tai-wen." The evidence for this identification is a preface written by Chia Tai-wen, which is entitled "Preface for the Re-engraving of the Complete Works of the Ho Wen-ting kung." It reads:

“The compiling, editing, and engraving of this complete works were initiated by the prince of Cheng. Later, Mr. Ma of Wei-yüan County, the prefect of Ch’ih-chou, once again compiled and edited this book, and had it engraved. When I finish editing this book (and have it engraved), this book will have been engraved three times.” This preface also tells the names and titles of those who were involved in its editing and engraving. At the end of the preface, a sentence reads: “Engraved on the fifth day of summer the fifth month, the fourth year of the Wan-li reign (1576).” In contrast, the Gest Library copy of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* does not have the preface by Chia Tai-wen, nor does it have the titles and names of those involved in the editing and engraving of the book. These are clear indications that attempts had been made to fake a Chia-ching edition of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*. And this fakery has indeed deceived some people.

Therefore, the Gest Library version of the *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi* is a copy of the 1576 edition. Since it shows many cracks in the printing wood blocks, it must be considered a copy printed when the blocks were no longer new.

PO-SHA TZU CH’ÜAN-CHI

The *Po-sha tzu ch’üan-chi* of Ch’en Hsien-chang (1428–1500)⁸ was engraved in 1551 under the auspices of Hsiao Shih-yen of Nei-chiang County.⁹ It is in eleven *chüan* with an appendix of one *chüan* (see illustration 2).

Close observation of the style of characters in books is one of the major principles for book identification handed down by scholars of previous times. If, however, we apply this principle unconditionally, believing that characters in books engraved during a specific period will display a distinctive style, we will inevitably misidentify books. This is so because the evolution of the style of characters in traditional Chinese books did not wholly accord with the changes of reign-period names. On the other hand, if examined in a broader perspective, characters in books engraved during a specific period do display some features unique to that period, whether those periods are defined as the late Yüan and early Ming period, the Cheng-te Chia-ching period (1506–1566), the Chia-ching Lung-ch’ing Wan-li period (1522–1620), the Wan-li period (1573–1620), the late Ming period, or the early Ch’ing period.

The *Po-sha tzu ch’üan-chi* in the Gest Library has been identified as “an

白沙子全集卷之一

奏疏 二首

乞終養疏

臣原籍廣東廣州府新會縣人由本縣儒學生員應正統十二年鄉試中式正統十三年會試禮部中副榜告入國子監讀書景泰二年會試下第成化二年本監撥送吏部文選清吏司歷事成化五年復會試下第告回原籍累染虛弱自汗等疾又有老母朝夕侍養

2. From Ch'en Hsien-chang (1428–1500), comp., *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, 9 ch., appendix 1 ch. (18 vols.), Nei-chiang County, 1551. Nine cols. of 18 chars.; block 19.1 x 13.6 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

edition engraved in the thirtieth year of the Chia-ching period during the Ming dynasty (1551) under the auspices of Hsiao Shih-yen of Nei-chiang County." This identification is perhaps based on a postscript written by Hsiang Ch'iao in 1551, which is entitled "The Postscript for the Re-engraving of the Complete Works of Mr. Ch'en of Po-sha County." It reads: "When Mr. Lo Ch'iao of Chi-shui County (in Kiangsi) held the post of magistrate in Hsin-hui County (in Kwangtung), he once presided over the engraving of this book. Now, Mr. Hsiao Shih-yen of Nei-chiang County (in Szechwan), attendant censor, once again has it engraved."¹⁰ This postscript specifically mentions some important facts: the re-engraving of the complete works, Hsiao Shih-yen from Nei-chiang County, and the thirtieth year of the Chia-ching period. These facts seem to have been taken into consideration when the identification of this book was made. The method by which the identification was established thus distinguishes itself from the conventional one which usually takes the year in which the latest preface or postscript was composed as the date at which the book was engraved. All of these considerations make it quite plausible that the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* is a Chia-ching edition. Examining the copy in terms of the style of its characters, however, we notice that the strokes of these characters tend to be extended, displaying a handwriting style similar to that of Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785). Since such a style is seldom seen in the characters in books engraved during the Chia-ching period, the Gest Library copy must have been engraved much later.

The appendixes in traditional Chinese complete works usually are biographical articles contributed by scholars of later periods in memory of the author of the complete works. These articles, which often provide us with the date of the contributors, are useful in tracing when the complete works were engraved.

In the appendixes to the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, an article entitled "Yu Chiang-men chi" (Notes of the trip to Chiang-men) appears on page thirty-nine (see illustration 3). This article was contributed by Ou Ta-lun of Kao-ming County in Kwangtung. Its first sentence reads: "I recall that when I was the magistrate of Tung-ming County (in Hopei) in the year of Chia-wu,¹¹ in the night of the first day of the twelfth moon, I dreamed of the master (i.e., Ch'en Hsien-chang)." The article goes on to say: "Since then nineteen years have passed." A record in the *Ming-Ch'ing chin-shih t'i-ming pei-lu so-yin* tells us that Ou Ta-lun was granted the status of "pre-

遊江門記

高明區大倫著

予憶令東明歲在甲午正月甲辰夜夢先生角
巾玄服儼如而予侍坐先生呼童子進筆楮書
所為詩見贈予受而讀之至咫尺溪光谷口分
谷聲傳語隔溪聞覺胷中洞如因復先生曰自
孔孟以來談道者無如二語透徹此與一貫之
旨何異先生頷之既覺而憮然竊歎先生啓予
者至矣然求二語所為合於一貫而茫然也今
去甲午十九年矣予又何能無慨然詳攷先生

3. From Ch'en Hsien-chang (1428-1500), comp., *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, 9 ch., appendix 1 ch. (18 vols.), Nei-chiang County, 1551. Nine cols. of 18 chars.; block 19.1 x 13.6 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

sented scholar" (Chin-shih) in the seventeenth year of the Wan-li reign period (1589).¹² Therefore, the year of "Chia-wu" when Ou Ta-lun was the magistrate in Tung-ming County should be the twenty-second year of the Wan-li reign period (1594). And it should have been the forty-first year of the Wan-li reign period (1613) when he wrote: "Since then (i. e., 1594) nineteen years have passed."

Ou Ta-lun's article alone should serve as evidence sufficient to negate the assertion that the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* was engraved in the thirtieth year of the Chia-ching period (1551). If we check various bibliographies, we find another edition of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, the engraving of which was sponsored by Ho Shang-hsin in the fortieth year of the Wan-li period (1612; see illustration 4).¹³ As a matter of fact, the Gest Library also holds a copy of this edition, which is shelved right next to the alleged Chia-ching edition. If we compare the two, we find that the Wan-li edition was apparently engraved earlier than the alleged Chia-ching edition since its characters display a style typical of the Wan-li period (see illustration 4). The identifying features of the printing woodblock format, the number of vertical columns, and the number of spaces in each column, as well as the contents of the Wan-li edition, are identical with those of the alleged Chia-ching edition. At the end of the appendixes, the two books both have congratulatory postscripts written by Li Ch'eng-chi (1452-1505) on the birthday of Ch'en Hsien-chang. The appendixes in the Wan-li edition, however, are only thirty-eight pages long. It also does not include Ou Ta-lun's article "Yu Chiang-men chi." These factors all point to the possibility that the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* is a re-engraved edition modeled on the Wan-li edition. This re-engraved edition also includes in its appendixes more commemorative articles written by scholars of the later period.

Then what edition is the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*? It is quite difficult to answer this question, if there is no systematic record concerning the different editions of this book. Besides, the Gest Library does not hold any other copies of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, which would allow us to make further comparisons. We can make a rough identification, suggesting that this book was engraved during either late Ming or early Ch'ing times. Such an identification, however, lacks solid evidence, and therefore has to be subjected to further research.

In recent years, the compilers of the *Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu*

白沙子全集卷之一

奏疏

二首

乞終養疏

臣原籍廣東廣州府新會縣人由本縣儒學生員應正統十二年鄉試中式正統十三年會試禮部中副榜告入國子監讀書景泰二年會試下第成化二年本監撥送吏部文選清吏司歷事成化五年復會試下第告回原籍累染虛弱自汗等疾又有老母朝夕侍養

4. From Ch'en Hsien-chang (1428-1500), comp., *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, 9 ch., appendix 1 ch. (18 vols.), 1612. Nine cols. of 18 chars.; block 19.5 x 12.2 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

have often been confronted with the need to identify traditional Chinese books. This situation has forced them to establish records that will allow them to search for information about the different editions of a work. A book entitled *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* contains such records of forty-three hundred complete works by authors of the Ming dynasty. Comparing the alleged Chia-ching edition of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* with the relevant records in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*, we notice that in the so-called Chia-ching edition the general features of the printing wood blocks, the number of vertical columns, and the number of spaces in each column are the same as those in the edition engraved under the auspices of Ho Shang-hsin. But the characters in the alleged Chia-ching edition display a handwriting style. Moreover, this edition also has more commemorative articles in its appendixes, indicating that the alleged Chia-ching edition was probably engraved in later times. Comparing these features of the alleged Chia-ching edition with the relevant records in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*, we may single out an early Ch'ing edition from the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*. This edition was sponsored by Huang Chih-cheng in the twelfth year of the Shun-chih period (1655). In my opinion, the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* is also a Huang Chih-cheng edition.

In China, three libraries hold the Huang Chih-cheng edition of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*. The description of this edition in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* is based on the copy preserved in the Peking Library. In this copy, there are two prefaces, written by Huang Chih-cheng and Huang Shih-chün respectively. In his preface, Huang Shih-chün pointed out: "The year after he assumed the position of magistrate of Hsin-hui County, Mr. Huang (Chih-cheng), who was from a famous local family, managed to acquire a copy of the complete works of Ch'en Wen-kung¹⁴ of Po-sha village and had it re-engraved." The preface by Huang Chih-cheng reads: "In 1653, I reported to the Ministry of Personnel. In the second month of 1654, I was assigned as magistrate of Hsin-hui County. . . . People in Hsin-hui County had long benefited tremendously from his (i.e., Ch'en Hsien-chang's) ethical teachings. One thing that I regretted the most was that a fire destroyed all the printing wood blocks of his works. This incident was the fault of those responsible for the preservation of (Ch'en Hsien-chang's) works and the printing wood blocks. I, as such a person, was unable to protect them from being destroyed in the fire. How could I ever atone for my fault if I also could not have these works re-engraved? . . . I therefore

consulted other ranking officials in the county about re-engraving the works. They all agreed." According to the *Kuang-chou fu-chih* (Gazetteer of Kuang-chou prefecture), Huang Chih-cheng was appointed magistrate of Hsin-hui County in 1654.¹⁵ These records should establish that the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* was engraved in 1655.

HAN WEN-K'O KUNG WEN-CHI

The *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* of Han Jih-tsuan (1578–1635) dates from the Ch'ung-chen period (1628–1644). It is in twenty-one *chüan*, with one *chüan* of front matter, one *chüan* of back matter, and ten *chüan* of the author's poems. The copy held in the Gest Library has neither preface nor post-script. The Gest Library catalogue lists it as "an edition engraved during the Ch'ung-chen period of the Ming dynasty."¹⁶ This identification is perhaps based on the year in which the latest poem and prose were composed, and on the date of the author's death.

The Gest Library copy is probably one of the few copies still extant, and it is not mentioned in any other bibliographical works. If the engraving date of this book had to be decided solely by examination of the Gest Library copy, and no other relevant record could be consulted, we would have no choice but to agree that the work was engraved during the Ch'ung-chen period. However, participation in the compiling of a union catalogue or a comprehensive catalogue of traditional Chinese books often provides us with the opportunity to come across some books that have been unknown to us. These books and the information they provide sometimes urge us to reconsider from a broader perspective the identification of a book that we made before.

According to the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*, the Chung-shan Library in Kwangtung Province also holds a copy of the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi*. This copy has a preface written by Hu Ta-ting in the eighth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1669). The preface, however, does not mention the engraving of the book. Since the common practice in book identification is to take the year the preface was written as the date of the engraving of the book, the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* lists the Chung-shan Library copy as "a K'ang-hsi edition."

To consider the Gest Library copy a K'ang-hsi edition is not totally groundless. But I have second thoughts about the identification of this

book. While the compilation of the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* was under way, compilers usually borrowed books held by various libraries and studied them twice before they established any identifications for those books. During this procedure, the compilers found many mistakes in their preliminary identifications. However, the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* held in the Chung-shan Library in Kwangtung Province was not then available to the compilers, and they did not physically examine and study it. Is it possible that this book originally had no preface at all, and that the preface written in the eighth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1669) was inserted into a later impression of the book? If the Gest and the Chung-shan libraries had cooperative relations, we would be able to acquire a photocopy of the 1669 preface from the Chung-shan Library and carry out a detailed study. Since this is not the case, we have to resort to other means to solve the problem. While looking for evidence that would help establish an identification for this book, I came across a local gazetteer entitled the *Po-lo hsien-chih*, which was engraved in the twenty-sixth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1687). The style of the characters and the technique used to engrave them in the *Po-lo hsien-chih* and in the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* are remarkably similar. Moreover, the engraver's name "Yü" also appears many times in both books (see illustrations 5 and 6).

If we suppose that these three books, namely the Gest Library and the Chung-shan Library copies of the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* and the *Po-lo hsien-chih*, were engraved by the same person "Yü," and if we further suggest that the Gest Library copy of the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* was engraved in the seventeenth year of the Ch'ung-chen period (1644), and the engraver "Yü" was at the time twenty years old, he would then have been sixty-three years old when he finished engraving the *Po-lo hsien-chih* in the twenty-sixth year of the K'ang-hsi period. Normally, people's eyesight begins to deteriorate after they reach forty, making it difficult for them to engage in work that requires good eyesight. It would have been almost impossible for a sixty-year-old engraver to remain in the engraving business since eyeglasses were not yet readily available to ordinary Chinese during the Ch'ing dynasty. It is therefore safe to suggest that the year 1669 when Hu Ta-ting wrote the preface for the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* should be when the Chung-shan Library version of the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* was engraved, and that the Gest Library copy may also have been engraved about this time.

中途告病疏

原任南京禮部右侍郎韓 奏為聞 命亟

中途患病不能前赴懇乞 聖慈俯容回籍

理事臣佐禮南都慙無寸効接得部咨吏部一本

缺官事該部同九卿衙門會推奉 聖旨韓

改禮部右侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣不勝感

激恭設香案望 闕叩頭謝 恩訖因念臣

母在粵風燭頽齡倚門正切南都去家稍近便道

至家省母即叱馭之官未至稽遲雨雪載塗兼程

三頁大字

5. From Han Jih-tsuán (1578-1635), *Han wen-k'o kung wen-chi*, 21 ch., front matter 1 ch., back matter 1 ch., poems, 10 ch. (14 vols.), 1628-1644. Nine cols. of 19 chars.; block 20.3 x 14.1 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

二十不學二作公

二石五斗歸學養士又邑民李吳塘角田租二石

十石仰掌村田租三十石亦歸學萬曆七年知

縣張守為請立籍歲辦糧差置循環簿報提學

道稽焉學校無田有之自日強始

萬曆二十一年分守嶺東道叅議羅萬程以光

孝寶積等寺田壹百畝歸學

社學

興賢社學在縣東提學魏較立

崇美社學在縣西城隍廟左知縣陳鴻漸以公

政紀 一四

6. From T'ao Ching, *Po-lo hsien-chih*, 7 ch., 1687. Nine cols. of 18 chars.; block unknown. Collection of the Naikaku Bunko, Japan.

In the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* preserved in the Chung-shan Library, the character "hsüan" does not have an omitted stroke.¹⁷ In addition, this book contains many anti-Ch'ing articles. How should we interpret these interesting phenomena?

The character "hsüan" with one stroke omitted was in common use a few years after the Emperor Hsüan-yeh personally attended to court affairs. But this character was seldom used before the year 1676. The *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* was engraved in Po-lo County, Kwangtung Province, which was within the territory of the fief granted to Shang K'o-hsi (1604–1676), who held the title "P'ing-nan wang" (prince who pacifies the South). During the Shun-chih and K'ang-hsi periods (1644–1722), a strong anti-Ch'ing resistance movement existed in the Kwangtung area, a movement in which Shang K'o-shi himself was involved. This special political situation enabled the engravers of the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* not only to include in the book anti-Ch'ing articles, but also to use the character "hsüan" without omitting one of the strokes, practices that would otherwise have been political taboos.

Because the compilers of the "complete works" section of the *Chung-kuo shan-pen shu-mu* did not have access to the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* held by the Chung-shan Library, and therefore did not know that the character "hsüan" appears in the book without any omitted strokes, it seems appropriate to suggest that the general principles for the composition of the *Chung-kuo shan-pen shu-mu* be revised. I am referring in particular to the principle that stipulates that any Ch'ing book that contains the character "hsüan" without omitted strokes can be regarded as a book engraved during the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty.

YÜ-T'AI HSIN-YUNG

The Gest Library's copy of Hsü Ling's *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* is a re-engraving dating from 1633, and is one of the finest woodblock-printed books produced toward the end of the Ming dynasty. It was cut during the Ch'ung-chen reign (1628–1644) under the auspices of Mr. Chao of Han-shan (a place near the city of Soochow) at his Hsiao-wan t'ang Hall and was modeled on a Sung edition sponsored by Ch'en Yü-fu.¹⁸ Over the years, this book has enjoyed great popularity, and the competition among book collectors to obtain a copy has been intense. For those who are serious about acquiring comprehensive collections, the possession of this work has become a must.

During the early years of the Republican era in China, a certain Mr. Hsü Nai-ch'ang from Nan-ling County, who was active in book collecting, compiling as well as engraving, surprised people by sponsoring the recutting of the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*. This edition is almost a replica of the Ch'ung-chen edition in terms of the distinctive features of its printing-block format, the style of the characters, and even the paper and the ink it used. Nevertheless, although this edition closely imitates the Ch'ung-chen edition, it is not a replica. Hsü Nai-ch'ang had some of the misprints in the Ch'ung-chen edition corrected. Moreover, he had no intention of cheating his readers. He wrote a preface, explaining to the readers the whole course of the re-engraving of the book.

It was, however, a totally different story when copies of this re-engraved edition of the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* fell into the hands of book dealers. They could easily fake a copy of the Ch'ung-chen edition simply by removing Hsü Nai-ch'ang's preface. About ten years ago, I found such a fakery in the collection of various libraries in the Peking area and in Hei-lung chiang, Chi-lin, and Liao-ning provinces while I was studying their rare books. And most of these libraries wrongly list this fakery as "a Ch'ung-chen period edition." Only the copy preserved in the Tsing-hua University in Peking is correctly catalogued and still retains the preface written by Hsü Nai-ch'ang. In fact, it is not difficult to tell the two apart. The Gest Library copy is a Hsü Nai-ch'ang edition, and the one shown in the *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu* (Illustrations of woodblock-printed books in China) is a Ch'ung-chen edition (see illustrations 7 and 8). Moreover, in chapter four of the Ch'ung-chen edition, a poem entitled "Ch'iu-hu shih" has many misprints, making the poem difficult to read and to understand. In the Hsü Nai-ch'ang edition, these mistakes have all been corrected. In the past, book dealers used these wrong characters as their secret to tell whether or not a copy of the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* was a Ch'ung-chen edition.

It is also worth mentioning that the Gest Library copy bears the red impression of some seals, the most noticeable being the personal seal of Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1919) and the seal for his private collection. These impressions are all authentic. The Gest Library copy is tastefully designed. Its cover is of purple silk, and it is nicely bound by threads in six needle holes, with its slipcase covered in brocade. Miao Ch'üan-sun's seals, however, indicate that he failed to tell that this copy is in fact a Hsü Nai-ch'ang edition. A book collector as famous and experienced as Miao Ch'üan-sun can

王臺新詠卷第一

古詩八首

李延年歌詩一首并序

班婕妤怨詩一首并序

張衡同聲歌一首

蔡邕飲馬長城窟行一首

情詩一首

古詩八首

陳尚書左僕射李少傅東海徐陵字孝穆撰
古樂府詩六首
枝乘雜詩九首

蘇武詩一首
辛延年羽林郎詩一首

宋子侯董嬌饒詩一首
漢時童謠歌一首

秦嘉贈婦詩一首并序
秦嘉妻徐淑答詩一首

陳琳飲馬長城窟行一首
徐幹詩一首
室思一首

繁欽定情詩一首
古詩無名爲焦仲卿妻作并序

上山采蘼蕪下山逢故夫長跪問故夫新人復何如新人雖言好未若故人姝
顏色類相似手爪不相如新人從門入故人從閤去新人工織練故人工織素
織練日匹織素五大餘將練來比素新人不如故

獨宿累長夜癡想見容輝良人惟古歡枉駕惠前綬願得常巧笑攜手同車歸
既來不須更又不處重闌諒無鷓鴣風翼焉得凌風飛眴眴以適意引領遥相瞻

7. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*, 10 ch. (2 vols.), Republican era. Fifteen cols. of 30-33 chars.; block 20.8 x 13.5 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

王臺新詠卷第一

古詩八首

李延年歌詩一首并序

班婕妤怨詩一首并序

張衡同聲歌一首

蔡邕飲馬長城窟行一首

情詩一首

古詩八首

陳尚書左僕射李少傅東海徐陵字孝穆撰
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辛延年羽林郎詩一首

宋子侯董嬌饒詩一首
漢時童謠歌一首

秦嘉贈婦詩一首并序
秦嘉妻徐淑答詩一首

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織練日匹織素五大餘將練來比素新人不如故
獨宿累長夜癡想見容輝良人惟古歡枉駕惠前綬願得常巧笑攜手同車歸
既來不須更又不處重闌諒無鷓鴣風翼焉得凌風飛眴眴以適意引領遥相瞻

8. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*, 10 ch. (2 vols.), 1633. Fifteen cols. of 30-33 chars.; block 20.5 x 13.3 cm. Reprinted from *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu* (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1961).

sometimes also be deceived by a fakery. When it comes to the identification of traditional Chinese books, we should base our identification on objective evidence and should not be confused by the superficial features of the book in question.

Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi

The *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi*, in thirty *chüan* with a one-*chüan* appendix, dates to 1572 (first impression)¹⁹ and was written by Li P'an-lung (1514–1570). Famous for his literary talent, Li P'an-lung was one of the “Later Seven Masters” who led a late Ming literary movement that advocated the “return to the ancient style.”²⁰ The Gest Library catalogue describes its copy of the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi* as “a copy of the first impression. It has a preface by Chang Chia-yin (1527–1588). It was compiled and put into engraving by Wang Shih-chen.”²¹ Wang Shih-chen, another of the “Later Seven Masters,” was born into a rich and prominent family, and once exchanged one of his manor houses for a Sung-edition book. In my opinion, it is unlikely that a person as famous and rich as Wang Shih-chen, when engaged in the engraving of a famed literary figure's work, would have produced something as sloppy as the Gest Library copy of the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi*. Characters in this copy display an awkward style of craftsmanship, and the general layout of the printing wood blocks is also poor (see illustration 9). As a matter of fact, when the first impression of the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi* was completed, some people immediately involved themselves in the re-engraving of this book, often identifying themselves by their names and titles. The Gest Library copy, however, is an exception. It was re-engraved by bookstore owners, who intentionally attempted to fake the first impression of the book. The quality of this fakery is also among the poorest of the various re-engraved editions of the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi*.

Re-engraving was a common practice in the book-printing business during the Ming dynasty, making it quite difficult to authenticate books produced during this period. However, careful comparison should enable us to tell the first impression of a book from its various re-engravings. If no copies of other editions are available for such a comparison, we should pay close attention to the quality of the printing wood blocks. It can be said for sure that a book as poorly produced as the Gest Library copy of the *Ts'ang-*

滄溟先生集卷之一

濟南李攀龍于鱗撰

古樂府

胡寬營新豐。士女老幼相攜路首。各知其室。放
犬羊雞鶩於通塗。亦競識其家。此善用其擬者
也。至伯樂論天下之馬。則若滅若沒。若亡若失。
觀天機也。得其精而忘其麤。在其內而忘其外。
色物牝牡。一弗敢知。斯又當其無有擬之用矣。
古之為樂府者。無慮數百家。各與之爭片語之
間。使雖復起。各厭其意。是故必有以當其無有。

9. From Li P'an-Lung (1514-1570), *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi*, 30 ch., appendix 1 ch. (16 vols.), 1572. Ten cols. of 20 chars.; block 22.3 x 14.2 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

ming hsien-sheng chi was re-engraved for the profit-seeking bookstore owners. Further evidence to support this identification is found in the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*. According to this work, copies of the first impression of the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi* bear the personal and family names of the engravers. These names appear at the bottom of the block-heart at the center of the leaf. On pages ten to eleven in chapter one, there is a family name "Lu"; on pages fifteen and sixteen of the same chapter, a personal name "Pang"; and on the first page of chapter two, a full name "Ku Ju-chia."

NOTES

This essay by the eminent scholar-bibliographer of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Beijing, is based on a lecture presented in Princeton to a workshop for Chinese bibliographers during the summer of 1989. Another article by Mr. Cui, which is also related to the identification of traditional Chinese books, appeared in the *Gest Library Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 1989-1990, under the title "The Scope of the Term 'Shan-pen,' the Identification of Woodblock Editions, and the Organization of Catalogues, in Relation to Traditional Chinese Books."

1. In this article, "the Gest Library catalogue" refers to Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library," in *Ch'ü Wan-li hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi*, vol. 13 (Taipei: Lien-Ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1983).
2. Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 449.
3. The holder of this position was responsible for assisting the censor of education-intendant (T'i-hsüeh yü-shih) in approving students for admission to state schools, testing and classifying

them periodically, and certifying those considered qualified to undertake civil service recruitment examinations. See T'i-hsüeh yü-shih, in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

4. A term used to refer to the grand masters of remonstrance (chien-i ta-fu).
5. *Mu-tsung shih-lu* (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so, 1961), 15, pp. 3a-b.
6. This prince was Chu Hou-huan (1518-1591). He was granted the title "prince of Cheng" in 1527. In 1550, he was reduced to a commoner for criticizing the Chia-ching emperor. His title was restored when the Lung-ch'ing emperor ascended the throne in 1567. His biography in the *Ming shih* describes him as a person well versed in literature. He once studied under the guidance of Ho T'ang. See *Ming shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 103, pp. 2853-2854; 119, p. 3627. See also Ho T'ang in *Dictionary of Ming Biography (1368-1644)*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

7. The first section of this work, which deals with the Chinese classics, has been recently published as a separate book in China. See *Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu* (Comprehensive catalogue of China's rare books), ed. Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu pien-chi wei-yüan-hui (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1986).
8. Ch'en Hsien-chang's name was to become associated especially with the village of Po-sha in Hsin-hui County, Kwangtung Province. The family moved to this village some time during his life. He was therefore often referred to as "Po-sha tzu."
9. Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 444.
10. The *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih* gives the following descriptions of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*: engraved in 1551 under the auspices of Hsiao Shih-yen; 21 *chüan*; nine vertical columns on each page and twenty characters in each column; white folding line; single line margin; the title *Po-sha ch'üan-chi* appears under the fish tail. On pages one and two of *chüan* one, a name "Tseng Hsiu" appears at the bottom of the block-heart. And so does the name "Tseng Tzu-ch'ing" on pages three and four. At the beginning of *chüan* one, a remark reads: "Compiled and emended by Chang Hsü (1355-1541), a disciple (of Ch'en Hsien-chang) and assistant of the Office of Transmission; re-emended by Yü Chang, a disciple (of Ch'en Hsien-chang) and the instructor of Hsin-hui County."
11. A record in the *Tung-ming hsin-chih* indicates that Ou Ta-lun was the county magistrate from 1589 to 1594. See *Tung-ming hsin-chih*, ed. Mu Hsiang-chung, Chung-kuo fang-chih ts'ung-shu edn., no. 166; facsimile rpt. of 1933 edn. (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1968), 6, p. 5b.
12. Chu Pao-chiung et al., *Ming-Ch'ing chin-shih t'i-ming pei-lu so-yin* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1980), p. 2571. The "presented scholar" status was granted to successful candidates in the highest-level civil service recruitment examinations. This status qualified them for appointment to government office.
13. A remark in Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 445, says: "The complete works (of Ch'en Hsien-chang) was first engraved during the Hung-chih period (1488-1505). But the Gest Library copy was re-engraved under the auspices of Ho Hsiung-hsiang (ca. 1592) and was based on a 1551 edition sponsored by Chan Jo-shui (1466-1560)." The suggestion that the engraving of the Gest Library copy was initiated by Ho Hsiung-hsiang may also be incorrect. Although Ho wrote a preface for the re-engraved complete works, he pointed out: "It is Mr. Lin of Kuang-wen County who acquired from the Directorate of Education in Nanking a fine edition (of the complete works) emended by Mr. Kan Ch'üan (the sobriquet for Chan Jo-shui). And he consulted with his friends about having the works re-engraved." On the other hand, a passage in the preface written by Huang Ch'un reads: "Ho Shang-hsin, who is in the same club of mine, and a few friends of his then had the works engraved." These records suggest that the Gest Library copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi* should be considered a copy

- of the edition engraved under the auspices of Ho Shang-hsin.
14. "Wen-kung" was the posthumous title for Ch'en Hsien-chang.
15. *Kuang-chou fu-chih*, 1879 edn. reproduced in facsimile (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1966), 28, p. 20b.
16. Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 479.
17. In China, characters used in the names of emperors were taboo. Writers who had to use those characters had to omit the last stroke or two of the character. In this case, since the emperor's name is Hsüan-yeh, the last stroke of the character *hsüan* should have been omitted.
18. Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 491.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
20. These Seven Masters are: Li P'an-lung, Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590), Hsieh Chen (1495-1575), Tsung Ch'en (1525-1560), Liang Yu-yü (fl. ca. 1550), Hsü Chung-hsing (1517-1578), and Wu Kuo-lun (1524-1593). They advocated that prose follow the Ch'in (221-207 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) style, and poems the style of the High T'ang (618-907).
21. Ch'ü Wan-li, "A Catalogue," p. 460.

GLOSSARY

- Chan Jo-shui 湛若水
 Chang Chia-yin 張佳胤
 Chang Hsü 張翮
 Chang Lu 張魯
 Chao 趙
 Ch'en 陳
 Ch'en Hsien-chang 陳獻章
 Ch'en Wen-kung 陳文恭
 Ch'en Yü-fu 陳玉父
 Cheng 鄭
 Cheng-te 正德
 Chia Tai-wen 賈待問
 Chia-ching 嘉靖
 Chia-wu 甲午
 chien-i ta-fu 檢議大夫
 Ch'ih-chou 池州
 Chi-lin 吉林
 Ch'in 秦
 Chin-shih 進士
 Chi-shui 吉水
 "Ch'iu-hu shih" 秋胡詩
 Chu Hou-huan 朱厚燾
 Chu Hou-tsung 朱厚燾
 chüan 卷
 Ch'ung-chen 崇禎
 Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu 中國古籍善本書目
 Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu 中國版刻圖錄
 Chung-shan 中山
 Han 漢
 Han Jih-tsun 韓日贊
 Han-shan 寒山
 Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi 韓文恪公文集
 Hei-lung chiang 黑龍江
 Ho Hsiung-hsiang 何熊祥
 Ho Shang-hsin 何上新
 Ho T'ang 何瑋
 Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi 何文定公文集
 Hsiang Ch'iao 頂喬
 Hsiao Shih-yen 蕭世延
 Hsiao-wan t'ang 小宛堂
 Hsieh Chen 謝榛
 Hsin-hui 新會
 Hsü Chung-hsing 徐中行
 Hsü Ling 徐陵

- Hsü Nai-ch'ang 徐乃昌
 Hsü Tsung-lu 許宗魯
 hsüan 玄
 Hsüan-yeh 玄燁
 Hu Ta-ting 胡大定
 Huang Chih-cheng 黃之正
 Huang Ch'un 黃淳
 Huang Shih-chün 黃士俊
 Hung-chih 弘治
 Kan Ch'üan 甘泉
 K'ang-hsi 康熙
 Kao-ming 高明
 Kiangsi 江西
 Ku Ju-chia 顧汝嘉
 Kuang-chou fu-chih 廣州府志
 Kuang-wen 廣文
 K'ung T'ien-yin 孔天胤
 Kwangtung 廣東
 Li Ch'eng-chi 李承箕
 Li P'an-lung 李攀龍
 Liang Yu-yü 梁有譽
 Liao-ning 遼寧
 Li-k'o Tu chi-shih-chung
 吏科都給事中
 Lin 林
 Lo Ch'iao 羅僑
 Lu 陸
 Lung-ch'ing 隆慶
 Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫
 Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih
 明別集版本志
 Ming-Ch'ing chin-shih t'i-ming pei-lu so-yin
 明清進士題名碑錄索引
 Mu-tsung shih-lu 穆宗實錄
 Nan-ling 南陵
 Nei-chiang 內江
 Ou Ta-lun 區大倫
 Pang 邦
 pan-hsin 版心
 P'ing-nan wang 平南王
 Po-lo 博羅
 Po-lo hsien-chih 博羅縣志
 Po-sha 白沙
 Po-sha tzu 白沙子
 Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi 白沙子全集
 Shang K'o-hsi 尚可喜
 Shan-hsi An-ch'a ssu 山西按察司
 Shun-chih 順治
 Su 肅
 T'ang 唐
 T'i-hsüeh fu-shih 提學副使
 T'i-hsüeh yü-shih 提學御使
 Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi
 滄溟先生集
 Tseng Hsiu 曾秀
 Tseng Tzu-ch'ing 曾子卿
 Tsing-hua (Ch'ing-hua) 清華
 Tsung Ch'en 宗臣
 Tung-ming 東明
 Wang Hao 王浩
 Wang Shih-chen 王世貞
 Wan-li 萬曆
 Wei-yüan 衛源
 Wen-kung 文恭
 Wen-ting 文定
 Wu 吳
 Wu Kuo-lun 吳國倫
 Wu San-lo 吳三樂
 Yen Chen-ch'ing 顏真卿
 Yü 宇
 Yü Chang 俞樾
 "Yu chiang-men chi" 遊江門記
 Yü-t'ai hsün-yung 玉臺新詠

NEWS AND NOTES: FOR THE FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

ADVISORY BOARD

The staff of the *Gest Library Journal* has invited several eminent scholars in relevant fields to serve as members of a newly created Advisory Board. As can be seen from their names and present posts, they are well placed to offer advice on the journal's content, and to contribute news about activities in East Asian research libraries. They are being asked to serve five-year terms. Other members may be added in the future. We are grateful to these distinguished people for agreeing to assist us in improving the coverage and quality of the journal. Brief introductions to the board members, in alphabetical order, follow.

Cui Jian-ying. Professor Cui was introduced to readers of the *Gest Library Journal* in volume 3, number 3 (1990), where a translation from Chinese of his important article on the identification of editions of Chinese rare books was published. This issue carries a second article by Professor Cui, also translated from the Chinese, dealing with mistaken identifications of rare books, illustrated by examples drawn from the Gest Library. These articles are based on a series of workshop lectures presented at Princeton to audiences of librarians from various institutions, in the summer of 1989, when Professor Cui was visiting Princeton in conjunction with his participation in the planning of a union catalogue of Chinese rare books held by North American libraries. Head of the Division of Special Collections at the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Beijing, Professor Cui has for more than a dozen years been a principal figure in the effort to create a comprehensive catalogue of Chinese rare books held in the libraries of China. Professor Cui graduated from college in Beijing in 1954, taught college before joining the Academy of Sciences, and concurrently holds the post of professor at Beijing Normal University. Those of us who have come to know Professor Cui at Princeton hold him in the highest esteem, and have the warmest regard for his personal qualities as well as for his scholarly attributes.

Tai-loi Ma. Dr. Ma is the curator of the East Asian Library at the University of Chicago, one of the great East Asian collections in the United States. While earning his doctorate in Chinese history at the University of Chicago, Dr. Ma was for a number of years the assistant to Tsuen-hsuei Tsien, the dean of East Asian scholar-librarians in this country. Dr. Ma knows the Gest Collection well, having visited it often to conduct research; his advice to the *Gest Library Journal* will be that of an insider. It is difficult to classify Dr. Ma as a specialist in any particular field. He is typical of the

eminent sinologues of the earlier decades of this century in being a formidable expert on almost any aspect of Chinese civilization that concerns him. The quality that best characterizes his scholarship is perhaps the incisive critical judgment he brings to bear on the fruits of his meticulous research.

Matsuura Akira. Professor Matsuura, who earned his doctorate in the Division of Humanities at Kansai University in Osaka, Japan, in 1976, has been a professor at that university since 1981. A historian concerned with both China and Japan, he has specialized in economic history, and particularly in the history of trade, within and between Japan, Korea, and China, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. One of the leading younger historians in Japan and well known to members of the *Gest Library Journal* staff, he will be able to keep us informed about scholarly activities, as well as library and publishing news, in Japan.

Yue-him Tam. While Professor Tam was working on his doctorate at Princeton in the early 1970s, he held a position on the staff of the Gest Library, and we are thus the happier to welcome him back among us as a member of the Advisory Board. After completing his advanced studies at Princeton with a doctoral dissertation entitled "In Search of the Oriental Past: The Life and Thought of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)," and teaching for a year in the History Department of Bowdoin College, Professor Tam returned to the Chinese University in Hong Kong, where he had been an undergraduate, to serve with great distinction as a professor of Japanese history and of all aspects of Sino-Japanese relations, while also holding the posts of dean of general education, later dean of students, in New Asia College, one of the constituent colleges of the Chinese University. He has also been the director of that university's Centre for East Asian Studies, and is a member of many associations in China, Japan, and Hong Kong concerned with Sino-Japanese political and cultural relations. Noted as a translator of scholarly works as well as belles lettres, he has to his credit ten books and dozens of scholarly articles. Currently he is a visiting professor in the Department of History at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, where for two years he will teach Japanese history and direct a program in Japanese studies.

Xian-en Ye. Professor Ye, who has undergraduate and graduate degrees in Chinese history from Wuhan University in Hubei (1962) and Zhongshan University in Canton (1965), is well known for his studies in the social and economic history of China's later imperial era. A professor at Zhongshan University for twenty years, he now holds the post of director of the Division of Economic History in the Institute of History, Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences, in Canton, and is currently an executive member of the Association of Economic History of China. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of California, Los Angeles, and at the East-West Center in Honolulu, and has lectured at a number of North American universities, including Princeton in the spring of 1990. His many publications include definitive studies of merchant associations in Ming and Ch'ing times, and studies bearing on the local history, also in Ming and Ch'ing times, of regions of special economic significance,

such as Huizhou Prefecture in Anhui Province, and Guangdong Province. Professor Ye has already rendered bibliographic advice and other assistance to the Gest Library, and to our graduate students. We welcome the opportunities that lie ahead to benefit further from his wide contacts and broad knowledge.

THE SPACE PROBLEM

The growing space problem in the Gest Library has plagued curators, staff, and users for several years. Readers will remember that in 1989 we published in the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 3, nos. 1–2, pp. 56–64) an architectural study prepared by Cary F. Liu and the staff, predicated on the assumption that new space would have to be built, and that contiguous new space could best be achieved by adding a connecting structure on the south side of Palmer Hall. Although we are not abandoning that ideal plan, we are also much interested in the efforts of Antony Marr, the curator of the Gest Library, to evolve alternative solutions that might have a greater chance of being realized. Mr. Marr's ingenious proposal was set forth in an interview with the *Gest Library Journal* staff and is summarized below. Mr. Marr is not sure that his proposal would cost less than the alternatives, and the university authorities are now investigating the issues of cost and structural feasibility. We are grateful to Mr. Marr for this evidence of his devotion to the library's needs, and we publish his ideas here in hopes of stimulating further thought and comment from the Friends.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION FOR THE PHYSICAL SPACE PROBLEM IN THE GEST LIBRARY: AN INTERVIEW WITH ANTONY MARR

It had been almost six months since Antony Marr had assumed the post of curator of the Gest Library when the staff of the *Gest Library Journal* visited him, asking him to comment on the library's most pressing problem: the shortage of physical space.

"The Gest Library and other Asian libraries in the United States," according to Mr. Marr, "have an average annual increase of about seven thousand volumes in their Chinese collections. The number of new acquisitions of Asian books will amount to well over ten thousand a year if the four thousand Japanese books purchased every year are counted, and the number of acquisitions is expected to continue to grow." The annual increase in the volume of Asian books has posed a serious problem to the libraries that acquire these books: where will the books be shelved? The number of books increases every year, but the physical space for storage seldom increases accordingly. The situation in the Gest Library is particularly serious: books are piling up along the corridors and lying on the floor in Palmer Hall. "Unlike some public libraries," said Mr. Marr, "which periodically sell their out-of-date collections to make room for their new acquisitions, the Gest Library, as a principle, only buys books and does not sell any book in its holdings." This policy aggravates the already serious shortage of space in the Gest Library.

The library's space problem, according to Mr. Marr, has received due attention from the university provost. After touring the library and studying the problem in person, the provost agreed to construct bin houses on the Forrestal campus, which, when completed, will provide the library with the space to store up to one hundred thousand volumes. The construction budget for the bins has been approved by the university authorities, and construction is under way. "The construction of these bin houses," stressed Mr. Marr,

is only a temporary solution to the space problem. It is satisfactory neither to the readers nor to myself. Moving books out of the library to the Forrestal campus has already caused inconvenience to our readers, making the access to and the locating of books more difficult. It is at best a temporary expedient, and in my opinion such a measure can be adopted only once. The reason is simple: at the rate the library is acquiring new books, the space made available in the Gest Library by moving one hundred thousand books to the Forrestal campus could easily be taken up by new acquisitions in five years. If a satisfactory solution still cannot be found, we will be faced with the same problem five years later, which will force us to move another hundred thousand volumes to the Forrestal campus. And we may have to do the same thing every five years. If this is to be the case, most of our holdings will eventually be stored on the Forrestal campus, and we may have to change the name of our library from the Gest Library to the Forrestal Library.

"This is not to say," Mr. Marr emphasized, "that we do not appreciate the help offered by the provost. The Gest Library is not the only library in the university with a space shortage. The same problem also exists in the art and engineering libraries. Librarians in the engineering library have to remove a book from the stacks whenever a new book is purchased. It seems to me, that for the time being, moving some of the Gest Library books to the Forrestal campus is a sensible solution to our space problem. At the same time, we librarians will try our best to minimize the inconvenience to our readers caused by this solution." So far about 450 boxes of books, amounting to about 32,000 titles, have been moved to the basement in Firestone Library. They will be shipped to the Forrestal campus as soon as the construction of the bin houses is completed. Information about these books has been keyed into the computer, allowing them to be easily located. Any book paged by readers will be called back to the library within twenty-four hours. And once a book is paged, it will be kept in the Gest Library. Only books that have never circulated will be stored on the Forrestal campus.

When asked if it were possible that a new building could be constructed for the Gest Library, Mr. Marr said:

To my knowledge, the university policy is to allocate more of its resources to the improvement of courses offered to undergraduates and not to construct new buildings in the near future. The municipality of Princeton also has strict zoning restrictions on the construction of new buildings on the

campus, since the sewer treatment plant and the sewer lines in this area are already operating at full capacity. It is therefore quite unlikely that a new building for the Gest Library will be built. However, this is not to say that there is no solution to the physical space problem that will both satisfy the long-term needs of the library and comply with university policy and municipal regulations. In my opinion, rebuilding the interior of the Gest Library is just such a solution.

The Gest Library now occupies two floors, and according to Mr. Marr the ceiling on each floor is about nineteen feet high. If the present interior were totally demolished, there should be enough space to allow the construction of two extra floors. The height of the ceiling on each of the four newly constructed floors would be about nine feet. The two extra floors and the compact shelving the library would install would double the current library capacity, providing enough space to store the library's new acquisitions for the next twenty-five years.

To Mr. Marr, this renovation plan is a feasible one. It does not conflict with the university's no-new-buildings policy and is therefore more likely to be approved. He has already discussed this plan with Donald Koepp, the university librarian, and the initial response from Mr. Koepp was positive. Mr. Marr's proposal has been referred to the Physical Planning Department, and a team of architects and engineers from the department is to conduct a feasibility study.

"However," Mr. Marr warned, "if this plan is authorized and carried out, it will cause further inconvenience to our readers during the construction period. The renovation would take about nine months during which the library would have to be closed and emptied for construction. Readers' access to books would be greatly reduced."

Mr. Marr planned to consult with faculty members and graduate students about this problem when the fall semester began and was confident he could gain their support for his renovation plan. "As librarians, we are here to offer the best service possible to library users. In my opinion, the realization of the renovation plan will in the long run best serve the needs of both the library and its readers. And we will have their support and understanding."

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
Princeton, N.J. 08544 USA

All contributions exceeding the cost of the subscription (twenty-five dollars for individuals; fifteen dollars for currently enrolled students) are considered donations for tax purposes.