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From the Editor

NEWS OF THE FIELD

Forthcoming Publication of Two Hundred Rare Chinese Local Gazetteers

We would like to share with our readers the following announcement received from Professor Cui Jian-ying, a member of our Advisory Board, in Peking. Professor Cui, head of the Division of Special Collections of the Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Peking, was introduced to the Friends of the Gest as the author of important articles on the study of Chinese rare books, published recently in the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 3, no. 3, and vol. 4, no. 1; for a brief sketch of Professor Cui's academic career and mention of his scholarly publications, see vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 2-3); those articles were written at the Gest Library during his research visit to Princeton in 1989. The following short article was translated for publication here, from Professor Cui's Chinese text, by the staff of the journal.

Beijing's China Bookstore (Chung-kuo Shu-tien) Will Publish
"A Collection of Rare Chinese Gazetteers"
(*Hsi-chien Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih ts'ung-k'an*)
Selected and Compiled by the
Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences

Among old Chinese books which continue to this day to have value for a broad range of research one must give first place to local gazetteers (*ti-fang-chih*). The special characteristics of local gazetteers as documents are that each preserves the materials concerning one particular place, in depth, offering in effect a year-book type of accumulation of one locality's records, while in breadth forming a part of the overall coverage of a region or even of the entire nation. The many individual gazetteers thus may each be looked upon as a facet of an era's recorded materials, supplementing both in time and in space the kinds of information that the national history cannot, or can only inadequately, record.

Each single item, every such work, must necessarily possess its own particular qualities as documentation, but its more important function may be seen to lie in its being a constituent element in the broadly ranging, all-encompassing, richly abundant treasure house of materials formed by all the gazetteers taken together.

The past half-century has witnessed efforts to prepare a number of large compilations of historical materials, such as "Chronological Tables of Materials Related to Earthquakes in China" (*Chung-kuo ti-chen tzu-liao nien-piao*), "Compilation of Chinese Historical Materials on Earthquakes" (*Chung-kuo li-shih ti-chen tzu-liao hui-pien*), "General Table of Chinese Records on Astral Phenomena" (*Chung-kuo t'ien-hsiang chi-lu tsung-piao*), and "Compilation of Chinese Historical Astronomical Materials" (*Chung-kuo t'ien-wen shih-liao hui-pien*). To bring each of those to fruition, large amounts of human labor had to be organized to search comprehensively through all of China's gazetteers known to exist in present collections.

Particularly in light of that experience, in which China's gazetteers gained added recognition throughout Chinese academic circles as documents having high research value, both within China and without, libraries all strove to make their gazetteer holdings more complete and systematic. But for various reasons, the number of such works that still could be procured had become extremely small, to the point that they might occasionally be encountered but could no longer be purposefully sought. Having come in recent years to the point that gazetteers were virtually unavailable, it has become necessary to reproduce them to make them available in a reincarnated form.

Since the Shanghai Bookstore (Shang-hai Shu-tien) in the sixties offered in photo-offset the "Selection of Ming Dynasty Gazetteers in the T'ien-i Ko Library" (*T'ien-i Ko ts'ang Ming-tai fang-chih hsüan-k'an*), there have appeared in succession compilations in facsimile reprintings such as Taiwan's Ch'eng-wen Bookstore's (Ch'eng-wen Shu-tien) "Collectanea of Chinese Gazetteers" (*Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih ts'ung-shu*) and the "Compilation of Chinese Gazetteers" (*Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih chi-ch'eng*) under the auspices of the Shanghai Bookstore and others. To be sure, these var-

ied according to the concrete circumstances governing the selection process, yet from many points of view these facsimile printings of original works greatly enriched library holdings, thereby making research materials available in many more places; in those respects their achievement is similar.

According to the materials made available in recent years from all points, the number of extant Chinese gazetteers within China and abroad totals more than eight thousand titles, of which almost half can be considered "rare" (*hsi-chien*). For a variety of reasons, access to that portion of the extant gazetteers for research use presents many difficulties, and making duplicate copies tends to be subject to even more restrictions. That gives pause to publishers who otherwise might hope to make selective reprintings of this category of old gazetteers.

The rare gazetteers in almost all cases are those that were compiled relatively early, and in general they were followed by more broadly disseminated recompilations (*hou chih*). It is sometimes thought that the rarer earlier ones are of value only as exemplars of earlier editions, since the materials they contained would be incorporated into the subsequent recompilations. But that is not entirely correct. The gazetteer of a county (*hsien*) or a subprefecture (*chou*) or a prefecture (*fu*) will indeed include portions drawn from the earlier gazetteers, but these may not be directly copied verbatim as additions to the new work.

Moreover, because of changes in the circumstances of an age, an earlier gazetteer will have adopted the priorities of that time and place, whereas a subsequent recompilation, with the passage of time and changes in boundaries, will often omit material. For example, during the Ming dynasty much attention was focused on local militias, and local military preparedness was carried out on a large scale. Gazetteers compiled during the period from the Ming into the Ch'ing often cover this in considerable detail, whereas subsequent recompilations mostly refer to it in brief form if at all. Records concerning natural disasters also are in most cases more detailed about the recent past and less so about more remote times. The biographies and the literary works included in a gazetteer will reflect the rise and fall in prominence of leading local

families and the differing attitudes toward them of those supervising compilation, so that in some cases they will be more complete, in others less so.

Also, the individual gazetteer characteristically will include records unique to the particular compilation. Some gazetteers will not have closely followed prescribed norms and regulations, their compilers having interjected their individual points of view, or having incorporated their own political opinions or views of popular sentiment, or having set forth their literary thought or their personal values; in those respects their compilations may possess irreplaceable value.

Because the time at which their blocks were engraved is relatively early, many of the rare gazetteers represent the first compilation of a gazetteer for the locality, or the earliest extant gazetteer, or the first compilation within a particular set (e.g., as for a newly created administrative entity) of gazetteers. From the point of view of textual emendation, and of the history of editions, the primary gazetteers of course are of greater value than the subsequent recom compilations.

Errors in the catalogue entries concerning the extant gazetteers are extremely numerous; the correction of such errors and the proper handling of related problems can only proceed from reference to the original works themselves, or from access to them in a different incarnation — as facsimile reprints.

In consideration of all the foregoing, the Library of the Academy of Sciences has consistently approved of all efforts to organize the reprinting of Chinese local gazetteers, and is deeply committed to the view that this noble undertaking must be continued until it has been completed, by cooperative efforts of many places with many angles of vision. For these reasons it also has selected two hundred titles of rare gazetteers and has offered them to the Beijing Bookstore (Pei-ching Shu-tien) for photo-offset reprinting, in the hope that this group of rare works on the verge of extinction can be reincarnated.

This group of reprinted gazetteers will bear the title *Hsi-chien Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih ts'ung-k'an*, totaling two hundred titles, to be bound in fifty volumes (sixteenmo, hardbound, each volume

of about twelve hundred pages); publication will be completed during 1991–1992.

The table of contents appended to Professor Cui's short descriptive statement appears to be in an unedited form not suitable for publication; we will send a copy to anyone who writes to ask for it. Our preliminary analysis of the contents yields the following information:

Of the 200 titles to be included, 53 date from the Ming dynasty and 147 from the Ch'ing. The earliest, a gazetteer of Ta-ming Prefecture in Hopei, dates from 1445; the latest are from the 1840s. Two, neither precisely dated, are manuscript copies (*ch'ao-pen*), one compiled in Ming times and the other in Ch'ing. All of the rest are woodblock printed editions. One, a gazetteer of Fu-ch'ing County in Fukien, together with a continuation (*hsü-lüeh*), altogether eighteen-plus-one *chüan*, compiled by the Monk Ju-i, is a Japanese woodblock print from the Kambun era (1661–1672); all the others appear to be Chinese editions and printings.

The geographical distribution of the 200 items is as follows: Hopei, 15; Shansi, 17; Shensi, 7; Kansu, 5; Shantung, 4; Kiangsu, 14; Chekiang, 22; Anhwei, 18; Kiangsi, 17; Fukien, 18; Honan, 9; Hupei, 4; Hunan, 18; Kwangtung, 19; Kwangsi, 9; Szechwan, 3; Kweichow, 1. Three of the titles are provincial gazetteers: one for Shansi, described as "a later printing from the blocks engraved during the Wan-li reign," the two others being the Kwangtung provincial gazetteer in 72 *chüan* whose blocks were engraved in 1601, and its continuation in 72 *chüan*, no date given here. All the rest are subprefecture and county local gazetteers.

The bibliographic information given in the table of contents appended to Professor Cui's article is of course less than complete. One item on the list that raises interesting questions is the *Wan-shu tsa-chi*, compiled by Shen Pang, its printing blocks dated to 1593. This famed gazetteer of Wan-p'ing Hsien, whose government was located within the walls of Ming Peking, has been much cited in recent years by social, political, and economic historians, and is considered one of the more valuable sources from late Ming times. It was previously published in 1961 in a modern typeset, punctuated edition, by the Beijing Bookstore (Pei-ching Shu-tien, the publisher of this new compilation), and has been reprinted. The preface to that edition says it is based on a photographic copy owned by the Academy of Sciences, the original exemplar being in a famed rare books library in Japan, the Sonkei-

kaku Bunko. That exemplar is not quite complete. The question that naturally arises here is whether another exemplar of that 1593 first (only?) edition has been found in China, or whether the version to be included here is again to be based on the photographic copy of the original work now held in Japan.

We look forward to the appearance of this important new publication of two hundred rare gazetteers in the expectation that it will enable us to solve many problems bearing on all aspects of Chinese studies.

A New Catalogue of Gest Library Holdings

Catalogue of Traditional Chinese Books in the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University (P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ke-ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan "chung-wen chiu-chi shu-mu")

COMPILED BY CH'ANG PI-TE, WU CHE-FU, AND MEMBERS OF THE GEST LIBRARY STAFF

Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Press (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan), first printing, September 1990. English preface; *Hou-chi* ("Afterword") by Ch'ang Pi-te; catalogue, 680 pages; index of titles and authors, 231 pages.

The first catalogue of rare Chinese books in the Gest collection, compiled by the late Professor Ch'ü Wan-li, was published in 1974 by the Yi-wen Publishing Company in Taipei. (A catalogue of the entire Gest collection, *Title Index to the Catalogue of the Gest Oriental Library*, prepared by Irwin Van Gorder Gillis, was published in Peking in 1941; copies of it are now rare.) Professor Ch'ü's descriptive catalogue of the rare books as defined by traditional criteria has been reprinted as volume thirteen of Professor Ch'ü's collected works, *Ch'ü Wan-li hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* (Taipei: Linking Press, 1984).

The items included there number 1,026 titles in 30,500 *ts'e* (stitched volumes), of which 24,000 are identified as Ming-dynasty printings. Of the other 6,500 *ts'e*, about half are Sung- and Yüan-dynasty prints and the remainder are exceptionally rare or fine early Ch'ing-dynasty published works and manuscripts.

Traditionally, the term *shan-pen*, meaning fine or rare editions, has been more or less automatically applied to all works printed up to the end of the Ming dynasty (1644). Exceptions were Ming-period printings that were poorly executed, or that circulated in large numbers in Ch'ing and later

times. And it has always been accepted that certain unusually fine Ch'ing printed works, few in number and printed in small quantities, as well as manuscripts of exceptional quality or importance, could also be labeled "*shan-pen*." But such exceptions have been few. Quite recently, the experts on Chinese printing have argued persuasively for establishing new criteria; cataloguing projects underway in China and elsewhere now extend the date for virtually automatic inclusion to the end of the Ch'ien-lung reign of the Ch'ing dynasty (1796). (See Cui Jian-ying, "The Scope of the Term '*Shan-pen*,' the Identification of Woodblock Editions, and the Organization of Catalogues, in Relation to Traditional Chinese Books," *Gest Library Journal* 3:3 [1990], pp. 35-60.)

In addition, exceptionally rare or fine printings of even later date also may be included. There are good reasons for redefining the term "rare books" in this way: the destruction of privately held collections in China in recent decades, restrictions on the export from China of antique objects including old books, and competition in the market for such items as are still available from other sources, have made all old Chinese books in traditional formats increasingly rare. But, beyond the workings of market forces, one must reconsider the significance of the "*shan-pen*" category for old Chinese and other East Asian books. Is it not more reasonable now to assume that fine printings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no less than those from earlier times, are artifacts of cultural value that fully merit special effort to preserve them? Could one not in fact argue that all woodblock editions, and all books printed by using the premodern, East Asian technologies of typography, whether employing wood or cast metal or other forms of movable type, have now become cultural objects of high historical importance? In addition, many of the texts so transmitted to us have not been superseded by new editions incorporating modern textual-critical scholarship, and may never be so superseded.

The first step in preserving such books and making them accessible for scholarly use, antiquarian appreciation, artistic assessment, or whatever, is to identify and catalogue them. With these issues in mind, the curators of the Gest Library decided in the late 1970s that a new catalogue was needed to pick up where the Ch'ü catalogue left off, to identify and catalogue all the remaining works in the traditional formats, as well as those "*shan-pen*" that were overlooked in the earlier cataloguing or that have since been added to the collection. Ch'ang Pi-te, at that time curator of special collec-

tions in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, professor of Chinese bibliography, and a former associate of the late Professor Ch'ü, was the obvious choice to undertake this large project. During the course of the work, as former Gest curator Diane Perushek explains in the English preface, Mr. Ch'ang became the vice-director of the National Palace Museum. The added burdens of his new post required that he invite one of his associates at the National Palace Museum library, Wu Che-fu, to assist him. Mr. Wu is well known for his studies of early printing. Over a period of years the basic tasks were accomplished, and the galley proofs were sent to the Gest where several members of the Gest staff, especially Mrs. Hui-fen Lung, corrected the proofs and compiled the extensive indexes which so greatly enhance its convenience. Now, after more than ten years the new catalogue, referred to here as the *Traditional Chinese Books Catalogue (Chiu-chi shu-mu)* to distinguish it from the earlier *Chinese Rare Books Catalogue (Shan-pen shu-mu)* has been published, and is available through the Taiwan publisher.

In his "Afterword" Mr. Ch'ang states that this work contains entries on "more than 2,800 separate titles in almost 90,000 *ts'e*." He adds that because of the vast scope of this project, one cannot expect it to be absolutely error free. In particular, it was not possible to examine the content of the many large composite works and collectanea, to verify the characteristics of each separate item, so a determination of the edition was made, and then the existing library records were incorporated as they are.

What one misses in this otherwise valuable catalogue is a statement of the general principles (*fan-li*) followed in compiling the work. We note that the word "*shan*" indicating "fine and or rare" has been added in the descriptive information in 232 cases. In 102 of those instances the work in question is identified as a Ming-dynasty printing; of the remaining 130, 30 are identified as from the Shun-chih reign (1644-1661) or as "early Ch'ing," and about 60 are dated to the K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) and later reigns. Some 30 works identified as Ming printings are nonetheless denied the "*shan*" designation. Moreover, the reasons for granting it to the 130 post-Ming titles are not made explicit. In some cases the compiler has noted, in discussing an early Ch'ing publication, that it displays "engraving and printing of exceptionally fine quality," yet that work is not designated "*shan*." To cite an example, the Gest is noted for its exceptionally strong holdings of fine palace editions of Ch'ing works on government institutions, yet under that classification (*cheng-shu*), we find roughly 150 entries (pp. 206-236), many

of which are K'ang-hsi or earlier, among which only 3 are granted the "shan" designation. One is a late Ming manuscript; the other 2 are manuscripts from the late nineteenth century. In another section, that on "Buddhist writings," the word "shan" appears on 70 out of 133 of the catalogue entries. That is the highest percentage of items labeled "shan" in any of the subject classifications. Of the 70 items, 46 are dated to the Ming dynasty, 15 to the Shun-chih reign or to "early Ch'ing," and the remainder mostly to the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung reigns, yet 3 items dated to the Ming dynasty have been denied the "shan" designation.

Without explanation, these decisions appear to be arbitrary and questionable. That is not to suggest that they are capricious. Nonetheless, the user truly needs a clear statement of principles governing such decisions; without it, we are forced to infer what those may be. However obvious they may be in some library circles, a measure of uncertainty nonetheless remains in the minds of most catalogue users.

What does the new *Traditional Chinese Books Catalogue* accomplish in describing the current status of the Gest collections? It obviously is a great step forward. Yet it is to be seen as a supplement to the Ch'ü *Chinese Rare Books Catalogue*; it covers principally the remainder of the original Gest collections and other holdings as those existed about 1970. It does not include rare books and other acquisitions made in the 1970s and since. Some of those acquisitions are significant. (See Chu Hung-lam, "The Colby Collection of Chinese Rare Books," *Gest Library Journal* 1:1 [1986], pp. 7-19. In addition to the Colby Collection, the library in the 1970s and 1980s acquired more than two hundred other items that could merit the designation "rare book." For a description of one of those, see F. W. Mote, "The Ch'ö Keng Lu: A Fourteenth-Century Miscellany," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 48:3 [1987], pp. 213-224.)

Thus a third catalogue of the Gest Collections of rare East Asian books must be contemplated, this time to include the significant holdings in Japanese, Korean, Manchu, Tibetan, and Mongolian (and even a few fragments in Hsi-hsia and other scripts), as well as the recently added older Chinese items. Until that can be accomplished, however, we all must take pleasure in having the new *Traditional Chinese Books Catalogue*. There is much here to inform, to intrigue, and to puzzle us, and to make our use of Chinese traditional books and manuscripts simpler and more pleasurable.

F. W. Mote

*Important New Publications on the History of
Chinese Settlement in Southeast Asia*

It has come to our attention that scholarly work carried out in recent years in Southeast Asia by the eminent scholar Wolfgang Franke, professor emeritus, Hamburg University, is appearing from presses in Southeast Asia whose publications do not become widely known in European, American, and other academic circles. In view of this fact, as well as their high importance for scholarship, the *Gest Library Journal* would like to call attention to them here. They include a volume of Professor Franke's recent writings:

Sino-Malaysiana: Selected Papers on Ming and Qing History and on the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, 1942-1988

BY WOLFGANG FRANKE

Singapore: South Seas Society, 1989, pp. xii, 616. To be ordered from University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop, Ltd., Bangunan Perpustakaan, Peti Surat 1127, Jalan Pantai Baru, 59700 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Telex: UNMAL MA 39845. U.S. \$45.00; hardcover, U.S. \$55.00. Or: Joint Publishing Company (Hong Kong Branch), Chung Shang Building, 9 Queen Victoria Street, Hong Kong. Or: Universal Book Company, 17, Gilman's Bazaar, P.O. Box 2641, Hong Kong.

There are also three series of on-going publications of materials collected by Professor Franke and his associates in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand. These are illustrated and indexed, and contain historical background information as well as texts of epigraphic remains. They are:

Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia

COLLECTED, ANNOTATED, AND EDITED BY WOLFGANG FRANKE AND CHEN TIEH FAN

3 vols. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1982, 1985, 1987, pp. xiv, 1510. To be ordered from University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop, address as above. Each volume, Malaysian \$66.50 (postage extra).

Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia

COLLECTED, ANNOTATED, AND EDITED BY WOLFGANG FRANKE, IN COLLABORATION WITH CLAUDINE SALMON AND ANTHONY SUI

Singapore: South Seas Society, vol. 1: Sumatra, pp. xviii, 575; vol. 2: Java, ed. Claudine Salmon, forthcoming; vol. 3: Outer Islands, in preparation. To be ordered from Joint Publishing Company (Hong Kong), or Universal Book Company, Hong Kong; addresses as above. Or, may be ordered from South Seas Society, P.O. Box 709, Singapore 9014, Singapore.

FROM THE EDITOR

Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Thailand

COLLECTED, ANNOTATED, AND EDITED BY WOLFGANG FRANKE

In preparation. To be published in Bangkok.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Nancy E. Chapman received her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton; her dissertation was entitled "Zhou Zuoren and Japan." She is currently collaborating with Dr. King-fai Tam on a translation of selected Chinese essays of the *hsiao-p'in wen* genre. Dr. Chapman is a program officer at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in New York City, and also serves as visiting lecturer in the Department of History at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.

Zhen-ping Wang received his doctorate from the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, in 1989. He is the editor of the *Gest Library Journal*.

De-min Tao is a specialist in Japanese intellectual history of the Tokugawa period. In 1985, Dr. Tao received his master's degree from Fudan University, China, by defending a thesis on the relations between Japan and Great Britain during the late nineteenth century. He then went to Japan to pursue studies at Osaka University, where he earned his doctorate in the spring of 1991. From September 1990 to August 1991, Dr. Tao was a visiting fellow in the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University. Since September 1991 he has been a research fellow in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University. He is the author of more than twenty articles in Chinese and Japanese.

Matsuura Akira is professor at the Division of Humanities, Kansai University, in Osaka, Japan. One of the leading younger historians in Japan, Professor Matsuura has specialized in the trading relations between China and Japan during the Ming and Ch'ing periods and has published over sixty articles. His detailed studies of Japanese primary sources dealing with Chinese merchants' activities in Japan are well known to scholars of Sino-Japanese economic relations. His research is also concerned with the formation and the development of Chinese commercial capital, especially in the areas

of Chekiang, Fukien, and Shansi. Recently, the focus of his study has been on the shipping business along the Chinese coasts. In 1987, he was rewarded by the Society of Oriental Studies, Japan, for his research on the maritime transportation between Shantung and Liaoning during the Ch'ing dynasty.

Professor Matsuura is a member of the Advisory Board of the *Gest Library Journal*. For this issue of the journal, he has contributed an article about an affluent business family in Shanghai during the late Ch'ing times and its collection of traditional Chinese books. A case study of the links between the new forms of commercial wealth and the old elite cultural values in early modern China, the article reveals once again the continuing importance of rare book collection among the members of a changing elite sector of Chinese society, a phenomenon that has persisted into recent times.

Wang Zeng-yu, the author of more than sixty articles, three major books, and five collaborative works, is one of the leading Sung scholars in China. Born in Shanghai in 1939, Professor Wang was educated in the History Department, Beijing University, from 1957 to 1962. After graduation, he joined the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He is now a research fellow at the institute and professor of Chinese history in the graduate college, which is affiliated with the academy. Professor Wang's research covers a wide spectrum of topics concerning the history of the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties: the political institutions, the economic organizations, the social structure, and the cultural legacy. His research into Sung history has also led him to the study of two important neighbors of the Sung court, the Khitan and the Jürchen empires. Professor Wang is known to the scholarly world particularly for his works on Sung military history, *A Tentative Study of the Sung Military System* and *A Biography of Yüeh Fei*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor wishes to extend his thanks to the following people for their valuable support and help to the journal. Wang Zeng-yu, professor of Chinese history of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sci-

ences, Peking, not only contributed an article that appears in this issue, but also has been active in soliciting articles for our journal from Chinese scholars in Peking.

Ikeda On, professor and director of the Institute of Oriental Culture, Tokyo University, Japan, kindly granted the editor's request for a photograph of a Chinese rare book preserved in his institute, and permitted the journal to use this photograph as an illustration for an article that will appear in a future issue.

When volume 4, number one, of the *Gest Library Journal* was being prepared, some of the photographs for the illustrations were damaged and some totally destroyed en route to the printer. Zhou Jianyu, a doctoral candidate in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton University, took the trouble to locate the negatives of these pictures and send them to our photographer to have new prints made. Thanks to his help, publication of the journal was not delayed.

Although not a member of the Advisory Board of the *Gest Library Journal*, Wang Liqi, father of the editor, has been an enthusiastic supporter of the journal. He has contributed two articles to it, one of which was published in the spring issue of 1991. As a matter of fact, most of our Chinese contributors learned of the journal from Professor Wang, and wrote for the journal at his encouragement.

Friend and Foe:
Chou Tso-jen Views Japan in the
Shadow of War

NANCY E. CHAPMAN

Among literary figures of twentieth-century China, Chou Tso-jen (1885–1967) stands out as one of the most illustrious. Though his fame has been partially eclipsed by that of his brother, the celebrated writer Lu Hsün (1881–1936),¹ Chou continues to be widely admired among Chinese readers for the gracefulness of his prose and the breadth of his knowledge. He was an early and energetic advocate of the movement to reform the Chinese written language to make it more responsive to new ways of looking at the world, and, to some, his own writing was itself the embodiment of what was to be striven for in the development of new forms and styles of discursive prose. Chou was both an acute observer of the world around him and a prolific writer, his collected essays filling more than twenty volumes. He considered himself a modern Renaissance man, and his varied intellectual career included forays into a dozen national literatures, the Chinese classical heritage, anthropology, entomology, botany, mythology, fine arts, utopian socialism, children's literature, feminism, political affairs, and contemporary manners and morals. In this sense his essays reflect their author, ranging widely across the cultural and social landscape of the time: they include everything from descriptions of traditional Chinese arts and customs, to analyses of Western literature and philosophy, to calls for equal rights for women, to expressions of outrage at warlord violence toward peaceful student demonstrators.



1. Chou Tso-jen in the 1930s.

Chou's eclectic learning and broad interests were a product of the transitional period in which he came to maturity. Born in Shao-hsing in 1885 into a gentry family, he received a classical education as a child in preparation for the traditional civil service examinations and an official career. At the age of sixteen, he enrolled at the Chiang-nan Naval Academy in Nanking, one of a number of hybrid institutions appearing throughout China at the time that attempted to teach both the Chinese classical canon and a smattering of Western languages and natural science. In the summer of 1906, along with thousands of his compatriots, Chou journeyed to Tokyo in pursuit of a modern education, returning to China in 1911 on the eve of the revolution that brought down the Ch'ing dynasty. He eventually found his way to Peking six years later, where he joined a thriving community of scholars and activists that included some of modern China's most innovative thinkers. He soon emerged as a major figure in the May Fourth Movement, a heady period of cultural and social ferment that called into question virtually every aspect of traditional Chinese life and culture and strove for

entirely new modes of thought and expression, some of them inspired by Western models. Throughout this period, Chou published numerous essays advocating social, literary, and linguistic reform.

One of Chou Tso-jen's abiding interests throughout his long life was Japan and its culture. He was also deeply concerned about Sino-Japanese relations. Indeed, despite the pivotal importance of Japan to the course of modern Chinese history, Chou was one of the few Chinese intellectuals to give it serious, sustained attention. His view of Japan was complex: he was at once an admirer of Japan's traditional and modern culture, and a critic of its imperialist ambitions. These sentiments are clearly evident in a series of essays on Sino-Japanese relations he published throughout the 1920s. Together, they provide a sampling of his writing and an indication of the depth of emotion the Japanese could arouse in China long before the onset of large-scale military hostilities between the two countries, even from a man predisposed to think well of them. Chou's writings on this subject represent one man's attempt to make sense of the central paradox of modern Sino-Japanese relations: that Japan could be both China's closest friend and most bitter adversary.

In June of 1927, Chou Tso-jen offered the following observations about China's relations with Japan in modern times:

The anti-Japanese movement has recently started up again, and it grows more widespread by the day. This is only to be expected. There is no country in the world to which China should feel friendlier than Japan, yet there is also no country to which China should be more strongly opposed. Regardless of whether the aim is to study traditional culture or develop the arts today, China cannot overlook Japan because more than a thousand years of contact has resulted in an unbreakable bond between the two countries. If those who do research on China's history, literature, and art are unaware of the Japanese record in these areas, they will also fail to gain much understanding of Chinese things, and there will always be areas about which they are unclear. . . .

But this relates solely to the area of scholarship and the arts, and in this area friendship between China and Japan is of course necessary, even essential. If, however, we consider the matter from another angle, then opposition to Japan is both obligatory and absolutely essential for the sake of China's future. Authoritarian

Japan, ruled as it is by militarists and the rich and powerful, will perpetually be a threat to China, and China, if it is to survive, must work actively to stand up to Japan and repel its stratagems before dealing with secondary imperialist powers. Japan constantly proclaims the slogan “Sino-Japanese Co-prosperity and Co-existence,” but this is nothing more than a euphemism for invasion: when a piece of pork is eaten by someone and it remains within his body — that is co-prosperity and co-existence.²

The hostile standoff that Chou described was to worsen steadily in the years leading up to the Second World War, but China and Japan had not always been so belligerent. Some twenty years before Chou Tso-jen wrote these words, thousands of Chinese students — Chou among them — had journeyed to Japan in pursuit of a modern education, resulting in the first direct encounter of large numbers of Chinese youths with a modernized society, Western-style institutions, and elements of Western thought and technology absorbed by Japan in the Meiji period. This experience touched an entire generation of the Chinese elite, including many individuals who were to make their mark in politics, the military, and the arts and sciences over the following decades.

What impelled this striking movement was the peculiar place Japan had come to occupy in the Chinese imagination in the waning years of Manchu rule. Traditionally dismissed as a lesser civilization by the Chinese, Japan had proved itself remarkably nimble and adept at the very task that had eluded the Ch'ing dynasty: the construction of modern industries and a strong military capable of discouraging foreign encroachment. The initial shock to the Chinese consciousness came with Japan's deft victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, which resulted in a Chinese push to study the Japanese example of borrowing and adaptation from the West, and revitalized China's flagging attempts to modernize. Japan's subsequent defeat of a European power — Russia — in 1905, boosted Chinese confidence and seemed to confirm the wisdom of emulating the Japanese. After decades of humiliation by the seemingly invulnerable powers of Europe and America, Chinese reformers looked with vicarious pride to the success of their Asian neighbor in standing up to the West.

Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War notwithstanding, the first decade of this century witnessed relatively amicable relations between the two countries. This was especially evident in the area of educa-

tion and learning. Not only did large numbers of Chinese students travel to Japan to study, but a Japanese-inspired system of public education was mandated by the Ch'ing court for establishment in China (though funds sufficient to make the system a reality were never appropriated). Hundreds of Japanese books on social, political, and technical subjects were translated into Chinese, helping to expand greatly knowledge in China about the outside world. Furthermore, numerous Japanese educators set up special schools to receive the large number of Chinese students then flocking to Japan, and many also served in China as teachers in a number of recently founded Western-style Chinese schools. These efforts were in part an expression of the view of many Japanese that Japan should repay its centuries-old cultural debt to China by assisting the Chinese in their efforts to modernize.

Japan was different things to different people. To Chang Chih-tung (1837-1901), a prominent Chinese official of the Manchu court, it was a constitutional monarchy that had achieved wealth and power without sacrificing its imperial institutions and Confucian foundation; to the brilliant reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929), it was an intellectual treasure trove and a safe haven from which to continue publishing his radical journals; to Sun Yatsen (1866-1925), the revolutionary, it was an ally, overseas base, and source of financial assistance. Military trainees saw Japan as the possessor of a modernized, disciplined Prussian-style army and navy, while would-be government servants viewed it as a diploma mill helpful to bureaucratic advancement in China once the traditional route to officialdom, the civil service examination system, had been abolished in 1905. Young Chinese patriots hoped to learn the secrets of Western learning and institutional reform in Japan and thereafter apply them to rescuing China from further decline, whereas their more frivolous countrymen treated it as a playground for debauchery. Japan of the late Meiji period accommodated large numbers of Chinese people with a vast range of motives and intentions, proving a setting conducive to inquiry and debate about China's future at a time when such discussion was proscribed at home. As a result, political agitation, philosophical inquiry, and modern-style journals all flourished in Tokyo's Chinese student ghettos, where most of the sojourners concentrated.

Chou Tso-jen's interest in Japan was first cultivated during the five years he spent in Tokyo as a young man. Arriving in 1906, he joined his brother

Lu Hsün, who had arrived several years earlier. Despite their poverty, the brothers led a carefree, unfettered life that Chou would later remember fondly. As with many Chinese students, formal schooling often took a back seat to the many extracurricular distractions Tokyo had to offer, not the least of which was the vitality of the expatriate community of which the brothers were a part. Chou took an immediate liking to the city of Tokyo, which was at the time a mixture of new Western-style buildings made of bricks and mortar, and traditional wooden structures that, to Chou, resonated with the influence of T'ang China. He spent long hours in the city's plentiful and well-stocked bookstores, making use of the abundant opportunities they offered to learn about the Western world. Though he had ostensibly gone to Japan to study architecture, he spent most of his time reading Greek, European, and Japanese literature, and his five years in Japan are notable less as a period of specialized study than as one of general intellectual growth and self-discovery, much of it self-propelled. It was during this period that his lifelong interest in Japan's traditional and modern culture was born. His marriage in 1909 to a Japanese woman, Habuto Nobuko, served to deepen further his sense of attachment to the country he would later call his "second home."³

Chou formed his first impressions of Japan during a time of unusually close relations between the two countries. This hopeful period was, however, regrettably short-lived. In the space of just a few years, it became unmistakably clear that Japan's emulation of its Western rivals would include the very sort of predatory challenges to China's sovereignty that Chinese reformers had hoped to repel. Not surprisingly, bitter resentment against Japan soon came to replace admiration in the minds of many young Chinese. Whereas Japan had served in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a filter for information about the West and a model for reform of the Chinese political, legal, educational, and military systems, progressive Chinese intellectuals of the May Fourth period, including most of those who had earlier studied in Japan, largely discarded the Japanese example and looked directly to Western Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union in their campaign to remake their country's culture and society. Japan would remain, however, a primary irritant to national pride for decades, and the agent of vast devastation and suffering for millions of Chinese.⁴

Although receptive to the influence of Western liberal thought, Chou



2. Chou Tso-jen and his wife, Habuto Nobuko, in Japan in 1910, the year following their marriage. Her brother is pictured at right.

Tso-jen attempted to broaden the discussion of foreign paradigms during the May Fourth period by focusing renewed attention on Japan. Japan, he argued, still had much to offer the Chinese, both in the Japanese willingness to borrow from others and in the achievements that this willingness had made possible. As a writer, he was most concerned with what China could learn from Japan in the field of literature. Japanese writers now recognized as modern literary giants — Natsume Sōseki, Shimazaki Tōson, Mori Ōgai, Nagai Kafū, and others — had already produced some of their most enduring works by this time, but these were little known in China, since most Chinese still discounted or were ignorant of the impressive body of modern Japanese literature that had developed since the Meiji Restoration. Chou set out, therefore, to introduce recent innovations in Japanese literature to Chinese writers, literary scholars, and social reformers, and encouraged them to learn from the Japanese experience. He first addressed this issue in a lecture entitled “The Development of Japanese Fiction over the Past Three Decades” (*Jih-pen chin san-shih nien hsiao-shuo chih fa-ta*), which he delivered in April 1918 at Peking University.⁵ He began by stating that the Chinese were in the habit of dismissing Japanese civilization as nothing more than the product of centuries of cultural borrowing from China and the West and, as such, unworthy of study in its own right. While conceding that Japan had indeed borrowed much from these two sources over many centuries, Chou suggested that this was only part of the story. Just as it would be wrong to regard the cultural achievements of modern European nations as merely the inevitable outgrowth of their Greek and Roman roots, the view that Japanese culture was entirely derivative of other civilizations overlooked the crucial role that creativity, artistic sensibility, and indigenous elements had played in the evolution of a distinctive civilization. Chou chronicled the Western-inspired literary schools that had successively appeared in Japan since the Meiji period — realism, romanticism, naturalism, hedonism, and idealism — and cited examples of works that exemplified the spirit of each. He noted that Japanese writers had carefully studied Western literature and attempted to imitate it faithfully; at the same time, however, they had integrated elements of the Japanese literary tradition and the insights and innovations of individual artists to create highly original works. Chou called this process “creative imitation.” Its result, he said, was the development by Japanese writers of a modern literature of international standard that was distinctively their own. “Modern Japanese writers have

now caught up with modern world trends," he concluded, "and they are now swimming together [with Western writers] in the 'river of life.'"⁶

Chinese writers, by contrast, had failed to create anything new in the same period. "In China," Chou held, "people have also been talking about new fiction for over twenty years, but with no results. Why is this? In my view, it is solely attributable to the fact that Chinese people are neither willing nor able to model themselves on others." This unwillingness to learn from others was also evident in the books Chinese chose to translate. The works of writers such as H. Rider Haggard, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Walter Scott, Chou asserted, had been popular with Chinese translators in the early twentieth century not because they possessed literary or educative value, but for the simple reason that they were perceived to bear a resemblance to familiar works of Chinese fiction. The Chinese reluctance to imitate had left literature enmired in stultifying forms incapable of conveying new thinking; instead of attuning themselves to modern trends, Chinese fiction writers continued to go around and around in the same small circle, using the restrictive forms of traditional Chinese fiction to convey the same stale ideas. "For this reason," Chou contended, "several types of old-style fiction are still being produced, whereas we still do not have even one book of modern fiction."⁷

If we want to cure ourselves of this affliction, *we must throw off historically conventional thinking and proceed to imitate others in a sincere spirit*. Then, as the example of Japan shows, our literature will emerge quite naturally from the stage of imitation and transform itself into a unique literature of our own. . . . The current state of Chinese fiction resembles where Japanese literature was in 1884 or 1885. So, at present, it is vitally important that we promote translation and the study of foreign literary works. . . . In sum, *if a new kind of fiction is to flourish in China, we will have to start from the very beginning*.⁸

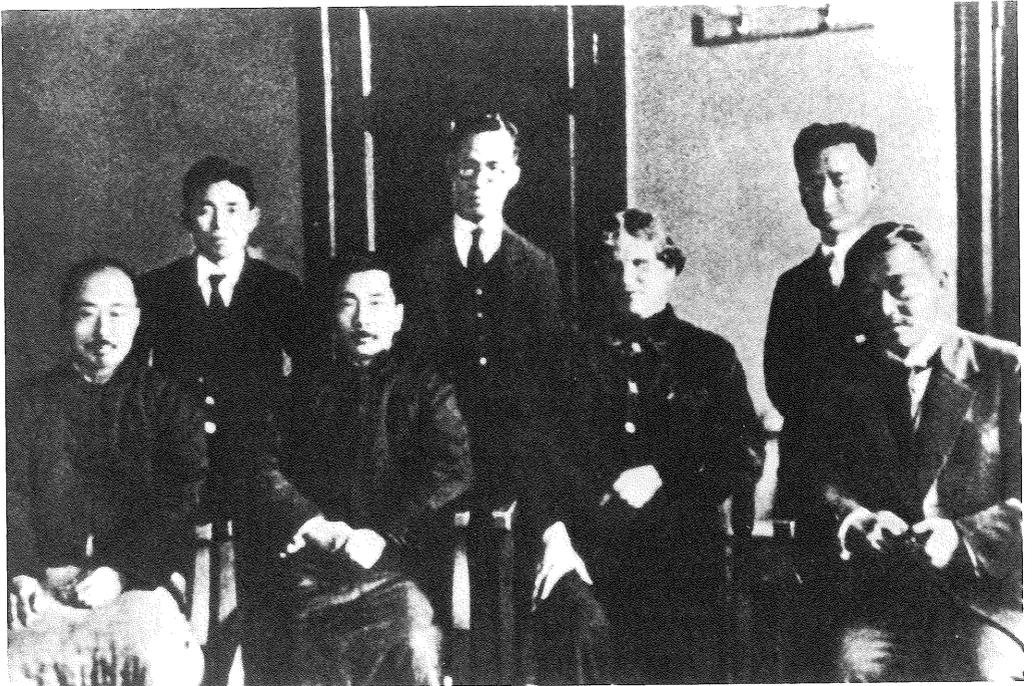
Chou's lecture later appeared in *New Youth* (*Hsin ch'ing-nien*), the most influential journal of the day, and sparked modest interest among Chinese intellectuals in the achievements of modern Japanese authors. Translations of modern Japanese literature — including many by Lu Hsün and Chou himself — became more numerous. Having publicly championed the value of Japanese literature, Chou pressed to have it included in the curriculum at

Peking University as a discrete field of study. A department of Japanese literature was established at the university in 1925, and Chou was appointed its chairman, a position he held for over a decade. His call for emulation of Japanese literary innovations was, furthermore, answered in, among other works, the sensational novella *Sinking* (*Ch'en Lun*), published in 1921 when its author, Yü Ta-fu (1896–1945), was enrolled as a student of economics at Tokyo Imperial University. The confessional style of this obviously autobiographical novel and the ruminations of its tortured hero bear clear evidence of Yü's debt to the contemporary Japanese "I-novel" (*watakushi shōsetsu*), a genre in which the author is the leading character and tells the story, expressing his or her own feelings about the other characters and their surroundings. *Ch'en Lun* resulted in a storm of controversy in China, in large part because of its explicit sexual imagery, which resembled that of the contemporary popular Japanese novel *A Certain Woman* (*Aru onna*), by Ari-shima Takeo (1878–1923), a work that, not coincidentally, Yü's hero had read. The attention *Sinking* attracted also enhanced its impact, and it helped to usher in countless stories and novels of troubled romantic heroes and heroines grappling with societal pressures and inner turmoil that bear the clear imprint of Japanese naturalism.⁹

If Chinese intellectuals had failed to take sufficient heed of the accomplishments of contemporary Japanese writers, as Chou believed, they would not have been able to ignore the very visible and growing Japanese presence on Chinese soil during this period. As early as 1915, the Japanese government had made clear its intention to expand its influence in China by issuing the Twenty-one Demands, a bald attempt to extort economic and territorial concessions from China. By the 1920s, Japanese citizens owned and operated factories in China, ran schools, and published newspapers, and their manufactured goods often displaced China's own in Chinese markets. Japanese also served as political and military advisors to various warlords vying for control of the country, feeding suspicions that they were abetting the continuing disunity of the country. Japanese influence in Manchuria was especially strong, and it was to grow throughout the decade. Chinese cities in other parts of the country also had sizable Japanese communities whose members took full advantage of the special rights and privileges enjoyed by Europeans and Americans in China. That Chinese in an age of testy nationalism would find the Japanese presence in China irksome can well be imagined, and anti-Japanese sentiment among students,

merchants, and political reformers was expressed in repeated calls to boycott Japanese goods and resist Japanese aggression.

Despite his respect and deep affection for Japanese culture, Chou Tso-jen expressed growing anger and indignation throughout the 1920s at Japan's increasingly overt imperialist designs on China. As a scholar, social reformer, and critic, he reserved special scorn for what he saw as an often subtle campaign of Japanese propaganda designed to subvert Chinese society, enervate the Chinese people, and prepare them to become docile subjects of an expanding Japanese empire. He focused most of his ire not on the Japanese government but on individual Japanese who insulted the dignity of the Chinese people through their words and actions and harmed the cause of peace and cultural understanding between the two countries. He identified three groups as especially objectionable: "carpetbaggers" and shiftless adventurers — the *rōnin*; Japanese scholars of Chinese civilization and other self-proclaimed authorities on Chinese affairs who wrote articles and books derogating the Chinese people — the so-called China experts



3. Cho Tso-jen (first row, left) and Lu Hsün (front row, second from left) with friends in Peking, 1923.

(*Shina tsū*); and Japanese who operated newspapers in China that, though published in the Chinese language, were actually mouthpieces for Japanese military and commercial interests. Chou's contempt for these three types of Japanese, all of whom he regarded as invidious and meddling stand-ins for actual military invaders, appears repeatedly in his essays. He was convinced that he and his fellow Chinese intellectuals had a special responsibility to awaken the nation to the severe threat to national survival posed by Japan. They should, he wrote,

expend every effort to nurture in the Chinese populace a distrust of Japan, and let everyone know that the Japanese propertied class, the military, industrialists, politicians, and journalists, as well as some educators (and, needless to say, "carpetbaggers" and "China experts" in China) are all imperialists with the ambition of invading China. . . . We have to understand that Japan is China's most dangerous enemy. We must be on our guard and not trust the Japanese. We must do our best to think of ways to thwart their work. This is a task that Chinese intellectuals, especially those with some understanding of Japan, should now undertake, and a responsibility we must now fulfill.¹⁰

Of the first group, the *rōnin*, Chou wrote:

[They] think of China as a territory of Japan and imagine themselves as coming to a colony of which they are the masters to practice on the inhabitants the *bushidō* tradition they have inherited. They proceed to give full vent to the wild impulses they cannot let loose in their own society. In Peking, there are many such disruptive and violent types among the Japanese merchants, and the situation in other places can well be imagined.¹¹

A visiting Japanese acquaintance had told him, he went on, that many of the settlers the Japanese government had encouraged to move to Liao-tung and other areas under Japanese control had become reckless, immoral, and untrustworthy after only a few years in China, to the point that they would no longer be able to fit back into Japanese society. Such people, Chou maintained, brought tremendous harm to China.

If degenerate adventurers antagonized Chinese commoners by their wanton actions, Japanese scholars and journalists who fancied themselves ex-

perts on Chinese affairs committed an equally despicable offense, in Chou's view, by publicizing distorted and unflattering images of the Chinese people to the Japanese public as a whole, as well as by poisoning scholarly discourse between intellectuals of the two countries. These self-styled China experts, he wrote,

have no understanding of China, and make only superficial observations of certain aspects of the old society. After learning a few skills such as reciting and composing lines of rhymed verse, bowing and greeting others in the Chinese manner, playing mahjong, and sitting around drinking tea, they think they know all about China. In fact, all they end up doing is perpetuating evil Chinese habits; all that has happened is that out of nowhere has appeared yet another bad Chinese.¹²

Chou did not explicitly name the Japanese scholars and journalists he had in mind, except to cite a book by a certain Yasuoka Hideo entitled *The Chinese National Character as Viewed from Fiction* (*Shōsetsu kara mita Shina no minzokusei*). In this book, Chou wrote, Yasuoka catalogued various characteristics of the Chinese people as gleaned from fiction of the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing periods. He did not challenge Yasuoka's criticisms of the Chinese; indeed, he freely conceded that his countrymen often exhibited a host of vices including "depravity, cowardice, cruelty, lasciviousness, stupidity, ignorance, and mendacity." Neither did he challenge the right of Yasuoka or any other Japanese to make such observations. Rather, he took Yasuoka and other Japanese "China experts" to task for the arrogant, disdainful attitude they brought to the study of China and the Chinese. Europeans who discussed the degeneration of modern Greece, he noted, still expressed respect and gratitude for its ancient civilization. Rather than ridiculing or slandering the modern nation, they adopted a balanced view that did not degrade their own integrity. Chou suggested that Japanese scholars do likewise with regards to China:

To Japan, China bears some resemblance to Greece and Rome; it certainly is not a total stranger. Japanese people should lament the fact that China has descended to its present level, not treat this as an occasion for glee or entertainment. We do not ask the Japanese either to praise or defend China. We only hope they will offer



4. The cover of *Speaking of Tigers* (*T'an hu chi*), the volume of essays first published in 1928, in which many of Chou's essays on Sino-Japanese relations are collected.

their advice and even criticism in an honest and principled manner.¹³

The activities of the "China experts," he contended, would in the end rebound upon themselves. "Because I am a lover of Japanese culture," he wrote, in an echo of the title of Yasuoka's book, "I do not want this kind of flippancy to become part of the Japanese national character."¹⁴

Chou reserved his sharpest and most sustained criticism for a Japanese-owned, Chinese-language newspaper published in Peking, the *Shun-t'ien Times* (*Shun-t'ien shi-pao*). This newspaper was a constant thorn in his side throughout the 1920s, representing for him the most insidious face of Japanese encroachment on China. Whereas the "China experts" distorted Chinese customs in order to slander the Chinese people, Japanese-sponsored newspapers in China, of which the *Shun-t'ien Times* was a prime example, sought in his view to arrest Chinese social progress and reinforce those aspects of traditional Chinese society most likely to leave China weak and benighted. "All of the positions taken by Japanese-run, Chinese-language newspapers are totally at odds with ours," he wrote. "They oppose everything that we think will benefit China, and promote with all their energy that which will harm China."¹⁵ Though their reactionary views and rumor-mongering were in fact designed to advance the cause of Japanese imperialism, he held, the *Shun-t'ien Times's* sponsors revealed their deeper motives by publishing their newspaper in Chinese:

If they printed it in Japanese, it would be for their own countrymen to read and we could more or less ignore it even if what it published was about us. That they publish the newspaper in Chinese and disseminate it in China changes matters, however. The newspaper is clearly directed at us and speaks at every turn in familiar tones about "our nation," when in fact its point of view is entirely that of the Japanese.¹⁶

In pretending to speak from a Chinese point of view, Chou contended, the newspaper sought to insinuate its influence into the minds of Chinese readers. The influence of newspapers such as this should be combatted, he maintained, because the Chinese public, accustomed to centuries of dictatorial rule, had long grown used to hearing the kinds of absurd notions the newspapers propounded and was unable to distinguish truth from rumor.¹⁷

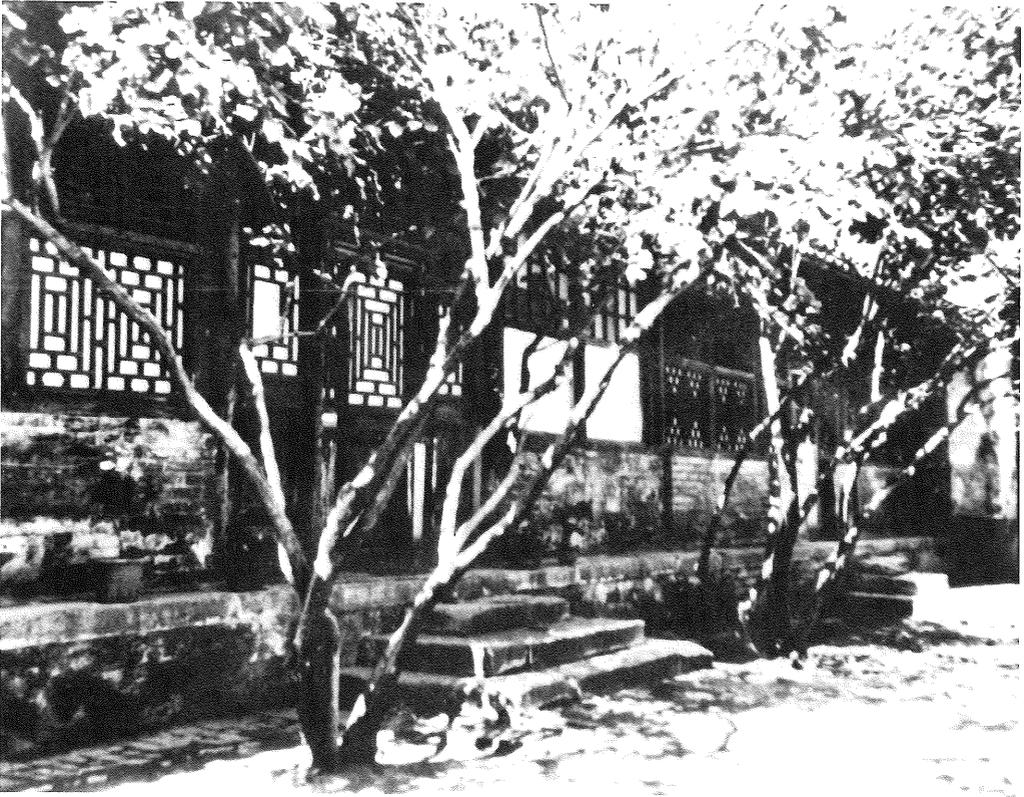
Chou saw these motives at work in 1927 during the violent terror inflicted upon the Peking intellectual world by the ruling warlord, Chang Tso-lin. In an essay entitled "The Japanese and Their Good Intentions" ("Jih-pen jen te hao-i"), he excoriated the "good intentions" of the Japanese that led them to lecture their Chinese "countrymen" on the virtues of passivity in the face of warlord violence and repression. An article of May 2 in the *Shun-t'ien Times*, Chou wrote, had lamented the "folly" leading to the execution of his friend, Li Ta-chao, by Chang Tso-lin's troops. Even crickets and ants, the newspaper had said, knew when to value life and fear death. If Li had remembered this simple lesson and not had ideas and ambitions above his station, he would still be alive and could spend the rest of his life composing scholarly essays for the greater edification of his countrymen. Instead, he had sacrificed himself for the sake of ideology, and criminal charges had been heaped upon his head — and all to what end? Chou quoted the words with which the article in the *Shun-t'ien Times* concluded. "I venture to advise my fellow countrymen: in these troubled times for our nation, let us look to our own survival, and not act rashly or impulsively!"¹⁸

In his rebuttal, Chou dismissed this "advice" as outrageous. Japanese propagandists, he charged, took it upon themselves to lecture the Chinese people about their own best interests, telling them to look to their own survival by becoming docile subjects of the Japanese and rejecting the path taken by "lawless Koreans" who resisted Japanese domination. They even phrased their advice in the words of Chinese sages, when in fact their ultimate aim was the enslavement of the Chinese people. The Japanese themselves were not known for always putting personal security above all else, he argued, a fact clearly demonstrated by many acts of individual bravery during the early years of the Meiji Restoration. Had the Japanese themselves given in to foreign aggression, they would be in the same straits as the Chinese were now, rather than in a position to conduct a "cultural invasion" of China. In fact, Chou reasoned, it was the very spirit of selflessness and bravery embodied by Li Ta-chao that had allowed Japan to cast off the Tokugawa regime and become what it was today. "The Japanese themselves give little care to matters of life or death," he wrote, "but nonetheless take it upon themselves to admonish us to 'look to our own survival.'" He concluded with the observation that not even the British, those consum-

mate masters of imperialism, engaged in propaganda efforts of the likes of the *Shun-t'ien Times*.

In his 1918 lecture on modern Japanese literature, Chou Tso-jen had exhorted his countrymen not to ignore or underestimate the cultural achievements of the Japanese since the beginning of the Meiji period. Seven years later, he amplified this theme and explored in greater depth the obstacles that inhibited the Chinese from achieving a more complete understanding of Japan. That such an understanding was essential for Chinese self-awareness and self-preservation Chou accepted as given. China needed to know its enemy; it also needed to look more closely at its own traditional heritage and future path. To his earlier contention that Japan had evolved a unique civilization deserving the attention of Chinese scholars he added an argument reminiscent of his observations of Japanese buildings, street signs, and dress during his student years, namely that much that had been destroyed or replaced in China by alien dynasties over the centuries had been preserved in Japan intact. For this reason, Chinese people could not afford to neglect the study of Japan's premodern culture if they wished fully to understand their own past. At the same time, Japan's more successful response to the Western forces that the two countries had encountered in the nineteenth century could provide the key to a successful future for China. China was uniquely positioned to understand Japan, he said, and had a special need and opportunity to do so.

Why had the Chinese failed to this point to take adequate account of the Japanese? Again, Chou blamed this failure largely on Chinese arrogance and feelings of superiority. "Chinese people have traditionally felt a kind of conceit that inhibits their study of foreign cultures," he wrote. "Only a small number of people can suppress this feeling and view other cultures in a relatively calm and impartial way."¹⁹ Japanese behavior in China was equally to blame for engendering resentment that inhibited research beneficial to mutual understanding between the two countries. Ironically, similarities in the written languages of the two countries only compounded the problem in his view, since they gave rise to two fallacies. The first was the common assumption that the Japanese language could be mastered in just a few months of study, since the profusion of Chinese characters in written Japanese would greatly speed the learning process. The result of this misconception was that many Chinese seriously underestimated the time and effort needed to reach fluency in the language; having acquired a mere



5. Chou Tso-jen's home in Peking, where he lived from the 1920s on.

smattering of Japanese, they considered themselves well versed and never went any further. The second fallacy was that the Chinese and Japanese were of the “same race and language” (*t'ung-chung t'ung-wen*). While granting that linguistic and cultural similarities did exist, Chou objected to a corollary drawn by Japanese propagandists to justify Japanese imperialist advances, to the effect that the two nations also shared political interests — as defined by Japan. Chou urged his colleagues in the Chinese academic community to resist this distortion of the common heritage of Japan and China which, he maintained, was rooted not in empire and military conquest but in shared traditions of philosophy, literature, and religion.

Although he continued throughout the 1920s to stress the importance of Sino-Japanese friendship and understanding, Chou Tso-jen recognized that the chances for these to develop were growing increasingly bleak.

If present circumstances persist, with Japanese "China experts" and degenerate adventurers roaming the country, and the *Shun-t'ien Times* fluttering before our eyes, I fear that prospects will not be good for Asian scholarship. People will think that there are only two possible stances toward Japan: one can become either a slave in the service of Japan, or a pawn of anti-Japanese sentiment. This leaves no room at all for the existence of a third group, namely, independents who adopt an attitude of [disinterested] scholarship.²⁰

The problems involved in attempting to pursue scholarly research amid an atmosphere of growing hostility had strong personal resonance for Chou Tso-jen, as is evident in one particularly revealing passage:

In truth, Japan, like ancient Greece, is a country I love. I relate to Japan as I relate to Greece: my knowledge about them is not very profound, but I love everything about them. . . . Indeed, I could settle down anywhere in Japan, and my sense of ease and well-being would not necessarily be inferior to that of life in China.

But, I remain after all Chinese. There are also many Chinese things of which I am fond, and there are many aspects of Chinese culture which, being close to my heart, I could not do without. Perhaps one could say that [in my life] I may have unwittingly gathered similar elements from the two cultures, intermingling and preserving them. But I cannot deny that there are also things about me which are stubbornly and uncompromisingly Chinese. This being so, I am left no choice but to depart from the path of the Japanese and go my own way. . . .

Thus, no matter how much I love Japan, there is always a wide gap between my views and those of the average Japanese person, and I cannot help but feel a kind of rage and hatred on account of some aspects of their behavior — rage because they injure my self-respect as a Chinese, hatred because they upset my sentimental illusions about Japan. My dreams have not yet been destroyed on account of this, but I am not after all some kind of transcendent sage, devoid of hatred and grudges.²¹

Events of the 1930s were to bear out Chou's worst fears about Japanese

intentions with regard to China, especially after the Japanese infiltration of Chinese society which Chou decried in the 1920s was magnified on a massive and far more vicious scale by Japan's all-out military invasion of China in 1937. This, compounded by the ensuing destruction and loss of life, produced a legacy of animosity and suspicion that continues to haunt relations between the two countries to the present day. Even after decades of peace, the mutual respect and trust that Chou Tso-jen sought remain elusive.

NOTES

1. Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen) is well known both in China and overseas for his acerbic wit and trenchant indictments of injustice, corruption, and inhumanity. In China, he has, furthermore, been practically mythologized as the patron saint of Communist-inspired literature and art, though the record suggests that had he lived, he most likely would have been an arch critic of the regime that has claimed him as its own. Memory of Chou Tso-jen, by contrast, has been clouded both by his failure to resist pressure to serve in an official capacity during the Japanese occupation when he and his family were stranded in Peking, and by his refusal to align himself with the Communist movement throughout the 1920s and 1930s.
2. Chou Tso-jen, "P'ai-Jih p'ing-i," *T'an hu chi* (Hong Kong: Hsi-yung, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 519-520.
3. Chou Tso-jen, "Liu-hsüeh te hui-i," *Yao-t'ang tsa-wen* (Peking: Hsin-min, 1944), pp. 93-98.
4. For more on relations between China and Japan in the first decade of this century, see Marius B. Jansen, "Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 2: *Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, part 2, ed. John K. Fairbank and K. C. Liu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 339-374; and Douglas Reynolds, "The Golden Decade Forgotten: Japan-China Relations, 1898-1907," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 4th ser., vol. 2, 1987, pp. 93-153.
5. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen chin san-shih nien hsiao-shuo chih fa-ta," *I-shu yü sheng-huo* (Shanghai: Ch'ün-i, 1931), pp. 263-294.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 294. The emphasis here and in the first line of this quotation is Chou's.
9. On the romantic literature of this period in China, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973). See his treatment of Yü Ta-fu and *Ch'en Lun*, especially pp. 81-123. See also the discussions by Ch'ing-mao Cheng, "The Impact of Japanese Literary Trends on Modern Chinese Writers," in *Modern Chinese Literature*

- in the May Fourth Era*, ed. Merle Goldman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 81-84; and C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 102-105.
10. Chou Tso-jen, "P'ai-Jih p'ing-i," pp. 521-522.
 11. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen yü Chung-kuo," *T'an hu chi*, vol. 2, p. 500.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 449-500.
 13. Chou Tso-jen, "Chih-na min-tsu hsing," *T'an hu chi*, vol. 2, p. 549.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen yü Chung-kuo," p. 501.
 16. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen lang-jen yü Shun-t'ien shih-pao," *T'an hu chi*, vol. 2, p. 505.
 17. Chou Tso-jen, *Chih-t'ang hui-hsiang lu* (Hong Kong: San Yü, 1980), p. 432.
 18. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen jen te hao-i," *T'an hu chi*, vol. 2, p. 509.
 19. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen yü Chung-kuo," p. 499.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 502.
 21. Chou Tso-jen, "Jih-pen lang-jen yü Shun-t'ien shih-pao," pp. 506-507.

GLOSSARY

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| Arishima Takeo 有島武郎 | Ming 明 |
| Aru onna 女与女 | Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 |
| bushidō 武士道 | Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 |
| Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 | Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 |
| Chang Tso-lin 張作霖 | rōnin 浪人 |
| Ch'en lun 沈淪 | Shao-hsing 紹興 |
| Chiang-nan 江南 | Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 |
| Ch'ing 清 | Shina tsū 支那通 |
| Chou Tso-jen 周作人 | Shōsetsu kara mita Shina no minzokusei
小説から見た支那の民族性 |
| Habuto Nobuko 羽太信子 | Shun-t'ien shih-pao 順天時報 |
| Hsin ch'ing-nien 新青年 | Sun Yatsen 孫逸仙 |
| Jih-pen chin san-shih nien hsiao-shuo chih fa-
ta 日本近三十年小説之發達 | T'ang 唐 |
| Jih-pen jen te hao-i 日本人的好意 | Tokugawa 徳川 |
| Li Ta-chao 李大釗 | t'ung-chung t'ung-wen 同種同文 |
| Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 | Yasuoka Hideo 安岡秀夫 |
| Liao-tung 遼東 | Yü Ta-fu 郁達夫 |
| Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen) 魯迅 | Yüan 元 |
| Meiji 明治 | watakushi shōsetsu 私小説 |

Manuscript Copies of Chinese Books in Ancient Japan

WANG ZHEN-PING

A Chinese proverb describes China and Japan as “two neighboring countries separated by only a strip of water” (*i i-tai shui*). A vivid metaphor for the geographical distance between the two countries, this proverb also implies that close cultural relations existed between China and Japan in ancient times. This “strip of water” — the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, and the East China Sea — is not an obstacle for people of our time who wish to make contact with each other; air transportation makes it possible to fly from one country to another within a few hours. These oceans nevertheless constituted a natural barrier to the ancient Chinese and Japanese, dividing them from, rather than linking them with, each other.

Before the development of more sophisticated navigation and ship-building techniques, the Chinese and Japanese made few efforts to reach each other directly by sea. Consequently, contacts between the two countries were conducted indirectly through a third place, the Korean peninsula.¹ The principal channel for Japanese contact with Chinese culture was Paekche, a Korean state that maintained close relations with Japan and was located conveniently in the southwest of the Korean peninsula. Instrumental in realizing these relations was a cold ocean current that comes into the Sea of Japan from the north, turns around to the southeast near the Korean peninsula, and washes the shore of western Honshu. This current made sea travel from Korea to Japan possible even in primitive ships. China, Korea, and Japan were thus linked together by the sea, which facilitated both official relations and private contacts among the three countries.

Handwritten copies of Chinese works (*hsieh-pen*) constituted the major

medium for the dissemination of knowledge in East Asian countries before woodblock printing technology began to be used in book production by the end of the T'ang dynasty (618–906).² Early Japanese legends trace the transmission of handwritten copies of Chinese works to Japan back to the third century A.D., when the Japanese archipelago was under the rule of the Yamato court.

The *Record of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)* reports that during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (r. 270–309), at the request of the Yamato court, the king of Paekche “sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the *Confucian Analects* in ten volumes and the *Thousand Character Essay* in one volume.”³ The *Confucian Analects* mentioned in this record is, of course, one of the most important Chinese classics. It assumed its final form at the end of the spring and autumn period, late in the fifth century B.C. When the Confucian school established itself as the state orthodoxy in the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 8), the *Confucian Analects* became required reading for any educated Chinese.

The other work supposedly presented by the Paekche envoy to the Yamato court, the *One Thousand Character Essay (Ch'ien-tzu wen)*, is more problematic. Compiled by Chou Hsing-ssu (470?–520), the work contains a text of 250 sentences, each of which has four words. Although relatively short, this essay deals with a wide range of topics, such as history, moral teachings, society, natural phenomenon, and education. The essay was written in a jingle style, with the last word of each sentence rhyming with that of other sentences. Since the text is concise and easy for children to memorize, the *One Thousand Character Essay* was widely used as a children's primer in private schools in China from the sixth century on.

From the author's dates, however, it is apparent that the *One Thousand Character Essay* could not have been brought to Japan in the early third century, some two centuries before it was compiled. What was probably presented to the Yamato ruler by the Paekche envoy were Chinese works of philology (*hsiao hsüeh*), a subcategory in the traditional Chinese book-classification system to which the *One Thousand Character Essay* also belongs. It seems that when compiling the *Record of Ancient Matters*, its author Ōno Yasumaro (?–723) mistook these Chinese philological works for the *One Thousand Character Essay*, a Chinese work well known to the educated Japanese in Yasumaro's time.⁴

Although thus not strictly accurate, the account in the *Record of Ancient*

Matters is valuable in that it reveals two important characteristics of the Japanese assimilation of Chinese culture. First, such assimilation lay its emphasis on the study of Confucian classics and Chinese philological works. The Yamato court probably chose this emphasis after careful evaluation of the situation in East Asia during the third century. Among East Asian countries, Japan was geographically the farthest from China, then the center of the most advanced culture, economic organization, and political institutions in Asia. Yamato came within the influence of Chinese culture much later than the Korean states, and was often one step behind these states in obtaining Chinese knowledge and technology. On the other hand, Yamato was ambitious to exert military influence on southern Korea, which made it urgent that the Yamato court transform Yamato into an economic and military power in East Asia. And the first step toward the completion of the task would be to obtain Chinese books of Confucian teachings. The Confucian ideal of a universe under the rule of one single ruler was useful in elevating the Yamato leader to a Confucian-style sovereign and in creating a centralized state in Japan. Assimilation of Chinese culture was essential to the achievement of these goals, and mastery of the Chinese language was the basis for such an assimilation. The acquisition of Chinese philological works, therefore, became not only an essential part of Yamato's policy of cultural importation, but also an important goal of the court's diplomacy.

Second, accounts in the *Records of Ancient Matters* indicate that Paekche officials, scholars, and immigrants who came to Japan were instrumental in the dissemination of Chinese manuscripts in Japan.⁵ Their importance as intermediaries is obvious. They brought to Japan not only books, but also their own Chinese learning, which in the late third century had already attained quite a high level. There were several centuries of Chinese scholarship in Korea. Unfortunately, there is no way of checking the history of specific Chinese books and their transmission in Korea, or getting an overall picture of the amount of Chinese literature available in Korea at any given date, as there is for Japan. The *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*) tells a story about A-chik-chi, a Paekche envoy who came to Japan in the eighth month of 284 to present two fine horses to the Yamato ruler. He was asked to remain in Japan to raise the horses. Well versed in Chinese classics, A-chik-chi was later made tutor of the heir apparent. His performance as a tutor, however, seems to have been unsatisfactory. The Yamato ruler, after

learning from A-chik-chi that another Paekche scholar, Wang Jen, was more knowledgeable in classical learning, immediately sent three high-ranking officials to Paekche to invite Wang Jen to Japan. Wang Jen arrived in the second month of 285, and became the tutor of the heir apparent. The heir apparent studied various Chinese books with him, and "there was none which he (Wang Jen) did not thoroughly understand."⁶

Wang Jen was not the only Paekche scholar to serve the Yamato court. The successive Yamato rulers made it a practice to request the Paekche state to present as tribute learned scholars and Chinese works. These scholars had to stay in Japan for a certain period and offer their services to the Yamato court. Among them, there were "Scholars of the Five Chinese Classics," such as Tan Yang-ni (Chinese: Tuan Yang-erh), Kao An-mu (Chinese: Kao An-mao), and Wang Liu-kuei.⁷ There were also Paekche scholars learned in medicine, divination, the calendar, and music, even though their names are not mentioned in Japanese records.⁸ These scholars must have all brought books on their specialties to Japan.

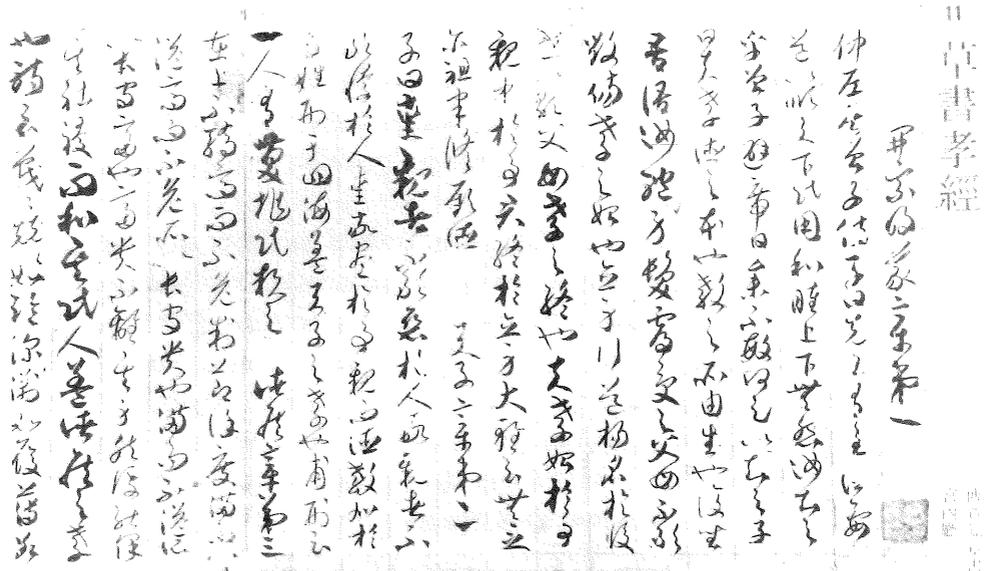
In the early seventh century, Prince Shōtoku (572–622), acting as the regent for Empress Suikō (r. 593–628), launched a full-scale campaign to reform Japan on the Chinese model. Japanese envoys and student monks were dispatched to China to gain first-hand knowledge of Chinese political institutions and to study in Buddhist temples. Some of the monks stayed in China for many years to pursue their studies.⁹ This carried the Japanese assimilation of Chinese culture to a new stage. The Japanese were now able to introduce Chinese-copied manuscripts directly from China by themselves, which transformed the Japanese from passive receivers of limited Chinese cultural influence spread to Japan through a third country to active "shoppers" for Chinese learning. The Japanese diplomats and scholars were now in China, seeking directly the Chinese knowledge required for the domestic reforms in Japan. Sending missions to China not only opened a channel for the Japanese to gain full exposure to Chinese culture, it also enabled them to learn the culture in a selective manner and in accordance with their own needs.¹⁰

In 607, a Japanese mission arrived in Ta-hsing ch'eng, the capital of Sui China. When asked about the aim of his mission during a court audience, the Japanese envoy replied: "The King (i.e., the Japanese ruler) has heard that to the west of the ocean a Bodhisattva of the Sovereign (i.e., the Chinese emperor) reveres and promotes Buddhism. For that reason he has sent

an embassy to pay his respects. Accompanying [the embassy] are several tens of monks who have come to study Buddhism.”¹¹ This mission, according to a Japanese primary source, was in fact a delegation for purchasing the much needed Chinese books, which were still very few in Japan. The ritual formality of paying respect to the Chinese emperor was, of course, only its secondary task.¹²

The available Japanese records are too scattered to allow any detailed discussion about the Chinese books carried to Japan by its envoys and student monks during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. However, in the “Twelve-Cap Ranks,” a new court-ranking system instituted in 603, and the “Seventeen-Article Constitution,” promulgated in about 604, Prince Shōtoku had already used Confucian,¹³ Legalist,¹⁴ and Taoist terms to stress the importance of loyalty, harmony, dedication, and ability in governmental affairs.¹⁵ These terms derive from a variety of Chinese classics, such as *The Book of Historical Documents* (*Shang shu*), *The Book of Poetry* (*Shih ching*), *The Book of Rites* (*Li chi*), the *Ch’un-ch’iu with the Tso Commentary* (*Ch’un-ch’iu Tso-shih chuan*), the *Confucian Analects* (*Lun-yü*), *The Classic of Filial Piety* (*Hsiao-ching*; see illustration 1),¹⁶ the *Kuan-tzu*, the *Han-fei tzu*, the *Mo-tzu*, and the *Lao-tzu*. Prince Shōtoku is also credited with having written commentaries on three Buddhist sutras: the *Sutra of Queen Sṛīmārā* (*Shōman-gyō*), the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hoke-kyō*), and the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* (*Yuimakyō*) in about 615. Admittedly, the real authorship of the “Seventeen-Article Constitution,” first mentioned in the *Chronicles of Japan*, a work compiled in 720, almost one hundred years after the death of Prince Shōtoku, is still an open question and in need of further scholarly research. It is also plausible that the commentaries were not single-handedly written by the prince himself, but were the result of a collective effort by the prince and monks from Korea.¹⁷ Nevertheless, disagreements about the authorship of the constitution do not negate the fact that the Chinese books mentioned above were already available to the Japanese in the early eighth century when the compilation of the *Chronicles of Japan* was under way. And no matter who the real author of the commentaries to the three Buddhist sutras was, the compilation of the works must have been carried out, drawing on the relevant Chinese Buddhist works already brought to Japan.

Cultural contacts between China and Japan through the channel of official tributary arrangements flourished during the seventh to the tenth centuries. This channel also served to bring Chinese manuscripts to Japan. But



1. *Hsiao ching* written in cursive script, 18 chaps., scroll 25.7 x 305.4 cm., 16 chars. each col. From *T'ang ch'ao-pen* (Taipei: Ming-wen shu-chü, 1981). Collection of the Japanese Imperial Household Agency.

except in the case of Buddhist works, the primary Chinese and Japanese sources are sketchy about how and where members of the Japanese missions acquired the manuscript copies they wanted and what exactly they purchased. Nevertheless, an examination of the members of the Japanese missions and their major activities during their visits to China provides some clues to the answers to these questions.

During the T'ang dynasty, the Japanese court nineteen times appointed an "Envoy to China"; fifteen of these missions arrived in China.¹⁸ Most of the Japanese missions were actually "cultural delegations," charged with the task of gaining direct exposure to Chinese culture, and, in particular, of acquiring Chinese books and other cultural objects through tributary arrangements with China.¹⁹ To achieve these goals, delegations were made up to include not only diplomats, navigators, and sailors, but also a variety of scholarly Japanese, such as student monks, secular students, musicians, translators, physicians, painters, and diviners.²⁰ To give more Japanese the rare opportunity to study in China, delegations were often huge, their

numbers running to one hundred to two hundred people and even in some rare cases to more than five hundred.

Delegations were led by envoys chosen from members of noble families through a very competitive selection procedure conducted in the court.²¹ Some of them had already attained a significant level of Chinese learning when they were appointed "envoy to China." For instance, Fujiwara no Kuzunomaro, the sixteenth envoy to China in 801,²² showed great talent in Chinese calligraphy in cursive script (*chang-ts'ao*), which was highly appreciated by his Chinese hosts when he was visiting China.²³ His fame as a calligrapher was known even to Chinese literary figures in later times, such as T'ao Ku (902–970). A high-ranking official who served both the Later Chou (954–959) and the Northern Sung (960–1127) courts, T'ao Ku was also an outstanding scholar and an expert in calligraphy. A Hanlin scholar by the name Yang Lü once showed T'ao Ku two pieces of calligraphy, which, according to this scholar, were written by Kuzunomaro and were handed down to him by his ancestor, who had served Kuzunomaro as a translator. The pieces consisted of poems from the *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wen hsüan*; see illustration 2), and T'ao Ku highly praised the callig-



2. Hsiao T'ung (501–531), *Wen hsüan*, 60 ch., scroll 25.2 x 276.5 cm., 17–18 chars. each col. From *T'ang ch'ao-pen* (Taipei: Ming-wen shu-chü, 1981). Collection of the Ueno temple, Japan.

raphy for having demonstrated a style similar to that of Wang Hsi-chih (321–379), a famous Chinese calligrapher during the Eastern Chin dynasty (317–420).²⁴

Fujiwara no Kuzunomaro's literary talent was apparently inherited by his seventh son, Fujiwara no Tsunetsugu. As a youngster, Tsunetsugu studied the *Records of the Historian* (*Shih chi*) and the *Dynastic History of the Former Han* (*Han shu*) in the Japanese National University.²⁵ Later, he also became well known for his mastery of Chinese learning. He was able to recite the whole text of the anthology *Selections of Refined Literature*, and was skillful at composition and Chinese calligraphy in regular script (*li-shu*).²⁶ In 834, he was appointed the seventeenth envoy to China.

On occasions such as state banquets and social gatherings held in the T'ang court, the writing of poems often played an important part. Their accomplishments in Chinese learning enabled Japanese envoys to use words and quotations from the Chinese classics in their poems, and this demonstration of their literary talent apparently contributed to their efforts to become acquainted with court officials and men of letters and to make a good impression on the Chinese court. This made it easier for them to obtain from the court Chinese books and other objects they wanted.

Awada no Ason Mahito (?–719) is a good example of such a Japanese envoy. He impressed his Chinese hosts as soon as he arrived in China in 702. A local official from Ch'u-chou (in modern Anhwei Province), where the Japanese mission stopped over, is reported to have said after an interview with Mahito: "I have often heard that eastward in the sea there is a Yamato no kuni (i.e., Japan). They say it is a country of gentlemen. The people enjoy prosperity and happiness, their behavior is extremely polite. Now seeing this envoy, his appearance is most favorable. How would it be possible not to believe what I formerly heard."²⁷ Later, when he paid his respects to the Chinese court, Awada no Ason Mahito was praised by court officials as a man well versed in Chinese classics and history, skillful at composition, and refined in deportment.²⁸

Another example is Fujiwara no Kiyokawa (706–778), the tenth envoy to China in 752. His visit to the Chinese court brought both diplomatic and cultural advantages to Japan. Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 713–756) named Japan "a country of rites, righteousness and gentlemen," a decision apparently made on the basis of his personal observance of Kiyokawa's behavior during court audiences. Kiyokawa was also granted a special imperial favor:

permission to visit the Palace Treasury, and the worship halls for Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism.²⁹ These places were located in the Inner Palace and were in principle not open to foreigners, or even to ordinary Chinese officials except for those in the Imperial Household. Before the Japanese mission left for home, portraits were made of Kiyokawa and the vice-ambassador and were preserved in the palace.³⁰ During a farewell banquet held in honor of the mission, Emperor Hsüan-tsung also granted Kiyokawa a poem written by himself.³¹

Taking advantage of the good impression that they made on the Chinese court, the Japanese envoys requested the grant of specific classics and cultural objects, such as the *Tao te ching* and the Taoist images.³² To gain wide exposure to Chinese culture and life, they also actively sought permission to visit Buddhist and Taoist temples, to worship at Confucian shrines, to study the Chinese classics under well-known scholars, and to shop at marketplaces.³³ In their purchasing activities, Chinese books were the top priority. One Japanese envoy is reported to have used all the grants from the Chinese court to purchase books.³⁴ Among eighth-century Chinese works, the Japanese seem particularly to have favored the complete works of Chang Tso (660–741). Chang first demonstrated his talent in literary composition during a civil service recruitment examination held after the enthronement of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien (r. 684–704). Empress Wu personally presided over the examination and was so impressed by Chang Tso's performance in the test on current topics (*tui-ts'e*) that she ordered the Department of State Affairs to make copies of Chang Tso's answers and distribute them to court officials and foreign envoys.³⁵ Chang's literary talent won him recognition as a "bronze scholar," a scholar whose articles enjoyed a popularity as durable as that of bronze coins, which were minted in the highest quality.³⁶ Chang Tso's fame spread far beyond the boundaries of China. Envoys from Japan, Silla (a Korean state in the southeast), and other East Asian countries often offered high prices to purchase his works, or to have them copied.³⁷ Chang Tso's name was even known to the Turks. In about 700, when he learned from a Chinese official that Chang Tso had been recently deprived of his title "Censor," Mo-ch'o (Qapaghan), the Turkic ruler, was surprised, saying: "China has a genius Chang Tso, yet he is not entrusted with power. This event alone is sufficient to show how incompetent the Chinese court is!"³⁸

Japanese diplomats also wanted to invite learned Chinese scholars to Ja-

pan to serve their court. They presented a memorial to the Chinese throne, asking permission for Hsiao Ying-shih (716–768) to travel to Japan. Hsiao was a “presented scholar” (*chin-shih*) in 735, and one of the literary geniuses during the High T’ang period. It is said that he learned composition when he was only four. At ten he was admitted to the National University to study. His extraordinary memory enabled him to recite a book after reading it only once. Hsiao was known particularly for his scholarly achievements in genealogy, chronology, and philology. The Japanese diplomats’ request, however, was not granted because of objections raised by a secretariat drafter (*chung-shu she-jen*) and others.³⁹

Although they were not successful in persuading established Chinese scholars to go to Japan, Japanese diplomats seem to have been able to bring some educated young Chinese to their home country. Some of these young Chinese pursued advanced studies at the Japanese National University, and it was hoped that after completing their studies, they would remain in Japan to serve the court. One such person was Yüan Chin-ch’ing, who went to Japan in 735 when he was nineteen. After years of study in Japan, he was granted the title “Doctor of Chinese Phonetics” (*on hakase*). He was later promoted to director of the Great Learning Bureau.⁴⁰

Chinese officials by and large appreciated the Japanese diplomats’ zeal for Chinese culture, which, if properly channeled, could lead to the better understanding and acceptance of a China-centered world order, and, it was hoped, to Japan adopting a pro-China foreign policy. Out of this wishful thinking, the T’ang court issued an edict in 715, requesting that all foreign envoys be guided to the State University to see how the Confucian ethical codes were taught.⁴¹ And the Chinese court often granted Japanese diplomats permission to worship at Confucian shrines and to visit the State University.

However, with the exception of foreign monks and foreigners who took service with the Chinese, the Central Kingdom never allowed “barbarians” full access to its rich cultural heritage. And top court officials were often divided on whether certain Chinese books should be granted to foreign envoys and carried to “barbarian” countries. In 686, an envoy from Silla asked for the granting of the *Book of Rites* (*Li chi*) and other Chinese works, but did not receive exactly what he wanted. Instead, Empress Wu presented him with a work of fifty *chüan* compiled especially for Silla. Included in this work were ceremonial and funeral rites, selected imperial edicts, and essays

and poems with the theme of moral persuasion chosen from an early T'ang collectanea, the *Wen-kuan tz'u-lin*.⁴²

In a memorial to the throne, Hsüeh Teng, minister of the Ministry of Justice during the reign of Empress Wu, expressed his concern over granting "barbarians" Chinese books. While praising the policy of receiving "barbarian" envoys and their tributes to China, he pointed to the potential danger that resulted from indiscriminate granting of books to foreign envoys and allowing foreigners to live in China, and even to serve at the Chinese court as officials: "Should they read our language, they would understand our laws and regulations, the fundamental principles and practices that we use to govern China. Should they become literate in Chinese, they would learn their lesson from our experience of success and defeat which is fully recorded in our dynastic histories. Should they have access to geographical works, they would gain knowledge of our strategic places. With the knowledge about China, they would be able to help their rulers in strategic planning and military maneuvering against us, and eventually cause trouble to China."⁴³ Hsüeh's concern was typical of Chinese courtiers who believed that "barbarians," especially those who had already clashed with China militarily, were of evil nature. In their opinion, granting Chinese books to barbarians was a self-destructive practice, since these books contained information on the means and practices that had made China an economic and military power in Asia, and the hostile "barbarians" could use the tactics to threaten China.

This distrust of "barbarians" resulted in a heated debate in 730 when a Tibetan envoy came to pay respects to the T'ang court. In the name of a Chinese princess who had been married to the Tibetan king, the envoy requested the granting of *The Book of Poetry*, *The Book of Rites*, the *Ch'un-chiu with the Tso Commentary*, and the *Selections of Refined Literature*. The Palace Library had already received a decree to transcribe these works for the Tibetan envoy, when Yü Hsiu-lieh (692-772), a proofreader in the library who was later to play an important role in the court of Emperors Sutsung (r. 756-761) and Tai-tsung (r. 762-779), took the daring step of disputing the decree by presenting a memorial to the throne. Urging the court not to relax its vigilance in dealing with barbarians, Yü suggested that no Chinese books be granted to Tibet. He then listed some Chinese classics as examples to demonstrate the potential disadvantages these works might cause China, if they were made available to "barbarians."

In Yü's opinion, the Chinese classics would reveal to "barbarians" the established Chinese policies for handling state affairs. Specifically, *The Book of Historical Documents* would reveal traditional Chinese ways of warfare to "barbarians"; *The Book of Poetry* would enable them to comprehend defense strategy.⁴⁴ The "monthly instructions" (*yüeh-ling*) section in *The Book of Rites* would let "barbarians" know that activities of the Chinese Son of Heaven were arranged in harmony with the change of seasons, and therefore they might be able to figure out when China would or would not use military forces against them;⁴⁵ the *Ch'un-chiu with the Tso Commentary* would provide them with all the tricks that Chinese generals often employed in maneuvering troops. Even the granting of general works on history and philosophy should be prohibited, since they all contained discussions of military strategies. To Yü, allowing "barbarians" access to Chinese works was as suicidal as sending soldiers to one's enemy or providing bandits with provisions. If the T'ang court had to grant the Tibetans' request, Yü urged, the *Ch'un-chiu with the Tso Commentary* should be excluded from the books. In his opinion, the book was a record of a disastrous period in Chinese history, during which the legitimate ruler of China was losing his control of local warlords, who resorted to despicable conduct, dirty tricks, and plots against each other in order to establish themselves as the paramount leader in China. "If this book is granted to the Tibetans," Yü concluded, "it will definitely be a disaster for China."⁴⁶

Yü's memorial was referred to the Secretariat-Chancellery (Chung-shu men-hsia) for further discussion. Officials there, however, held a different opinion. Although they could not rule out the possibility that "barbarians" might learn dirty tricks and despicable conduct from Chinese works, these officials stressed that it was also in these works that loyalty, faith, and righteousness were taught. And only these Chinese values might change the hostile "barbarians" for the better. Emperor Hsüan-tsung seems to have adopted a middle course. He instructed the court to grant the Chinese classics to the Tibetan envoy but denied him other works that he requested.⁴⁷

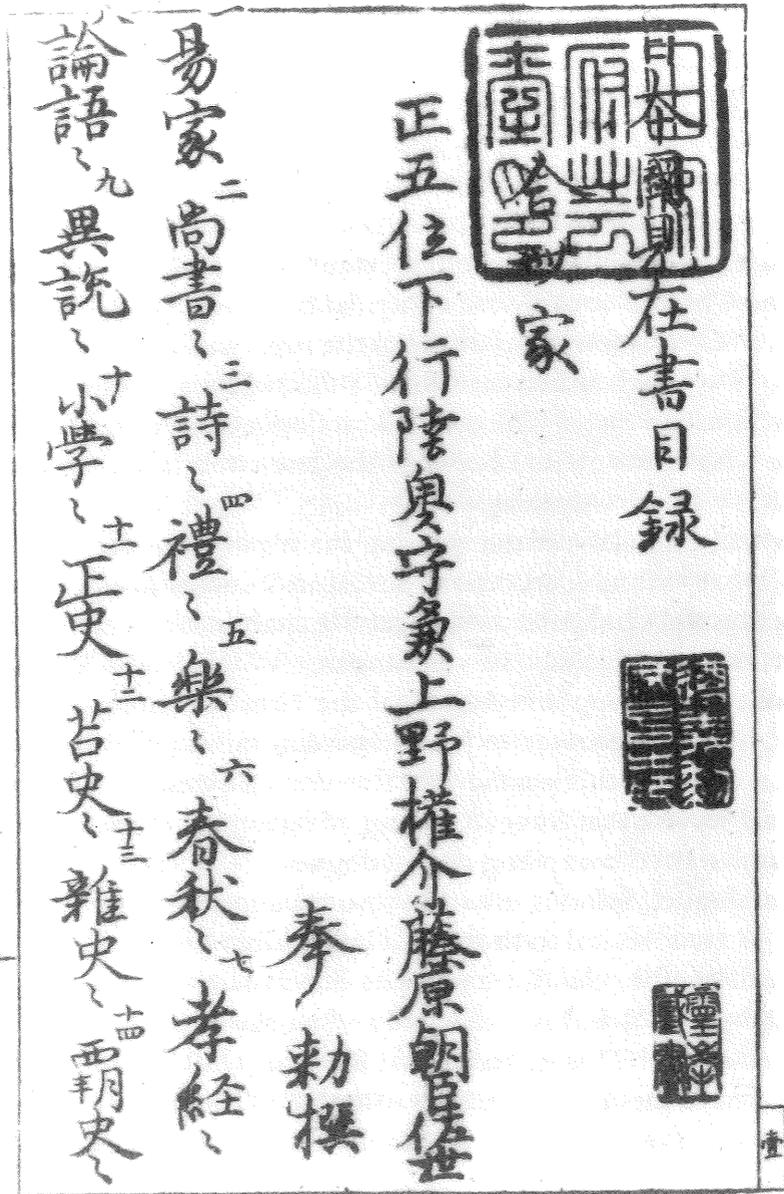
Any foreign envoy's request for Chinese books was subject to court approval.⁴⁸ Whereas Chinese classics were often granted, the T'ang court seems to have been more concerned about allowing its hostile neighbors access to certain historical, philosophical, and military works. These works were carefully guarded so that "barbarians" would not obtain them and use them to their own advantage.

The dissemination of Chinese works in Japan was therefore conditioned both by the political needs of the Japanese court and by the restrictions on the exportation of certain books imposed by the T'ang court. The consequences can be clearly seen in a late ninth-century Japanese bibliographical work, *A Catalogue of Books Currently Extant in Japan* (*Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku*).⁴⁹

This catalogue (see illustration 3) was compiled on imperial order by Fujiwara no Sukeyo (?–897) in about 891. It has bibliographical entries for more than eighteen hundred books extant in late ninth-century Japan.⁵⁰ Most of the Chinese books were compiled before the T'ien-pao (742–756) reign period. Only a few were works of the latter half of the T'ang dynasty. These books were classified into forty subcategories, totaling more than seventeen thousand *chüan*. The original catalogue is lost, and only a simplified version made sometime between the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century still exists today.

Sukeyo was a scholar-official. During the Jōgan reign period (858–876), he was a “prize-winning student in literature” (*monjō tokugyō-shō*), a title given to successful candidates in civil service examinations held by the Ministry of Ceremonies. He then served Emperor Yōzei (r. 877–883) as a tutor. In 884, Sukeyo was appointed head of the Great Learning Bureau. Two years later, he was promoted to junior assistant minister of the Ministry of Ceremonies and held this position for five years. It was perhaps during this period of his service that Sukeyo, taking advantage of his access to the imperial library, started compiling the catalogue.

In his catalogue, Sukeyo used forty subcategories, which — with one exception — are identical to those used in the bibliographical section of the *Dynastic History of the Sui* (*Sui shu*). The Sui dynastic history subcategory of “geography” (*ti-li*) Sukeyo changed to “works of local historical geography” (*t'u-ti chia*).⁵¹ This indicates that Sukeyo, while compiling his catalogue, referred to the *Dynastic History of the Sui*. The *Sui shu* was, of course, the most recent dynastic history available to him as a model. Sukeyo was not the first Japanese to compile a catalogue for Chinese books in Japan. In his bibliographical entries, he mentioned two other catalogues, one for the collection preserved in the Great Learning Bureau,⁵² the other for the collection in the residence for the abdicated emperor in Kyoto (*Reizei in*).⁵³ These two catalogues prepared the ground for Sukeyo's *A Catalogue of Books Currently Extant in Japan*.



3. From Fujiwara Sukeyo (?-898), *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* (891), 1 ch. Six cols. of 19-23 chars.; block 18.5 x 13 cm. *Ku-i ts'ung shu* edn. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

Sukeyo's catalogue was based on sound scholarship and represents a monument in the history of Japanese bibliography. In some bibliographical entries, Sukeyo wrote brief notes about different versions of the work, its textual history, how the work was acquired, and the places in Japan where the work was preserved (see illustration 4). He carefully assessed the collection of Chinese and Japanese books in his country, and included in his catalogue some works in classical Chinese written by Japanese authors. It is worth mentioning that Sukeyo used a few special bibliographical terms (see illustration 5), which were not borrowed from China but coined in Japan.⁵⁴

A comprehensive catalogue compiled perhaps single-handedly by himself, Sukeyo's *A Catalogue of Books Currently Extant in Japan* admittedly contains certain defects. Some books are misclassified; some have more than one bibliographic entry in different categories; information on some works is inappropriately omitted; and wrong characters appear in some book titles. These mistakes may have been made by Sukeyo himself, or they may have been introduced into the original text by transcribers of later times. Whatever the case may be, these defects do not discredit this catalogue as a monument to the courageous and persistent efforts made by the ancient Japanese to acquire Chinese books. This catalogue also reveals some important characteristics of the Japanese assimilation of Chinese culture.

When Prince Shōtoku initiated his reforms on the Chinese model in the early seventh century, Japan was behind other East Asian countries in terms of cultural development. Three centuries later, however, the Japanese imperial collection of Chinese books reached the incredible size of eighteen thousand *chüan*, which equals almost a third of the books preserved in the T'ang imperial library.⁵⁵ The collection in the library of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*Chi-hsien yüan*), a T'ang institution where academicians and court-patronized scholars engaged in compiling imperially sponsored works, held fifteen to eighteen thousand *chüan* of books, about the same size as the Japanese imperial collection.⁵⁶ Given that Japan started its acquisition of Chinese books much later than the Korean states, and that it was geographically much more difficult for the Japanese to reach China, the eighteen thousand *chüan* of Chinese books collected and preserved by the Japanese court is truly an amazing figure. But the total number of Chinese works imported from T'ang China must have exceeded eighteen thousand *chüan*, since a fire in the Japanese palace in 875 had destroyed many books, and what Sukeyo recorded in his catalogue were books that sur-

見在書目

訓纂卅卷 陳吏部尚書 姚察撰

音義三卷

十三卷 顏師古撰 古今集義卷 祖原撰 問答十卷 沈遵撰

序例一卷 顏師古撰 贊九卷 秋記七卷

東觀漢記百卅三卷 起尤武訖靈帝長 水校尉劉珍等撰

右隋書經籍志所載數也而件漢記古儉大臣所將來也其目錄注云此書凡二本一本百廿七卷与集賢院見在書合一本百卅一卷与見書不合又得零落四卷又与兩本目錄不合真

4. From Fujiwara Sukeyo (?-898), *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* (891), 1 ch. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

備在唐國多蒙管求竟不得其具存故且隨寫得如件今本
朝見在百卅二卷

後漢書九十二卷

宋太子詹事
范曄撰唐李

百卅卷

范曄本唐呂賢
子但志以卷採刻
令劉昭注補

范漢音訊三卷

陳宗道先
生賦說也

范漢音三卷

蕭詠
撰

三國志六十五卷

晉太子中庶子陳壽
撰宋中大夫斐杜之注

晉書百卅卷

唐太宗
文皇製

七十六卷

王隱
撰

評一卷宋書百卷

梁尚書僕射
沈約撰

唐書五十卷

唐中書令
李百藥撰

唐書廿卷

沈約
撰

後魏書百卷

隋著作郎
魏彥撰

5. From Fujiwara Sukeyo (?-898), *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* (891), 1 ch. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

vived the fire. Moreover, this Japanese imperial collection is not just quantitatively impressive, it is also qualitatively striking, for it contains books from all forty subcategories established by the bibliographical section of the Sui dynastic history. This suggests a comprehensive assimilation of Chinese culture by the Japanese, who left no important branch of Chinese learning out of their curriculum.

The impressive size and breadth of the Japanese collection should not be taken to mean, however, that the Japanese adoption of Chinese culture was indiscriminate. If we follow the four categories of "classics," "history," "philosophers," and "collections of literary works" used in traditional Chinese book classification, and examine the distribution of books in each of these four categories in Sukeyo's catalogue, we find 937 titles in the category of "philosophers," 396 titles in "classics," 260 titles in "history," and 239 titles in "collections of literary works."⁵⁷ These figures show quite clearly that although the Japanese wanted to be exposed to all branches of Chinese learning, their priority was the study of works by various "philosophers." In contrast, Chinese scholars in the early to the middle of the T'ang dynasty displayed quite different interests in their pursuit of knowledge. In the bibliographical section of the *Sui shu*, which was compiled between 640 and 650, 853 titles were in the category of "philosophers," 817 titles in "history," 627 in "classics," and 554 in "collections of literary works." Later, T'ang scholars' interest seemed to have shifted to "collections of literary works," which amount to 892 titles in the bibliographical section in the *Chiu T'ang shu*, which was completed in 750 and was based on a catalogue of the imperial library made in 720–730. In this bibliographical section, 840 titles fall in the category of "history," 753 titles in "philosophers," and 575 in "classics."⁵⁸

In Sukeyo's catalogue, the category of "philosophers" includes works of various schools, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, Moh-ism, and so on. It also includes books concerning agriculture, astronomy, astrology, five elements, and medicine, and these books are in the majority among the books listed in the category of "philosophers." This shows the practical-mindedness of the ancient Japanese in learning Chinese culture. Such a mentality is also reflected in the Japanese codified law, which was compiled in 701 and implemented the next year. In the section "Statute on Learning," mathematical arts are designated a subject to be pursued by some students in the state and provincial universities.⁵⁹ In the section "Statute on Medical

Service and Management,” Chinese works on medicine and acupuncture were assigned as textbooks for medical students. To improve the education of students who majored in medicine, astrology, astronomy, and calendrical studies, and to stop the corrupt practice of obtaining the title “Doctor of Medicine” through bribery, an edict was issued in 757, listing the required textbooks for these students and setting the standards for examinations.⁶⁰

The number of books in the category “classics” ranks second in Sukeyo’s catalogue. Books in this category include the texts of various commentaries on the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Historical Documents*, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Ch’un-ch’iu with the Tso Commentary*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Confucian Analects*, and some philological works.

The Japanese court was an enthusiastic advocate of Confucian learning and wanted to use Confucianism as an ideological weapon in its efforts to build a centralized state. In early eighth-century Japan, the Japanese court promulgated the “Statute on Learning,” making Confucianism a major topic for students in the State University and provincial colleges.⁶¹ A “Doctor in Chinese Classics” (*myōkyō hakase*) usually held the senior sixth rank, lower grade, which was higher than the senior seventh rank, lower grade granted to doctors in astrology, astronomy, and medicine, or the junior seventh rank, upper grade granted to doctors in Chinese phonetics, mathematical arts, writing, and calendrical studies. Further knowledge of Confucian learning was also crucial for a “Doctor in Chinese Classics” who wanted to pass the merit examination and be promoted.⁶² Confucian learning also seems to have attracted princes and sons of noble families. They studied the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Rites*, and other Chinese classics from learned Japanese scholars who had visited China. Lectures on Chinese classics and other Chinese works were held regularly in the court. Some Japanese emperors even had well-known Japanese scholars teach them Chinese classics.⁶³

It is worth noting that among the 396 titles under the category “classics” in Sukeyo’s catalogue, 158 are Chinese “philological works” (*hsiao hsüeh*). These works involve not only philology, but also phonetics, critical interpretation of texts, model essays and poems, and even calligraphy. In fact, essential reference works for the study of Chinese culture, they were popular and widely circulated among educated Japanese. In recent years, wooden strips have been unearthed from the site of Fujiwara Palace, where

the Japanese court was located until 710 when the capital was moved to the modern city of Nara. Some of them bear Chinese characters written by low-ranking court officials, who used the strips as writing materials on which to practice calligraphy. What they copied, among other things, are phrases from the *Thousand Character Essay*.⁶⁴

Chinese works in the category of "history" total only 260 titles in Sukeyo's catalogue. Among them, works on Chinese legal and institutional systems and geographical works are in the majority. To Japan, which was in the process of building its own legal system on Chinese models, books concerning Chinese codified law, its enforcement, and the administrative organizations in China all had great importance.⁶⁵ The "history" category also included geographical works. But they are limited to a few works about the Chinese prefectures where the Japanese missions often landed on their trips to China. "Pure" Chinese historical works, such as dynastic histories, lineage records of the imperial house and local influential families, and records of the daily activities of the emperors seem not to have attracted much attention from ancient Japanese scholars. Even when compiling the *Chronicles of Japan*, Japanese historians made specific references mainly to Korean official historical works, rather than to Chinese dynastic histories.⁶⁶ They also did not choose the style of chronological record supplemented with biographies and monographs, a style developed by Chinese historians over the years that had become the fixed format of the Chinese dynastic histories. The *Chronicles of Japan* is a purely chronological record focused on the Tennō and the imperial house. It does not pay much attention to rival noble families who dared to dispute the legitimacy and dignity of the imperial throne, or to broader aspects of governing.

Nevertheless, the influence of Chinese historical writing is still quite visible in the six Japanese national histories, the *Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, the *Chronicles of Japan from 697 to 791* (*Shoku Nihongi*), the *Chronicles of Japan from 792 to 833* (*Nihon kōki*), the *Chronicles of Japan from 833 to 850* (*Shoku Nihon kōki*), the *Veritable Records of Emperor Montoku* (*Montoku tennō jitsuroku*), and the *Veritable Records of Emperors Seiwa, Yōzei, and Kōkō* (*Sandai jitsuroku*). For example, the style of the purely chronological record used in the *Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* is itself a Chinese one, even though it was not used to compile Chinese dynastic histories. In particular, the thirty-chapter ar-

rangement for this chronicle is evidence of Chinese influence.⁶⁷ And for the two veritable records of Japanese emperors, it is safe to suggest that compilers of these works took the style of Chinese “veritable records” (*shih-lu*) as the model. Borrowing Chinese expressions and words was also fashionable and perhaps necessary for eighth-century Japanese writers, who were still struggling with the use of literary Chinese. Such borrowing can be spotted in the *Records of Ancient Matters*.⁶⁸ Although they did not imitate the style of Chinese dynastic histories, compilers of the *Chronicles of Japan* wanted to learn from their Chinese counterparts how to write about emperors, and thus paid special attention to the “basic annals” (*pen-chi*) for Chinese emperors in the dynastic histories.⁶⁹ Occasionally they also made use of accounts about ancient Japan in these dynastic histories as source materials, since these accounts were the earliest written accounts about ancient Japan.⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, Chinese dynastic histories amount to thirty-five titles in Sukeyo’s catalogue. Within the “history” category, this number is only exceeded by those for legal and geographical works.

The number of books in the category of “collections of literary works” ranks the lowest in Sukeyo’s catalogue, amounting to only 239 titles. This, however, does not mean that ancient Japanese were least enthusiastic about Chinese literary works. On the contrary, the study of Chinese literature was enormously popular with eighth-century Japanese nobles. This was so especially after 728, when a Chinese literary studies course was established within the curriculum of the National University, giving the nobles a chance to explore the Chinese literary world and perhaps temporarily to escape from the burden of studying Confucian teachings. Their zeal for Chinese literature produced a series of essays, poems, and prose in classical Chinese by Japanese writers, many of whom demonstrated considerable mastery of Chinese literary styles and rhetoric. And these writings constituted an important part of Japanese cultural tradition. In their detailed studies of Chinese influence in Japanese writings, modern Japanese scholars are able to pin down the exact Chinese sources for some allusions used in Japanese works.⁷¹ Such influence was so persistent that traces of it can be found even in works of later times written in Japanese. The preface to some of the poems in the *Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Man’yōshū*) cited Chinese proverbs;⁷² the author of *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) borrowed a Chinese plot of the Han dynasty; a military tale of the disturbance in 1156 (*Hōgen mono-*

gatari) mentioned the name of a king of the Former Han dynasty, suggesting that the author perhaps had read the biography of this Chinese king in the *Dynastic History of the Han*.

What is more interesting is that the ancient Japanese purchased mainly the carefully edited and annotated versions of "general collections" (*tsung-chi*) for their study of Chinese literature. These "general collections" include writings of famed literary figures considered by Chinese critics to be "the cream of Chinese culture." Editors of these "general collections" usually combined with the original text sound scholarship of their own and of scholars from previous times. Their careful textual research, detailed annotations to words and sentences, the meaning of which would have otherwise been ambiguous or misleading to readers, and efforts to sort out the sources for allusions and references used in the text, made these "general collections" of superb quality, easy for readers to use and tremendously helpful in understanding and appreciating the text. These collections served readers as windows to the vast and rich Chinese literature, and as steps leading to the further comprehension of Chinese culture. In particular, "general collections" provided Japanese scholars and court officials with model writings in all styles which they could consult when writing or polishing their own works.⁷³ It was perhaps for these reasons that "general collections" were among the top priorities on the purchase lists of the ancient Japanese. In Sukeyo's catalogue, "general collections" total 2,646 *chüan*. For books in any single subcategory in this catalogue, the total volume number of "general collections" ranks the highest.

Any discussion of the dissemination of Chinese books in Japan in ancient times has to touch on the Buddhist canon and some related works by Buddhist monks. These works are not included in any Chinese or Japanese bibliography that employs the traditional four-category classification. But there was a tradition that Buddhist and Taoist works would be separately listed and be attached as a supplement to the traditional bibliography, such as the bibliographical section in the *Dynastic History of the Sui*.⁷⁴ And there were of course early bibliographies of Buddhist works in China, which were quite separate from the official tradition. Monks themselves referred to these works collectively as "inner works" (*nei-tien*), and other books not directly related with Buddhism as "outer works" (*wai-tien*). Among the Chinese books acquired by the ancient Japanese, "inner works" far exceed

“outer works” in number of volumes. This is a fascinating result of the joint efforts made by the Japanese court and the Japanese and Chinese monks.

Starting from the middle of the sixth century, Buddhism was making its way into Japan. Along with this development, the Buddhist canon was also introduced throughout the Japanese archipelago.⁷⁵ A foreign religion, Buddhism gradually rooted itself in Japanese society and played an important role in politics. The Yamato rulers advocated that the Buddhas were on a higher plane than the native Japanese deities. By supporting Buddhism and identifying themselves with Buddha, the Yamato rulers elevated their positions above those of other clan chieftains, making Buddhism a powerful ideological weapon for their own use. Later, when the Yamato court unified Japan, Buddhism was praised as a protecting force for the nation.⁷⁶ It was also mainly to Buddhism that the Nara Japanese court looked for ideological support.⁷⁷ Noble families in the capital and powerful provincial families all showed strong attachment to Buddhism, devoting much of their energy and wealth to the building of Buddhist temples and the copying of Buddhist sutras. Under the patronage of the court and influential families, Buddhism was able to make massive contributions to the spiritual and intellectual lives of the ancient Japanese, and to add a new dimension to the assimilation of Chinese learning among the educated Japanese.

Among the Japanese monks who made great contributions to the acquiring of Buddhist canon, Genbō merits special attention. After staying in T'ang China for almost twenty years, Genbō returned to Japan in 735 and brought with him more than five thousand *chüan* of Buddhist works.⁷⁸ Other Japanese monks, especially the “Eight Masters” of the ninth century, were equally eager to purchase and copy Buddhist sutras when they visited China. Altogether they carried some fifty-four hundred *chüan* of Buddhist works to Japan.⁷⁹

But perhaps the most touching story is that of the Chinese monk Chien-chen (known in Japanese sources in the reading Ganjin) and his daring endeavor to spread Buddhist teachings and to bring Buddhist works to Japan. He made five unsuccessful attempts to leave China for Japan and was arrested by the Chinese authorities for trying to leave China without permission. Frustration and anxiety caused the loss of his sight, but he eventually reached Japan in 753, carrying with him numerous Buddhist works.⁸⁰

A quantitative examination of the Japanese importation of Chinese books

suggests that in adopting Chinese culture, the emphasis of the ancient Japanese was on Buddhism. This is revealing in that it points to the fact that although the Japanese borrowed heavily from China and Korea in nourishing their own culture, Japan in the ninth century was nevertheless not "Confucianized." In Japanese society, there were areas of life and values that were resistant to Confucianization. Buddhist influence was one such area.⁸¹ Whereas they displayed an overall interest in Chinese learning, and such an interest has often been interpreted by modern scholars as evidence of "sinicization" in Japan, the ancient Japanese were selective in absorbing foreign knowledge, devoting much of their energy to the study of practical knowledge and skill, such as Chinese philology, medicine, astrology, and calendrical studies. This seems to have been characteristic of both the ancient and modern Japanese when learning from foreign countries. And perhaps it is this quality of the Japanese people that subsequently transformed ancient Japan from an agrarian nation to a modern industrial power.

NOTES

I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Denis Twitchett, Frederick Mote, and Martin Collcutt of Princeton University for their valuable suggestions.

1. The Chinese record suggests that "Wo," a Chinese term for the ancient Japanese, came into contact with the Chinese local authorities in the northern part of modern Korea as early as the first century A.D. See *Han shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 28b, p. 1658.
2. For a brief discussion of Chinese handwritten books, see Frederick W. Mote, "Handwritten Books — Before and after the Invention of Block Printing," *Gest Library Journal* 2:2 (1988), pp. 49–96. For a discussion of the invention of printing technology, see Denis Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China* (London: Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1983), pp. 13–18, and T. H. Tsien, vol. 5:1 of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 215–216.
3. *Kojiki*, ed. Ogihara Asao et al. (Nihon koten bungaku zenshū edn.; Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1973), p. 256. Basil Hall Chamberlain, trans., *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1981), p. 313.
4. See the discussion by Seki Akira in his *Kikajin* (rpt.; Tokyo: Shibundō, 1975), p. 40. This argument was raised by the famed Japanese scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801). Modern scholars, such as Ogihara Asao and Kōnosu Hayao, tend to agree with this argument. See their

- annotations to the *Kojiki* (1973 edn; see n. 3 above), p. 257, n. 13. That the *One Thousand Character Essay* was well known in early eighth-century Japan is evident in the wooden slip copies of fragments of this work discovered at Fujiwara Palace. See Tōno Haruyuki, "Rongo, *Senjibun* to Fujiwarakyū mokkan," in his *Shōsōin monjo to mokkan no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1977), pp. 125–148. However, Seki Akira points out that scholars' opinions on this matter are diverse. For example, Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) suggested that the Chinese philological work that Wang Jen brought to Japan might have been the *Chi chiu chang*, which was compiled by a Western Han-dynasty scholar, Shih Yu.
5. The *Kogo shūi*, an early ninth-century work compiled by Inbe no Hironari, contains many early Japanese legends. It suggests that during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (r. 270–309) immigrants from Paekche and China amounted to several thousand. See *Kogo shūi*, ed. Nishimiya Kazutami (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1985), p. 137. From the fifth century on, immigrants from the Asian continent and their descendants, especially those bearing the family name Kawachi no Aya or Yamato no Aya, were usually assigned the work of book-keeping and writing in the Yamato court.
 6. *Nihon shoki* (Kokushi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 10, pp. 276–277, the year of 284 and 285. W. G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 261–262.
 7. These five classics are: *The Book of Changes*, *The Book of Historical Documents*, *The Book of Poetry*, *The Book of Rites*, and *Ch'un-ch'iu*, or "The Spring and Autumn Annals."
 8. *Nihon shoki*, 17, p. 19, the sixth month of 513; p. 23, the ninth month of 516; 19, p. 79, the sixth month of 553; p. 83, the second month of 554.
 9. Some Japanese and Korean monks remained in China for such a long time that the T'ang court instructed the Office of Taoist Worship (Ch'ung-hsüan shu) to register those who had stayed for more than nine years. See *T'ang hui-yao*, 49, p. 863; *Hsin T'ang shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 48, p. 1252.
 10. At the same time, Chinese books brought to Japan by Paekche visitors and monks remained an important channel for the Japanese to gain access to Chinese culture. The *Nihon shoki* reports that a Paekche priest arrived in Japan in 602 and "presented by way of tribute books on Calendar-making, on Astronomy, and on Geography, and also books on the arts of invisibility and of magic." *Nihon shoki*, 22, p. 140, winter, the tenth month, 602. English translation from Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. 2, p. 126.
 11. *Sui shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), 81, p. 1827. English translation from R. Tsunoda, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories* (rpt.; Kyoto: Perikings Oriental Books, 1968), p. 40. See also a record about this Japanese mission by a T'ang monk, Tao-shih, in his *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*

- ch'u-pien so-pen* edn., Taipei, 1967), 51, p. 614.
12. This Japanese source, the *Keiseiki kōdenki*, is lost. Only quotations from the work exist, preserved in the *Zenrin kokuhō ki*, completed by a Japanese monk, Zuikei Shuhō, in 1470. Although this source needs careful treatment, quotations from the *Keiseiki kōdenki* in the *Zenrin kokuhō ki* are useful in revealing the enthusiasm of the ancient Japanese for acquiring Chinese books. For a discussion of the *Keiseiki kōdenki*, see Sakamoto Tarō, *Shōtoku taishi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979), p. 104; pp. 122–123.
 13. For instance, a sentence in the first article of the constitution reads “Harmony is to be valued.” This is a quotation from the *Confucian Analects*. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (rpt.; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 1, p. 143. In its third article, a sentence reads: “The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth.” This also reflects a basic principle of Confucianism. English quotations of the constitution in this and the following notes are from *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. R. Tsunoda et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 50–53.
 14. The fifth and the eleventh articles contain such sentences as “Deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you” and “Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment.”
 15. For a detailed study of the “Seventeen-Article Constitution,” see Ume-hara Takeshi, *Kenpō jūshichijō* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1981).
 16. For a study of the transmission of the *Hsiao ching* to Japan, see Wu Che-fu, “Chung-Jih Hsiao ching shu-yüan,” in *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan kuo-chi Han-hsüeh hui-i lun-wen-chi*, ed. Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan kuo-chi Han-hsüeh hui-i lun-wen-chi pien-chi wei-yüan-hui (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan, 1981), pp. 173–192.
 17. Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon kodai no kokka to bukyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoden, 1971), pp. 15–23. Prince Shōtoku once studied under the guidance of Korean monks. See *Nihon shoki*, 22, p. 137, the fifth month of 595.
 18. For a general account of the Japanese “envoys to China,” see Mori Katsumi, *Kentōshi* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1966). For a detailed study of this subject, see Charlotte von Verschuer, *Les Relations officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985).
 19. This is evident in a record in the *Nihon shoki*, 25, p. 256, the twenty-fourth day of autumn, seventh month, 654. In this year, Kishi no Nagani, the second Japanese “envoy to China,” returned to Japan. After he reported to the throne on his journey to China, he was praised for “having obtained numerous Chinese books and precious objects.” For his achievement, Nagani was rewarded with a higher official rank and lands.
 20. For the composition of a Japanese mission, see *Engi shiki* (Kokushi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), 30, pp. 737–738.
 21. A decree issued in 560 forbade selecting as an envoy anyone from a hum-

- ble family. See *Nihon shoki*, 19, p. 89, autumn, ninth month, 560. In the *Kaifūsō*, the earliest collection of Japanese poems, completed in 751, a preface to a poem briefly describes this selection procedure. See *Kaifūsō*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki (*Nihon koten bungaku taikai* edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), p. 41.
22. For a study of this Japanese mission, see Robert Borgen, "The Japanese Mission to China," *Monumenta Nipponica* 37:1 (1982), pp. 1–25.
 23. *Po K'ung liu-t'ieh* (Sung edn. facsimile; Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1969), 79, p. 24b. *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), 997, p. 4a.
 24. See T'ao ku's *Ch'ing-i lu* (Yin-hsi hsüan ts'ung-shu edn.), b, p. 32b. He also has a biographical entry in the *Sung shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1985), 269, pp. 9235–9238.
 25. This was a branch of the central government, whose purpose was to train officials for the Japanese court. The origin of the Japanese National University can be traced to the reign of Emperor Tenchi (r. 661–671). But it was not until after 700, when the Japanese codified laws were promulgated that the National University was institutionalized. Besides Chinese classics, the university also taught calligraphy, mathematical arts, and other subjects. For a discussion of the Japanese National University, see Francine Hérail, *Fonctions et fonctionnaires japonais au début du XI^e siècle* (Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 237–240.
 26. *Shoku Nihon kōgi* (Kokushi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1934), 9, p. 101, the twenty-third day of the fourth month, 840.
 27. *Shoku Nihongi* (Kokushi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1935), 3, p. 21, autumn, the seventh month, 704. English translation from J. B. Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (2d. ser.), 11 (1934), pp. 216–217.
 28. *T'ung tien* (Shih-t'ung edn.; Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1935; rpt.; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1984), 185, p. 989. *Chiu T'ang shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 199a, pp. 5340–5341.
 29. It is worth noting that in early T'ang times the Palace Treasury was also a depository for many important books.
 30. "Yen-li seng-lu," preserved in the *Tōdaiji yōroku* (Osaka: Zenkoku Shobō, 1934), 1, p. 21; *Ch'üan T'ang shih i* (Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu edn.), a, p. 1a.
 31. Hsüan-tsung's poem is entitled "Sung Jih-pen shih" (Farewell to the Japanese envoy). It is to be found in the *Ch'üan T'ang shih i*, a, p. 1a.
 32. *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), 99, p. 18b.
 33. *Ibid.*, 974, p. 18a.
 34. This is Tajih no Agatamori, the eighth Japanese envoy to China in 716. See *Chiu T'ang shu*, 199a, p. 5341; *Hsin T'ang shu*, 220, p. 6209; *T'ang hui-yao* (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien edn.; Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1936), 100, p. 1729.
 35. *Ta-T'ang hsin-yü* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1984), 8, pp. 127–129.
 36. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 149, p. 4023.
 37. See a late T'ang work by Mo Hsiu-fu, the *Kuei-lin feng-t'u chi* (Ts'ung-shu

- chi-ch'eng edn.), pp. 16–17. It has a preface dated 899. See also *Chiu T'ang shu*, 149, p. 4024, and *Ta T'ang hsinyü*, 8, p. 129.
38. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 149, p. 4024; *Ta T'ang hsinyü*, 8, p. 129.
 39. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 190b, pp. 5048–5049; *Hsin T'ang shu*, 202, pp. 5767–6768. In a recent study, Ikeda On suggests that Hsiao Ying-shih was not invited to Japan but to Silla. See his “Shō In-shi shōhei wa Shiragi ka Nihon ka,” in *Enoki hakushi kinen Tōyō shi ronsō* (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1988), pp. 1–19.
 40. See *Shoku Nihongi*, 36, pp. 445–446, the eighteenth day of the twelfth month, 778.
 41. *T'ang ta-chao-ling chi* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1959), 128, p. 2726.
 42. *T'ang hui-yao*, 36, p. 667. For a brief discussion of the compilation of the *Wen-kuan tz'u-lin*, which comprises one thousand volumes and was completed in 658, see *Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), appendix, p. 1852.
 43. *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* (Taipei: Ta-hua shu-chü, 1987), 281, pp. 1277–1278.
 44. In the *Shih ching*, a poetic description of a grand Chinese expedition against the tribes in the south tells of the use of carriages, the maneuvering of troops, and other military tactics. See *Shih ching* (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* edn.; Taipei: Ta-hua shu-chü, 1982), 10.1, pp. 425–431.
 45. In the “monthly instructions,” activities suitable for the emperor and the state to undertake are listed month by month. The ancient Chinese believed that human activities should be in harmony with nature, if those activities were to achieve their goals. For detailed discussions, see *Li chi* (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* edn., Taipei: Ta-hua shu-chü, 1982), 14, 15, 16, 17, pp. 1352–1387.
 46. *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 196a, p. 5232.
 47. *T'ang hui-yao*, 36, p. 667.
 48. See also the case of Po-hai, a state in southeast Manchuria, in *T'ang hui-yao*, 36, p. 667. Its envoy visited T'ang China in 738 and was granted the T'ang ritual code *T'ang li*, two Chinese dynastic histories, and other books.
 49. This catalogue is also known as the *Honchō genzaisho mokuroku*, the *Genzaisho mokuroku*, or the *Sukeyo roku*. Japanese scholars have produced a number of detailed studies of it; see, for example, Yajima Genryō, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku: shūshō to kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1984); Kohase Keikichi, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku kaisetsu kō* (Tokyo: Komiya Shoten, 1956); Kariya Ekisai, “Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku shōchū kō,” in *Nihon koden zenshū*, vol. 96, ed. Masamune Nobuo (Tokyo: Nihon koden zenshū kankōkai, 1925). Po-hai was also instrumental in Japan's effort to acquire Chinese books. For a discussion, see Kawaguchi Hisao, “Tō Botsukai to no kōtsū to *Nihon genzaisho mokuroku*,” in his *Heian chō Nihon kanbungakushi no kenkyū* (3d ed.; Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1982), vol. a. The spread of Chinese books to Japan is also discussed in English by Yu-ying Brown in her article “The Origins and Characteristics of Chinese Collections in Japan,” *Journal of Oriental Studies* 21:1 (1983), pp. 19–31.

50. This figure is given by Ikeda On in his "Ku-tai Jih-pen she-ch'ü Chung-kuo tien-chi wen-t'i," in *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan kuo-chi Han-hsüeh hui-i lun-wen-chi*, ed. Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan kuo-chi Han-hsüeh hui-i lun-wen-chi pien-chi wei-yüan-hui (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan, 1981), p. 362. The figure is based on the number of volumes of each subcategory listed in Sukeyo's catalogue. Because of mistakes in Sukeyo's listing, the actual number, according to Ikeda On, should be 16,967. This figure is, of course, higher than 15,000, the widely accepted number for the total volume of books included in Sukeyo's catalogue.
51. Sukeyo probably made this revision on the ground that in the *Sui shu*, titles of several Chinese geographical works under the "geography" subcategory, such as the *Ch'un-ch'iu t'u-ti ming* and the *Kui-chi t'u-ti chi*, contain the term "t'u-ti." See *Sui shu*, 33, p. 983.
52. This catalogue is entitled *Tosho roku*. See *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*, p. 21a. According to the Japanese codified law, the *Engi shiki*, a catalogue should be made for book collections in the Great Learning Bureau. Three copies of this catalogue were then produced. One was kept in the bureau, and the other two were sent to the Ministry of Ceremonies and the Bureau of the High Priestess (Kageyu shi). See *Engi shiki*, 20, p. 525. According to Sukeyo's own note, this catalogue was incomplete when he consulted it. Only the first *chüan* of it was still available to him.
53. This residence for the abdicated emperor was built between 810 and 823 in what would be the modern city of Kyoto. The compound was also used to store books. It suffered fires in 875 and 945 and was repaired and rebuilt in 960. A catalogue, *Reizei in roku*, was created for these books. See *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*, p. 4b.
54. Wang Liqi, "Jih-pen kuo chien-tsai shumu t'i-yao," in his *Wang Liqi lun-hsüeh tsa-chu* (Peking: Beijing shih-fan hsüeh-yüan ch'u-pan-she, 1990), pp. 442-443. He lists four terms used by Sukeyo: "tzu-pen," "chü-pen," "ju-pen," and "ts'u-pen." The term "tzu-pen" means "a derivative edition of Chinese classics," which contains annotations and elaborations of a Chinese classic. In China, numerous annotated editions of classics exist. The term "tzu-pen," however, has never been used in Chinese bibliography to refer to these works. "Chü-pen" refers to the "complete version" of a work, and in contrast, "ts'u-pen" to the "abridged version." The meaning of the term "ju-pen" is somewhat vague. It was perhaps used to indicate the total number of volumes under a specific subcategory. In particular, Sukeyo might have used this term to indicate that the total number is the result of adding the actual volumes of each book in this subcategory. Thus, using the term "ju-pen" means that no volumes are missing from the extant books in a specific subcategory.
55. See Ikeda On, "Ku-tai Jih-pen she-ch'ü Chung-kuo tien-chi wen-t'i," p. 363. His calculation indicates that the bibliographical section of the *Sui shu* contains 36,708 *chüan* of books, and

- that of the *Chiu T'ang shu*, 51,852 *chüan* of books.
56. For a study of the T'ang Academy of Scholarly Worthies, see Ikeda On, "Sei Tō no Shūken'in," *Hokkaidō daigaku bungakubu kiyō*, 19:2 (1971), pp. 47–98.
 57. These figures are given by Ikeda On. See his "Ku-tai Jih-pen she-ch'ü Chung-kuo tien-chi wen-t'i," p. 362. But the figures given by Chikazawa Keiichi are slightly different. See his "Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku ni tsuite," *Fukuoka daigaku jinbun ronsō* 14:1 (1982), pp. 2–6.
 58. See Ikeda On, "Ku-tai Jih-pen she-ch'ü Chung-kuo tien-chi wen-t'i," pp. 362–363.
 59. *Ritsuryō* (Nihon shisoshi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), pp. 265–266.
 60. *Shoku Nihongi*, 20, p. 243, the ninth day of the eleventh month, 757.
 61. *Ritsuryō*, pp. 262–264. For a discussion of the teaching of the *Book of Filial Piety* in the state and provincial universities in ancient Japan, see Yae-gashi Naohiko, "Nihon kodai no daigaku ni okeru 'Kōkyō,'" *Nōtorudamu Seishin joshi daigaku kiyō* 5:1 (1981), pp. 17–30.
 62. *Ryō no gige* (Kokushi taikai edn.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981), 22, p. 645.
 63. *Shoku Nihongi*, 33, p. 423, the second day of winter, tenth month, 775.
 64. Tōno Haruyuki, "Rongo," pp. 125–148.
 65. For a pioneer study of the influence of the Chinese legal system on Japan, see Takigawa Masajirō, "Ryō no gige ni miataru Tō no hōritsu shiryō," *Tōyō gaku* 18:1 (1929), pp. 25–57. The best study that provides documentary evidence of the spread of Chinese legal works to Japan remains the work done by Niida Noboru many years ago; see his *Tōryō shūi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1933). For more recent studies, see Rikō Mitsuo, "Wagakuni ni hakusai saretā Tōritsu no chūshakusha to sono ibun," *Shigaku zasshi* 67:11 (1958), pp. 63–83; see also his "Tōrikuten no Nihon ni okeru kōyō ni tsuite," *Hōgaku kenkyū* 63:5 (1990), pp. 1–28.
 66. Three such Korean works are quoted in the *Nihon shoki*: the *Pai-chi chi*, the *Pai-chi hsin-chuan*, and the *Pai-chi pen-chi*.
 67. For a detailed discussion of Japanese historical writing, see G. W. Robinson, "Early Japanese Chronicles," in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 213–228.
 68. The allusive phrases used by Ōno Yasumaro in his preface to the *Kojiki* were borrowed from a preface written by Chang-sun Wu-chi (?–659) for an annotated edition of the five Chinese classics (*Chin wu-ching cheng-i piao*). Yasumaro might also have consulted the preface that P'ei Sung-chih (372–451) wrote for an annotated edition of the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Shang San-kuo chih chu piao*). See *Kojiki* (1973 edn., see n. 3 above), p. 43; Chamberlain, *The Kojiki*, p. 6, n. 2.
 69. Modern Japanese annotators of the *Nihon shoki* list the *Han shu*, the *Hou Han shu*, the *San-kuo chih*, the *Liang shu*, and the *Sui shu* as the most fre-

- quently consulted Chinese dynastic histories. See *Nihon shoki* (Nihon koden bungaku taikai edn.; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), pp. 17–23.
70. For example, the *Nihon shoki* contains accounts from the “Monograph of Eastern Barbarians” of the *San-kuo chih* and records from the *Chin ch’i-chü chu*. See *Nihon shoki*, 9, p. 257, the year of 230 and the year of 233; p. 264, the year of 266.
71. The best of such studies is Kojima Noriyuki’s *Jōdai Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1962); see also his *Kokufū ankoku jidai no bungaku* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1968–1986). For a general discussion of literary works in classical Chinese written by Japanese writers, see Kawaguchi Hisao, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1953).
72. For a discussion of Chinese influence on the *Man’yōshū*, see Kanda Kichirō, “*Man’yōshū* no kokkaku to natta kanseki,” in *Man’yōshū taisei*, ed. Omotaka Hisataka et al. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1955), vol. 20, pp. 313–319.
73. Among the “general collections,” the *Wen hsüan* is most frequently consulted. Some of the wooden strips unearthed from the Heijō palace bear phrases from the *Wen hsüan*. See Tōno Haruyuki, “Heijōkyū shutsudo mokkan shoken no *Monzen* Rizen chū” and “Nara jida ni okeru *Monzen* no fukkyū,” in his *Shōsōin monsho to mokkan no kenkyū*, pp. 149–153; 189–224. Chinese poems also had a strong influence on Japanese poets who wrote poems of five characters per line. One such poem is identified by modern scholars as plagiarism. See this poem by Kino Sueshige in *Kaifūsō*, p. 95. See also p. 454, n. 25, in which the annotators point out that Sueshige’s poem is based on a poem by Chang Cheng-chien, a writer of Ch’ên (557–589) during the Southern dynasties. But it is not clear how Sueshige had the chance to read Chang Cheng-chien’s writings, for they are not incorporated in the *I-wen lei-chü*, an early T’ang encyclopedia. Although Chang’s poem appears in the *Ch’u-hsüeh chi*, another early T’ang encyclopedia, this encyclopedia was completed after Sueshige’s poem.
74. *Sui shu*, 35, pp. 1091–1099.
75. *Nihon shoki*, 19, pp. 76–77, winter, the tenth month, 552. A Paekche envoy came to Japan “with a present to the (Japanese) emperor of an image of Shaka Butsu (Buddha Sākyamuni) in gold and copper . . . and a number of volumes of ‘Sutras.’” English translation from Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. 2, p. 65. The *Gangōji engi*, completed in 747, and the *Jōgū shōtoku hō teisetu*, written in the middle of the Heian period (794–1185), suggest that Buddhist works were brought to Japan in 538. See *Nara ibun*, ed. Takeuchi Rizō (Tokyo: Tokyodō, 1962), pp. 383, 873.
76. *Cultural Atlas of Japan*, ed. M. Collcutt, M. Jansen, and I. Kumakura (New York: Facts on File, 1988), pp. 56–59.
77. Martin Collcutt, “Japan: The Limits of Confucianization,” 1985, p. 6.
78. *Shoku Nihongi*, 16, p. 188, the eighteenth day of the sixth month, 746.
79. See a chart of the names of these eight

masters, the titles for the catalogues they created for the Buddhist works obtained in China, the volume number of these Buddhist works, and other related information in Ikeda On's article "Ku-tai Jih-pen she-ch'ü Chung-kuo tien-chi wen-t'i," pp. 350-351. Ennin, one of the "Eight Masters," kept a diary on his trip to China, in which he recorded the Chinese works he purchased or had transcribers copy for him. For one such record, see *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1971), 1, p. 15, the twentieth day of the twelfth month, 838. For an English transla-

tion, see Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Dairy* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), p. 64. See also his *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955) for a general discussion of Ennin's activities in China.

80. For a detailed list of Buddhist works that Chien-chen brought to Japan, see *T'ang ta ho-shang tung-cheng chuan*, ed. Wang Hsiang-jung (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), pp. 87-88. For the study of Chien-chen, see Kuranaka Susumu, *Tō Daiwajō tōseiden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1976).
81. Collcutt, "Japan," pp. 1-8.

GLOSSARY

- A-chik-chi 阿直岐
 Anhwei 安徽
 Awada no Ason Mahito 粟田朝臣真人
 Chang Tso 張鷟
 chang-ts'ao 章草
 Chien-chen (Ganjin) 鑑真
 Ch'ien-tzu wen 千字文
 Chi-hsien yüan 集賢院
 chin-shih 進士
 Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書
 Chou Hsing-ssu 周禮嗣
 Ch'u-chou 楚州
 Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan 春秋左氏傳
 Chung-shu men-hsia 中書門下
 chung-shu she-jen 中書舍人
 Fujiwara no Kiyokawa 藤原清河
 Fujiwara no Kuzunomaro 藤原葛野麻呂
 Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世
 Fujiwara no Tsunetsugu 藤原常嗣
 Genbō 玄昉
 Genji monogatari 源氏物語
 Han shu 漢書
 Han-fei tzu 韓非子
 Hōgen monogatari 保元物語
 Hoke-kyō 法華經
 hsiao hsüeh 小學
 Hsiao Ying-shih 蕭穎士
 Hsiao-ching 孝經
 hsieh-pen 寫本
 Hsüan-tsung 玄宗
 Hsüeh Teng 薛登
 i i-tai shui 一衣帶水
 Jōgan 貞觀
 Kao An-mao 高安茂
 Kao An-mu 高安茂
 Kojiki 古事記
 Kuan-tzu 管子
 Lao-tzu 老子

- Li chi* 禮記
li-shu 隸書
Lun-yü 論語
Man'yōshū 萬葉集
Mo-ch'o 默啜
monjō tokugyō shō 文章得業生
Montoku tennō jitsuroku 文德天皇實錄
Mo-tzu 墨子
myōkyō hakase 明經博士
Nara 奈良
nei-tien 內典
Nihon kōki 日本後紀
Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku 日本國見在
 書目錄
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶
Ōjin 應神
on hakase 音博士
Paekche 百濟
pen-chi 本紀
Reizei in 冷然院
Sandai jitsuroku 三代實錄
Shang shu 尚書
Shih chi 史記
Shih ching 詩經
shih-lu 實錄
Shoku Nihon kōki 續日本後紀
Shoku Nihongi 續日本紀
Shōman-gyō 勝鬘經
Shōtoku 聖德
Silla 新羅
Sui shu 隋書
Suikō 推古
Su-tsung 肅宗
Ta-hsing ch'eng 大興城
Tai-tsung 代宗
Tan Yang-ni 段楊爾
T'ao Ku 陶穀
Tao te ching 道德經
Tennō 天皇
T'ien-pao 天寶
ti-li 地理
tsung-chi 總集
tui-ts'e 對策
t'u-ti chia 土地家
Tuan Yang-erh 段楊爾
wai-tien 外典
Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之
Wang Jen 王仁
Wang Liu-kuei 王柳貴
Wani-kishi 和通吉師
Wen hsüan 文選
Wen-kuan tz'u-lin 文館詞林
Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天
Yamato 倭
Yamato no kuni 倭國
Yang Lü 楊履
Yōzei 陽成
Yü Hsiu-lieh 于休烈
Yüan Chin-ch'ing 袁晉卿
yüeh-ling 月令
Yuima-kyō 維摩經

Traditional Chinese Social Ethics in Japan, 1721–1943

DE-MIN TAO

Japanese culture was greatly influenced by Chinese civilization during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867). That is well known. But the continuation of that influence into the pre-World War II period, and the means employed to maintain that current of normative values, are less well studied. From the beginning, the Chinese influence depended on the sustained importation of Chinese books, and the adaptation of some of these books to make them suitable for state-sponsored moral instruction. According to statistics compiled by Professor Ōba Osamu of Kansai University, a large percentage of the books published in China during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) were exported to Japan, part of the thriving book trade that was a mainstay of Sino-Japanese commerce. Professor Ōba has estimated that during this period Japan imported over eight thousand such titles.¹

Two officially sponsored Chinese texts for the moral instruction of China's people, the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* (*Liu-yü yen-i*; Japanese: *Rikuyu engi*) and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü kuang-hsün*; Japanese: *Seiyu kōkun*), are of special importance to our subject; a brief study of these will illustrate the point at hand. Widely disseminated in Ch'ing China, these texts were also welcomed in certain circles in Japan at that time.

Both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* consist of texts of imperial edicts on education, with elaborations and commentaries; in this context "education" means general instruction of the common people by various means of popular teaching. The earlier of the two works is an extended version of the *Six Instructions* (*Liu-*

yii, sometimes called the "Six Maxims") issued in 1398 by T'ai-tsu (r. 1368–1398), the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty.

The six simple instructions are as follows:

1. Perform filial duties to your parents.
2. Honor and respect your elders and superiors.
3. Maintain harmonious relationships with your neighbors.
4. Instruct and discipline your sons and grandsons.
5. Let each work peacefully for his own livelihood.
6. Do not commit wrongful acts.²

The *Six Instructions* were propagated throughout the entire Ming period, by various means. Placards on which the six simple sentences were written or inscribed were placed prominently in villages. They were also propagated by means of the *mu-t'o*, a kind of copper bell with a wooden clapper, kept by official command in each village. Six times each month a handicapped or an aged man, led by a child, made the rounds of the village, ringing the clapper while he called out the six maxims. Near the end of the Ming dynasty, a humble village teacher by the name of Fan Hung developed an original interpretation of the *Six Instructions*. He expounded the maxims in the common speech of the uneducated people and appended to each suitable stories, poems, and relevant legal references. This broadened version was called the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*. It soon appeared as a published text, and was frequently reprinted.

In 1652, the Shun-chih emperor (r. 1644–1661), the first Manchu ruler under the newly established Ch'ing dynasty, lent his government's support to the use of the *Six Instructions* to prevent crime and promote moral education. Fan Hung's expanded version for a time had great popularity, but the Shun-chih emperor's successor, the great K'ang-hsi emperor, who reigned from 1662 to 1722, was not satisfied with simply adopting the previous dynasty's edict. In 1670 he promulgated his own *Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü*). It consisted of the following sixteen maxims, as translated by F. W. Baller, a missionary to China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

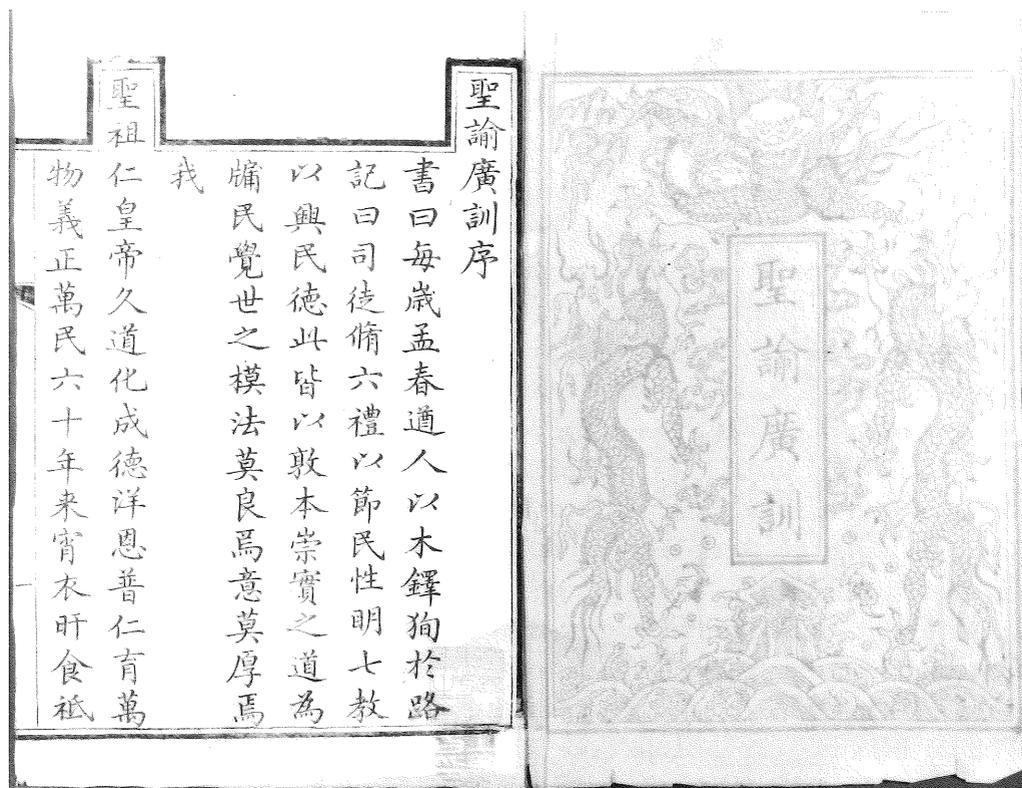
1. Enforce duteness and subordination, so as to emphasize social obligations.
2. Give due weight to kinship, with a view to the display of concord.

3. Pacify the local communities in order to put an end to litigation.
4. Attach importance to farming and mulberry culture, that there may be sufficient food and clothing.
5. Set store by economy, as a means to the careful use of property.
6. Attach importance to academies, in order to improve the habits of scholars.
7. Extirpate heresy and so exalt orthodoxy.
8. Explain the law, to warn the foolish and wayward.
9. Elucidate courteousness, with a view to improving the manners and customs.
10. Let the people attend to their proper callings, that they may have settled determination.
11. Instruct the rising generation, with a view to prevent evil-doing.
12. Prevent false accusations, and so shield the law-abiding.
13. Prohibit giving shelter to deserters, in order to prevent others from sharing their fate.
14. Pay taxes, and so prevent being pressed for payment.
15. Unite the tithings in order to suppress crime.
16. Make up quarrels, and so respect the person and life.³

Compared with the Ming emperor's *Six Instructions*, the K'ang-hsi emperor's *Sacred Edict* is more specific about normative and coercive features of governing; its more concrete instructions were useful for establishing public morals and maintaining social order. It was not only an edict on education but at the same time provided general principles of administrative policy for the guidance of local governments.

Continuing the efforts to educate local officials by moral principles, the Yung-cheng emperor (r. 1723–1735) in 1724 had compiled and issued an expanded version, *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict*. In this, each of the sixteen maxims is explained in a short essay of about six hundred characters. This longer version therefore also came to be called the *Ten-thousand Word Exposition of the Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü wan-yen hsün*). Widely disseminated during the Ch'ing dynasty, its text was also used for low-level civil service examinations. (See illustration 1.)

Early in the eighteenth century both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* came to Japan by various routes. Japan, however, was not a tributary of the Ch'ing dynasty, so the



1. Preface of the *Sheng-yü kuang-hsün* with a supplemental explanation for popular reading edited by Chi Ch'ang, the surveillance commissioner of Shensi Province, published in 1815 by Chu Hsün, the governor of the province. Eight cols. of 14 chars.; block 17.7 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

adoption of Chinese imperial edicts on education as moral teachings suitable for the Japanese presented sensitive problems to some Japanese Confucian scholars. The replacement of the Ming by the Ch'ing in 1644 had shocked Japan, and the Japanese feared that the barbarian Manchus' expansionism would lead them to invade Japan, as had been the case with the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the Japanese accepted Confucianism as a universal set of values, not as evidence for the superiority of China per se. Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) invoked Confucian language to advocate patriotism as follows: “Were China to attempt to subjugate Japan, should it be with an army led by [the ancient Sage-Kings] Yao and Shun and Wen and Wu as generals, the essence of morality would be to repel

them even with cannon”; “If the Chinese mounted an attack on Japan with Confucius as general and Mencius as his adjutant, . . . one should arm oneself with armor and sword and take Confucius and Mencius captive”; “such is the Way of Confucius, my Way of heaven and earth.”⁴ Later, Goi Ranju (1697–1762) even employed Western astronomical knowledge to reject the claims of Sinocentrism. Because the earth is spherical, he said, every place can be considered its central place. In terms of receiving sunshine, only the equator, or the South and North poles, are situated in the center of the earth; no other places can be considered the center. Consequently, the notion that China is located in the center of the earth was absolutely wrong.⁵

The *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* was originally brought from China to Liu-ch’iu (Japanese: Ryūkyū) by Ch’eng Shun-tse (1663–1734). Liu-ch’iu was at that time a tributary of the Ch’ing state, but it was also a dependency of the Satsuma domain in southern Japan, which had seized it in 1609. Ch’eng, a representative scholar and official in Liu-ch’iu, was five times appointed to serve as the tributary envoy to the Ch’ing court. Interested in improving the quality of Chinese language instruction in Liu-ch’iu, he had the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* reprinted in 1708, at his own expense, in Foochow on the southeast China coast. He wanted his disciples to master the Chinese vernacular language by using this as their model text, hoping they would then be able to communicate with the Chinese officials when they were appointed to serve as envoys or interpreters. When he visited Japan in 1714, Ch’eng also presented a copy of his reprint edition to Shimazu Yoshitaka, the lord of the Satsuma domain.

Satsuma, because of its link to Liu-ch’iu, served as one of the Tokugawa government’s windows on China. In 1719, the shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), who ruled from 1716 to 1745, inquired of Yoshitaka about the governmental ordinances, manners, and customs of the Ch’ing dynasty. In response, Yoshitaka forwarded the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*. Yoshimune was then carrying out reforms which included promoting social education and strengthening rural control, and he decided to have the book translated and reprinted. But the great Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), who in 1721 was ordered to punctuate and edit the vernacular text to prepare it for republication in Japan, argued that the book should not be reprinted under the official auspices of the *bakufu*. His reasoning ran as follows: “Liu-ch’iu is a tributary of the Ch’ing dynasty, so it properly uses the K’ang-hsi reign title. . . . If the K’ang-hsi emperor were

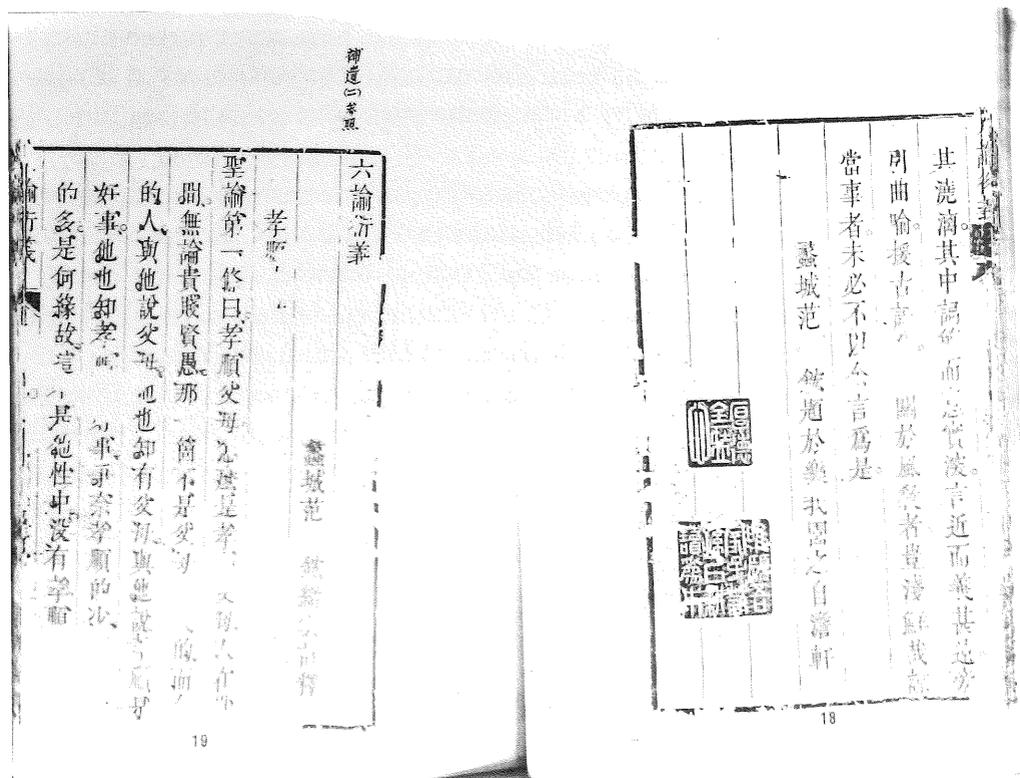
to learn that his edict is also respected in Japan," he would consider Japan "a country just like Ryūkyū (which pays tribute to China)." The first draft of his preface to the reprint included the following sentence: "Although the barbarian Ch'ing is not an orthodox dynasty, it follows the Way of the Three Dynasties [Hsia, Shang, and Chou] of ancient China." Thus Sorai not only denigrated the Ch'ing, but also justified Japan's adoption of the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*.⁶

That cautious suggestion was not fully accepted by the *bakufu*, which had the reprint published as an official edition in 1721. Sorai was nevertheless in some measure still able to achieve his aim of emphasizing Japan's national identity by making some changes in the format of Ch'eng Shun-tse's edition. For example, Ch'eng followed the Chinese practice called *t'ai-t'ou*, showing reverence for throne and dynasty by leaving blank spaces at the top of each column of text so that only the emperor's name and references to the emperor could be placed there. (See illustration 2.) This format was abandoned in the Japanese edition of the original Chinese text (see illustration 3). In accordance with Japanese custom, *t'ai-t'ou* was reserved for Japanese shogun and the *bakufu* by Sorai in the appended preface (see illustration 4).

The Exposition of the Sacred Edict got to Japan by a different route; it was brought directly from China to Nagasaki in 1726 on a Chinese merchant ship, and was reprinted in 1789 in the original format, including the *t'ai-t'ou* stylization, by a group of Osaka merchants (see illustration 5). At the request of the merchants, Nakai Chikuzan (1730–1804), the director of the Kaitokudō academy of Osaka, wrote a preface for this reprint (see illustration 6). He eulogized the shogun Yoshimune's decision to reprint the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, and praised the merchants for their sponsorship of the Japanese reprint of *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict*. He expressed his view of the Japanese nationality issue as follows: "Originally the Manchus were not a civilized people, and our Japan also was not a part of China proper. But both [China and Japan] have now entered into a time of peace and prosperity, and one might find that some customs of the Three Dynasties of ancient China still survive in their ways of ruling."⁷

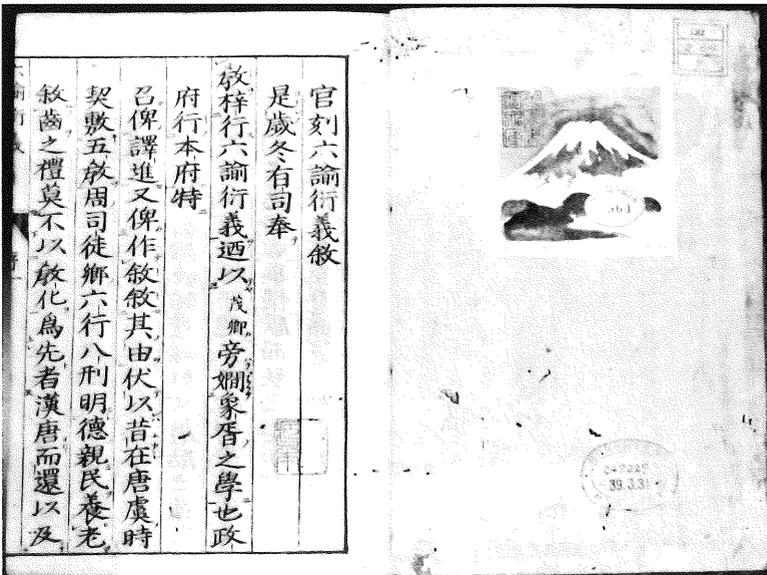
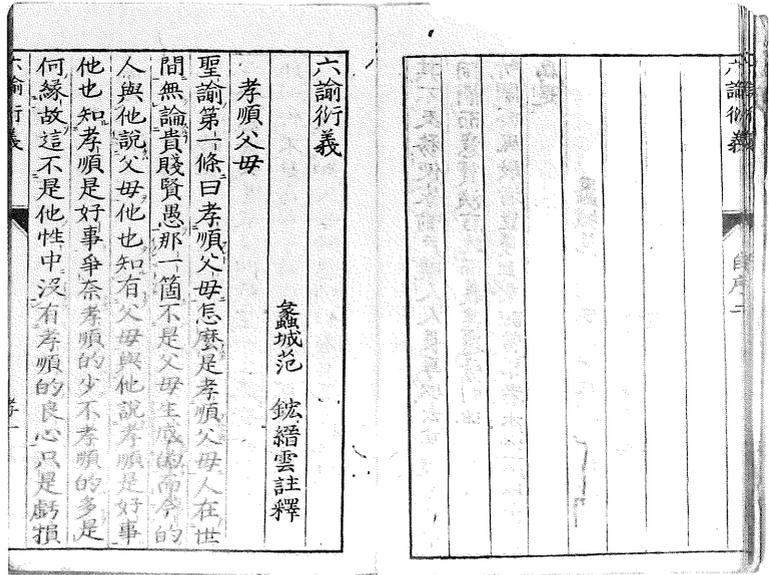
Chikuzan's preface, however, drew criticism from Igai Keisho (1761–1845), a young Confucian scholar who lived in Kyoto. In a letter to Chikuzan, Keisho argued: "It has been a universal principle in every age that there are not two suns in the sky and neither are there two kings in the land. If,

therefore, one regards K'ang-hsi's maxims as a 'Sacred Edict,' as the title of the book implies, this will injure the just cause." He advised Chikuzan: "You should add the name of the country ['Shin,' i.e., Ch'ing] and the emperor's posthumous honorific before the original book title, so as to draw a distinction between the Ch'ing and our emperors' edicts." Here Keisho showed his reverence for the Tennō, the contemporary Japanese emperors. However the Tennō were not real rulers, as their powers had long before been usurped by the *bakufu*. From the case of the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* we might conceive that the *bakufu* would rather adopt the Chinese emperor's edict than one from Kyoto as a text for the common people's moral education. Shoguns had no interest in seeing a revival of crown political authority. Nor did they want to see a rise in the political influence of "outside lords" (*tozama daimyō*) like Shimazu of Satsuma. In an

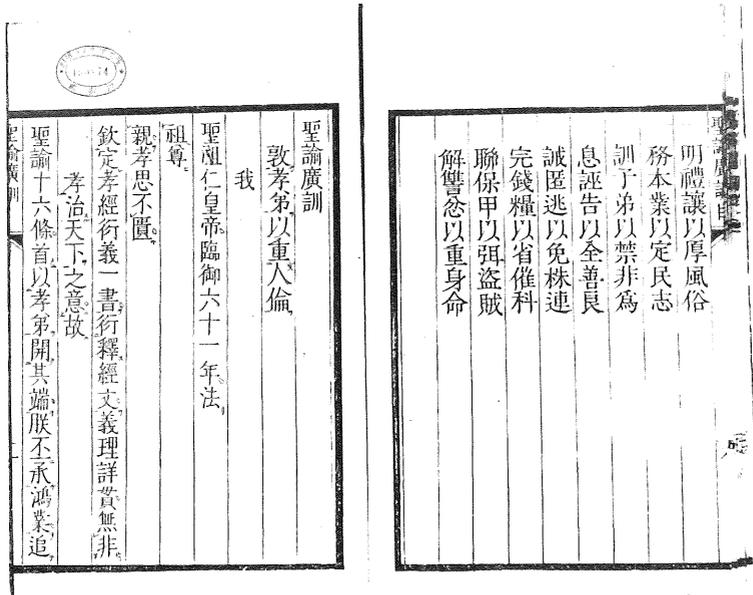


2. The preface and text of the *Liu-yü yen-i* by Fan Hung. Published by Ch'eng Shun-tse in 1708 in Foochow. Eight cols. of 19 chars; block 23.5 x 15.5 cm. From a reprint published by the Okinawa Prefectural Library in 1980.

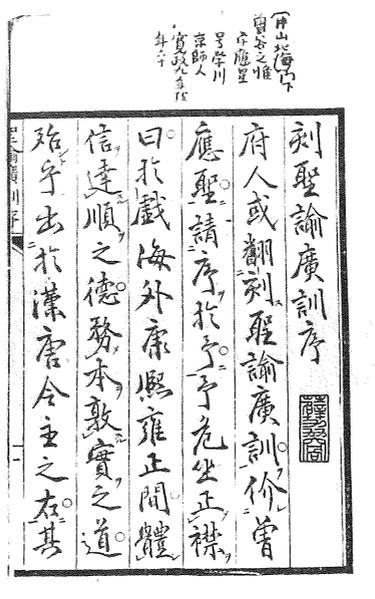
3. Text of the *Rikuyū engi*, which was published in 1721 by Izumoji, Nishimura, Noda, Ogawa, Suhara, and Yamatoya, the publishers of Edo, using the officially sponsored cut printing blocks. Eight cols. of 20 chars.; block 26.5 x 18.5 cm. From the Hakuen bunko collection, Kansai University Library, Osaka.



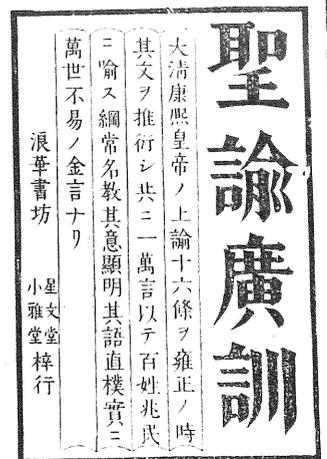
4. The preface to the *Rikuyū engi* by Ogyū Sorai. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3.



5. Text of the *Seiyū kōkun*, edited by Sotani Ōsei, published by Seibundō, Shōgadō in 1789 in Osaka. Nine cols. of 18 chars; block 16.7 x 11.5 cm. From the Tōyō bunko Library, Tokyo.



6. The title page of the *Rikuyū engi*, with the preface by Nakai Chikuzan. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3.



early draft of his preface to the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, Ogyū Sorai made mention of the contribution of Shimazu Yoshitaka, but he was ordered to delete the reference. It should also be noted that both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* made no mention of loyalty to the emperor, and may thereby have commended themselves to Tokugawa rulers who favored general moral indoctrination but might have been uneasy with instructions to revere the throne.

Chikuzan replied as follows:

As a rule, the original text and the book title should be retained, and should not be changed in a reprinting. The phrase about “two suns and two kings” is not applicable in this case at all, since here “the land” means a single country, not all the countries. . . . If one followed your instruction to add the relevant names to the original book title, the title would become “*Shin* [Ch’ing] *Seisō* [Shih-tsung, i.e., the posthumous honorific title of the Yung-cheng emperor] *Seiyu kōkun*.” But the edict was promulgated by Seiso [Sheng-tsu, the K’ang-hsi emperor’s posthumous title], and only the “exposition” was by Seisō. So it might be more precise to change the title into “*Shin Seiso seiyu Seisō kōkun*.” But that probably would be too long and wordy for a book title.”⁸

Although several sensitive scholars like Sorai and Keisho considered the treatment of the format and the forms of address used for the Chinese emperors’ edicts an extremely important matter in relation to Japanese identity, it seems that most Japanese did not care much about the problem and simply adopted a pragmatic attitude toward it. In fact, besides ordering Sorai to punctuate the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, the shogun Yoshimune instructed Muro Kyusō (1658–1734), an official Confucian scholar, to translate and simplify its contents. The completed translation was entitled *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* (*Rikuyu engi taii*). Yoshimune gave several copies to the teachers of the temple schools (*terakoya*) of Edo and encouraged them to use the book as a model text. From this point to the end of the Tokugawa regime (1867), and even on into the early Meiji period, the book was reprinted many times and in many different forms.

In 1845, when Satō Issai (1772–1859), a famous official Confucian

scholar, was writing an epilogue for Katsuta Tomosato, a person of Kyoto who had published an enlarged and illustrated edition of *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, he mentioned the influence of a nonillustrated edition of the book published in his own native place, the Iwamura district of Mino Province.

Not long before, the lord had reprinted *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and distributed copies within his fief. And he ordered the elders to meet the villagers and explain the book on the first day of every month. He also ordered that the teachers of every village should copy the book to teach the children. After three years, the children in his fief were able to read a certain number of words, to understand the outlines of the book, and to recite the text as though they were singing songs.

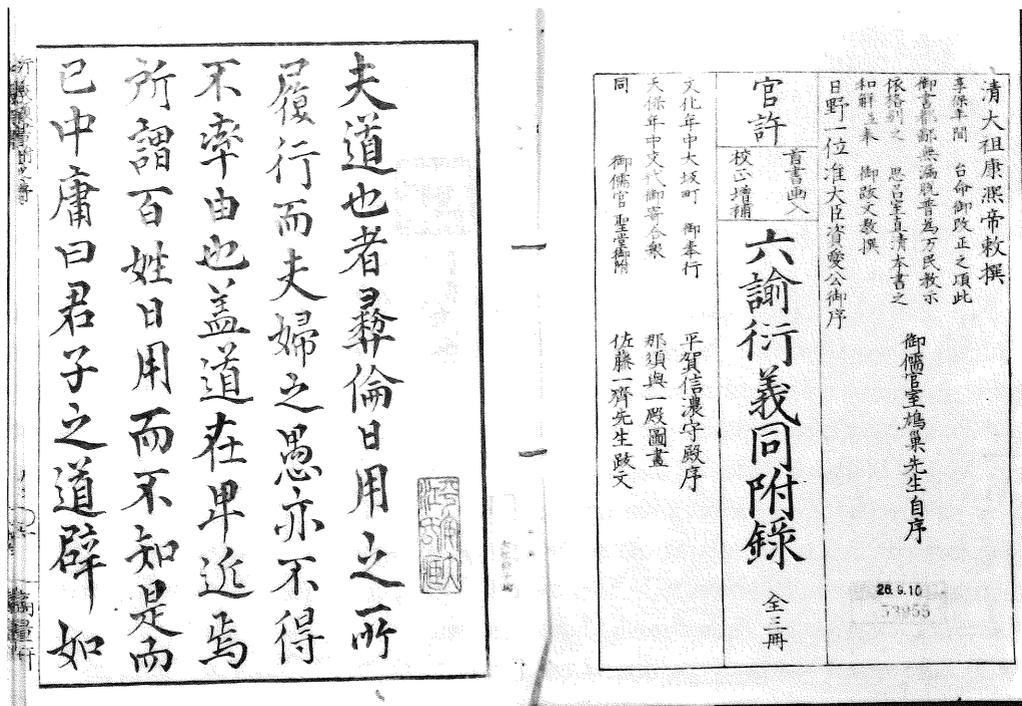
He believed that the illustrated book would be still more effective in promoting children's understanding of the Six Instructions.⁹ (See illustration 7.)

It is no exaggeration to say that *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* was the most widely read and used moral textbook throughout the Tokugawa period. By contrast, *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* had no such nationwide influence. Needless to say, one of the reasons for this was that it had not been promulgated by the *bakufu*. Indeed, as soon as it was published in Osaka in 1789, Nakai Chikuzan presented a copy to Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829), the chief minister of the *bakufu*.¹⁰ Little documentation survives to inform us about the latter's response. But from the policies of the magistrates (*daikan*) who were under the direct control of Sadanobu, we can infer something about the effect of *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* on local administration and moral education. Hayakawa Masatoshi (1739–1808), who held office from 1787 to 1795 in the Kuze district in Okayama, provides a good example of such a magistrate. Immediately after he was appointed in Kuze, he began to inspect the district. He found public morals were lax, and wrote that it was not at all uncommon for the poor and for adulterers to kill their newborn babies. So he set up the *Tengakukan*, a kind of adult school for regular moral instruction, and composed the "Teachings for the Kuze People" (*Kuze jōkyō*). This consisted of six maxims, of which five were directly quoted from the *Sacred Edict*. The maxims were:

1. Encourage farming and mulberry culture.
2. Enforce duteness and subordination.
3. Put an end to litigation.
4. Set store by economy.
5. Prohibit illegitimacy.
6. Improve manners and customs.¹¹

The "Teachings" was reprinted several times, and a copy was distributed to every village and family of the Kuze district. It was also reprinted by the magistrates of some other districts, such as Hitachi.

In the late Tokugawa period, the Fukui domain adopted fourteen of the sixteen maxims of the *Sacred Edict* (omitting numbers six and seven) as its "Rules for the Countryside" (*Gōyaku*) and as the educational principles to be observed in the rural schools (*gōkō*). In January 1857, Hashimoto Sanai



7. The title page of the *Rikuyū engi*, with the preface by Hino Sukenaru, the associate major counsellor (*Ken Dainagon*), in the first volume of the enlarged and illustrated *Rikuyū engi taii*. Published by Katsuta Tomosato in 1847 in Kyoto. Block 26.5 x 18.9 cm. From the Kaitokudō bunko collection, Osaka University Library, Osaka.

(1834–1859) began his tenure as the manager of the Meidōkan, the domain academy. In the next month he received from the commissioner of the domain the following instruction:

Education at the rural schools should emphasize the maxims: “Enforce duteness and subordination” and “Encourage farming and mulberry culture,” as shown in the “Rules.” The “Rules” has instructed the elders and brothers [i.e., the senior local males] to gather at the rural schools on the first day of each month to discuss in detail the maxims, so as to observe them to the letter and to keep them in mind forever. If, by any chance, education were to be lost in empty theories and pomposity, and the people should forget their main occupation and regular business, there would be deep-rooted abuses in the future.¹²

As a close friend of Fujita Tōko (1806–1855) and Saigō Takamori (1827–1877), Sanai at that time also worried about Japan’s opening to the West and was planning to establish an Institute of Western Books (Yōsho shūgakusho) in the Meidōkan. He also attempted to reform the educational systems of his domain. Perhaps he was trying to exert too strong an influence on the academy too quickly, for the conservative commissioner apparently was concerned that Sanai’s modernizing influence would permeate the rural schools and cautioned him not to abandon the traditional orientation of the schools.

Not only officially established rural schools like those of Fukui, but some chartered and private academies as well used *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* as their moral education textbook. For example, Nakai Riken (1732–1817), the younger brother of Chikuzan, taught the book in the Kaitokudō academy. Lecture notes of a student who attended his lectures there are now held at the National Diet Library in Tokyo.¹³

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the shogunate was overthrown and imperial rule was reinstated. In 1890 the Emperor Meiji promulgated the *Imperial Rescript on Education* (*Kyōiku chokugo*). It emphasized that loyalty and patriotism — now oriented toward the throne — were the most important moral values, and established the fundamental principles of Japanese national education until Japan’s defeat in 1945. (The *Rescript* was finally dropped by action of the Diet in 1948.) In Japanese sinological circles, moreover, interest in the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The*

Exposition of the Sacred Edict also survived. In 1943, Ogaeri Yoshio (1910–1966), a leading scholar of Chinese linguistics, even had the texts published under the title *The Late K'ang-hsi Emperor's Teachings* (*Kōki kōtei ikun*). Since the authorities at that time were tightening ideological control, and there was a paper shortage, it may seem surprising that such a book was published. There were, of course, some academic reasons justifying its publication, but from its preface and postscript, we know that the book was also expected to serve a political purpose.

In the preface Ogaeri says that “in this third year of the Greater East Asian War, the editor reprints one of his favorite books and offers it to those who want to play an active part in Greater East Asia. It is his hope that his true motive will be understood.” In his postscript he explains that the book's title, *The Late K'ang-hsi Emperor's Teachings*, does not mean that the K'ang-hsi emperor's testament is contained in this book, but rather that the book transmits to later generations the K'ang-hsi emperor's spirit in ruling China. He points out that

the K'ang-hsi emperor must have known well the merits and shortcomings of the different nations which fell under his and his nation's rule. The merits should be greatly fostered, so as to promote mutual welfare. And the shortcomings should be rectified so as to eliminate the root of calamity in the future. This intention was given a concrete form in the *Sacred Edict*, and the *Sacred Edict* consists of extremely sensible general principles for ruling China.¹⁴

We do not know whether contemporary Japanese authorities adopted his suggestion. But it is interesting to associate his suggestion with those of Sorai and Keisho mentioned earlier: in the early modern period, these scholars were afraid that if the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* were not properly handled and adopted for use as moral texts, Japan would be considered a dependency of China. In modern times, on the other hand, scholars like Ogaeri Yoshio advocated the use of the two books as establishing general principles to be followed in Japan's rule over China and other countries in so-called Greater East Asia. In their view, the history of Manchu rule over China (at a time when the Japanese had, nominally at least, reestablished Manchu rule through their puppet in what they called “Man-chou kuo,” China's North-

east Provinces) might provide the Japanese useful lessons on how to control a huge country or a wide region inhabited by non-Japanese populations.

NOTES

Warmest thanks are due F. W. Mote, M. B. Jansen, and M. C. Collcutt, professors at Princeton University; G. P. Leupp, assistant professor at Tufts University; and Dr. Zhen-ping Wang, editor of the journal, for much valuable help and many useful suggestions.

1. Ōba Osamu, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* (Osaka: Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūsho, 1967), p. 210. Yue-Him Tam, *Studies in Modern Sino-Japanese Cultural Relations* (Hong Kong: Japan Research Institute of Hong Kong, 1988), p. 14.
2. George Jer-lang Chang, "Local Control in the Early Ming (1368–1398)," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1978, p. 166. It is said that the *Liu-yü* was copied from the maxims to the people Chu Hsi issued when he took office in Chang-chou in Fukien Province.
3. F. W. Baller, trans., *The Sacred Edict*, 6th ed. (Shanghai: China Inland Mission, 1924), pp. 1, 19, 29, 42, 51, 62, 72, 88, 99, 110, 119, 134, 143, 149, 156, 169. The first edition of the translation was published in 1892 in Shanghai by the American Presbyterian Mission Press.
4. Kate W. Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40:1 (1980), p. 164.
5. Goi Ranju, *Sago*, in *Nihon jurin sōsho*, ed. Seki Giichirō (Tokyo: Toyo Tosho Kankōkai, 1927), vol. 1, p. 1.
6. Nakamura Tadayuki, "Jusha no shisei," *Tenri Daigaku gakuho* 78 (1972), pp. 232–233. D. F. Henderson, "Chinese Legal Studies in Early 18th Century Japan: Scholars and Sources," *Journal of Asian Studies* 30:1 (1970), pp. 21–56. It should be noted that contemporary Japanese, including Sorai, could not have known that the *Six Instructions* was not composed and promulgated by the K'ang-hsi emperor. The phrase "Compilation by Imperial Command of the Great Emperor K'ang-hsi" (Shin daiso Kōkitekitei chokusen) on the title page of the *Rikuyu engi taii* of Katsuta Tomosato's edition of 1847 (see illustration 7) indicates this fact.
7. See Nakai Chikuzan's "Preface to the Reprint of *Seiyū kōkun*," in *Seiyū kōkun* (Osaka: Seibundō, Shōgadō, 1789).
8. Nakai Chikuzan, *Chikuzan kokujitoku* (Osaka: Matsumura Bunkaidō, 1911), vol. 2, pp. 3–4. See also De-min Tao, "Wakokubun *Seiyū kōkun* no saikō," *Kaitoku* 57 (1988), pp. 62–71.
9. See Satō Issai's "Epilogue," in *Rikuyu engi taii*, ed. Katsuta Tomosato (Kyoto: Shōryōken, 1847).
10. Nakai Chikuzan, "Gakkō kōmu

- kiroku," in *Kaitokudō kyūki*, *Kaitoku* 13 (1935), p. 39.
11. Ishikawa Ken, *Kinsei Nihon shakai kyōikushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōyō Tosho Kankōkai, 1938), pp. 15-45.
12. Monbushō, ed., *Nihon kyōikushi shiryō* (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1890), vol. 2, p. 36. See also *Fukui kenshi* (Tokyo: Sanshūsha, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 369-370.
13. Nakai Riken, *Seiyū kōkun kikigaki*, preserved in *Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan*.
14. Ogaeri Yoshio, ed., *Kōki kōtei ikun* (Osaka: Ōsakayagō Shoten, 1943).

GLOSSARY

- bakufu 幕府
 Ch'eng Shun-tse 程順則
 Ch'ing 清
 Chou 周
 daikan 代官
 Edo 江戸
 Fan Hung 範鎔
 Fujita Tōko 藤田東湖
 Fukien 福建
 Fukui 福井
 Goi Ranju 五井蘭洲
 gōkō 郷校
 Gōyaku 郷約
 Hashimoto Sanai 橋本左内
 Hayakawa Masatoshi 早川正紀
 Hitachi 常陸
 Hsia 夏
 Igai Keisho 猪飼敬所
 Iwamura 巖村
 Izumoji 出雲寺
 Kaitokudō 懷德堂
 K'ang-hsi 康熙
 Kansai 関西
 Katsuta Tomosato 勝田知郷
 Kōki kōtei ikun 康熙皇帝遺訓
 Kuze 久世
 Kuze jōkyō 久世経教
 Kyōiku chokugo 教育勅語
 Liu-ch'iu (Ryūkyū) 琉球
 Liu-yü 六諭
 Liu-yü yen-i 六諭衍義
 Man-chou kuo 滿洲國
 Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信
 Meidōkan 明道館
 Meiji 明治
 Mino 美濃
 Muro Kyusō 室鳩巢
 mu-t'ō 木鐸
 Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山
 Nakai Riken 中井履軒
 Ōba Osamu 大庭脩
 Ogaeri Yoshio 魚返善雄
 Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠
 Okayama 岡山
 Rikuyu 六諭
 Rikuyu engi 六諭衍義
 Rikuyu engi taii 六諭衍義大意
 Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛
 Satō Issai 佐藤一齋
 Satsuma 薩摩

Seiso 聖祖	Shun 舜
Seisō 世宗	Shun-chih 順治
Seiyu kōkun 聖諭廣訓	t'ai-t'ou 捧頭
Seiyu kōkun kikigaki 聖諭廣訓聞書	T'ai-tsu 太祖
Shang 尚	Tengakukan 典學館
Sheng-tsu 聖祖	Tennō 天皇
Sheng-yü 聖諭	terakoya 寺子屋
Sheng-yü kuang-hsün 聖諭廣訓	Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗
Sheng-yü wan-yen hsün 聖諭萬言訓	tozama daimyō 外樣大名
Shih-tsung 世宗	Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋
Shimazu Yoshitaka 島津吉貴	Yao 堯
Shin 清	Yōsho shūgakusho 洋書習學所
Shin daiso Kōkitei chokusen 清太祖康熙	Yung-cheng 雍正
帝政撰	Wen 文
Shin Seiso seiyu Seisō kōkun 清聖祖聖諭世	Wu 武
宗廣訓	

Yü Sung-nien and His Rare Book Collection

MATSUURA AKIRA

During the Tao-kuang reign period (1821–1850) of late Ch'ing times, the *Collection from the I-chia Hall (I-chia t'ang ts'ung-shu)* was published in Shanghai. Included in this important collectanea are seven works by Sung and Yüan authors, totaling 256 *chüan*. Two of them are histories of the state of Shu-Han (A.D. 221–263) during the Three Kingdoms period (220–280). These two works have the same title: *A Continuation of the Dynastic History of the Later Han (Hsü Hou-Han shu)*, compiled by Hsiao Ch'ang of the Southern Sung dynasty and Hao Ching (1223–1275) of the Yüan dynasty respectively. There are also three works on mathematics, *A Mathematical Work of Nine Chapters (Shu-shu chiu-chang)* by Ch'in Chiu-shao (1202–1261),¹ the *Expositions of the Nine Chapters of Mathematical Arts (Hsiang-chieh chiu-chang suan-fa)*, and *The Mathematical Arts by Yang Hui (Yang Hui suan-fa)*, both by Yang Hui.² Works of two eminent Yüan literary figures also appear in the collection: the *Complete Work of Yen-yüan (Yen-yüan chi)* by Tai Piao-yüan (1244–1311) and the *Complete Work of Recluse Ch'ing-jung (Ch'ing-jung chü-shih chi)* by Yüan Chüeh (1266–1327), which was the first of these seven works to be printed. The editor of the collection wrote a preface for each work. The earliest preface dates from the fourth month of the twentieth year of the Tao-kuang reign period (1840), and the last one from the winter of the twenty-third year of the same reign period (1842). Judging from the date of the last preface, it seems that the collection was published about 1843.³

The outstanding feature of this collection is that works in the collection are transcribed from Yüan and Ming editions, which were very difficult to

come by even during the editor's time. In particular, the two histories of the state of Shu-Han and the mathematical works are important and rare publications, giving particular significance to this collectanea.

Hsiao Ch'ang's *A Continuation of the Dynastic History of the Later Han* comprises forty-seven *chüan* and covers the period from A.D. 221 to 263. It took Hsiao twenty years to complete this work. He regarded Emperor Chao-lieh (r. 221–223) of the state of Shu-Han as the legitimate successor of the Later Han dynasty (25–220) and his own work as a continuation of the *Dynastic History of the Later Han (Hou-Han shu)*. Hao Ching's work, as stated, also carries the title *A Continuation of the Dynastic History of the Later Han*, consists of ninety *chüan*, and covers roughly the same period as Hsiao Ch'ang's work. It was completed in 1272 and was first published in 1318 under the auspices of the Kiangsi Branch Secretariat (hsing-sheng) during the Yüan dynasty.

Ch'in Chiu-shao's work was a major contribution to the mathematics of his time. His process for numerical equations of higher degrees established him as the leader in this field, and he was at least three centuries ahead of his Western counterparts.⁴ His work also deals with the application of mathematical approaches in a wide range of fields, such as astrology, surveying, taxation, construction, and business. This work, however, was not widely circulated even during Sung times. So far, no printed Sung edition of this work has ever been found.

Yang Hui was another mathematical giant in the thirteenth century. He and Ch'in Chiu-shao were credited with working out "full-blown decimal fractions applied to all operations." In China, the first occurrence of decimal fractions is to be found in a writing of the mid-third century A.D., whereas it was not until the sixteenth century that the Arabs and Europeans began to comprehend the significance of decimal fractions. In this field, Europe lagged behind China by over one thousand years.⁵

Works included in the *Collection from the I-chia Hall* are not only important and rare, but meticulously edited as well. In some cases, volumes of textual study of the works are attached to the original text. The person who collected, edited, and published these works in a collectanea is Yü Sung-nien, and the collectanea is a monument to his achievements as a scholar-collector.

Yü Sung-nien was a celebrity in Shanghai County during the T'ung-chih reign period (1862–1874). A biographical entry for him in the local gazet-

teer describes him as the younger son of a successful local businessman and millionaire, Yü Jun-kuei. Sung-nien had an older brother, P'eng-nien, who is said to have been very resourceful and good at assigning his subordinates jobs commensurate with their abilities. Yü P'eng-nien was also a businessman, perhaps spending much of his time helping his father with the family business. Yü Sung-nien was, however, different from his brother. He was both a scholar and book-lover and a businessman. During the T'ung-chih reign period, he was a "tribute student by grace" (*en kung-sheng*), a designation used by the Directorate of Education (Kuo-tzu chien) to enable candidates, who were chosen through a specially arranged examination, to participate in the provincial civil service examination and be considered at least the equal of a national university student (*chien-sheng*).

The family wealth enabled Sung-nien to acquire a sizable private collection of books, said to have amounted to tens of thousands of *chüan*. He was an enthusiastic collector of Sung-edition books, especially those that either had never been engraved or for which the wood printing blocks had been destroyed. His collection also included rare Yüan and Ming editions. To acquire these books, Sung-nien spared no time or money. During the Tao-kuang reign period (1821-1850), Sung-nien traveled all the way to Yang-chou to purchase from a local salt merchant a Yüan edition of the *Sea of Jade* (*Yü hai*), a Southern Sung encyclopedia of two hundred *chüan*. For this encyclopedia alone, Sung-nien paid as much as six hundred *liang* of gold.⁶

The price that Yü Sung-nien paid for that one encyclopedia, and his expensive hobby of purchasing rare Chinese books over a long period, indicate that the Yü family must have been extremely wealthy. In a late Ch'ing diary (*Jen Mo-shu t'ui-chih chai jih-chi*), the Yü family was also referred to as "Yü Sen-sheng."⁷ The term "Sen-sheng" seems to have been used as the name referring to the entire Yü family business, since it was also used by Sung-nien's brother P'eng-nien. The family had been in commercial shipping for at least two generations. When Sung-nien was in charge of the business, his fleet expanded to more than fifty ships.⁸ And among the twenty-four shipping businesses in Shanghai, the Yü family's ranked number two. That business provided Sung-nien with the funds to purchase his rare book collection.

The protective trading policy of the Ch'ing court facilitated the Yü family's establishment of its dominant position in the lucrative coastal shipping business. This policy forbade foreign ships to sail or to transport goods

along the Chinese coast and inland rivers, thus shielding the Yü family from foreign competition. The financial resources of the Yü family steadily increased. One measure of their unusual position in the business world is that in 1856 the family cast three types of silver coins.⁹ Their privately issued silver dollars were among the earliest silver coins cast and circulated in Shanghai, or in China.¹⁰ The casting and issuance of silver coins by the Yü family and other wealthy families in the commercial shipping business marked the apex of their economic strength.¹¹ But this strength was to be significantly weakened two years later, in 1858, when the Ch'ing court signed a series of treaties with Western powers after its disastrous defeat in the Second Opium War, allowing foreigners various economic, political, and economic privileges in China. Four years later, in 1862, when the Ch'ing court eventually lifted the ban on foreign ships engaging in transportation in China, the Yü family and other Chinese shipping business suffered great losses from foreign competition.¹² In the same year, Yü Sung-nien died.

After the death of Yü Sung-nien, perhaps out of economic pressure or lack of interest in collecting traditional Chinese books, members of the Yü family began to sell Sung-nien's rare book collection. It was the kind of opportunity other collectors are always waiting for. Some of his Sung and Yüan rare books were purchased by Ting Jih-ch'ang (1823–1882), governor of Kiangsu, but the majority of Yü Sung-nien's collection, which totaled forty-eight thousand *chüan*, was sold to Lu Hsin-yüan, salt distribution commissioner in Fukien and a famed late Ch'ing book collector. Yü's rare book collection, however, was not to remain in Lu Hsin-yüan's private library. In 1907, the collection was again sold, this time to Japan; it became the major holding of the Seikadō bunko,¹³ originally a private library but now a branch of the Japan Diet Library in Tokyo.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The loss of Lu Hsin-yüan's great private library to a Japanese buyer in 1907 created such a shock in Chinese government and elite circles that steps were taken to prevent other collections from leaving the country. In particular, it led to the founding of the Kiangsu Provincial Library, when the government in 1909 intervened to keep the famed library of Ting Ping (1832–1899) from being sold to another Japanese buyer.

NOTES

1. The work appears under different titles in various places. In the *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), 12, p. 368, the title for this work is *Shu-shu ta-lüeh*. In the *Kuei-hsin tsa-chih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1988), p. 170, it is referred to as *Shu-hsüeh ta-lüeh*, and in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), 107, p. 905, as *Shu-hsüeh chiu-chang*. It is believed that the current title, *Shu-shu chiu-chang*, was given to it by Chao Ch'i-mei in about 1616, when he wrote the preface for a transcription of this mathematical work.
2. Besides the edition preserved in the *I-chia t'ang ts'ung-shu*, the *Hsiang-chieh chiu-chang suan-fa* also exists in a Korean edition of 1482, which is now held by Beijing Library, China, and is considered a better edition than the *I-chia t'ang ts'ung-shu* edition. The earliest extant edition of the *Yang Hui suan-fa* is a 1433 Korean edition.
3. In a newly published catalogue of the Chinese collection in Gest Library, there is a bibliographical entry for the *I-chia t'ang ts'ung-shu*; see Ch'ang Pi-te, Wu Che-fu, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun tai-hsüeh Ke ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chung-wen chiu-chi shu-mu* (Taipei: Taiwan shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1990), p. 385. The Gest Library holds a copy of the original edition of this collection. But the catalogue dates it 1842.
4. Robert Temple points out that the mid-sixteenth century Western mathematicians "considered that equations of higher degree were not relevant to the real world. . . . By and large, Europeans were far less willing to consider higher equations in the sixteenth century than the Chinese were in the thirteenth." See his *The Genius of China*, introduced by Joseph Needham (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), p. 142. For more detailed discussions of the Chinese contributions to mathematics in premodern times, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), vol. 3.
5. Temple, *The Genius of China*, p. 143.
6. "Shang-hai hsien-chih," in *Chung-kuo fang-chih ts'ung-shu* (facsimile rpt. of 1871 edn.; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1975), 21, pp. 43b-44a; *Ch'ing pai lei-ch'ao* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1917), 72, p. 120.
7. See "Jen Mo-shu t'ui-chih chai jih-chi," the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month, 1855, in the *Ch'ing-tai jih-chih hui-ch'ao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), p. 240.
8. These ships were referred to as "*sha-ch'uan*." In G. R. C. Worcester's *The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1911), pp. 162-167, the "*sha-ch'uan*" is illustrated and called a Kiangsu trader.
9. For a description of the inscriptions on these coins, see Chiang Chung-ch'uan, *Chung-kuo chin-yin nieh-pi t'u-shuo* (rpt.; Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1966), pp. 37-39.

10. For a discussion of these silver coins, see L. S. Yang, *Money and Credit in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), paragraph 5.31, p. 49.
11. For a discussion of other families engaged in the casting and issuance of silver coins, see Katō Shigeshi, *Shina keizaishi kōshō* (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko, 1952), vol. b, p. 455. The Chinese central government did not mint silver coins until after the Revolution of 1911.
12. Akira Matsuura, "Shindai makki no shasengyō ni tsuite," *Kansai daigaku bungaku ronshū* 39:3 (1990), pp. 1-71.
13. Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 545-546.

GLOSSARY

- Chao-lieh 昭烈
 chien-sheng 監生
 Ch'in Chiu-shao 秦九韶
 Ch'ing 清
 Ch'ing-jung chü-shih chi 清容居士集
 en kung-sheng 恩貢生
 Fukien 福建
 Hao Ching 郝經
 Hsiang-chieh chiu-chang suan-fa 詳解九章算法
 Hsiao Ch'ang 蕭常
 hsing-sheng 行者
 Hou-Han shu 後漢書
 Hsü Hou-Han shu 續後漢書
 I-chia t'ang ts'ung-shu 宜謙堂叢書
 Jen Mo-shu t'ui-chih chai jih-chi 忍默想退之齋日記
 Kiangsi 江西
 Kiangsu 江蘇
 Kuo-tzu chien 國子監
 Lu Hsin-yüan 陸心源
 P'eng-nien 彭年
 Seikadō 靜嘉堂
 Sen-sheng 森威
 Shu-Han 留漢
 Shu-shu chiu-chang 數易九章
 Sung 宋
 Tai Piao-yüan 戴表元
 Tao-kuang 道光
 Ting Jih-ch'ang 丁日昌
 Ting Ping 丁丙
 T'ung-chih 同治
 Yang Hui 楊輝
 Yang Hui suan-fa 楊輝算法
 Yang-chou 揚州
 Yen-yüan chi 剡源集
 Yü hai 玉海
 Yü Jun-kuei 郁潤柱
 Yü Sen-sheng 郁森威
 Yü Sung-nien 郁松年
 Yüan 元
 Yüan Chüeh 袁桷

The *Yung-lo Collectanea* as a Source of Materials for the Study of Sung History

WANG ZENG-YU

A country of high culture, China has preserved a voluminous written record of its long history. However, dynastic changes in China often brought about war and chaos, destroying much of that historical record. The extent of this loss is evident in the difference between the quantity of extant historical works and those listed in the bibliographical section of Chinese dynastic histories.

Among the extant historical records, Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing works are in the majority. Sung works alone exceed the extant historical record from the earliest time to the T'ang dynasty in both titles and volumes. Modern scholars are often overwhelmed by the huge amount of Sung primary sources. They can hardly browse through all these source materials, let alone examine them in detail. Ming works are even more voluminous than Sung works. As for Ch'ing historical works, they are as vast as the open sea, surpassing the total amount of all the pre-Ch'ing historical record.

Thanks to the continuing development of printing technology during the Sung dynasty, bookstores and individuals were able to print books in quantity. And some of the Sung works are still extant today. On the other hand, compilers of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* (*Yung-lo ta-tien*) should also be credited with preserving much of the Sung historical record.

The *Yung-lo Collectanea* was completed in the sixth year of the Yung-lo reign period (1408). It comprises 22,877 *chüan*, and was at that time the

largest compilation in the world. The compilers made good use of the imperial book collections in the former Yüan court and transcribed many works into their collectanea. Many of these works had been held by the imperial library of previous dynasties: the Five Dynasties, the Liao, the Chin, and the Northern and Southern Sung.¹

Although the *Yung-lo Collectanea* was compiled during the Ming, most of the works included in this collectanea are not Ming works, but Sung works. This is because Ming officials and writers had not yet produced a large amount of writing when the compilation of the collectanea was imperially commissioned in 1403, the Ming dynasty then being only about forty years old. Neither do Yüan works take up a major portion of the collectanea, since the Yüan dynasty lasted less than one hundred years and contemporary works held by the Yüan imperial library were also limited. Nomadic regimes built on military strength, the Liao and the Chin did not produce many poets and writers either, so that works of these two dynasties available to the compilers of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* must have been few indeed. The same is true of T'ang and pre-Tang works. As time passed, many of them were lost or destroyed. As a result, writings in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* are predominantly Sung works, even though Sung China also had suffered great losses when the Chin troops chased the Northern Sung court south of the Yangtze River in 1127, and again when the Southern Sung dynasty collapsed in 1279.

The complete version of the *Yung-lo Collectanea*, with its 60 *chüan* of table of contents, amounts to 22,937 *chüan*. But only 797 *chüan* have survived into our time. In these 797 *chüan*, there are some works of the T'ang, the Five Dynasties, the Liao, and the Chin, to which modern scholars can also gain access from other sources. But in these 797 *chüan* there are also Sung historical documents. Whereas Ming scholars could still read these Sung works in the original version, modern scholars can acquire only limited knowledge of these works through the transcriptions preserved in the *Yung-lo Collectanea*. The major contribution of the compilers of this Ming collectanea is therefore that, to an extent they could not have foreseen, their efforts have preserved Sung historical documents that would otherwise have been totally lost.

Upon its completion, the *Yung-lo Collectanea* was considered too large for engraving and printing. For years, this Ming encyclopedic compendium was stored in the palace in Nanking and Ming scholars had no access

to it. In 1562, two more sets of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* were produced on imperial order, and both were stored in Peking, the new capital of the Ming dynasty. It is generally believed that the original version and one of the two sets produced in 1562 were completely destroyed when the Ming court collapsed in 1644. The other set survived into the Ch'ing dynasty with some damage. When Emperor Kao-tsung (r. 1736–1795), the fourth emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, ordered the compilation of *The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*), compilers started to transcribe ancient works from the *Yung-lo Collectanea* into *The Complete Library*. At that time, about nine-tenths of this set of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* was available to them. According to the *General Table of Contents of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*), works transcribed from the *Yung-lo Collectanea* total 4,926 *chüan*. Among them, 66 are classics, 41 are historical works, 103 are works by various philosophers, and 175 are literary collections.² These works, however, account for only a small portion of the *Yung-lo Collectanea*, making modern scholars wonder why the compilers of *The Complete Library* did not transcribe more works from this Ming collectanea. The compilers themselves offered an explanation, claiming that they had already incorporated the best writings from the *Yung-lo* encyclopedic compendium into *The Complete Library*. The rest were simply works of no literary value and should be totally ignored. This explanation is ambiguous and unconvincing. The real reason might well have been that transcribing all the works in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* was simply too burdensome a job for the compilers, since about nine-tenths of this Ming collectanea was still extant in the early Ch'ing times when the compilation of *The Complete Library* was under way. These transcriptions would also have taken up too much space, making *The Complete Library* too long. As a result, the *General Table of Contents of the Complete Library* created only a brief entry for the *Yung-lo Collectanea*, which explained the compilation and the major contents of this work and served as a symbolic recognition of the efforts made by the compilers of this Ming collectanea to collect and edit ancient works.

After the completion of *The Complete Library*, efforts to transcribe ancient works from the *Yung-lo Collectanea* continued. But so far such efforts are far from exhaustive. Many ancient works scattered throughout this Ming collectanea are still in need of being reassembled and studied by scholars.

It is truly regrettable that now only about three percent of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* is still extant. This is a great loss, particularly for scholars of Sung and Yüan studies, who would otherwise have obtained valuable information about these two dynasties. For example, in their research on Sung history, scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty used to depend mainly on the *Dynastic History of the Sung* (*Sung shih*), which is the most voluminous standard history of the twenty-four dynastic histories and provides systematic records of the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties. Valuable as it is, though, the *Dynastic History of the Sung* also contains serious defects, which crippled contemporary scholars' research and invited much criticism from them. Research into Sung history conducted by Ch'ing scholars did not advance much until three important Sung primary sources were made available to them: the *Collected Data for a Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*), the *Draft of Documents Pertaining to Matters of State in the Sung Dynasty* (*Sung hui-yao chi-kao*), and *A Record of Important Affairs since the Beginning of the Chien-yen (1127-1130) Period* (*Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu*). These scholars found that records about the Sung dynasty preserved in these three works were not only original, but more detailed and more precise than those in the *Dynastic History of the Sung*. And all three of the works were collected and transcribed by Ch'ing scholars from the *Yung-lo Collectanea*, the greater part of which still existed in early Ch'ing times. Certain portions of the *Collected Data for a Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* and the *Draft of Documents Pertaining to Matters of State in the Sung Dynasty* are missing. But these three works provide modern scholars with critical new materials and are now regarded as the essential primary sources for the study of Liao, Sung, and Chin histories.

Even the remaining parts of the *Yung-lo Collectanea*, despite their representing only three percent of the original, complete version, prove invaluable to the study of Sung history. For instance, the table of contents of this Ming collectanea indicates that it includes all the early Ming local gazetteers. These Ming gazetteers are important source materials for the study of Sung history since they preserved many accounts of the Sung dynasty.

The origin of Chinese local gazetteers can be traced to earlier times. But these earlier gazetteers, which were compiled before the Southern Sung dynasty, predate the development of specific rules of compilation, and they

did not contain detailed, systematic records of local history. *The Gazetteer of Ch'ang-an (Ch'ang-an chih)* compiled by Sung Min-ch'iu, a Northern Sung scholar, is typical of such local gazetteers. In a sense, it is the Southern Sung local gazetteers that set the rules of compilation and the scope of contents for Chinese local gazetteers. Compilers of later times usually followed these rules. One such rule was to copy word for word any existing gazetteers of previous dynasties into a new local gazetteer. Thanks to this practice, compilers of Ming local gazetteers copied and therefore preserved many Southern Sung historical records in their works. Many such Ming gazetteers were subsequently included in the *Yung-lo Collectanea*.

As historical records, the Southern Sung local gazetteers preserved in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* contain useful information on local administration in the following prefectures in southern China: Nan-hsiung (Kwangtung),³ Lu-chou (Szechwan),⁴ Hu-chou (Chekiang),⁵ Wu-chou (Kwangsi),⁶ Ch'ao-chou (Kwangtung),⁷ Ch'ang-sha (Hunan),⁸ Chiu-chiang (Kiangsi),⁹ T'ing-chou (Fukien),¹⁰ Nan-ning (Kwangsi),¹¹ Heng-chou (Hunan),¹² Ho-nan Administrative Commission,¹³ Fu-chou (Fukien),¹⁴ and Kuang-chou (Kwangtung).¹⁵ Maps of the prefectural seat of Ho-nan during T'ang and Sung times in the gazetteer of the Ho-nan Administrative Commission are particularly interesting. Although quite simple, these maps are helpful in understanding the traditional Chinese city. However, gazetteers in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* do not contain many records of the Liao, the Chin, and the Yüan dynasties. This is not the fault of compilers of this Ming collectanea. The Chin and the Yüan dynasties were founded by nomadic people who had no tradition of compiling local gazetteers. When Ming scholars started compiling gazetteers of the northern provinces, which used to be the territories of the Chin and the Yüan, they had to start from scratch. These Ming gazetteers of the northern provinces are therefore original works of the Ming compilers, not continuations of any works done in previous dynasties. Almost no gazetteers of the Chin and the Yüan dynasties that might have allowed them to transcribe some accounts of previous dynasties into their own works were handed down to them.

Other works in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* also deserve modern scholars' attention. For instance, in *chüan* 10877 there is a transcription of the *Illustrated Description of the Sung Embassy to the Barbarians during the Hsi-ning Reign Period (Hsi-ning shih-lu t'u-ch'ao)*, which was originally a segment of a work

by Shen Kua (1031–1095), the *Collection from the Western Brook* (*Hsi-hsi chi*). As the title suggests, this is an account of the Sung embassy dispatched to the Liao regime during the Hsi-ning reign period (1068–1077). Given that few written records of the Liao regime are available to modern scholars, this account has special value.¹⁶

For scholars of Sung economic history, *The Complete Inquiries by the Imperial Secretariat* (*Chung-shu pei-tui*) of ten *chüan* by Pi Chung-yen (1040–1082) may be of interest. It contains statistics and quantitative records from Emperor Shen-tsung's reign (r. 1068–1085). The original work is lost. Only segments of the work exist in the form of quotations in the *General Investigation on Important Writings* (*Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*), the *Draft of Documents Pertaining to Matters of State in the Sung Dynasty*, and some other works. *Chüan* 7507 of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* also includes certain portions of the *Complete Inquiries by the Imperial Secretariat*, which have detailed figures concerning the revenue and expenses of some important governmental branches under the Ministry of Revenue: the Price Stabilization Fund Office (*Ch'ang-p'ing shu*), government granaries, and Shops and Yards Section (*Fang-ch'ang an*), all of which were charged with regulating the economy. The figures reflect from one aspect the economic situation during the period of economic reforms initiated by Wang An-shih (1021–1086). Another segment of the *Complete Inquiries by the Imperial Secretariat* also appears in *chüan* 15948 of the *Yung-lo Collectanea*. This segment deals with the tax on grain transportation and contains basic and important statistics.

The *Diary of Master Tseng* (*Tseng-kung i-lu*) preserved in the *Yung-lo Collectanea* is useful to textual studies. This is the diary of Tseng Pu (1035–1107), a high-ranking court official trusted by Wang An-shih. But Tseng became a controversial figure when he later expressed doubts about Wang An-shih's reform measures. His diary is a systematic record of his administrative activities during the reign of Emperor Che-tsung (r. 1086–1100), during which he was associate administrator of the Bureau of Military Affairs (*t'ung-chih shu-mi-yüan shih*). A late Ch'ing scholar, Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1919), was the first to make this source material from the latter half of the Northern Sung dynasty available to contemporary scholars. He transcribed *chüan* 7–9 of the *Diary of Master Tseng* from the *Yung-lo Collectanea* and published them as a separate work. However, Miao's edited version of Tseng Pu's diary seems to be inferior to the version preserved in *chüan* 19735 of the *Yung-lo Collectanea*. The latter is not edited and therefore

preserved the original form of Tseng-pu's diary. But this version is not perfect, containing only *chüan* 8 of the diary.

Chüan 14620 to 14622 and 14624 to 14629 of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* are segments of another important Sung historical work, the *Codified Law of the Ministry of Personnel* (*Li-pu t'iao-fa*). This work, which is a mine of information about Southern Sung governmental organization, was for quite a long time unknown to contemporary scholars and has only recently come to light. Even the compilers of the *Dynastic History of the Sung* (*Sung shih*) failed to notice it and therefore did not have an entry for it in the bibliographical section of their work. But now both the *Regulations and Ordinances of the Ministry of Personnel* and the *Diary of Master Tseng* have been incorporated in a modern collection of Sung historical works, the *Sung-shih tzu-liao ts'ui-pien*.¹⁷

Segments of an introductory work on the styles and forms of address used in official correspondence during the Sung, the *Ch'i-cha yün-chin shang*, are instrumental to the study of Sung institutional history. These segments shed some light on the usage of the simplified forms of Sung official titles, the meaning of which is sometimes ambiguous to modern scholars.¹⁸ For scholars interested in the Sung granary and postal systems, the *Chin-yü hsin-shu* provides some interesting accounts.¹⁹

Military tension and conflicts between the Sung court and its formidable enemies in the north are the major themes in Sung history. Scholars of Sung military history will find quite detailed discussions of the tactics for defending cities and accounts of the use of firearms among Sung troops in the following military works: the *Yü-chang hsüan-shu*, the *Hsing-chün hsü-chih*, and the *Shou-ch'eng lu*.²⁰ At the same time, the *Yung-lo Collectanea* also preserves memorials of some Southern Sung officials who presented to the throne their strategies for defending Sung China.²¹

Other Sung works, such as the *Chung-hsing sheng-cheng ts'ao* and the *Chung-hsing pei-lan*, are preserved only in this Ming collectanea in the form of quotations or transcriptions. This unique feature of the *Yung-lo Collectanea* has made it an important source for the study of Sung history. It now draws more attention from Sung scholars around the world, and thanks to their efforts, some previously unknown Sung works have been discovered and introduced to the scholarly world. But more efforts are needed to explore the *Yung-lo Collectanea* further and to make good use of its invaluable information about Chinese history.

NOTES

1. See Wang Liqi, "The *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* and One of Two Newly Discovered Volumes of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*," *Gest Library Journal* 4:1 (Spring 1991), pp. 27-39.
2. *Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), vol. 137, p. 1165.
3. *Yung-lo ta-tien*, 665-666.
4. *Ibid.*, 2217-2218.
5. *Ibid.*, 2275-2283.
6. *Ibid.*, 2237-2343.
7. *Ibid.*, 5343-5345.
8. *Ibid.*, 5769-5770.
9. *Ibid.*, 6697-6701.
10. *Ibid.*, 7889-7895.
11. *Ibid.*, 8506-8507.
12. *Ibid.*, 8647-8648.
13. *Ibid.*, 9561.
14. *Ibid.*, 10949-10950.
15. *Ibid.*, 11905-11907.
16. This record has been punctuated and annotated by Chia Ching-yen. See his "Hsi-ning shih Ch'i-tan t'u-ch'ao shu-cheng kao," *Wen-shih* 22 (1984), pp. 121-152. It is worth noting, however, that the author, when annotating this record, took the liberty of changing the word "lu" (barbarians) in the original title to "Ch'i-tan" (Khitans). In my opinion, the original word "lu" should be preserved to maintain the authenticity of the record; such a revision is quite unnecessary.
17. See Wang Min-shin, ed., *Sung-shih tzu-liao hui-pien* (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1981), vols. 3-4.
18. This work is found in *chüan* 22749 and 22750 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.
19. *Ibid.*, 7512 and 14575.
20. *Ibid.*, 8339.
21. See, for example, *ibid.*, 8339 and 10876.

GLOSSARY

<i>Ch'ang-an chih</i> 長安志	<i>Chiu-chiang</i> 九江
<i>Ch'ang-p'ing shu</i> 常平署	<i>Chung-hsing pei-lan</i> 中興備覽
<i>Ch'ang-sha</i> 長沙	<i>Chung-hsing sheng-cheng ts'ao</i> 中興聖政草
<i>Ch'ao-chou</i> 潮州	<i>Chung-shu pei-tui</i> 中書備對
<i>Che-tsung</i> 括梁	<i>Fang-ch'ang an</i> 坊場菜
<i>Ch'i-cha yün-chin shang</i> 啓劄雲錦裳	<i>Fu-chou</i> 福州
<i>Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu</i> 建炎以來繫年 要錄	<i>Heng-chou</i> 衡州
<i>Chin</i> 金	<i>Ho-nan</i> 河南
<i>Ch'ing</i> 清	<i>Hsi-hsi chi</i> 西溪集
<i>Chin-yü hsin-shu</i> 金玉新書	<i>Hsing-chüin hsü-chih</i> 行軍須知
	<i>Hsi-ning</i> 熙寧

Hsi-ning shih-lu t'u-ch'ao 熙寧使房圖抄

Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien

續資治通鑑長編

Hu-chou 湖州

Kao-tsung 高宗

Kuang-chou 廣州

Liao 遼

Li-pu t'iao-fa 吏部條法

Lu-chou 瀘州

Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫

Ming 明

Nan-hsiung 南雄

Nanking 南京

Nan-ning 南寧

Pi Chung-yen 畢仲衍

Shen Kua 沈括

Shen-tsung 神宗

Shou-ch'eng lu 守城錄

Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書

Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu 四庫全書總目

Sung 宋

Sung hui-yao chi-kao 宋會要輯稿

Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求

Sung shih 宋史

Sung-shih tzu-liao ts'ui-pien 宋史資料萃編

T'ing-chou 汀州

Tseng-kung i-lu 曾公遺錄

Tseng Pu 曾布

tung-chih shu-mi-yüan shih 同知樞密院事

Wang An-shih 王安石

Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 文獻通考

Wu-chou 梧州

Yüan 元

Yü-chang hsüan-shu 玉帳玄樞

Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典

NEWS AND NOTES: FOR THE FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. Hung-lam Chu has accepted appointment to the *Gest Library Journal's* Advisory Board, joining the members announced in the last issue. Dr. Chu was the journal's first editor, and in addition to having written several important articles, was the principal contributor to the special catalogue issue, *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book* (vol. 2, no. 2, Spring 1988). Coming from Hong Kong, Dr. Chu began his graduate studies in Princeton's East Asian Studies Program in 1978; in 1983 he successfully defended his doctoral dissertation on Ch'iu Chüan (1421-1495), subtitled "Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-century China." During the five years following completion of his doctoral studies he was the staff scholar for the Ming Biographical Project, at Princeton. He is a recognized expert on Chinese traditional bibliography as well as on Ming history. In 1988 Dr. Chu was appointed research scholar at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. We are particularly happy to welcome Dr. Chu back to the *Gest Library Journal*.

CORRECTION

We are grateful to Professor Herbert Franke (Munich) for his letter, the first of several received, calling our attention to an important and instructive error in the caption of illustration 11 (page 22) of Judith Ogden Bullitt's article "Princeton's Manuscript Fragments from Tun-huang" (vol. 3, nos. 1-2, Spring 1989, pp. 7-29). Professor Franke notes that the illustration is inverted; when placed right side up the script is seen to be standard Tibetan. Professor Franke has also called our attention to another matter discussed in the same article (see p. 11 and n. 25). He has pointed out that further information on the printing of the Tangut (Hsi-hsia) Buddhist Canon, supervised by the Tangut of Tibetan cleric Kuan-chu-pa, is contained in Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster, Eng.: Aris and Phillips, 1975), where Kuan-chu-pa's vow to print the canon, dated 1302, is translated (pp. 43-45). Kuan-chu-pa's seal of office appears on one of the Princeton Tangut printed fragments.

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