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From the Editor

Visitors to the Library

From the summer of 1991 to the autumn of 1992, the Gest Library hosted several distinguished visitors. In July and August 1991, Professors Robert Sewell and Nelson Chou of Rutgers University; Professor Michael Ying of the Institute of Chinese, Kaohsiung Teachers' College, Taiwan; and Professor Takao Kato of Colgate University visited the library. During the fall and winter the library hosted Professor Thomas H. C. Lee of City College, New York; Mr. Benny Cheung of Radio TV, Hong Kong; Messrs. Huang Lianming and Pu Cai of Shanghai College of Traditional Chinese Medicine; Mr. Robert H. Leyemh of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Ms. Ku Jui-lan of the Center for Chinese Studies, the Central Library, Taipei; Messrs. Lu Zhen, Ma Jinke, Li Fayou, and Zhang Jin from the Center for Examinations, National Committee on Education, China; and Mr. and Mrs. Wango Weng. The spring of 1992 saw visits to the Gest Library by Professor Kazuo Akagi of Kansai University; Ms. Ip Ping Ellen, assistant manager, and Mr. Wong Wai-leung, assistant general manager, of the Joint Publishing Company, Hong Kong; Mr. Guan Xiangnan, curator, Library of the Hunan Medical University; and Mrs. Zi Zhongyun, director, the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking.

The Contributors

Wang Fan-shen is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton University. Born in 1958, Mr. Wang earned his B.A. and M.A. in history from the National Taiwan University. After graduating in 1985, he joined the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, in Taipei as an assistant research fellow, coming to Princeton to pursue his doctorate in 1987. Mr. Wang is the author of seven articles and two books in Chinese: *The World of Thought of Chang T'ai-yen* (*Chang T'ai-yen te ssu-hsiang chi-ch'i tui ju-hsüeh ch'uan-t'ung te ch'ung-chi*; Taipei: Shih-pao wen-hua

ch'u-pan shih-yeh yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1985) and *The Rise of the Ku-shih-pien Movement* (*Ku-shih-pien yün-tung te hsing-ch'i*; Taipei: Yün-ch'en wen-hua shih-yeh ku-fen yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1987).

Ye Xianen is professor of Chinese history at Zhongshan University, Canton, China. Professor Ye's specialty is the social and economic history of China's later imperial era, and his research is well known to scholars outside China. Professor Ye has lectured at many foreign universities, including Princeton in 1990. He is currently visiting professor at Osaka University, Japan. Professor Ye's most recent works include volume five of the *Complete History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* in ten volumes and *A Study of the Regional Society and Economy during the Ch'ing Dynasty* (*Ch'ing-tai ch'ü-yü she-hui ching-chi yen-chiu*; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1992). He is now preparing another manuscript for publication: "The Mercantile Economy and the Evolution of Society in the Pearl River Delta Area during the Ming-Ch'ing Period" ("Ming-Ch'ing chu-chiang san-chiao-chou shang-p'in ching-chi yü she-hui pien-ch'ien"). He was introduced to the *Gest Journal*'s readers in the Spring 1991 issue (vol. 4, no. 1), on the occasion of his joining the journal's Advisory Board.

Sören Edgren is editorial director, the Research Libraries Group Chinese Rare Books Project, which is located in the Gest Library, Princeton University. Dr. Edgren received his Ph.D. in sinology from the University of Stockholm. A specialist on Oriental books, Dr. Edgren is no stranger to the journal. His article on traditional illustrated biographies of Chinese women appeared in the special issue (Winter 1992) of the journal, "East Asian Women: Materials and Library Research," and Dr. Edgren's scholarly activities and achievements were described for the readers in that issue. Currently, he is preparing another article for the journal: "I. V. Gillis and Chinese Rare Books in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library." The article describes the background to the acquisition of the collection by Karl Kuo during his trip to China in 1940 with Gillis as his principal agent. It also describes, with woodcut illustrations, the more important rare books in this collection, some of which have a bearing on the Chinese rare book collection of the Gest Library.

Bangbo Hu is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He received an M.S. in the history of geography from the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Peking, in 1986 and then served as a research fellow at the Institute of the History of Natural Science in Peking. Mr. Hu participated in the field investigations along the route traveled by Hsü Hsia-k'o, a Ming-dynasty geographer. Co-editor of volume two of "An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China" ("Chung-kuo ku-tai ti-t'u-chi"), to be published by Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she in 1993, he also has ten Chinese articles and one in English to his credit. Early in 1992, Mr. Hu was a junior fellow at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., where he worked on the identification of early maps of China and studied the interaction between Chinese culture and maps in the gazetteers of the Sung dynasty.

Acknowledgments

The editor of the *Gest Library Journal* would like to express his deep appreciation to Professor Ye Xianen, who kindly furnished the Gest Library with a photographic copy of Yen Chün-yen's *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu*. He also wishes to extend thanks to the following friends who helped prepare this issue: Dr. Sören Edgren contributed an update on the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project, which is now underway under his guidance at the Gest Library. He also took the time to read some of the articles for the Winter 1992 special issue of the journal (vol. 5, no. 2) and offered helpful suggestions. Mr. Antony Marr, curator of the Gest Library, kindly provided a copy of the 1991–1992 annual report of the library, which enables the Friends of the Gest Library to know in greater detail the achievements made by the staff of the library in the past year. Last but not least, I am grateful to Ms. Cao Shuwen, cataloguer at the central editorial office for the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project. She always lends a helping hand when it is necessary to locate materials unavailable outside Princeton or to solve the editor's bibliographical puzzles.

Fu Ssu-nien: The Latter Days of a May Fourth Youth

WANG FAN-SHEN

Students of modern Chinese intellectual history have concentrated on the so-called teachers of the May Fourth Movement, including Hu Shih (1891–1962), Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879–1942), and Li Ta-chao (1888–1927). Less attention has been paid to the "student" generation,[1] among whom Fu Ssu-nien (courtesy title Meng-chen, 1896–1950) was a principal leader (see illustration 1).

Fu Ssu-nien, who led the demonstration of May 4, 1919, was also a major figure in the New Culture movement. Known as a distinguished historian from the late 1920s on, Fu Ssu-nien was viewed by his contemporaries as the harbinger of modern Chinese historiography. He established the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica (IHP), and served as its director for twenty-three years. In the mid-1940s, Fu also became known for his heroic decision to remonstrate two premiers of the Nationalist government, H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi; 1880–1967) and T. V. Soong (Sung Tzu-wen; 1894–1971). Later, as a university president, Fu also distinguished himself through outstanding service at both Peking University (hereafter Peita) and Taiwan University (hereafter T'aita).

Born in Liao-ch'eng, Shantung, Fu was the descendant of Fu I-chien (1609–1665), the first top-degree exam candidate (*chuang-yüan*) of the Ch'ing dynasty. Although Fu's family produced several high officials in the Ch'ing period, at the time of his birth the family had fallen onto hard times financially. Thanks to support from his father's students, Fu Ssu-nien was able to obtain an early education and to attend Peita. Among his contemporaries, Fu Ssu-nien's classical education was considered exceptional.

1. A portrait of Fu Ssu-nien. From Chi-nien Fu ku hsiao-chang ch'ou-pei wei-yüan-hui, ed., *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu* (Taipei: Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsüeh, 1951).

From age six, Fu was instructed by his paternal grandfather in the ancient Chinese classics, and it is believed that he committed to memory many of the canonical texts. His teachers in the Chinese department at Peita, like Liu Shih-p'ei (1884–1919) and Huang K'an (1886–1935), two major authorities on Chinese classics and also conservative stalwarts, believed Fu one of the brightest prospects for the future of Chinese traditional learning. However, to the surprise of many, under the influence of Hu Shih, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chou Tso-jen (1885–1967), and other Peita new professors, in 1917 Fu suddenly took up the banner of the New Culture group led by Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Hu Shih.

Fu graduated from Peita in 1919, and the following year went to Europe to study Western disciplines. He first spent three years studying experimental psychology at London University, and later concentrated on physics, mathematics, and comparative linguistics in Berlin for four years. Fu ended his Western odyssey in the winter of 1926, and returned to China to join the staff of Chung-shan University, Kwangtung.

There Fu Ssu-nien served as dean of the School of Letters. In 1928, he persuaded the president of Academia Sinica, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (1868–1940), to establish the IHP, and set as its goal the study of history as a scientific discipline. The institute soon became a leading center for historical, archaeological, and philological research.

In his early years, Fu Ssu-nien was known for his radical beliefs, which emphasized cultural iconoclasm and positivistic historiography, and rejected introspective moral philosophy. During the May Fourth period, he was renowned for his iconoclasm, and his views led him to assert that the "family is the anchor of ten thousand evils," that "the West and China can be equated with right and wrong [respectively]," and that "it is acceptable to become totally Westernized."[2]

Fu Ssu-nien also believed that the various barriers to Chinese modernization had as their root the deeply inner-directed and personal nature of Confucian moral philosophy. Hence, as a student in Europe Fu was openly receptive to anti-introspective and often empiricist theories like behaviorism. Fu later traced the etymologies of several key terms of Confucian moral philosophy, and asserted that "benevolence" (*jen*) and "duty" (*i*) were not innate qualities of the human mind, but human artifices.[3] He also felt that genuine Confucian doctrine maintained that "our nature is not only good or only bad," but that "the natures of some are good and others are bad."

Consequently, he viewed the Mencian moral tradition as a betrayal of true Confucianism, and, instead, tended to side with Hsün-tzu (313–230 B.C.), especially with the latter's interest in investigating the external world and the need to discipline the inner mind.[4]

Since 1927 Fu has been recognized as one of the chief architects of modern Chinese learning. Establishing his reputation in the field of history, he pioneered Rankean historiography, and stressed objective and scientific rigor, which he hoped would help divorce history from the traditional moral and political indoctrination of the past, and would promote the importance of historical facts over theoretical concepts. In his pursuit of historical objectivity, Fu Ssu-nien even advocated "ordering materials so that [historical] facts will become self-evident."[5]

Today, Fu Ssu-nien is remembered in China for his ability to balance history and politics. However, this was not exactly what he himself had originally intended. Although Fu continually criticized contemporary politics, he had initially wished to uphold an oath made in his youth to be a lifelong teacher while foregoing any political involvement.[6]

As a result of the political corruption of the early Republican period, an apolitical attitude was much in vogue at the time of the May Fourth movement. John Dewey (1859–1952), who keenly sensed the discontinuity between the scholar-official tradition and the new apolitical inclination, remarked that "it was in its deeper aspect a protest against all politicians and against all further reliance upon politics as a direct means of social reform."[7] Chow Tse-tsung concluded that "the liberals' abhorrence of practical politics was based on the one hand upon their pessimistic views of the warlord and bureaucratic government, and on the other upon their assumption that political reform could be achieved only after a social and cultural transformation."[8] Although many individuals abjured politics and many associations even forbade their members to become politically involved, many others did nevertheless become politically active. Hu Shih, for example, had once renounced politics for twenty years, but was soon drawn back in. In fact, upon hearing about the success of the Northern Expedition in 1927, Hu Shih, then in England, even expressed regret over his former position as a supporter of cultural and social reforms, and admitted that "we may be wrong in trying to avoid politics."[9] Fu Ssu-nien made a similar vow during his student years at Peita. He earnestly proposed to his New Tide Society

colleagues that they refrain from societal work until their thirties, avoid politics, and never become assemblymen (*i-yüan*).

In this study I examine how later political involvement gradually overran Fu's youthful ideals, and review his ensuing career as an amateur politician, and his seven-year tenure as a People's Assembly representative after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. I examine how Fu Ssu-nien heroically brought corruption charges against the two most powerful premiers of the Nationalist government, T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung, which helped lead to their resignations. In addition, Fu's involvement in academic administration — in 1945 he was appointed acting president of Peita, and in 1949 he became president of T'aita — is briefly summarized. Finally, the pragmatic and personal motivations behind Fu Ssu-nien's shift away from his earlier radical convictions are discussed.

Studying or Political Involvement

The neglect of politics was, as mentioned above, a major feature of the liberal faction of the May Fourth generation. But the cultural ideals of the May Fourth movement were soon superseded by political realities as the danger of national subjugation loomed. This occurred despite Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei's insistence that "research is the way to save our country."[10] Many intellectuals agonized over whether they could make any substantial contribution to their imperiled country.[11] The Mukden Incident in 1931 raised serious questions in the minds of scholars, and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937 made these questions and doubts even more pressing.

Fu Ssu-nien and the IHP had long been labeled as neglectful of social needs, if not of political realities. Fears that their research work was meaningless frequently appeared in the private correspondence between fellow members of the IHP. In one such letter, Li Chi (1886–1979) confessed that "after the Mukden Incident, we always asked ourselves: in the present circumstances, is the kind of work we are doing a waste?"[12] But Li assured his fellow scholars that "although the nation is now facing disaster (*kuo-nan*), we should continue working on our original projects. We think this the most appropriate way to contribute to our country."[13] But, "if needed," Li continued, "we can take up arms to fight the enemy at any time." Li's confession epitomized the common anxiety of the members of the IHP. Yin Ta

(Liu Yao, 1906–1983), a participant in the Anyang excavations, secretly fled to Yenan to participate directly in politics.[14] Another archaeologist of the Anyang excavations, Kuo Pao-chün (1893–1971), also confided that at this time, research was only a "useless decoration."[15]

Fu could not relieve his pangs of guilt. He confided in a letter to a friend that he felt extremely guilty about staying home and reading ancient books during a time of national emergency. But he was soon to find that he could not do anything more helpful than reading ancient books, since he was unable to take up arms the way younger men could.[16] Weng Wen-hao (1889–1971), a prominent geologist and high official, confided to Fu Ssu-nien that he was disappointed with geological studies since they could contribute almost nothing to the nation. The desperate war forced scholars to ask themselves the most fundamental questions about the practical application of their work.[17]

The tension in Fu's mind during the last fifteen years of his life was a major motivation that almost drove him to give up academic work and occupy himself with various kinds of state affairs. In 1942 Fu recalled:

> I am one who hates politics and has always loved to be at ease. If I were born in a peaceful time, I would definitely be able to excel in academic work. But the abhorrent political situation compels me to rush out of my study, and a sense of responsibility compels me to participate in politics.[18]

From this time on, Fu published no more serious academic research work.

At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War Fu Ssu-nien was immediately summoned by the government to participate in the Council of National Defense (Kuo-fang ts'an-i hui). During the war years, Fu was active in the People's Political Council. At the beginning of the war, the IHP moved with several thousand boxes of books, experimental instruments, archaeological findings, and anthropological data from Nanking to Changsha. Later, in an attempt to avoid Japanese air raids, the IHP proceeded with extreme difficulty to Kunming in Yunnan Province via Vietnam. The IHP had only stayed in Kunming for four months before incessant Japanese bombing forced it to relocate to a remote area. Fu decided to look for a place whose name did not appear on maps so that Japanese aircraft could not drop bombs on it.[19] He chose the remote village of Li-chuang in Nan-hsi District, Szechwan Province. Situated in the middle of the mountains and shel-

tered by a huge protruding rock, the village is invisible from the air. Following Fu, two other institutions relocated to this place. Fu's knack for moving the institute's colossal assets over several thousand miles with a shabby transportation system earned him the nickname "Mr. Mover" (Pan-chia-hsien-sheng).[20] Fu was able to accomplish these difficult logistical tasks because of his own stamina and his personal connections (*kuan-hsi*), which enabled him to procure the needed number of vehicles.[21] During the war years the IHP's collection constituted the only large-scale library in the entire southwestern region, and this was of great help to the many humanities scholars there.[22] The story repeated itself ten years later when the same collection was successfully moved to Taiwan and became a major resource for historical study there.

It was also Fu's proposal to combine Peita, Ch'inghua, and Nan-k'ai, the three most prestigious universities in China, into the Southwest Associated University (Hsi-nan lien-ta),[23] the most important educational organ during the war years. Thousands of students and professors walked or took vehicles from North China to Kunming to resume their studies.

Fearless Critic of Governmental Malpractice

During the eight war years, Fu was the director of the IHP and also a representative in the People's Assembly. In the assembly he was active in fighting governmental corruption and malpractice, and he also obstructed any motion that he thought went against the modern scientific spirit.[24] His demeanor during his tenure in the assembly won him the nickname "Cannon Fu" (Fu Ta-p'ao). Cannon Fu was especially famous for his attack on H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong and his contribution to their ultimate resignations. Kung and Chiang Kai-shek had both married daughters of Charlie Soong, T. V. Soong's father, and were thus related, and Kung had come under Chiang Kai-shek's protection. Quite successful at expanding his power base by cultivating traditional personal relations, Kung appointed his henchmen in disregard of formal procedure. In October 1933, he succeeded his brother-in-law T. V. Soong to the top financial post of the Nationalist government, a post that Soong had occupied almost continuously since 1926. During his tenure, Kung undertook several major financial reforms. He was appointed premier in 1938, succeeding Chiang Kai-shek. Several months after Kung's appointment, Fu began to communicate privately

with Chiang Kai-shek about Kung's complete lack of qualification for his current position. Two long memos accused Kung of various sorts of corruption, malpractice, illegal appointments, abuse of power, and self-aggrandizement.[25] Kung soon became aware of Fu's accusations, and the resultant tension between Kung and Fu was so high that at one point Kung even tried to avenge himself by curtailing the budget of the Academia Sinica and lowering its status from an organ of the Presidential Office to an organ of the Executive Yüan, headed by Kung.[26] Only when Chu Chia-hua (1893–1963), another powerful figure in the Nationalist government, took the post of secretary general of the Academia Sinica did the academy escape from this danger.

Kung's cultural policies also greatly irritated Fu. Upon assuming the premiership, Kung attempted to extend his reach into the cultural sphere. He once delivered a lecture to a gathering of professors in which he argued that various ideas held by intellectuals contradicted government policy and were thus inappropriate. Fu was dismayed by this.[27]

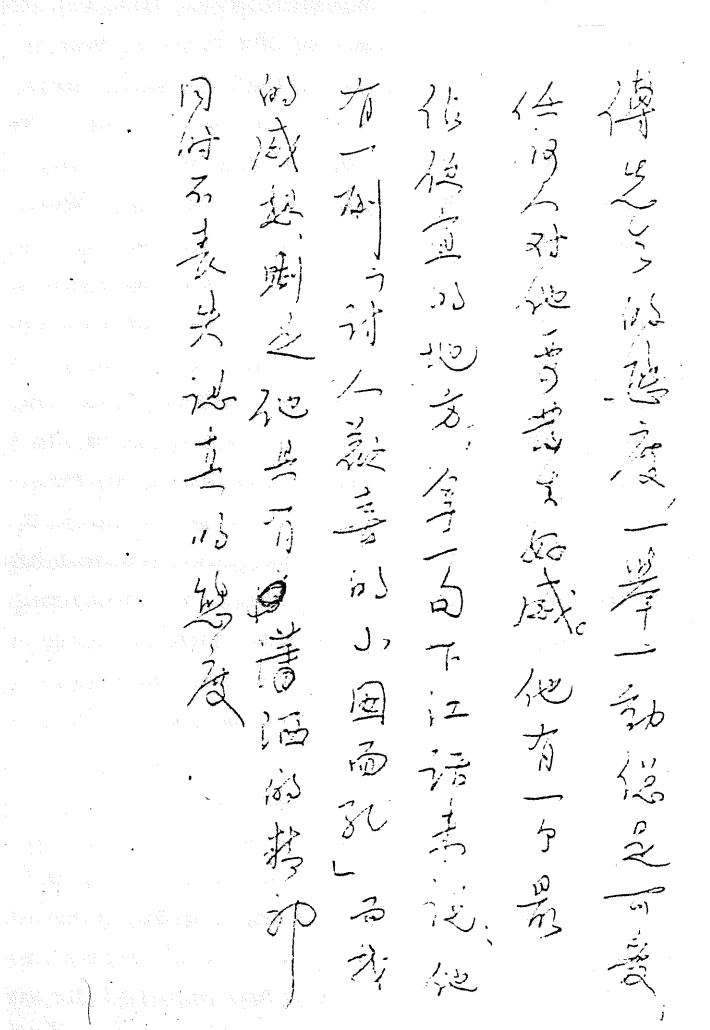
Kung's corruption, although widely known and discussed throughout the nation, was not opposed; nobody dared do anything about it.[28] Fu was the exception; he continuously sent memos to Chiang reminding him that Kung's practices were damaging Chiang's reputation and the nation's strength. He told Hu Shih, "To protect Chiang's reputation, I dare to purify anything detrimental to it."[29]

Eventually, Fu Ssu-nien may have felt that the Nationalist government was like a giant who could not lift himself up and that Chiang and his party had no potential for reform and rejuvenation. Apparently, no private memorial from Fu could persuade Chiang and his party to cut off the tumor that was H. H. Kung. Extremely dismayed, Fu decided to attack Kung publicly.

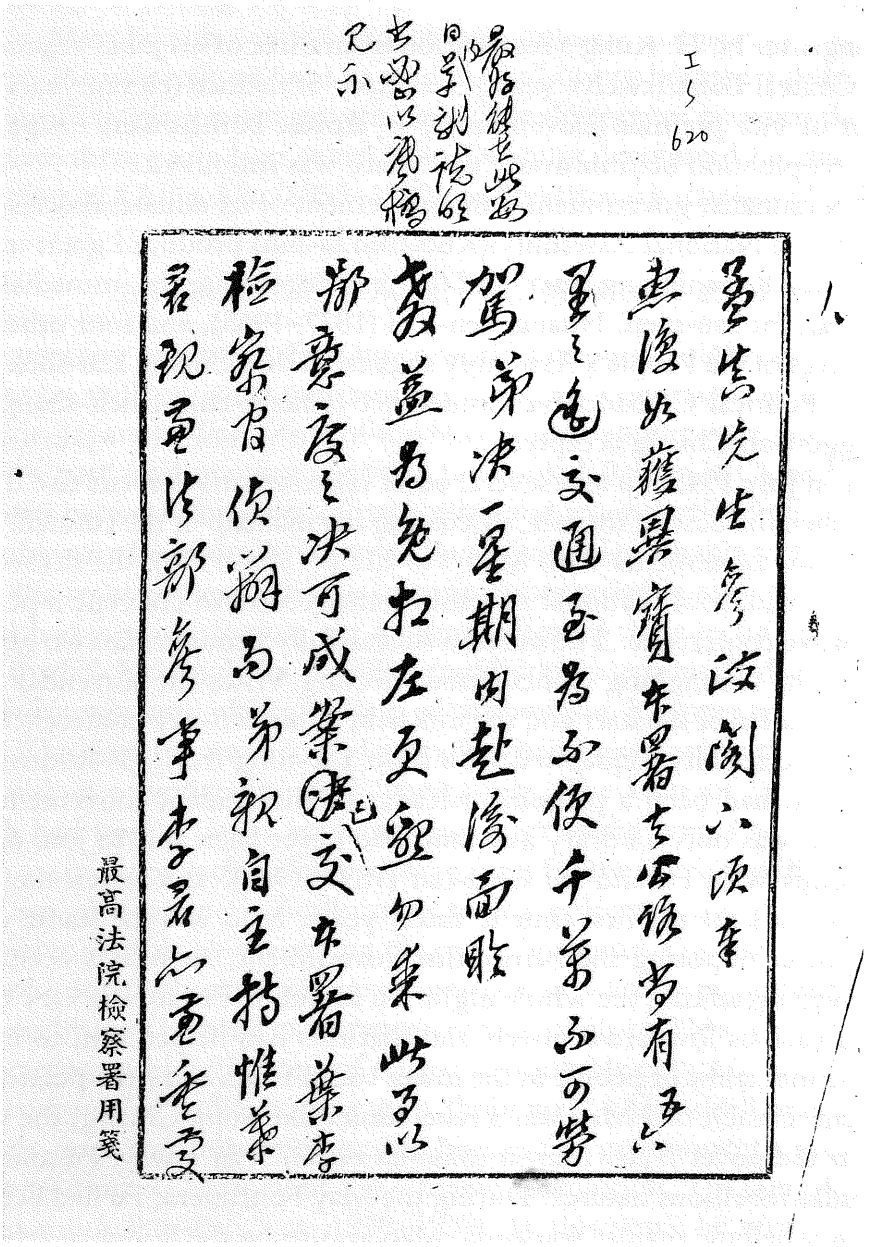
In 1943 the Ministry of Finance decided to sell one hundred million U.S. dollars, part of a five-hundred-million-dollar U.S. loan, to the public. This was a colossal amount of money for an impoverished nation like China, and the American dollar constituted a stable guarantee that would enable people to retain their wealth during a period of hyperinflation. But before long, Kung and his group announced to the public that the funds had already been sold. In actuality, he and his group had secretly bought up half of the money and sold it at more than five times the original asking price.

Many people knew that this had happened, but they could prove little or nothing. Finally, certain lower officials of the Bureau of the National Treasury, which was then in charge of selling the funds, mailed Fu several leaves from the account book of the bureau, which showed that Lü Hsien, a henchman of H. H. Kung and the director of the bureau, was seriously corrupt and had been involved in "swallowing up" the U.S. dollars.[30] Fu Ssu-nien jumped at this rare chance. He proposed a motion in a session of the People's Assembly in July 1945. On hearing this, Ch'en Pu-lei (1890–1948), general secretary of the KMT (see illustration 2), and Wang Shih-chieh (1891–1981), general secretary of the People's Political Consultative Council (both were good friends of Fu), tried to block the motion. They advised Fu that instead of going public with the scandal and incurring criticism from the United States and the Chinese Communist party (CCP), he should send a personal memo to Chiang Kai-shek.[31] Ch'en Pu-lei and Wang Shih-chieh may also have tried to enlist Hu Shih, who was in the United States at this time, to persuade Fu to withdraw his motion, for Fu soon got a telegram from the United States advising him to stop his attack; it was to no avail.[32] Fu was keenly aware of Chiang's congenial relationship with Kung and, judging from his unsuccessful experience in denouncing Kung privately to Chiang in the past years, had decided to criticize Kung publicly in an open session of the People's Assembly, and also to challenge Lü Hsien to meet with him in court. Fearing that the evidence would be stolen by Kung's clique, Fu put it in a small suitcase, carrying it with him during the day and using it as a pillow at night.[33] The whole nation was stunned, and Attorney General Cheng Lieh (1888–1958) even asked Fu to let him see the evidence so that he could investigate it further (see illustration 3).[34] Much hard evidence concerning the corruption of Kung's group continued to flood Fu's mailbox,[35] and this allowed Fu to make several further motions.

Upon learning that H. H. Kung's corruption had incurred the anger of the U.S. government, Chiang Kai-shek finally decided to fire Kung. He even informed Fu Ssu-nien that he was pleased with his courageous actions.[36] "I am happy that, at long last, I have caused Kung enough troubles to force him to resign," Fu wrote to his wife. "I have endeavored to achieve this for about eight years. He is finally gone, but the nation has already been spoiled by him to a great extent. I am extremely grieved about the destiny of my people."[37]



2. During a session of the People's Political Consultative Conference in 1945, Ch'en Pu-lei, general secretary of the KMT, and Fu Ssu-nien sat together. Ch'en conferred in writing with Fu, and in this note praised Fu's personality highly. Preserved in the Fu Ssu-nien Papers, the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.



3. Attorney General Cheng Lieh asked Fu Ssu-nien to provide him evidence for further investigation of the corruption of Lü Hsien, who was H. H. Kung's henchman. Preserved in the Fu Ssu-nien Papers, the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Visiting Yenan

Not long after H. H. Kung's resignation from three of his jobs — president of the Central Bank (twelve years), secretary of finance (eleven years), and premier or vice premier (eleven years) — atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. People soon became aware that peace was imminent.

The Nationalist government's announcement of its unilateral decision to summon the National Assembly (Kuo-min ta-hui) produced great tension between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the CCP. Foreseeing the immediate end of the war, Fu Ssu-nien, Huang Yen-p'ei (1877–1965), and four other representatives of the People's Assembly suggested that Chiang Kai-shek summon the Political Consultative Conference (Cheng-chih-hsieh-shang-hui-i), a suggestion Chiang accepted.

Early in July 1945, Fu and several other representatives spent five days in Yenan, then the base of the CCP, discussing the makeup of the council. They reached two agreements with Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976): the first was to cancel the unilateral National Assembly, the second to convene a political consultative conference. The mission successfully brought the two governments to the Chungking Conciliation Meeting. After the surrender of Japan, the leaders of the KMT and the CCP held a thirteen-day conference.[38]

Fu was personally acquainted with Mao Tse-tung from his student days at Peita. Fu had been a prominent leader of the student movement, but Mao, who was only a library assistant, had never been able to join discussion groups with Fu and Lo Chia-lun (1897–1969). But when they met again, perhaps for the first time in thirty years, Mao was the leader of the major power opposing the Nationalist government. At Mao's invitation, they stayed up talking the whole night. Fu found that Mao was very familiar with various low-brow novels and that this had helped him to understand the mentality of people in the lower social strata and manipulate mass sentiment. He felt that Mao was a rebel leader like Sung Chiang, the major figure in the novel *Water Margin* (*Shui-hu chuan*).[39] In a way, Fu and Mao had similar rebellious natures. During the May Fourth era, Fu had been the leader in rebelling against warlords; Mao was to be the leader in rebelling against the KMT. Fu conceded to Mao that "I am only a small rebel like Ch'en Sheng (?–208 B.C.) and Wu Kuang (?–208 B.C.), whereas you are a major rebel like Liu Pang (r. 206–196 B.C.) and Hsiang Yü (232–202 B.C.)." Inspired by this, Mao copied a T'ang poem for Fu on Fu's departure from

Yenan. The last sentence of the poem was a description of Mao himself: "Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü never read books."[40]

Two May Fourth youths had chosen different paths. One became a scholar, the other chose "not to read books" but to become a political opponent of the Nationalist government. The divergence between them was complete three years later when Mao Tse-tung denounced Fu, along with Hu Shih and Ch'ien Mu (1895–1990), as "reactionary scholars."[41]

Ambivalence toward the Nation's Past

It is necessary to discuss Fu's inner world during the eight war years. Fu was, as we will see, most reluctant to give up his iconoclastic ideals. During the Sino-Japanese War, some of the May Fourth youths were praising their nation's past, and one even entitled his book *I Believe in China*.[42] Fu was still torn between the poles of patriotism and iconoclastic ideals. He probably alternated constantly between these two poles, unable to free himself from the resultant anguish. He sometimes conceded in public lectures that China had a glorious past, yet he never allowed these lecture notes to be published.[43] Although Fu ssu-nien could convince himself that universalism and iconoclasm ultimately served nationalism, his inner tension still ran high. The need for a national identity was heightened when the nation was involved in a devastating and bloody war. The issue of "Chineseness," which had been a rather academic one prior to the war, was transformed into a weapon for mobilizing people to fight for the survival of their nation.

Fu Ssu-nien was periodically asked to deliver lectures to arouse the spirits of his compatriots by describing the nation's dignity. On several occasions, Fu spoke positively of China's past, whereas he scarcely mentioned modern Chinese history because of its perceived lack of glory. He always concluded his lectures with discussions of several memorable events or heroic figures to encourage his audience to wage a "holy war" (*sheng-chan*) against Japan. He was once commissioned by the Nationalist government's propaganda organ to draft a "History of the Chinese Revolution" ("Chung-kuo min-tsu ko-ming shih-kao," ca. 1938–1939). In this work he wrote that "the Han Chinese are not a weak race; they are sometimes weakened by dark politics, but they are not really feeble. . . . They become stronger whenever they are challenged."[44] Fu did, however, discipline himself against hyperbole. Despite repeated requests, he never finished this treatise.[45] When

these remarks are contrasted with those he jotted down in a notebook in 1927 — "China is not a civilized country"[46] — it is evident that Fu had changed considerably. And in the mid-1940s when T'ang Yung-t'ung (1893–1964), who sympathized with *Hsüeh-heng*, an anti–New Culture journal, wrote to Fu that he was terribly worried about the deaths of learned old men and the discontinuity of Chinese traditional learning that would probably result, Fu sorrowfully endorsed T'ang's sentiments.[47] Less than twenty years before, it had still been Fu's intention to discontinue traditional learning, but now its very continuance had become his greatest concern.

But although Fu Ssu-nien no longer held some of his former beliefs as zealously as he once had, he did not abandon them entirely, and he was acutely aware of the rising tide of a sense of "national essence" that accompanied the Sino-Japanese War. In various essays Fu reminded people not to exaggerate the glories of the nation's past. He conceded that given this war, national confidence was a must. "But," he added, "we would rather believe in our future endeavors than in the nation's past." He warned people not to "forge some historical miracles to deceive our own descendants." A sense of national essence could make some positive contributions to the national feeling, but it should not be abused, he added.[48]

Ambivalence toward Historical Objectivity

Fu Ssu-nien was also torn between historical objectivity and immediate political needs. I offer two examples. The first concerns his unfinished project of tracing the ethnic origins of the Manchus, the purpose of which was to prove that the Manchus were ethnically identical to the Han Chinese. In a draft of this project Fu strove mightily to illustrate that most Manchu and Han surnames were originally the same, and that the Manchus had obscured this fact after their destruction of the Ming court in order to protect their own special political privileges and prerogatives.[49] In this project Fu tried to reconstruct the phonetic similarities between many Manchu and Chinese surnames. But he was ultimately overcome by the immense difficulties involved in defending his hypothesis. Several Manchu noble names could be traced back to Chinese origins, but many others could not.[50]

Why was Fu so obsessed by this hypothesis? The essential tension between nationalist enthusiasm and objective historical study might be a pos-

sible explanation. When Fu was searching for the similarity between Manchu and Chinese surnames, he had Manchukuo in mind. The establishment of Manchukuo was, he argued, a Japanese scheme to serve imperial Japanese needs by exaggerating the ethnic differences between the Han Chinese and the Manchus.[51] It was, then, Fu's concern to rebut that argument.

The second example is also associated with ethnic history. During the Japanese occupation of Indochina, the Japanese had sought to convince the ethnic minorities of Southwest China that they were actually Thai people and had little to do ethnically with the Han Chinese. This was done to encourage them to separate themselves from the Chinese government. In the 1940s many intellectuals who followed the government on its retreat into Southwest China found themselves in an excellent environment for ethnic studies. For many it was the first opportunity to observe these minorities firsthand, and they decided to explore the field of ethnology. The Southwest Ethnic Research Association (Hsi-nan min-tsu hsüeh-hui) was organized by Fei Hsiao-t'ung (1910–). Ku Chieh-kang (1893–1980) did several studies on the history of these minorities; Fei Hsiao-t'ung and Wu Ching-ch'ao (1901–1968) conducted some anthropological surveys. They published a number of articles revealing the ethnic diversities among these minorities and their differences from the Han Chinese. Fu Ssu-nien soon instigated a debate with Ku Chieh-kang, Fei Hsiao-t'ung, and Wu Ching-ch'ao on their studies. With this, the tension between history and politics surfaced again. During the debates, Fu criticized the three men as "purposeless scholars" (*wu-liao hsüeh-che*) who, "under the pretext of academic work" (*chia hsüeh-shu chih-ming*), were attempting to dismantle the nation's identity. Fu argued that when the entire nation was severely threatened by its enemy and Southwest China was being egged on to sever itself from China, academic work should be subservient to political needs. All the people of China proper should band together to fight the Japanese, he argued, and scholars should not supply the enemy with even a single shred of evidence to persuade the southwest minorities to rebel under the banner of "Great Thaism" (*Ta Thai chu-i*), no matter how objective their studies were.[52] Fu therefore wrote to Ku Chieh-kang that what he should do at this moment was prove that the Hu (non-Chinese "barbarians") and Han Chinese were from the same ethnic stock.[53] He demanded to know why, while the Japanese were proclaiming that Kwangsi and Yunnan were originally the habitations of Thai peoples and the British were egging on the chiefs of

local tribes in Yunnan, some Chinese scholars were still exiling themselves to these places and tracing the ethnic origins of these peoples. He said that it would not be a problem were they to publish their articles in virtually noncirculating academic journals (*hsüeh-shu k'an-wu*), but that it would be most improper to publish them in popular journals.[54]

This brings us to an interesting issue: whether historians should, during times of national crisis, obscure unfavorable facts. T'ao Hsi-sheng (1899–1988) believed that in view of the political situation, scholars should carefully hide some historical realities. For example, even though scholars might believe that China was a most backward country, it was still their mission to inform the people of their nation's glorious past in order to arouse nationalistic feelings among them.[55] During times of national crisis, the objectivity Fu cherished so much was relegated to noncirculating journals.

After the Japanese surrender, Chiang Kai-shek considered appointing Fu as the new president of Peita. Fu, however, believed Hu Shih was the best choice, and at Fu's request, Chiang changed his mind and appointed Hu Shih instead. For various reasons Hu, who by then had been relieved of his ambassadorship and had remained in the United States, was not sworn in immediately.[56] Fu Ssu-nien, who enthusiastically persuaded Hu Shih to accept the presidency of Peita, was appointed acting president during the interregnum. Peita was at that time still a constituent of the Southwest Associated University in Kunming and was awaiting repatriation to its Peking campus. Before long, Fu was traumatized by a large-scale student movement in Kunming.

Settling Student Unrest in Kunming

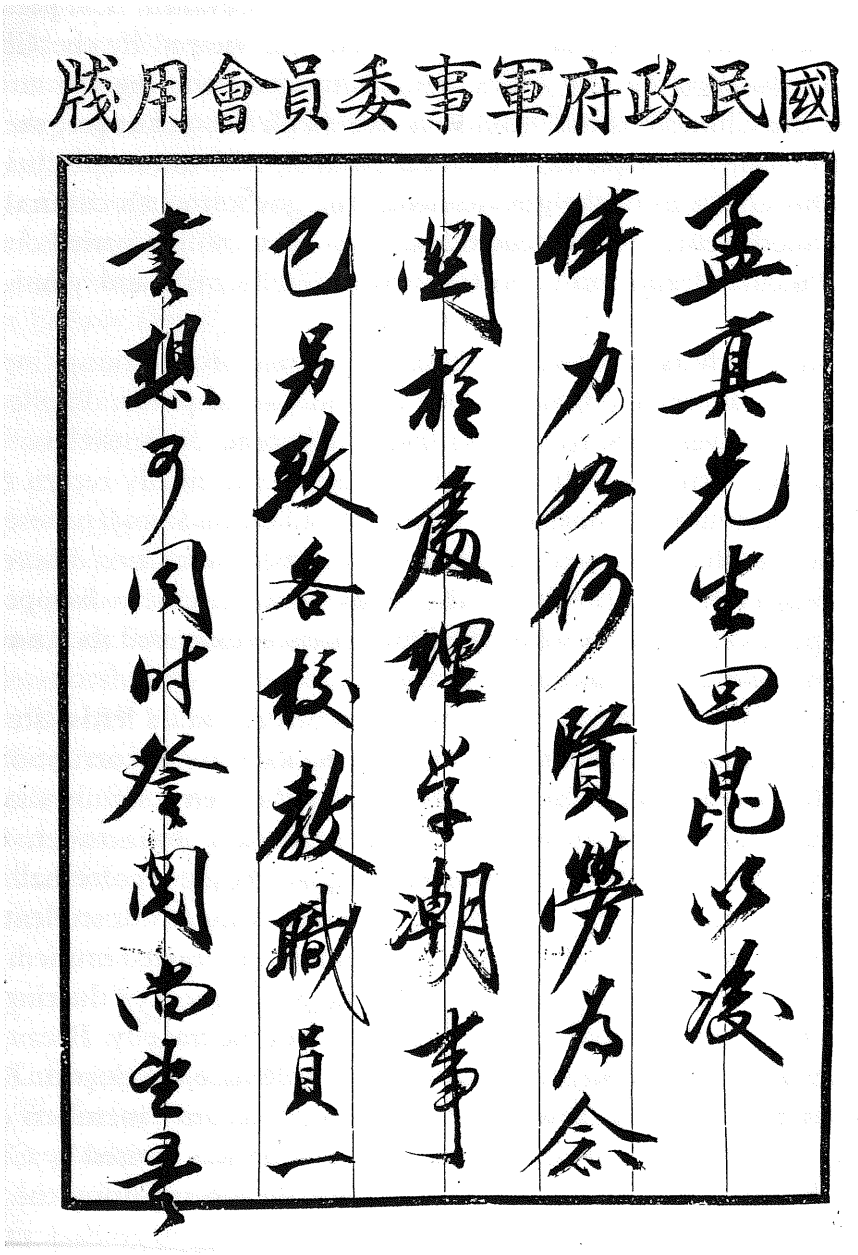
The Kunming Student Movement was considered a major factor contributing to the success of the CCP. The government's high-handed cultural policies produced a continuing conflict with liberal leftists, which erupted in violence in December 1945.[57]

KMT policy toward intellectuals changed drastically after the United States joined the Pacific War. Before then, intellectuals wholeheartedly cooperated with the government in resisting foreign invasion. During the nation's life-and-death crisis, the government also endeavored to mobilize and

organize people of every stratum to fight the enemy. For several years a somewhat more democratic political atmosphere prevailed. The participation of the United States in the Pacific War was viewed by the Chinese people as assurance that the Allies would ultimately win the war and that therefore the Chinese nation would survive. With this assurance, the government set out to implement cultural control, and the intellectuals resumed their criticism of the government. The government's cultural policies were inefficiently implemented and never successfully carried out, but they still incurred enormous hostility from intellectuals and young students.[58]

Kunming, with its American air base, remoteness from Chungking, and liberal American style, retained a democratic atmosphere. Intellectuals there were relatively free to express their discontent. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, students felt relieved that they could finally return to Peking. But the civil war erupted soon after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, and students of the Southwest Associated University were forced to remain in Kunming another eighteen months. They were extremely disappointed with the political situation when the local garrison extended its control to the campus, and a clash immediately ensued.

On December 1, 1945, a tragic event occurred. While leftist students were holding a public meeting denouncing the KMT for its corruption and misgovernment, as well as for the responsibility they felt it should shoulder for the outbreak of the civil war, the local garrison commander, Ch'iu Ch'ing-ch'üan (1902–1949), dispatched a squad to the lecture hall. The agents stormed the hall with pistols and grenades, killing four students and injuring twenty-five others.[59] Students and professors reacted immediately: they decided to boycott all classes, call for the punishment of the ringleaders in this slaughter, and publicize the true story of the tragedy. Because the government only made slight concessions, a stalemate developed. As the acting president of Peita, Fu was one of the three executive members of the Southwest Associated University. Consequently he was invited by Chiang to settle this dispute (see illustration 4), a difficult job requiring the most sophisticated abilities.[60] While negotiating with students to go back to their classrooms, Fu confessed to his wife that this mission was like jumping into a fire.[61] After thirty years, Fu, the former marshal of the May Fourth demonstrations, was trying to calm a student movement. His friends ribbed


國民政府軍事委員會用牋
孟真先生四昆仲後
倖力仍賢勞為念
閩於處理學潮事
已另致各校教職員一
書想可同時參閱尚望

4. A letter from Chiang Kai-shek to Fu Ssu-nien inviting him to settle the Kunming student unrest. Preserved in the Fu Ssu-nien Papers, the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

him by quoting the saying "He who cuts others' hair will someday have his own hair cut by others."[62] In the eyes of the leftists, at least, Fu had become a tool of the KMT, and slander from leftist elements abounded.[63]

Fu finally persuaded the students to stop boycotting their classes by promising further concessions from the government. Fu's heroism in denouncing H. H. Kung had given him a reputation for being an impartial and upright negotiator, among the students as well as the general public, and he was quite fair in handling this tragedy. He blamed local party and military leaders and successfully appealed to Chiang Kai-shek to punish several of the ringleaders. As a result, students promised to resume their class work. But differences among the students delayed the negotiations, and the decisions of the student committee kept changing. Fu confided to a friend that he suspected that CCP students were behind the scenes impeding the negotiations, and indeed it turned out that from the beginning of the incident to its settlement the CCP had a hand in the affair.[64] At one point during the repeated stalemates, Chiang Kai-shek planned to resort to mass arrests or violence.[65] Aware of this, Fu Ssu-nien and Mei I-ch'i (1889–1962), president of Ch'inghua University, announced that they would resign immediately if students did not accept the settlement terms. Fu also managed to persuade the faculty to announce that all faculty members would also resign.[66] The students agreed to end their protests, and classes resumed. A report from the American consul to the State Department stated that Fu had finally stabilized the situation. In the report, the American consul expressed relief that Fu had come on the scene, because although Fu was not a government official, he had the power to handle the situation.[67]

Fu was highly distressed by this incident. He wrote with sorrow that during the May Fourth movement it was out of nationalism that students stood up to demonstrate, whereas the students in Kunming were egged on by the CCP and patronized by the Soviet Union. But Fu also expressed his distaste for some of the KMT ringleaders. He proclaimed that "Li Tsung-huang (1888–1978) and Ch'iu Ch'ing-ch'üan should be summarily executed. . . . My resentment toward Li Tsung-huang is no less than that toward anybody else."[68] He lamented the destiny of the nation and predicted that a blazing inferno would soon "burn rock and jade together." Although he had successfully solved a political debacle, he felt powerless and was pessimistic about the future of the nation.

Punishing Turncoats

On learning of Japan's surrender, Fu Ssu-nien was elated. It was reported that in Chungking he was drunk and kissed everyone he met on the street, happy that the Chinese had not become a subjugated people. He soon took action to ferret out traitors who had served under Japanese control. Fu's hatred of turncoats was the result of his traditional conception of "loyalty," which though hardly mentioned by Fu himself in any of his writings, was a dominant factor in his thought. In 1945, foreseeing the end of the war, he wrote in a notebook under the heading "Black List" the following comment: "Hsieh Kuo-chen (1901–1982) is a traitor." This was because Hsieh had worked on a compilation project led by the Japanese.[69] Fu seemed to have little sympathy for people who were forced to live and work under Japanese control after the legitimate Chinese government had retreated into Southwest China.

During the war years Peita was reorganized by the Japanese military with the help of some Chinese intellectuals. It became Fu's policy to exclude all formerly pro-Japanese faculty members from Peita. Chou Tso-jen, who once served as the president of Peita, immediately wrote to plead with his former student Fu Ssu-nien to do otherwise, but to no avail.[70] The government had set up continuation schools to educate the students who had once studied in schools controlled by the Japanese during the war years, and many bogus professors were retained to teach at these schools because there were not enough faculty members. But Fu insisted that they all had to leave. His stubbornness not only irritated the turncoats but also the many government officials who were in charge of reestablishing Chinese rule. This expulsion policy also extended to his friends, such as Yü P'ing-po (1900–1990) and Jung Keng (1871–1950). After being berated and shouted at by Fu, Jung Keng published a plea in a newspaper for leniency toward faculty members who had served in the Japanese-dominated Peita. Fu immediately published two announcements defending his policy, arguing that in 1937 Peita had instituted a policy encouraging its entire faculty to move to the south. And, Fu continued, almost all faculty members of the bogus Peita had not originally taught at the university, and it was therefore not right to retain them. On top of that, Fu believed it was his responsibility to guard staunchly the principle of loyalty and thereby set a good example for future generations.[71] In doing this he might have been bearing in mind the

words he had once uttered: "Because of the lack of citizenship training, there have been many turncoats in Chinese history."[72] Hundreds of faculty members who had served in the bogus Peita were finally fired. Fu believed that if Hu Shih had taken over the presidency of Peita right after the war, he would not have been resolute enough to expel these disloyal professors. He was paving the way for Hu.[73]

Fu's purges also extended to powerful political figures. Angered by the ineffectiveness of political reform, Fu, as a university president, personally sued Pao Chien-ch'ing (1893–?), president of Peita under Japanese occupation, and Chang Yen-ch'ing (1898–?), vice president of the Hsin-min Society, an organization of Chinese turncoats. The lawsuit attracted enormous attention in North China. Fu's reputation for punishing turncoats led people to believe that he was the man to whom custody of traitors should be remanded.[74]

In the summer of 1945, Hu Shih returned to China to be sworn in as president of Peita. During Fu's brief tenure at Peita, he had added the Colleges of Engineering, Agriculture, and Medicine to the existing Colleges of Arts, Science, and Law. After this, in the winter of 1945, "Mr. Mover" made preparations to move the IHP from Szechwan to Nanking. In 1946, after more than one year of waiting, the IHP became the first institute of the Academia Sinica to load its people onto two ships to go down river to Nanking.[75]

The lives of members of the IHP in Li-chuang during the war years had been made miserable by hyperinflation and the humid climate. The cost of living, however, was lower in Li-chuang than in the coastal areas. In the expensive city of Nanking, the government's "demobilization aid" was not enough to allow IHP members to buy even basic kitchen utensils and bedding. Witnessing this, Fu was extremely pessimistic about the future of the IHP, and he perceived that total political and economic collapse was imminent.[76]

Because of the shortage of paper during the war years, only a few items of research by IHP members had been published, and the IHP had been almost forgotten by its colleagues and the world at large. In 1947 and 1948, despite the impact of hyperinflation, Fu secured a large quantity of paper with which to publish an impressive number of works by members of the IHP.[77]

Fearless Critic of T. V. Soong

In 1947 civil war and skyrocketing inflation reached new heights. T. V. Soong, who had succeeded H. H. Kung as premier in 1945, was believed to be contributing to the economic deterioration by virtue of his destructive policies and the immense corruption of his coterie. Soong and Kung had helped Chiang considerably in financing his cadets before and after the Northern Expedition, but malpractice and the enormous corruption of their coteries irritated their compatriots. The CCP published many books denouncing them, and these proved to be extremely effective propaganda.[78] As late as the 1960s, a supporter of the Nationalist government still believed that the Kung and Soong coteries had destroyed the entire Chinese middle class.[79]

Fu's attacks on Kung and Soong unintentionally coincided with those of the leftists. The "loyalists" under the Nationalist government were paradoxically echoed by Chiang's enemies, and this proved to be detrimental to Chiang's reputation.

Soong and Kung were not just relatives but enemies, and Soong was sometimes referred to as "the emperor's brother-in-law" (*kuo-chiu*). Like Kung, Soong was a thoroughly Western-educated banker. Indeed, Fu claimed that no more than one ten-thousandth of Soong's blood was Chinese. Unlike Kung, however, Soong was never a favorite of Chiang.[80] Expecting Soong to cure the economic woes created during Kung's tenure as minister of finance and as premier, many people were euphoric when Soong returned from the United States to be sworn in as premier. When Soong announced his policy of purchasing gold from people at below-market prices and thereby elicited much criticism, Fu stood alone and wrote a famous article, "The Gold Peril" ("Huang-huo"), endorsing Soong's policy.[81] Fu's belief was that during periods of national crisis, people should contribute their fair share to help the country. Yet before long the corruption and illegal practices engaged in by members of Soong's coterie irritated and provoked many people. In August 1946 Soong decided to sell 380 million U.S. dollars from the Central Bank to the public to stabilize the inflation-ridden economy. It was contended that Soong's coterie bought up about 151 million of the dollars and that Kung's group purchased about 180 million. People believed that these two groups had gobbled up fully 89 percent of the entire sum.[82]

In addition, Soong implemented a new policy of issuing certificates for importing crucial resources. Since the Soong and Kung coteries controlled the certificates, they monopolized the importation of resources to the extent that, as Chiang Kai-shek complained, in February 1947 one pound of tobacco cost ten thousand *yüan* (Chinese currency). These two policies caused an economic disaster (known as the "gold disaster" in Shanghai and other cities), but the government made no move. Fu could endure this no more, and right after the "gold disaster" he published "Such a T. V. Soong Should Step Down" ("Che-yang ti Sung Tzu-wen fei-tso-k'ai pu-k'o") and two other powerful articles.[83] Headlines like "Fu Ssu-nien Would Launch Revolution" appeared in newspapers.[84] The three courageous articles were widely hailed by the people and also led Chiang Kai-shek to change Soong's policies immediately. Although Chiang blamed the CCP for the inflation, Soong stepped down in fifteen days.[85]

Letters of support for Fu began to pile up, and "Cannon Fu" was hailed as a modern remonstrator. Members of the KMT approvingly followed Fu's actions, and one hundred core members called for punishing Soong's coterie. Even the *Central Daily Press* (*Chung-yang jih-pao*), the major party newspaper of the KMT, fanned the flames of public indignation, urging the destruction of the Kung and Soong coteries.[86]

In retrospect, it is worth noting that among the KMT's numerous internecine struggles, there was at least one constant confrontation — that between those with intellectual backgrounds and those of the comprador (*mai-pan*) class.[87] It is difficult to map out the members of these two groups, but it is agreed that Soong and Kung were the heads of the comprador class, and Chu Chia-hua, Hu Shih, Fu Ssu-nien, Chiang T'ing-fu (1895–1965), Wang Shih-chieh, Weng Wen-hao, Ch'ien Tuan-sheng (1900–1990), Wu Ching-ch'ao (1901–1968), and others were in the intellectual group. Although members of the intellectual group occupied a number of high posts, they were constantly outnumbered and outmaneuvered by various cliques inside the KMT, and Kung and Soong exerted much pressure on many of them. For example, Chiang T'ing-fu was badly treated by Soong, and his letters of complaint to Fu were numerous.[88] Weng Wen-hao, as Hu Shih told Fu, was occupying the office of general secretary of the Executive Yüan without receiving any assignment from the president of the Yüan, T. V. Soong.[89] The impression Fu got from their complaints was that T. V. Soong had gathered all the power for his own clique and had neglected all

other cabinet members.[90] During Hu Shih's tenure as China's ambassador to the United States, T. V. Soong was actually the real representative of the Nationalist government in Washington. Soong treated Hu Shih shabbily and always bypassed him in negotiations between Chungking and Washington. H. H. Kung, T. V. Soong, and Wang Cheng-t'ing (1882–1961) were three major saboteurs who complained about Hu's "non-diplomatic" activities in America,[91] and these complaints ultimately led to Hu's dismissal.[92] Chu Chia-hua, the minister of education and later head of KMT organization and the major patron of Fu and the Academia Sinica, was also overwhelmed by Soong and Kung.[93] Closely associated with all of these people who were victims of Soong's high-handed habits, Fu had the audacity to stand up and resist such behavior. Perhaps the fact that Fu did not actually serve in the government and so was not constrained by any official regulation, was one of the reasons he was able to level charges against the Soong coterie. After these attacks, Fu became in the Chinese mind a representative of the "pure stream" (*ch'ing-liu*), that is, the incorruptible element in public life.[94]

To be a member of the "pure stream" was thought to preclude being a professional politician. Fu said that he jumped into politics simply because he could not "bear to see all under heaven not at peace" and therefore "rushed in and out [of politics]"; he "could never stay inside or outside [of politics] for long."[95] Fu's political career was that of a traditional remonstrator. It is ironical that at a time when the government was losing its legitimacy, the liberal intellectuals who were regarded as members of the pure stream lost their credibility with the youth as soon as they joined the KMT government. They were better trusted when they were not in office, which was why many of them accepted government appointments only reluctantly. As already mentioned, Hu Shih, after he was relieved of his ambassadorship, refused appointment as president of the Academia Sinica, because it was an organ of the Nationalist government.[96] Fu Ssu-nien also declined offers of positions as a cabinet member (*Kuo-fu wei-yüan*), minister of education, and president of the Examination Yüan.[97] Whenever the liberals assumed office, they lost their credibility. The best way for them to help the government was to remain outside it. In the 1940s, liberals were destined to occupy no power base.

In the United States

Exhausted by his wartime and postwar activities, Fu's chronic high blood pressure worsened. He rejected Chiang Kai-shek's repeated offers to become a minister in the cabinet. Given his personality, Fu knew that the only job he could do for his country was to be a fearless remonstrator and not a high bureaucrat. He was also aware that when public opinion no longer supported his government, the best course of action was to stay outside the government and support its policy at appropriate times.[98]

In June 1947, after his flamboyant criticism of T. V. Soong, Fu went with his family to the United States for medical treatment. An operation was planned that would surgically interrupt the sympathetic nerve pathways.[99] He stayed in New Haven most of the time, but also received treatment at Brigham Hospital at Harvard University. This was his first year of leisure since his return to China in 1926. He drew up a plan to read whatever he should have read, and he always stayed up until two or three in the morning reading. Most of his attention was on Marxism and the revolutionary strategy of Lenin, a topic he had neglected and which had become most relevant during the 1940s. He may have felt that his negligence in repudiating Marxism had contributed to the young generation's attraction to the CCP. He decided that after returning to China, most of his efforts would be directed toward connecting academic study with the practical world. On May 7, 1947, Fu wrote that he would like to edit a sociological review, write a general history of China, and establish the "Fu Ssu-nien Tribune."[100] It is noteworthy that in the spring of 1948, Fu was elected to the Legislative Yüan in absentia. Without being notified, Fu was supported by over two hundred legislators in a motion to run for vice president of that organ. The motion, however, failed.[101]

Fu did not undergo the operation; in fact he was given a rather optimistic evaluation of his health.[102] Despite his relatives' repeated advice, Fu chose to return to China instead of staying in the United States as a refugee. In August 1948, when the Nationalist government was in serious danger, returning to China was a rare act.[103] He was, however, persuaded by his wife to leave their only son in the States.[104]

While Fu was in the United States, the CCP achieved tremendous momentum in the civil war. In mid-1948 the CCP forces were already almost

equal in number to those of the KMT. At the end of that year, Manchuria and northern China were taken over by the CCP, and the Northwest also fell under its control.

On his return to Nanking, Fu was horrified by the deteriorating political situation. Knowing that Nanking would soon fall to the CCP, he had brought with him large numbers of sleeping pills, and on hearing of the suicide of Ch'en Pu-lei and Tuan Hsi-p'eng (1897–1948), two old friends of his, Fu decided to die for the "old regime." Apparently, it was only his wife's intervention that saved him from suicide.[105] Locking himself in a small room for three days, he recited over and over a poem by T'ao Yüan-ming (365–427):

> I planted mulberry trees by the river bank
> And hoped to have a harvest three years hence,
> But just when leaves began to deck the boughs
> A sudden landslide changed the river's course.
> The leaves were stripped, the branches all broken,
> Roots and trunk floated off to the blue sea.
> The silkworms will have nothing to eat this spring
> And who will furnish clothes against the cold?
> I failed to plant them on the high plateau
> And now today what have I to regret?[106]

In agony over the change of regime, Hu Shih reportedly also recited this poem, reprimanding himself for having neglected the work of guiding the youth. This reprimand was expressed in the two sentences: "I failed to plant them on the high plateau/And now today what have I to regret?" Hu believed that if in years past he had not been so obsessed with evidential research and had paid more attention to general issues, the youth would not have been taken in by Communist propaganda.[107]

During the three long days Fu was reciting this poem, his sense of despair over the collapse of the old regime was evident. He also felt as though all he had tried to achieve in the past was being dismantled, and this led him to rethink many of the values he had once espoused. He may have considered the matter teleologically, and found that the iconoclasm and apolitical style of study did contribute to the disaster. But since he had "failed to plant them on the high plateau," what did he now have to regret?[108]

In late 1948, when Nanking was in great danger, Fu announced the disbanding of the IHP. He had hoped to remove the institute to a safer place to continue the nation's academic tradition, and he lamented the fact that his deteriorating health had prevented him from undertaking such a burdensome task. But when the members of the IHP decided to carry on their work, Fu chose to move the IHP to Taiwan. The institute was safely relocated to Taiwan in late 1948. Fu was appointed president of T'aita in January 1949, almost at the same time that a large force of the Nationalist government was surrounded on the Hsü-chou Plain. Later, when the capital of the Nationalist government was "moving on foot" from place to place, Fu was already in Taiwan devoting his energies to T'aita.

During the last years of the Nationalist regime, Fu was singled out by CCP propaganda organs as a target of attack. Fu's bitter criticism of the CCP and his role in settling the Kunming student demonstration infuriated the CCP, and it labeled him "anti-CCP and anti-Soviet Union." Fu could not have agreed more. "I like this title," he announced.[109] Fu also became a major target of the *Wen-hui pao*, a CCP organ, and other arms of the CCP press.[110] In August 1949 he was even denounced by Mao Tse-tung as a war criminal.[111]

At T'aita

Fu is known in Taiwan more for his presidency of T'aita than as a historian, and he remains today the most memorable T'aita figure in any poll.[112] The Fu Gardens, Fu Hall, and the Fu Bell, which rings hourly in commemoration of his death, all remind T'aita students that there was once a Fu Ssu-nien. But Fu served at T'aita for less than two years. How then did the legend of Fu Ssu-nien develop?

Fu made a considerable contribution to reviving and reinforcing the faculty of T'aita after the departure of the Japanese. Thereafter, in terms of teaching quality T'aita became one of the best universities in all of China. When the Nationalist government withdrew to Taiwan, millions of mainlanders followed, and university enrollment suddenly increased severalfold. T'aita was immediately overburdened by the unexpected expansion, and its facilities were strained to the breaking point. If all students went to their classes, there were not enough chairs for them to sit on. Some students even

lived in the patient rooms of the T'aita Hospital. Fu used his extensive personal connections to "plunder" money from the cash-strapped Nationalist government for the benefit of the university.

Fu is also remembered for his staunch stance in favor of human rights. Political terror prevailed in Taiwan during the 1950s and 1960s. Seeing it coming, Fu strove to maintain academic dignity and courageously resisted police intrusion on the T'aita campus. His heroic efforts to protect the independence of the academic world were much hailed whenever students were arrested. Fu is well remembered for his statement: "I am running a university, not a police station." He resisted arrests of students carried out without hard evidence and successfully secured the release of many innocent students.[113] But because he was staunchly opposed to the CCP, Fu helped the Nationalist government expel Communist students and send them back to the mainland.[114]

Fu Ssu-nien is remembered not only for obtaining many prestigious teachers from the mainland, but also for not allowing high government officials to get professorships. This was uncommon action for an era in which political power was quite influential in academic affairs. After 1950, whenever high officials used their political influence to secure their own professorial appointments, Fu was mentioned repeatedly as an icon of resistance.

During the last stage of his life Fu came to be very much concerned with educational issues, and his last articles were on this topic. While studying in Europe, he had paid considerable attention to college education, and his ideal had been to establish a research-oriented university. He despised the educational system adopted from the United States, especially the parts influenced by Columbia University's Teachers College, an institution that was, according to Fu, offering much too shallow a curriculum. He even believed that the Kiangsu Education Association, which followed the Teachers College educational philosophy, should bear the responsibility for the collapse of Chinese education and the resultant dislocation of the youth and the collapse of society.[115]

Fu retained the old research orientation of T'aita but paid particular attention to introductory courses. He required the most prominent and senior professors to teach freshman classes. Last but not least, Fu is remembered by T'aita students for his charismatic affection, his outgoing

personality, and his jocular, plebeian bearing. All of these were great qualities enabling him to win students over. Students were also proud that their president was a veteran May Fourth leader.[116] But the veteran admitted that he was no longer the May Fourth leader he had been in his youth.

Liberalism or Socialism

Fu Ssu-nien lived in Taiwan for less than two years. During the last stage of his life Fu reflected on some of his convictions and the loss of the "old dynasty," and some drastic changes are discernible in this period of his life.

Fu had always been labeled a liberal, but he never completely espoused liberalism. His political essays focused not on democratic ideals but on the construction of a modern political culture. Until the mid-1940s he was fond of frequently making the following points: throughout Chinese history there was only central government and no local government; China had only government and no "society"; China had masses but no society; politics should be the business of the people and it was absurd to count on the government to do everything; and the Chinese upheld no political cause — if they upheld even one, it would be better than none at all.[117]

The world of politics was constantly on his mind. On the one side was economic equality and on the other side was freedom. Fu had always believed that these two poles could be joined. Being keenly aware of the plight of the proletariat, Fu placed great emphasis on economic equality, which remained his primary political concern throughout his life.[118] He constantly repeated that the ideal state would be one in which freedom as well as economic equality existed. If a state had only one of these qualities without the other, Fu could never be satisfied with it. A state with mild socialism and liberalism was his utopia, and Roosevelt and the platform of the Labor party in England his political models. Fu believed that Roosevelt's social policies imbued a new spirit into liberalism. He believed that capitalism had been abusing liberalism to exploit the people and had produced extreme economic inequality. Imperialism was its natural product. It was a must for a liberal to be mindful of economic equality; without it, liberalism was not real liberalism.[119]

Although socialism is one of the most ill-defined terms in modern China, Fu and various other liberal intellectuals entertained similar ideas of social-

ism and longed for a world of liberalism without capitalism. They believed that through government power, economic inequalities could be corrected and that state-owned enterprises could bring material progress.

It is, however, interesting to note that with the victory of the CCP in mainland China, many of these liberal intellectuals fled to Taiwan, and the resultant political crisis dashed their dreams. The success of the CCP signaled the victory of economic egalitarianism by means of class struggle. Consequently, the intellectuals became aware that they could not ask for both freedom and economic equality. Many men, including Hu Shih, Fu Ssu-nien, Lei Chen (1897–1979), and Yin Hai-kuang (1914–1969), gradually gave up socialist ideals to uphold liberalism.[120] The change in Fu Ssu-nien's attitudes was very evident. In 1949, for example, he wrote that to acquire freedom, it would be legitimate to give up economic equality temporarily.[121]

Of those who fled the mainland and lived in Taiwan during the political terror, Fu and a group of like-minded intellectuals were unique in defending liberalism. Many of them became staunch advocates of liberalism and later suffered for it during the KMT's crackdowns in the 1960s.[122]

Searching for Sources of Morality

In Fu's late life, his abandonment of crude materialism and positivism was observable, as was his return to the Mencian tradition. During his year-long stay in the United States, Fu had time to reflect on many things. First of all, he noticed that during the previous twenty years, "Western learning" had changed considerably. Positivism was no longer as popular as he had once imagined. Fu found that his hostility toward Kantian philosophy and his appreciation of positivism and behaviorism had all changed. He wrote in 1947:

> I was originally a crude materialist of the physiological type (in philosophy, not in other spheres). I therefore appreciated Pavlov, J. B. Watson, James and his language theory of the emotions, R. Carnap, and Freud and his works. But now I want to have surgery to cut off my sympathetic nerve connections with them. During my year of illness [1941], I constantly reflected on the meaning of human life. Sometimes these reflections resembled

> mysticism, but in reality they were not. I finally became aware that the cosmos is a great deduction and that we have to make some assumptions, and take these assumptions as bases to deduce others.[123]

Fu became disenchanted with J. B. Watson. He believed that in dealing with human problems, "Watson's behaviorism is too crude. . . . More spiritual elements can help people avoid neglecting important facts."

Fu also realized that human beings should be distinguished from other creatures and that they were not governed by the same rules of behavior. He said that in comparing animal behavior to human behavior, people had to bear in mind the idea that "man is one species of animal" but that "an animal is not a man." Fu believed that behaviorists and many Darwinists often unconsciously committed this error. He believed that the political influence of Darwinism was evident in bolshevism.[124] "When I was in Europe [during the first half of his stay there] I was a crude materialist of the physiological type; I therefore was very interested in Freud and also in Watson's behaviorism," Fu once said. But in 1947 he said,

> Believing in crude materialism and pragmatism is equivalent to saying "I am always lying." . . . I think I was naive before. To use the Kantian terminology, I was in my pre-critical period. This time, during my stay in America, I found that there has been little progress in behaviorism. I feel that Pavlov's experiments were very crude, and of Watson's contributions only the implicit language theory is valuable.[125]

Fu was no longer as optimistic as he had once been about the possibility of applying scientific methods to human affairs. He believed in Poincaré's sensationalism theory that human feelings can be dealt with by models of natural science, but he felt that we should know the limitations of such an approach. He admitted becoming sympathetic with the mentalistic point of view and regretting his former materialistic point of view.[126]

During Fu's later years, his hostility toward Mencian philosophy changed. The most obvious signal of this came in 1949 when he required T'aita freshmen to read the works of Mencius. A competition to show what one could gain from reading Mencius was instituted to reward those who achieved a good understanding of the text.[127] Traditional moral cultivation

again came to his attention. Ho Ting-sheng, a former colleague of Fu's at Chung-shan University, noted that Fu visited him at T'aita for the sole purpose of discussing the concept of moral cultivation in Mencius.[128] Hsü Fu-kuan (1903–1982), a critic of Fu, also noticed this drastic change and observed that Fu was a courageous person who could change his mind.[129] This change was comparable to his switch to the New Culture group in 1917 and is another milestone along the lifelong journey of a May Fourth mind.

Was this change attributable to the loss of China to the CCP or was there another reason? In a way, what happened to Fu might have been like what happened to Tai Chen (1723–1777), the foremost scholar of evidential research during the Ch'ing dynasty. It was recorded that when Tai was about to die, he confessed that he could not remember any of his classical and philological studies, but that passages of moral philosophy were coursing through his consciousness.[130] If this story is true, it is because moral philosophy can nourish people's minds the way food and water nourish people's bodies, whereas philological and textual knowledge are absolutely irrelevant to the ultimate human condition. The episode, true or false, showed that some people did believe that Confucian moral philosophy was what people really felt intimately in their inner lives. When the May Fourth youths reached their mellow ages, did they inevitably revert to what their predecessors felt the most intimately in their innermost selves?

Fu was among the earliest of the May Fourth youths to face the ultimate situation. His inherited hypertension almost cost him his life in 1940, an extremely busy year during which Fu was jointly appointed secretary general of the Academia Sinica, director of the IHP, and a representative in the People's Assembly. He collapsed and was treated in an emergency room in Chungking by a prominent physician.[131] Lying on his hospital bed, Fu reflected on his life over the past forty-five years and reevaluated Mencian philosophy, familiar to him thanks to his grandfather's instruction.[132] We are unable to know if this constituted a return to a long-suppressed self. But we do know that after his recovery Hu Shih, then China's ambassador to the United States, advised Fu in a letter that in the midst of the ultimate situation, positivism, Lao-tzu, and Chuang-tzu were all useless to bring him peace of mind. Hu suggested, "Why don't you read the works of your fellow Shantung provincials — Confucius and Mencius? They are so com-

mon, so plain in reflecting common feelings that they can ease your hypertension by ten degrees" (see illustration 5).[133] Hu emphasized that

> this is what I have felt intimately during my personal experiences in recent years. . . . The greatness of Confucius is his simplicity, with nothing extraordinary or remarkable. He is really reasonable and sensible . . . recently I read Mencius and have felt that he is capable of being loved. . . . Among the intellectuals of the past two thousand years, those who have had outstanding achievements and positive outlooks on life mostly benefited from the *Analects* and the teachings of Mencius.

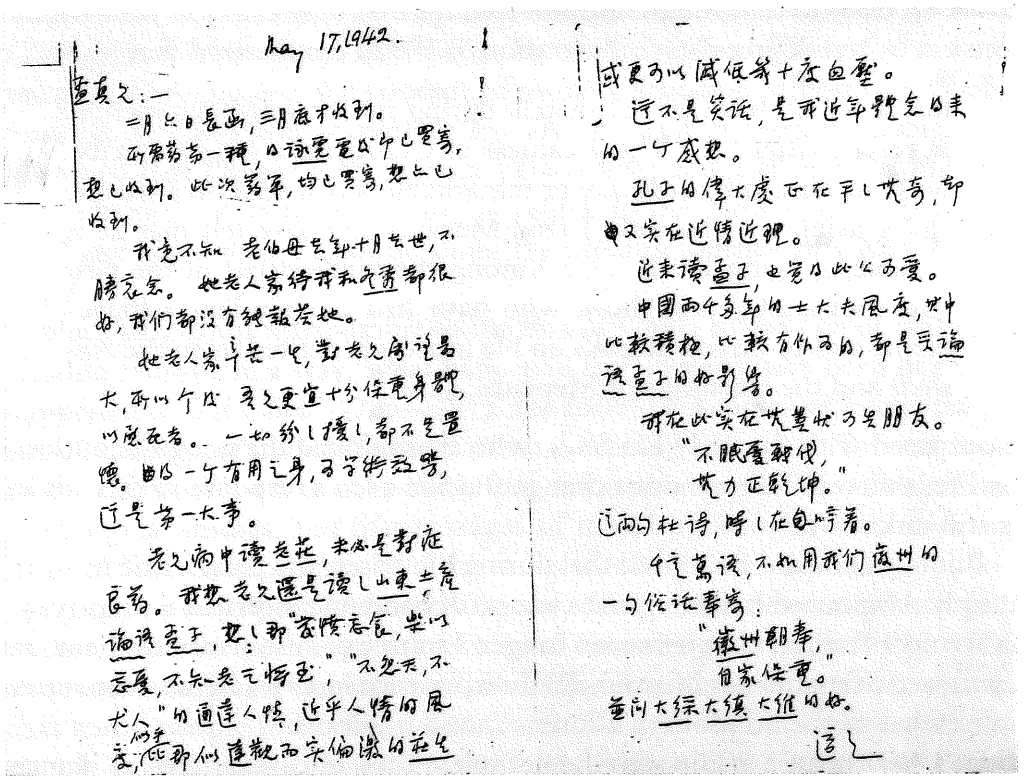
Compared with the early Hu Shih, who championed the scientific outlook on life, this was a tremendous change. Fu Ssu-nien's response to this advice is still unknown.

But both Hu and Fu sensed that during life crises, the positivistic mindset they had espoused in their youths was so dry and unconcerned with private, innermost feelings that it was no longer a source of sustenance to them. Fu confessed that after his life-and-death experience in 1940, he was converted somewhat to the premodern Chinese moral tradition.[134]

Fu's health hit a nadir after he completed his one-year term as deputy president of Peita. It was reported that one factor worsening Fu's hypertension was his sensitive and anxious nature. Fu acknowledged that people always called him Cannon Fu; the term "cannon," however, did not accurately characterize his entire personality because he was in fact timid except when confronting serious difficulties. He was aware that because of his timid nature, he always worked out all the possible ramifications of situations ahead of time with the result that he ended up frightening himself, a habit he believed exacerbated his hypertension. The tremendous mental strains of 1941 worsened his malady. It was only then that he began to regard Mencian moral philosophy as useful for stress management.

It is worth noting that after the collapse of the traditional culture, many people lost their traditional sources of morality. The belief in positivism and pragmatism was not useful for solving the problem of "meaning." Hu Shih's advice to Fu to resort to Confucius and Mencius exemplified the problem of "meaning" that the May Fourth youths confronted.

Fu noted in his 1946 notebook that "Mencius is the patriarch of liberalism



May 17, 1942.

孟真之：—

二月廿八日長函，三月底才收到。

所需茶第一種，以詠霓處公中已買寄，想已收到。此次茶葉，均已買寄，想亦已收到。

我竟不知老伯母去年十月去世，不勝哀念。她老人家待我和允倩都很好，我們都沒有親敬奉她。

她老人家年紀一大，對老之威脅太大，所以今後老之更宜十分保重身體，以慰死者。一切紛擾，都不足置懷。留得一个有用之身，為字術效勞，這是第一大事。

老之病中讀老莊，未必是對症良藥。我想老之還是讀讀山東老莊論孟子，想想那"浩然之氣"，"其為氣也，配義與道，無是，餒也"，"不忍人之心"的通達人情，近乎人情的風度，代替那似是而實偏激的莊老或更可以減低第十度血壓。

這不是笑話，是我近年體念出來的一个感想。

孔子的偉大處正在平平凡凡，即事又實在近情近理。

近來讀孟子，也覺得如此的可愛。

中國兩千多年的士大夫風度，其中比較精粗，比較有作為的，都是受孟子的好影響。

我在此實在找著好多的朋友。

"不眠憂國俄，
梵力正乾坤。"

這兩句杜詩，時時在自己耳邊。

千言萬語，不如用我們徽州的一句俗話奉寄：

"徽州朝奉，
自家保重。"

並祝大綜大統大維的好。

適之

5. A letter from Hu Shih to Fu Ssu-nien, encouraging him to read Mencius. Preserved in the Fu Ssu-nien Papers, the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

and idealism."[135] The meaning of this is ambiguous, but in part it denotes Fu's recognition of the indispensability of a moral foundation to liberalism.

The victory of the CCP brought Fu remorse because the CCP took advantage of iconoclasm to achieve its resounding victory.[136] Not only had he become hostile toward cultural iconoclasm, he was also moved by his rediscovery of the subjectivity of being human.

The Value of Chinese Tradition

In 1949 when Fu assigned Mencius as required reading for all first-year T'aita students, it was unusual for a staunch supporter of the New Culture movement to assign a Confucian classic to students outside the department of Chinese.[137] This requirement marked a drastic transition in Fu's evalua-

tion of the Confucian philosophy of mind. In the IHP, studying Neo-Confucianism was not only allowed but even encouraged.[138] Fu himself was also reported to have devoted considerable time to expounding Chu Hsi's (1130–1200) philosophy.[139] In Taipei Fu even argued that the term "New Culture movement" did not make sense (*pu-t'ung*).[140] In fact, early in the 1943 commemoration of the May Fourth movement, he had already called for cultural accumulation (*wen-hua chi-lei*). As for student movements, Fu opposed them vehemently: "[They are] the libido of youth bursting out from the weakest parts of their minds. Student movements helped the Chinese Communists take over the country in a big way."[141] Fu seemed to want to extirpate the seeds he had planted in his youth.

During his later years Fu also came to recognize that objectivity, the prime ideal of his early life, is not always possible, especially in the field of social science and historical study.[142] His naive optimism about the attainability of objective knowledge changed greatly. In an article written after the Mukden Incident entitled "Informal Discussion of Historical Textbooks" ("Hsien-t'an li-shih chiao-k'o-shu"), Fu abandoned his belief that the nature of historiography was the nature of natural science.[143] When Fu was at T'aita, his confidence in historical objectivity decreased further, and he held that "absolute objectivity is only an ideal."[144]

The ideal of combining history and philology in one institute was also abandoned. By the 1940s Fu was claiming that these two disciplines remained together only because it would be difficult to divide up the library collection.[145] George Bernard Shaw, whose works Fu Ssu-nien had appreciated early in his life, was denounced by Fu as nothing but a comic writer, a plagiarizer of ideas, and one who admired Mussolini and Stalin.[146] The critical power in Shaw's work had formerly meshed with Fu's concerns, but when those concerns shifted to anti-communism, his perceptions of Shaw also changed.

Fu was influenced by positivism in his early years and asserted that philosophy is harmful. He thanked heaven that China had not been endowed with a rich tradition of philosophical thought.[147] But on January 13, 1948, he noted that "to end philosophy by philosophy is like ending war by war. It will not end the war, but on the contrary breed more terrible wars."[148]

During the May Fourth era Fu Ssu-nien was confident that tradition could be washed away overnight. But in 1949 he rebuked the so-called New Culture movement and the May Fourth slogan of "total Westernization" as

absurd and contended that a nation's culture could not be changed unless its language was also totally changed.[149]

The five thousand years of Chinese culture, Fu maintained, "shall never vanish. . . . There is no nation like China with an uninterrupted cultural tradition. . . . Now is the time to think of our ancestors and treasure our cultural tradition. . . . We are now becoming the agents of a non-white-race culture." "Tradition will never die. It is impossible to erase tradition," Fu concluded.[150]

At T'aita Shen Kang-po (1896–1977) complained to Fu that "the students do not know what the Confucian Classics are."[151] Fu also held that students with poor knowledge of "national learning" (*kuo-hsüeh*) should not go abroad for study.[152] Not a single word like this had ever been uttered by him before 1949.

But Fu never became a conservative. "China's non-industrial education should be rectified," he said. "Chinese traditions which have always neglected the masses should be corrected. Rectification, however, is not to erase but to broaden."[153]

Whereas most May Fourth youths became worn out (*yung-chiu-le*), observed Yin Hai-kuang, Fu did not.[154] Fu's appreciation of tradition should not be exaggerated. The older Fu was both scientifically minded and sympathetic with traditional values. Hegel's dialectical theory is not a far-fetched model for describing the synthesis of Fu's final development.

The Jump from Youth to Old Age

Deep involvement in administrative matters was always detrimental to Fu's health, and during the eight years of war with Japan, his worries about the potential subjugation of his native land and about the poor environment he lived in also seriously damaged his health.[155] He even said that during those years he "suddenly jumped from a youth to an old man."[156] The old man did not live much longer. Fu dropped dead of hypertension on December 20, 1950, after being queried by Kuo Kuo-chi (1900–1970), a representative of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly nicknamed "Cannon Kuo," about the administration of T'aita. "Cannon Fu," who had gained his reputation for remonstrating against officials, died of another cannon's fire.

The speaker of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly announced to the public that "President Fu has passed away (*ch'i-shih*)." Since *ch'i-shih* is phonetically

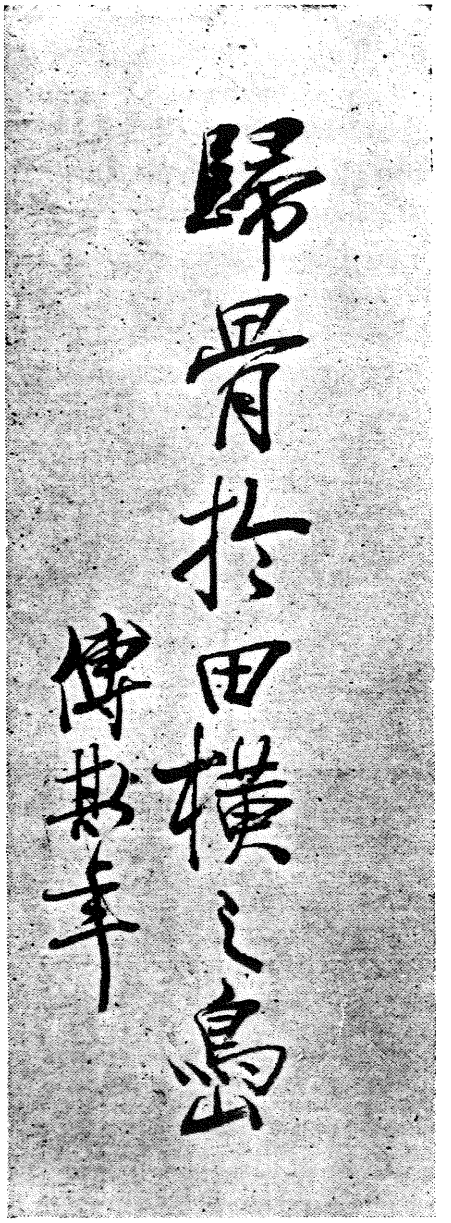
similar to *ch'i-ssu* (died of anger), T'aita students immediately perceived the insulting phonetic pun on Fu's death. The next morning, thousands of students stormed the assembly and shouted "Out! Out! Out with Kuo Kuo-chi!" Students began throwing rocks at the assembly, and a riot appeared imminent. Kuo fled through the back door. The students began to disband only after being persuaded that President Fu would have encouraged them to go back to their studies if he were still alive.[157]

Approximately five thousand people attended Fu's funeral services, a number exceeded only by the funeral service for Hu Shih some dozen years later. Fu once wrote in a scroll in 1949 that he was "determined to die on this island" (see illustration 6),[158] and this turned out to be prophetic.

A Note on Sources

Soon after the death of Fu Ssu-nien, the National Taiwan University initiated the compilation of a five-volume set of Fu's writings, the *Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng chi* (Selected works of Fu Meng-chen, 1952). The compilers may well have been aware that they had left out many of Fu Ssu-nien's articles, for they entitled their work "selected writings" (*chi*), rather than "complete works" (*ch'üan-chi*). In 1967, the Wen-hsing Publishing Company in Taiwan published a ten-volume set of selected writings, the *Fu Ssu-nien hsüan-chi* (Selected works of Fu Ssu-nien), which added forty-three essays to the 1952 edition. In 1980, Yü Ta-ts'ai (1907–1990), Fu's wife, initiated a project to compile the complete works of Fu, the *Fu Ssu-nien ch'üan-chi* (Complete works of Fu Ssu-nien) in seven volumes, to which the compilers added nine articles that had not been incorporated in the 1967 edition. Although intended to be "complete," this work does not include ten of Fu's articles and some of his unpublished manuscripts. Readers and researchers can find all three editions of Fu Ssu-nien's writings in the Gest Library.

Besides collected or complete works, the Fu Ssu-nien Papers and the Archives of the Institute of History and Philology, both of which are stored in the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, are perhaps the most important primary sources concerning Fu Ssu-nien's life. These two archives, however, remain closed to the public. Materials that provide further information on Fu's life should also be found in the private papers of Fu's close friends, such as Chu Chia-hua and Wang Shih-chieh, both of whom served as president of Academia Sinica. However, the two



6. A calligraphy of Fu Ssu-nien written in 1948, in which he expressed his devotion to Taiwan and its people. From Chi-nien Fu ku hsiao-chang ch'ou-pei wei-yüan-hui, ed., *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu* (Taipei: Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsüeh, 1951).

left mainland China for Taipei when the Nationalist government was nearing defeat by the Communist forces, and were unable to bring with them all of their personal documents and records. In Wang Shih-chieh's papers, for example, I found only some insignificant letters from Fu to Wang.

Fu Ssu-nien had a wide circle of connections in the Chinese academic world. Many of his friends remained in mainland China after 1949, and their personal diaries and records would be helpful in studying Fu's life. However, since Fu Ssu-nien has long been labeled a "reactionary scholar" by the Communists, it seems unlikely that any substantial number of such private records survived the political turmoil in China. But a recent book published in China, *Fu Ssu-nien*,[159] does contain some new information about Fu. The publication of the personal diaries of Fu's friends, if they have been successfully preserved, should contribute to the study of Fu. However, most such diaries published in the last few years have provided only scant information on Fu, and with the exception of Hu Shih's diary, they are not worth listing here. But because Fu Ssu-nien served as the acting president of Peita and the president of T'aita, it is possible that if in the future the administrative archives of these two institutions are opened to researchers, they will shed new light on Fu's life.

Notes

1. See Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
2. Fu Ssu-nien, *Fu Ssu-nien ch'üan-chi* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1980), pp. 2412, 1553; hereafter referred to as *FSNC*.
3. Ibid., p. 1314.
4. Ibid., pp. 666–667, 6801–6810, 694–699.
5. Ibid., pp. 1301, 1310.
6. Ibid., p. 1208.
7. John Dewey, "New Culture in China," *Asia* (1921), pp. 581–582. Quoted in Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 224.
8. Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, p. 223.
9. See Hu Shih, "Address," given at the Royal Institute of International Affairs; in *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* 6.6 (1926), p. 279.
10. *Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei hsien-sheng chi-nien chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1984), p. 2.
11. On the tension between study and politics, see Yü Ying-shih, "Wu-ssu, i-ko wei-wan-ch'eng te wen-hua yün-tung," in *Wen-hua-p'ing-lun yü*

Chung-kuo ch'ing-huai (Taipei: Yün-ch'en wen-hua shih-yeh ku-fen yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1988), pp. 65–72. Ch'ien Chi-po, a traditional scholar, even started to study Chinese traditional military strategy. See Wu Chung-kuang, "Wu shih Ch'ien Chi-po hsien-sheng chuan-lüeh," in *Chung-kuo wen-hua* 4 (1991), pp. 190–198.

12. Li Chi, "Anyang tsui-chin fa-chüeh pao-kao chi liu-tz'u kung-tso chih tsung-ku-chi," *Li Chi k'ao-ku hsüeh lun-wen chi* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1977), p. 139.
13. Ibid., p. 131.
14. Yang Hsiang-k'uei, "Tao-nien Yin Ta t'ung-chih," *Li-shih yen-chiu*, no. 5 (1983), pp. 73–77. Yin later became an early leader of the Cultural Revolution.
15. Fu Ssu-nien Papers, III-693, a letter from Kuo Pao-chün to Fu. The papers are stored in the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, and are hereafter referred to as *FP*.
16. Ibid., I-57.
17. A group of IHP members even planned to join guerrilla bands. But there were also other responses to the national crisis. For example, Li Fang-kuei, a distinguished fellow of the IHP, stated in a letter that "our country is about to be conquered; we should quickly do our research with all our energy." See *FP*, I-1656, a letter from Fu to Hu Shih.
18. Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u," in *FSNC*, pp. 2647–2648.
19. Teng Kuang-ming, "Hui-i wo te lao-shih Fu Ssu-nien hsien-sheng," in *Fu Ssu-nien*, ed. Liao-ch'eng shih-fan hsüeh-yüan li-shih-hsi et al. (Tsi-nan: Shantung Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1991; hereafter referred to as *FSN*), p. 5.
20. See Su T'ung-ping, "Shih-yü-so fa-chan-shih," pp. 355–379, 406–423.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 434.
23. *FP*, I-1130, a letter from Yang Cheng-sheng to Fu.
24. One well-known such obstruction was his opposition to K'ung Keng's motion that traditional Chinese medicine should be esteemed. K'ung was infuriated by Fu's opposition and berated him with filthy language. The incident almost ended in fisticuffs. See Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u," *FSNC*, p. 2652.
25. The manuscripts of the two letters are in *FP*, I-45, I-48. These two letters, both written in 1944, were sent by Fu to Hu Shih and are printed in *Hu Shih lai-wang shu-hsin hsüan*, ed. Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh-yüan chung-hua min-kuo shih yen-chiu-shih (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 604–612.
26. Other letters concerning this episode are in *FP*, I-92, IV-219 (two letters from Wang Shih-chieh to Fu), and IV-169 (one letter from Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei to Fu).
27. Feng Yu-lan, "San-sung-t'ang tzu-hsü," in his *San-sung-t'ang ch'üan-chi* (Chengchow: Honan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 102–103.
28. It is worth noting that Ma Yin-ch'u,

the first to spell out his disappointment with Kung, was later arrested. See Yeh Yüan-lung, "Ch'ung-ta hsiao-chang Yeh Yüan-lung ch'ing-li Ma Yin-ch'u shih-chien," in *Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh*, no. 3 (1992), pp. 67–70.

29. See *FP*, I-48, a letter from Fu to Chiang Kai-shek.
30. Several leaves of the account book which showed Lü Hsien's corruption were kept in *FP*, no serial number.
31. Ma Liang-k'uan, "Ch'ing k'an t'i-t'ou-che jen i t'i ch'i t'ou," in *FSN*, pp. 164–165.
32. *FP*, I-1665. Hu Shih also noted this event in his diary. See *Hu Shih te jih-chi* (Taipei: Yüan-liu ch'u-pan-she, 1990), 18 vols., November 26, 1939, n.p.
33. See Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u," in *FSNC*, p. 2653.
34. *FP*, I-688, a letter from Cheng Lieh to Fu.
35. For example, ibid., I-628, a letter from the employees of the Bureau of the National Treasury; ibid., I-617, a letter from someone with the anonymous name Wang Yin-ming; ibid., I-616, a letter from another anonymous person; ibid., I-614, a letter from one who called himself Jung Fang; ibid., I-626, a letter from Chu Chih-ch'in.
36. In a letter to his wife, Yü Ta-ts'ai, Fu said that when he later met with Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang expressed his agreement with what Fu had done. Ibid., I-1298.
37. Ibid. The heroic action was applauded by many. For example, a letter from Wu Ming-ta praised Fu: "You speak for the 450 million people." Ibid., I-387. A letter from someone who called himself Ming Hsin compared Fu with Hai Jui, a famous remonstrator of the Ming dynasty. See ibid., I-723.
38. For a short sketch of this conference, see Kuo T'ing-i, *Chin-tai Chung-kuo shih-kang* (Hong Kong: Chung-wen ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 720–726. See also Yü Chan-pang, "Mao chu-hsi tsai Ch'ung-ch'ing t'an-p'an ch'i-chien," in *Ch'ung-ch'ing wen-shih tzu-liao* 24 (1985), pp. 152–174. Before the visit, on June 27, 1945, Fu Ssu-nien along with six other political leaders urged Hurley, then American ambassador to China, to assist China in unifying the country. See "The ambassador in China [Hurley] to the Secretary of State: June 28, 1945," in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), vol. 7, pp. 424–425. It is reported by Hurley that after Fu's visit to Yenan, Fu informed the American personnel that the situation was "hopeful," but that "he was neither pessimistic nor optimistic." See "The ambassador in China [Hurley] to the Secretary of State: July 7, 1945," in ibid., pp. 428–429.
39. Fu kept some rather fragmentary documentation of this visit. See *FP*, I-156, I-158, I-164, I-165, I-175, I-627, I-633, IV-379. For a description of the trip, see Huang Yen-p'ei,

"Yenan kuei-lai," in *Kuo-min-ts'an-cheng-hui tzu-liao* (Chengtu: Sze-chwan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1984), pp. 463–506. Other documents concerning this visit are in ibid., pp. 451–462.

40. *FP*, I-38. This poem, together with a short letter, was written on July 5, 1945.
41. In "Tiu-tiao huan-hsiang, chun-pei tou-cheng," Mao announced that Fu, among others, was a war criminal. See *Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi*, ed. Chung-kung chung-yang Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ch'u-pan wei-yüan-hui (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1967), vol. 4, p. 1374.
42. See Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, p. 233.
43. *FP*, I-708, a set of lecture notes entitled "Chung-kuo chin san-pai-nien lai tui wai-lai wen-hua chih fan-ying."
44. Ibid., I-701.
45. Fu only finished two chapters of this book, which contained about twenty thousand words. He was drafting the book during the darkest days of the Sino-Japanese War.
46. *FP*, I-433.
47. Ibid., III-917. T'ang Yung-t'ung's letter to Fu.
48. *FSNC*, pp. 1829–1830.
49. *FP*, I-701. See also several pages of the draft of this project, ibid., II-949.
50. Ibid., I-701, II-949.
51. Ibid., I-701.
52. *FSNC*, pp. 2451–2452, a letter from Fu to Ku Chieh-kang. The original manuscript of this letter is in *FP*, II-143. *FSNC*, pp. 2449–2450, a letter from Fu to Chu Chia-hua and Hang Li-wu. The original manuscript of this letter is in *FP*, III-1197.
53. Concurrently, Hsiung Shih-li was undertaking a project to prove that the Han Chinese and the Uighurs were originally the same ethnic group. See his *Hsüan-p'u lun-hsüeh-chi* (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1990), p. 39.
54. *FP*, II-147.
55. A letter from T'ao Hsi-sheng to Hu Shih and Hu Shih's reply were kept in Hu's diary. See *Hu Shih te jih-chi*, August 12, 1935, n.p.
56. After being dismissed from his ambassadorship, Hu Shih became angry at top government officials. He therefore refused to take up the position of president of the Academia Sinica and remained in the United States. See Keng Yün-chih, *Hu Shih nien-p'u* (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1986), pp. 181–184.
57. See Feng Yu-lan, "San-sung-t'ang tzu-hsü," pp. 102–107.
58. Hsü Fu-kuan, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang-shih lun-chi* (Taichung: Chung-yang shu-chü, 1968), pp. 230–231, 247–249.
59. On the event and its causes and casualties, see Hsiao Ch'ao-jan, ed., *Pei-ching-ta-hsüeh hsiao-shih* (Shanghai: Shanghai chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1981), pp. 364–378.
60. A letter from Chiang Kai-shek to Fu and the manuscript of Fu's reply, *FP*, no serial number. Chiang's letter was written on December 7, 1945.
61. Ibid., I-1297, a letter from Fu to his wife.
62. Feng's words were quoted by Fu. See *FSNC*, p. 2061. See also Feng's

"San-sung-t'ang tzu-hsü," p. 328.

63. See Ching Yüan, "Wei kuan yü Fu Ssu-nien pu-i," *Wen-hui-pao*, November 10, 1946.
64. *FP*, I-1332. A confidential letter from Fu to Chu Chia-hua expressed this suspicion. On the direction from the CCP in this event, see Hsiao Ch'ao-jan, ed., *Pei-ching-ta-hsüeh hsiao-shih*, pp. 373, 376.
65. Ma Liang-k'uan, "Ch'ing k'an t'i-t'ou-che jen i t'i ch'i t'ou," p. 172.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p. 174.
68. Ibid., pp. 175–176. Fu's anger toward Li Tsung-huang and Ch'iu Ch'ing-ch'üan was also expressed in two confidential letters to Chu Chia-hua. See *FP*, I-1326, I-1329. In ibid., I-1326, Fu contended that the Garrison Commander Kuan Lin-cheng, Ch'iu Ching-ch'üan's superior, was innocent.
69. *FP*, V-8, a notebook of 1945.
70. Ch'ien Li-ch'ün, *Chou Tso-jen chuan* (Taipei: Yeh-ch'iang ch'u-pan-she, 1991), pp. 210–211.
71. Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng te min-tsu ssu-hsiang," in *Shih-tai te chui-i lun-wen-chi* (Taipei: Shih-pao ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1984), p. 158.
72. *FSNC*, p. 2056.
73. Wang Yün, "Fu Ssu-nien yü Pei-ching-ta-hsüeh," in *FSN*, p. 99.
74. For example, there is a letter from Nieh Yün-t'ai, an industrialist, to Fu reporting that his relative Ch'ü Hsüan-ying, a famous historian who had served in the Chinese puppet government, was hiding in Nieh's home. See *FP*, III-1123. Later Fu managed to get a copy of the record of Ch'ü's service under Japanese control. See ibid., I-1265. Fu kept in his papers a draft of a written appeal to sue Pao Chien-ch'ing. See ibid., IV-525.
75. Su T'ung-ping, "Shih-yü-so fa-chan-shih," chap. 8, pp. 1–24.
76. Ibid.
77. This included thirteen issues of the *Bulletin*, thirteen monographs, four phonetic investigation reports, and two archaeological reports. See ibid., pp. 39–46.
78. See, for example, Ch'en Po-ta, *Chung-kuo Ssu-ta-chia-tsu* (Hong Kong: Ch'ang-chiang ch'u-pan-she, 1949); K'ang Chung-p'ing, "Lun Chung-kuo kuan-liao tzu-pen chu-i," *Ch'ün-chung* 38 (1948), pp. 14–16; 39 (1948), pp. 14–15; and *T. V. Soong hao-men tzu-pen nei-mu* (Hong Kong: Ching-chi tzu-liao-she, 1968).
79. Hsü Fu-kuan, "Shih shei chi-k'uei le Chung-kuo she-hui fan-kung te li-liang," in *Hsüeh-shu yü cheng-chih chih-chien* (Taichung: Chung-yang shu-chü, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 1–14. This is the most widely read criticism of T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung in Taiwan.
80. The tension between Soong and Chiang was widely discussed. See, for example, Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 109–115.
81. *FSNC*, pp. 1848–1855. See Ch'eng Ai-chün et al., "Tao-Sung-yün-tung

te chu-chiang," in *FSN*, pp. 188–189.

82. The precise numbers are impossible to ascertain. Here I adopt the numbers people tended to believe at the time. See *Chung-yang jih-pao* (Nanking), July 1, 1947.
83. The two other articles are "Sung Tzu-wen ti shih-pai," *Shih-chi p'ing-lun* 1.8 (1947), n.p., and "Lun hao-men tzu-pen chih pi-hsü ch'an-ch'u," *Kuan-ch'a* 2.1 (1947), pp. 6–9. I have been unable to find a copy of the issue of the journal in which the first article appears in the United States, and I have therefore used Fu Ssu-nien's own facsimile copy. However, the page numbers were not shown. See *FP*, IV-472.
84. This headline led the *Shih-chieh jih-pao*, February 15, 1947. See also *Hu Shih te jih-chi*, February 15, 1947, n.p.
85. See *Hu Shih te jih-chi*, February 17, 1947, n.p.
86. Cf. Ch'eng Ai-chün, "Tao-Sung yün-tung te chu-chiang," in *FSN*, p. 192.
87. This is an observation made by a high official, Ch'eng Ch'ang-p'o. See Ch'eng's "Tsai chi Fu Meng-chen," in *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, ed. Chi-nien Fu ku hisao-chang ch'ou-pei wei-yüan-hui (Taipei: Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsüeh, 1951), p. 50.
88. See *FP*, I-457, I-461, I-464.
89. Ibid., I-1669, a letter from Hu Shih to Fu. In this letter Hu Shih severely criticized T. V. Soong.
90. Ibid.
91. Fu was well aware that T. V. Soong played the crucial role in Hu Shih's dismissal from his ambassadorship. Fu was also well aware that Soong, then in the United States, was the real ambassador and that Hu Shih was overwhelmed by him. For example, a letter from Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, then Hu Shih's assistant, to Fu complained that Hu received no direct information from the central government. See *FP*, IV-63. In his diary, Hu Shih complained repeatedly that T. V. Soong poached on his territory and humiliated him. See *Hu Shih te jih-chi*, February 11, 1942, and May 19, 1942, n.p.
92. See *Hu Shih te jih-chi*, November 5, 1945.
93. For the struggle between Soong and Chu, see Fu's letter to his wife, *FP*, I-1300.
94. It is worth noting that Fu used the term "pure stream" in a manner quite different from the traditional one. To him, being a member of the pure stream did not mean retreating from political life, but rather siding with the righteous in politics. He also realized that to be a member of the pure stream without becoming a martyr required a powerful patron. A personal favorite of Chiang Kai-shek's, Fu was skilled at praising and criticizing Chiang simultaneously.
95. In a letter to Hu Shih, 1942. *FP*, I-1676.
96. Hu Shih to Fu Ssu-nien, ibid., I-1668. Cf. ibid., II-89, a letter from Wang Shih-chieh to Fu Ssu-nien and Ch'ien Tuan-sheng.
97. When Hu Shih wavered a bit at the time Chiang Kai-shek hoped to ap-

point him *kuo-fu wei-yüan*, Fu's outspoken opposition caused some tension in their long-time friendship. But they did not consider Peita an organ of the government, partly because it was in the North and almost beyond the reach of the KMT. See *FP*, I-1681, letter from Hu to Fu.

98. In a letter to his wife, Fu explained why he firmly rejected this appointment: "Only when I can have a great contribution to make shall I take up any position. But it seems difficult to do anything now. . . . Working with those nasty officials is not what I am willing to do." Ibid., I-1302.
99. The surgery he expected to receive is described in a clipping entitled "Medical Forum" which was kept by Fu. See *FP*, I-351.
100. Ibid., I-1682.
101. Ibid., I-352, a newspaper clipping collected by Fu Ssu-nien. According to American Ambassador Leighton Stuart's observation, legislators opposed the KMT domination of the Legislative Yüan. They therefore aimed at defeating another candidate for the vice presidency, Ch'en Li-fu, leader of the most powerful clique of the KMT. However, "Ch'en was elected on the first ballot by 343 votes to 236 for non-party candidate Fu Ssu-nien. Fu's authorship of articles offensive to Mongols reported an important factor in his defeat, causing border people to vote solidly against him." See "The ambassador in China [Stuart] to the Secretary of State, May 18, 1948," United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 7, pp. 239–240.
102. *FP*, I-988, a summary of medical record signed by Wang Herngwen. However, Fu was advised not to take any administrative job.
103. His only brother, Fu Meng-po, wrote Fu and advised him not to return to China. Ibid., IV-234.
104. Yü Ta-ts'ai, "I Meng-chen," *FSNC*, p. 2583.
105. Fu Le-ch'eng, *Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u*, in ibid., p. 2667.
106. This poem is one of T'ao Yüan-ming's "Imitations" ("Ni-ku"). The English translation is from James Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), p. 184.
107. Hu Sung-p'ing, *Hu Shih nien-p'u ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1984), vol. 6, pp. 2065–2066. About this time, Hu Shih admitted to the U.S. ambassador in China and former president of Yenching University, Leighton Stuart, that he had been negligent in combatting communism and had overindulged in research.
108. Fu's disappointment was apparent in an article complaining that the works of leftist scholars intentionally appealed to common people and thus reached an unusually wide audience outside academia, whereas more objective academic works had no wide audience. See *FSNC*, p. 2089.
109. Ibid., p. 2016.
110. Ibid., p. 2072.

111. Ma Liang-k'uan, "P'ang-huang p'ai-huai nien ku-t'u," in *FSN*, p. 197.
112. Li Ch'üan, "Fu-hai shuo san-ch'ien ti-tzu," in ibid., p. 206. After Fu's death, commemorative articles multiplied. See *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, pp. 81–97. During my undergraduate years at T'aita in the late 1970s, Fu remained a symbol of the university in the minds of most students and was the most memorable figure in the university's history.
113. During abnormal times only those with powerful personalities could be heroic without risking their own lives. Fu happened to have a heroic personality, a democratic attitude, and personal relationships that enabled him to curb political terror at T'aita, and he acquired a good reputation for this. As for protecting students, see, for example, *FP*, IV-264, a letter from a secret agent, Chao Kung-hsia, refusing Fu's request to release a T'aita student. See *FSNC*, pp. 2072, 2159. He was repeatedly denounced by KMT party members for "not being anti-Communist" and for housing "Communist" professors. See ibid., pp. 2162–2163.
114. On sending Communist students back to the mainland, see Wang Shih-chieh's speech in a conference for the special commemorative issue of *Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh* in honor of Fu, 28.1 (1976), p. 13.
115. Fu's criticisms of the educational system introduced by the alumni of Columbia University's Teachers College were frequent. See, for example, *FSNC*, p. 2004.
116. See Li Ch'üan, "Fu-hai shuo san-ch'ien ti-tzu," p. 206.
117. *FSNC*, pp. 1720, 2493–2494, 1579, 1655, 1572–1575.
118. Ibid., p. 1562.
119. Ibid., pp. 1940–1953.
120. Chang Chung-tung, "Hu Shih yü Yin Hai-kuang," in *Kuo-li Tai-wan-ta-hsüeh wen shih che hsüeh-pao* 37 (1989), pp. 130–138.
121. *FSNC*, p. 1970.
122. Typical of these crackdowns was the suppression of Lei Chen and the journal *Tzu-yu Chung-kuo*.
123. *FP*, III-195. Fu to Chao Yüan-jen, ca. 1948.
124. Ibid., III-196.
125. Ibid.
126. "Mentalistic" was Fu's own term.
127. *FSNC*, p. 2290.
128. Ho Ting-sheng, "Sun-shih tai ta le," in *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, p. 76.
129. Hsü Fu-kuan, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang-shih lun-chi*, p. 232.
130. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Tai Tung-yüan* (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1970), p. 12. There is controversy concerning what the term "moral philosophy" refers to here.
131. Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u," in *FSNC*, p. 2644.
132. *FP*, III-195. Fu to Chao Yüan-jen.
133. Hu Shih to Fu Ssu-nien, *FP*, I-1649.
134. Ibid., III-195.
135. Ibid., V-82.
136. He also hated the CCP's desire to transform people into machines. *FSNC*, p. 2118.
137. See Fu Le-ch'eng, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u," in ibid., pp. 2643–2644. Hsü Fu-kuan noticed

that Fu himself was undergoing immense change in 1947 and 1948, and he lamented that Fu did not get enough time to appreciate fully Chinese traditional moral value.

138. This according to an interview with Huang Chang-chien, a senior member of the IHP, November 20, 1990.
139. Lao Kan, "Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng yü chin erh-shih-nien lai Chung-kuo li-shih hsüeh te fa-chan," in *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, p. 71.
140. *FSNC*, p. 2003.
141. Ibid., p. 2006.
142. Hsü Kuan-san, *Hsin-shih-hsüeh chiu-shih nien* (Hong Kong: Chung-wen ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1986), vol. 1, p. 218.
143. *FSNC*, p. 1359.
144. Ibid., pp. 1410–1413.
145. *FP*, IV-69, a letter from Fu to T'ao Meng-ho.
146. See Li Shih-hsüeh, "Hsiao-po-na tien ch'i Chung-kuo wen-t'an chan-huo," *Tang-tai* 37 (1989), pp. 36–55. Li Han-t'ing, "Tsai tung-hsi-fang te chia-feng chung ssu-k'ao — Fu Ssu-nien hsi-hsüeh-wei-yung te Wu-ssu wen-hsüeh kuan," *Tang-tai* 25 (1988), pp. 114–129.
147. *FSNC*, pp. 1250–1257.
148. *FP*, I-1682.
149. *FSNC*, pp. 2003, 2121.
150. Ibid., pp. 2226, 2121. This idea appeared repeatedly. See ibid., pp. 2122, 2223, 2225.
151. *FP*, IV-274, a letter from Shen Kang-po to Fu Ssu-nien.
152. This is according to my interview with Professor Kao Yu-kung of Princeton University, who was a student at T'aita when Fu was its president.
153. *FSNC*, pp. 2124–2125.
154. Hai Kuang (Yin Hai-kuang), "Wo-i Meng-chen hsien-sheng," *Tzu-yu Chung-kuo* 4.2 (1951), p. 35.
155. Fu to Hu Shih, *FP*, I-1676.
156. Fu Le-ch'eng, "Hsien-po Meng-chen hsien-sheng te jih-ch'ang sheng-huo," in *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, p. 13.
157. *Hsin-sheng-pao*, December 22, 1950.
158. *Fu ku hsiao-chang ai-wan-lu*, illustration, n.p.
159. See note 19 above.

Glossary

Anyang 安陽

Chang Yen-ch'ing 張燕卿

Changsha 長沙

Ch'en Pu-lei 陳布雷

Ch'en Sheng 陳勝

Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀

Cheng-chih-hsieh-shang-hui-i 政治協商會議

Cheng Lieh 鄭烈

"Che-yang ti Sung Tzu-wen fei tso-k'ai pu-k'o" 這樣的宋子文非走開不可

chi 集

chia hsüeh-shu chih-ming 假學術之名
Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石
Chiang T'ing-fu 蔣廷黻
Ch'ien Mu 錢穆
Ch'ien Tuan-sheng 錢端升
Ch'ing 清
Ch'inghua 清華
ch'ing-liu 清流
ch'i-shih 棄世
ch'i-ssu 氣死
Ch'iu Ch'ing-ch'üan 邱清泉
Chou Tso-jen 周作人
Chow Tse-tsung 周策縱
Chu Chia-hua 朱家驊
Chu Hsi 朱熹
Ch'üan-chi 全集
Chuang-tzu 莊子
chuang-yüan 狀元
Chungking 重慶
"Chung-kuo min-tsu ko-ming shih-kao" 中國民族革命史稿
Chung-shan (university) 中山大學
Chung-yang jih-pao 中央日報
Fei Hsiao-t'ung 費孝通
Fu I-chien 傅以漸
Fu Meng-chen hsien-sheng chi 傅孟眞先生集
Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年
Fu Ssu-nien ch'üan-chi 傅斯年全集
Fu Ssu-nien hsüan-chi 傅斯年選集
Fu Ta-p'ao 傅大砲
Han 漢
Ho Ting-sheng 何定生
Hsiang Yü 項羽
Hsieh Kuo-chen 謝國楨
"Hsien-t'an li-shih chiao-k'o-shu" 閒談歷史教科書
Hsi-nan lien-ta 西南聯大
Hsi-nan min-tsu hsüeh-hui 西南民族學會
Hsin-min 新民
Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀
Hsü-chou 徐州
Hsüeh-heng 學衡
hsüeh-shu k'an-wu 學術刊物
Hsün-tzu 荀子
Hu 胡
Hu Shih 胡適
Huang K'an 黃侃
Huang Yen-p'ei 黃炎培
"Huang-huo" 黃禍
i 義
i-yüan 議員
jen 仁
Jung Keng 容庚
Kiangsu 江蘇
Ku Chieh-kang (Ku Ch'eng-wu) 顧頡剛 (顧誠吾)
kuan-hsi 關係
K'ung Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung) 孔祥熙
Kunming 昆明
Kuo Kuo-chi 郭國基
Kuo Pao-chün 郭寶鈞
kuo-chiu 國舅
Kuo-fang ts'an-i hui 國防參議會
kuo-fu wei-yüan 國府委員
kuo-hsüeh 國學
Kuo-min ta-hui 國民大會

kuo-nan 國難
Kwangsi 廣西
Kwangtung 廣東
Lao-tzu 老子
Lei Chen 雷震
Li Chi 李濟
Li Ta-chao 李大釗
Li Tsung-huang 李宗黃
Liao-ch'eng 聊城
Li-chuang 李莊
Liu Pang 劉邦
Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培
Liu Yao (Yin Ta) 劉曜
Lo Chia-lun 羅家倫
Lü Hsien 呂咸
mai-pan 買辦
Manchukuo 滿州國
Mao Tse-tung 毛澤東
Mei I-ch'i 梅貽琦
Meng-chen 孟眞
Ming 明
Nan-hsi 南溪
Nan-k'ai 南開
Nanking 南京
Pan-chia-hsien-sheng 搬家先生
Pao Chien-ch'ing 鮑鑑清
Peita 北大
pu-t'ung 不通
Shantung 山東
Shen Kang-po 沈剛伯
sheng-chan 聖戰
Shui-hu chuan 水滸傳
Sung Chiang 宋江
Sung Tzu-wen (T. V. Soong) 宋子文
Ta Thai chu-i 大傣主義
Tai Chen 戴震
T'aita 台大
T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤
T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖
T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明
Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei 蔡元培
Tuan Hsi-p'eng 段錫朋
Wang Cheng-t'ing 王正廷
Wang Ching-wei 汪精衛
Wang Shih-chieh 王世杰
Weng Wen-hao 翁文灝
Wen-hsing 文星
wen-hua chi-lei 文化積累
Wen-hui pao 文匯報
Wu Ching-ch'ao 吳景超
Wu Kuang 吳廣
wu-liao hsüeh-che 無聊學者
Yenan 延安
Yin Hai-kuang 殷海光
Yin Ta (Liu Yao) 尹達
Yü P'ing-po 俞平伯
Yü Ta-ts'ai 俞大綵
yüan 圓
yung-chiu-le 用舊了
Yunnan 雲南

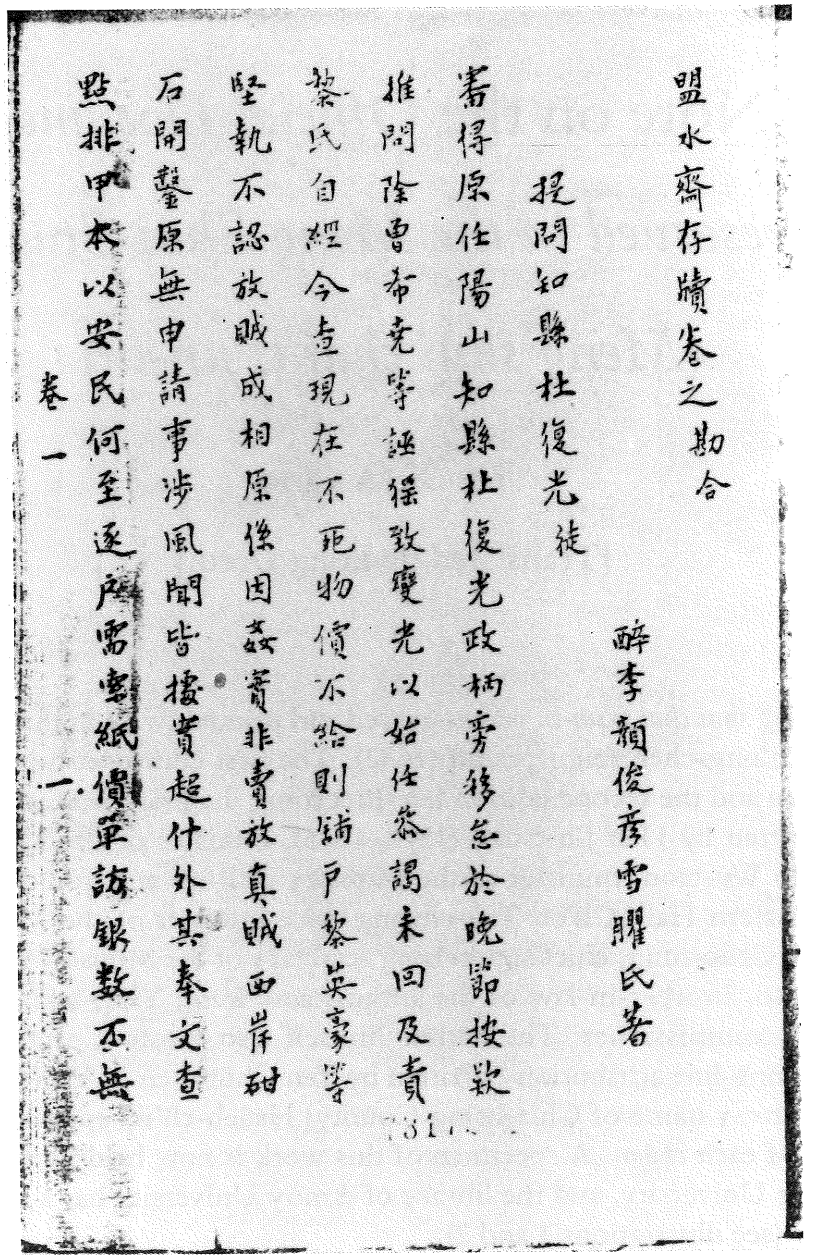
A Note on the *Official Documents Preserved in the Meng Shui Studio (Meng shui chai ts'un-tu)*

YE XIANEN

[Translated by Long Darui]

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* was engraved and printed twice in the fifth year of the Ch'ung-chen reign period (1632). The first edition comprises thirteen *chüan* and the second edition ten. Preceding the first *chüan* are six prefaces, written by Han Jih-tsuan (1578–1635), minister of the Ministry of Rites; Ho Wu-tsou, minister of the Ministry of Rites and grand secretary of the Eastern Hall; Ch'en Tzu-chuang, vice minister of the Ministry of Rites; Lu Chao-lung, chief supervising secretary of the Ministry of Personnel; Lu Ao, brother-in-law of the author; and Wang Ying-hua, vice surveillance commissioner. The author himself also wrote a preface to his work. A one-line attribution "Written by Yen Chün-yen of Tsui-li County [i.e., courtesy name of Chia-hsing County] Hsüeh-ch'ü" appears prior to the text of each *chüan*. A specimen of this work is now held by the library of Peking University, and the library of Amoy University has a handwritten copy (see illustrations 1 and 2).

The author, Yen Chün-yen, also known by his courtesy names K'ai-mei and Hsüeh-ch'ü, was born in T'ung-hsiang County (in modern Chekiang Province).[1] Having succeeded in the civil service examinations, he gained the degree of "presented scholar" (*chin-shih*) in the first year of the Ch'ung-chen period (1628) and that same year was appointed judge (*t'ui-kuan*, i.e.,



盟水齋存牘卷之勘合

醉李顏俊彥雪臞氏著

提問知縣杜復光徒

審得原任陽山知縣杜復光政柄旁移怠於晚節按欵
推問除曹布堯等誣猛致變光以始任恭謁未回及責
黎氏自經今查現在不瓦物價不給則鋪戶黎英豪等
堅執不認放賊成相原係因姦賓非賣放真賊西岸甜
石開墾原無申請事涉風聞皆據實起什外其奉文查
點排甲本以安民何至逐戶需索紙價單詐銀數不無

卷一

一

1. The first page from *ch.* 1 of the handwritten copy of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* by Yen Chün-yen. This portion of the work deals with "verification" of cases. Nine cols. of 21 chars.; page size unknown. Collection of the library of Amoy University. The Gest Library holds a photographic copy of this work. A specimen of the 1632 printed edition is preserved in the library of Peking University.

盟水齋存牘卷之一 讞畧

醉李顏俊彥雪曜氏著

強寇關國英 斬

審得王亞猛關國英巨寇廖九寰之羽黨也張旗擂號
擄掠婦女幾成大變該縣運籌設伏而渠魁已正厥辜
巢穴蕩平地方安堵矣亞猛等狐潛鼠突尚漏刑誅本
縣復指授方畧而亞猛旋即陣擒勞績應紀仍弔九寰
與亞猛面質研審無詞有張氏等被擄指證于前則亞
猛之竿牘莫逃于後未正厥典已就天刑仍據供報

731

2. A page from *ch.* 1 of the handwritten copy of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* by Yen Chün-yen. This portion of the work deals with the "abbreviation of verdicts." Nine cols. of 21 chars.; page size unknown. Collection of the library of Amoy University. The Gest Library holds a photographic copy of this work. A specimen of the 1632 printed edition is preserved in the library of Peking University.

the third-ranking administrator) of Kuang-chou Prefecture. The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a selection of verdicts and official correspondence he wrote during his three-year tenure (1628–1631) in that office. In the preface Yen Chün-yen explains that he "selected the verdicts for cases that have some particular bearing on the locality or that otherwise force one to attempt to make reasonable judgments by putting oneself in the special circumstances of the cases under review." Although not directly involved in the handling of all of these cases, he carefully considered them and believed that his opinions were to the point. He then "classified these writings into 'verification' (*k'an-ho*),[2] 'abbreviation of verdicts' (*yen-lüeh*), 'reversal of former verdicts' (*fan-an*), 'review of cases' (*chin-shen*),[3] and 'official pronouncements and reports' (*kung-i*),[4] and had the book engraved and printed." The author's preface thus indicates that one of his compilation principles was to reflect the contemporary local situation. The book is therefore a valuable primary source for the study of Chinese local history.

The high-ranking ministers and well-established Confucian scholars who wrote the six other prefaces were the author's contemporaries, and they all praised him highly for his even-handed justice and his relentless efforts to find the real criminals during his years as judge of the Kuang-chou Prefecture. However, his determination to redress injustice and punish evildoers and his perseverance in not yielding to any outside pressure when enforcing the law eventually offended some high-ranking officials. Yen Chün-yen was impeached. While waiting for the final verdict in his case, he wrote a poem "Random Thoughts While Living in a Small Village" ("Ts'un-chü tsa-hsing"), which vividly reveals his sadness at being falsely accused, and at the remote chance of his being rehabilitated and appointed to a prominent post. The poem reads:

> Ill, for weeks confined to my bed,
> dust all over my face.
> The plum flowers have long faded,
> and now apricot trees are in full blossom.
> All those painted beams are still there,
> though the nests on them remain empty;
> Unwanted, Spring rains;
> and the swallows have not yet returned.[5]

The poem reveals the feelings brought on by his failure to achieve vin-

dication after falling victim to slander. Although he later returned to office as judge of Sung-chiang Prefecture (in the modern Shanghai area), Yen Chün-yen thereafter remained somewhat depressed and discontent with life.

Yen took honesty and justice as his motto. As an encouragement to himself, he named his office "Meng Shui Studio," which probably implies that he swore that when deliberating a legal case and performing official duties, he would be as just and fair as water, which maintains its level. Since a fair and just judge must ascertain all the facts of any matter, it seems safe to suggest that the author of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* has left us with authentic and reliable records.

The documents included in the two editions of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* are verdicts in lawsuits, except for two *chüan* of "official pronouncements and reports," which contain 123 itemized suggestions by the author concerning local-administration reforms. The verdicts take up twenty-one *chüan*, and deal with 1,325 legal cases. The table shows the distribution and contents of these documents.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a work of substantial content, touching broadly on many important social issues in Chinese society. Cases in the book are indicative of, among other things, social organization at the grassroots level. They reveal the coexistence of many forms of social organization, such as clans (*tsung-tsu*), neighborhood self-monitoring organizations (*li-chia*), community compacts (*hsiang-yüeh*), joint neighborhood self-defense systems (*pao-chia*), and militia organizations (*t'uan-lien*). In Chinese society, the clan often served as the ultimate backing for its members. When a clan member was unfairly treated, it was often members of the same clan who came forward to lodge a complaint with the court. The society was generally disapproving of those who tried to seek justice for a mistreated person not of their clan because it was felt that clan members should speak out in the name of justice for their own fellow members.[6]

The late Ming strengthened the "Regulation for Neighborhood Self-Defense System," which required that the "neighborhood headman question any stranger who showed up in the village."[7] During the evening gatherings of members of the same community compact, there was a roll call of all the villagers. Those who were absent were looked on as engaging in "suspicious activities."[8] This indicates that neighborhood headmen and community-compact leaders were responsible for local order and security. When a

Table 1

	CHÜAN TITLE	NUMBER OF *CHÜAN*	NUMBER OF ITEMS
First edition	Verification	1	16
	Abbreviation of verdicts	5	412
	Reversal of former verdicts	1	61
	Reversal of (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts (*shu-fu fan-an*)	1	15
	Review of cases	1	76
	Official pronouncements and reports	1	68
	Abbreviation of the (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts (*shu-fu yen-lüeh*)	1	128
	Abbreviation of the P'an-yü County verdicts (*shu P'an-yü hsien yen-lüeh*)	1	30
	Abbreviation of the Hsiang-shan County verdicts (*shu Hsiang-shan hsien yen-lüeh*)	1	50
Second edition	Verification	1	18
	Abbreviation of verdicts	3	299
	Reversal of former verdicts	1	15
	Review of cases	1	19
	Cases that merit reduction of sentence, and cases of doubtful points (*chin-i*)	1	17
	Official pronouncements and reports	1	55
	Abbreviation of the (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts	2	169
Total		23	1,448

person was accused of wrongdoing but was later released by local government authorities after an investigation, it was often necessary for his neighborhood headman, the security-group head, the clan leader, and the community-compact chair to come out individually or jointly as guarantors of the good behavior of the accused.[9] There were also times these local leaders felt that an injustice had been done to a member of their community, and decided to jointly lodge a complaint with the court.[10]

During the Ming, local defense and security were maintained by the militia. "In matters involving the local force, the militia is to obey the local gentry and the elders, among whom one of acknowledged fairness and high prestige is to be named the militia director, and another chosen in a meeting as one both brave and wise [is to be appointed the militia captain], while from each gentry clan a certain number of sturdy and wise men also are to be appointed to fill militia vacancies." Those serving as militia directors, however, often "used their military names and status to manipulate military matters in their region," engaging in improper and evil deeds.[11] Lu Wen-hai was such an example. A petty official from San-shui County, Lu "is known as a pettifogger. When serving as director of the local militia, he makes himself overlord of the entire county. . . . [Local people] only know that there is a militia director; they are unaware of the county magistrate."[12] Cases in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* vividly describe a late Ming process during which the grass-roots social organizations and their security function were being reinforced, a process that reflected the social disorder and popular uprisings plaguing the society at the time.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a rich mine of records concerning the corrupt and notorious deeds of some influential local officials, local yamen subfunctionaries, hooligans, and guards from local military units. Abusing their power and collaborating with local hooligans, some local officials were engaged in seizing other people's property. They did so by falsely registering land to avoid taxes, or simply by occupying land by sheer force. They not only exploited the local people, they challenged the authority of local government. One Teng Yün-hsiao, an official of Tung-kuan County, for example, accused a civil servant of theft. He had the civil servant tied up and sent to the county authorities. On the way to the county seat, however, Teng had his own household retainers kill the civil servant.[13]

Local hooligans who collaborated with corrupt officials often pretended to be servants of those officials so they could harass local people.[14] "As for

the militia, some of them illegally arrested civilians, either to claim rewards or to retaliate against personal enemies." From time to time, they would accuse a local resident of theft, and surround his residence as if to arrest him. Terrified and desperately trying to avoid being harassed by the militia, men and women in the same neighborhood would flee from their homes, giving the militia the opportunity to enter and grab their personal belongings. "Hairpins, earrings, clothes, and quilts of good quality were packed into the militia's bags; the worthless items were turned over to the local government. The militia even slaughtered the water buffaloes and took away farm tools. After minor alterations, these tools would be displayed as the stolen goods recovered from the alleged theft."[15]

Some monstrous crimes were committed by local government servants. Li Hsien and two other underlings of the Tseng-ch'eng local government "out of the blue charged villager Lin I-mei with being a robber. They confiscated Lin's property, took away his wife and daughters, and raped them."[16] Even some retired government servants were involved in criminal activities. They were able to do this because "they know all the loopholes in government regulations and the corrupt officials in office, enabling them to extort money from local people at will; they combine the characteristics of local tyrants and corrupt government servants." For instance, treating living persons as if they were dead, they forced their victims to hire thugs to perform the service of burning paper money for the dead and then demanded money from the victims. They also forged government documents and certificates, which they used for their own personal gain.[17] To reform local administration, the author advanced two suggestions in "Preventing local government offices from all manner of illicit demands on the people" ("chin ya-kuan jao-min") and "Prohibitions for government servants" ("chin ya-i"),[18] in which he exposes in detail the abuse of power and corruption in local government.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* contains much useful material for research on land ownership, landlord-tenant relationships, and the transfer of land ownership. Lawsuits pertaining to land ownership preserved in the book involve a wide variety of land, such as official land, private land, and clan land, as well as sandy fields along the river banks, hilly land, ground used for a local marketplace, or small plots between public buildings. Disputes over land ownership usually arose when influential government officials illegally accepted title to other people's land, colluding with the legal owner

to evade taxes,[19] and when local hooligans took possession of others' land by pretending to be government officials,[20] or operated gambling dens where losers were forced to write out deeds of sale to their properties to cover their losses.[21] There were also cases of improperly manipulated sales in which the land was used as loan collateral,[22] or where forced sale and resale resulted in disputes over the ownership,[23] or the possession of land was based on a forged will of the deceased.[24] The newly emerged sandy fields along the river banks or at the river mouth could also become objects of contention in a lawsuit.[25]

A local practice in the transfer of land ownership — the so-called conditional transfer (*mai erh pu-tuan*) — often resulted in lawsuits between the seller and the buyer. In the Pearl River delta, transfer of land ownership could be either conditional or final. A contract might state that a piece of land was "sold." But in fact what was involved was a "conditional transfer," and the seller usually received only half the amount of money specified in the contract as the selling price. If the buyer wanted to make a "conditional transfer" final, he had to sign another contract with the seller and pay him an extra amount of money, which was referred to by the local people as the *hsi-yeh yin* (charge for clearing the property) or *t'ieh-chia yin* (surcharge on selling price). In an extreme case, "a piece of land had already changed hands three times, but lawsuits over ownership and control of the land were still going on in the court."[26]

When harvesting time came, local hooligans hired by corrupt officials often arrived by boat at the sandy fields along the river banks. They "expelled the tenants and reaped their crops."[27] Although the local government frequently punished offenders, such incidents still happened repeatedly. The author expresses his indignation at such crimes, saying: "In P'an-yü and Shun-te counties, harvesting other people's crops by force has become endemic. Unless the government deals with the offenders by severe punishment, farmers will no longer possess their land (and the crops)!"[28]

Fairly detailed descriptions of the circulation of commodities and the activities of merchants, boatmen, small shop owners, and households that specialized in the production of market-oriented goods can also be found in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu*. Many items, such as iron cooking pots, sugar, hemp cloth, silks and satins, porcelain, and dried fruits, entered into long-distance transportation and commerce. The amount of goods handled by merchants engaged in long-distance commerce was considerable. Sun Ssu-

k'ung, for instance, is one such merchant who traded in hemp cloth and other commodities. On a business trip to the Ching-tu country fair via the "southwest" (i.e., the county seat of modern San-shui), he transported a total of 1,260 bolts of hemp cloth, some satin, and other goods. He also carried with him 457 *liang* of silver as the capital for his business.[29]

Many merchants from other areas gathered in the city of Kuang-chou. "On the Hao-p'an Street [in Kuang-chou], one can find merchants from the two capitals, Ching-shih [Peking] and Nanking, and all the thirteen provinces."[30] Those from the neighboring provinces of Fukien and Che-kiang were particularly numerous. Huang Cheng, a merchant from Fu-kien, was engaged in illicit trade. Under the pretext of organizing a boat tour, he "gathered about three hundred followers and sailed to foreign countries to buy goods." On their way back, attempting to smuggle goods into the city of Kuang-chou, they sailed into Hu-men, the restricted military zone outside the city, to sell their goods, totally disregarding government prohibitions.[31]

New forms of the division of labor also started to develop in the Kuang-chou area, where households with different specializations emerged: boatmen who made their living by inland waterway and ocean transportation;[32] timber suppliers, who monopolized the timber trade; and suppliers of bricks for local government, who were well-to-do local families selected by the government.[33] A court verdict stipulates that "carpenters are not allowed to sell timber, whereas timber traders are prohibited from seeking subsidies from carpenters."[34] There were also owners of fruit shops that specialized in the processing of fruits; one of them by the name of Yeh Ying-hung used the front quarter of his shop to make dried fruits and the rear quarter to store fresh litchi and longan.[35] And there were "smelter households" engaged in the production of iron. At that time, "in Fo-shan the number of iron smelter households amounted to several tens of thousands."[36] There were rice dealers, who made their living solely by selling rice and grain,[37] and "loom households," which specialized in the production of silk fabrics.[38]

There were also professional contractors serving local government or private business. Some of them were in the business of supplying foreign goods for government offices,[39] and some the arrangement of transportation of goods for merchants. For example, "Hsia Yang-chen is a person engaged in the hiring of boats and boatmen for merchants. He once hired a

boat from Ts'ai Yung-hsing, and then employed Wang Yün-ts'ung and others to load the boat with goods to be traded in Hai-nan."[40] In addition, the book contains useful information about local prices, taxes, money lending, and mortgages.

Records with regard to the division of family property and the adoption of heirs in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* deserve special attention. In theory, the Chinese practice for the division of family property is: "All the sons, whether born to the legal wife or the concubines of their father, are entitled to a portion of the property." None should be given preferential treatment. However, the exact amount of property that each son received was sometimes determined by a judge after careful consultation with other family members and relatives, and after due consideration was given to the financial situation of each son and to the accepted practice for handling such matters. Only in this way would the division of family property be regarded as having been properly handled.[41] When family members entered a lawsuit over inheritance, the settlement often was not based strictly on legal codes, but also considered other factors. This is referred to as "giving due consideration to both the law and the specific circumstances (or human feelings)" (*ch'ing-fa chien-ku*).[42] And sometimes the settlement even allowed "special circumstances to prevail over the law," leading to a settlement based 30 percent on law and 70 percent on special considerations.[43] When the last member of a family died, choosing an heir could become contentious. In such a case, a contract agreed on by members of the clan to which the family belonged could designate two persons as the heirs who would "jointly inherit" the property.[44]

The practice of "allowing cases of inheritance dispute to be handled by weighing the law against the circumstances in which the dispute occurs (*ch'ing-li chien-ku*)" merely opened the door for corrupt officials to manipulate the law for their personal advantage. It also indicates the lack of a strong sense of law among local officials.

Records in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* remind us that figures and monetary units used in business and legal documents of the Pearl River delta region could differ from their literal meanings. It is well known to modern scholars that the value of pawned goods is usually doubled when it appears on the pawn tickets. The same is also true of sales contracts, in which the real price of a commodity has already been doubled when it appears as the selling price in a contract. When the corrupt local government servants re-

ceived silver as bribes or spoils, they often "use *ch'ien* [a Chinese monetary unit which is 1/10 of a standard ounce], for *liang* [the standard ounce]," thus reducing the silver they received to 1/10 of the real amount. A case entitled "False accusations and cheating for money committed by Liang Hai-yün and others" ("wu-cha Liang Hai-yün teng") includes the following: "Sheng Liang has confessed that he received one *liang* and two *ch'ien* of silver. Since it is common for the government servants to refer to *liang* as *ch'ien*, [the actual amount of silver that he received] is therefore twelve *liang*."[45]

The selling price for similar commodities sometimes seems to have fluctuated considerably from one sales contract to another in the Kuang-chou area. To understand this somewhat odd phenomenon, we need to take into consideration the fact that certain terms in those contracts are used by local people in unique ways. The case "A dispute over army fields among Ch'en Chin-wu and others" ("cheng chün-t'ien Ch'en Chin-wu teng") in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* provides us with a clue to understanding one such term: "In Yüeh [modern Kwangtung Province], it is a common practice to use the term 'sell' for 'pawn' (*an*)[46] [if the value of the commodity listed in the contract is only half of its market price], because nobody would sell his goods at half price."[47] Cases in the book indicate that when a dispute over whether a person has actually sold or merely pledged a piece of land to another person is presented to the court, the judge often decides that the land is in pledge (*an*), provided that the selling price of the land in the contract is only half its market value. The social customs and local anecdotes recorded in the book are indeed useful for our understanding of the primary sources from the Pearl River delta area.

In addition, accounts in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* touch on such problems as local coastal defense, educational policies, civil service examinations, criminal law, the economy, government correspondence, and the postal system, as well as the measures adopted by the local government to cope with these problems. Its content with regard to household records, master-servant relationships, and popular uprisings also deserves further study. The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is therefore a good source not only for the study of Chinese legal history, but also for research into Ming social and economic history. Nowadays modern scholars still have much difficulty in finding original local Ming government documents and archival materials, and this makes the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* an even more valuable primary source.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article was translated into English by Mr. Long Darui, lecturer in the Department of Foreign Languages, Szechwan Teachers' University, Chengtu, and revised by the staff of the journal.

NOTES

1. For the life and work of the author, see Ts'ao Jung, "Ming-jen hsiao-chuan" (ms. copy of unpublished work, Peking Library), 4, p. 74; and Chu I-tsun, *Ming shih tsung* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), 68, p. 5b.
2. "K'an-ho" literally means to match part of an official seal with another document for authenticity, especially in military matters. Documents in this section of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* involve major criminal cases and bear impressions of official seals of governments on different levels. The term "k'an-ho" is translated here as "verification" to convey the meaning that evidence and facts stated in those cases had been carefully checked and verified before they were presented to higher-level authorities.
3. These cases had been tried and verdicts delivered. But consideration of a request for a reduction of sentence (*chin*) or doubtful points in these cases (*i*) justified reviewing them.
4. These pronouncements often deal with the maintenance of public order and security. The reports also contain suggestions proposed to the higher authorities.
5. Chu, *Ming shih tsung*, 68, p. 5b.
6. See "Woman Ch'eng, victim of deception" ("fu-p'ien Ch'eng-shih") and "False accusations made by Ts'ai Chü-hsiu" ("wu-kao Ts'ai Chü-hsiu"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 3.
7. See the suggestion made by the author in his "Prohibiting candidate officials from making trouble" ("chin hou-ch'üeh-kuan sheng-shih") in *kung-i*, 2d edn.; see also "Shyster Hu Ch'i-lung" ("tiao sung Hu Ch'i-lung"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.*2.
8. "Robbers Chao Mao-yen and others" ("ch'iang-tao Chao Mao-yen teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 1.
9. See "Robber K'ung Ya-jen" ("ch'iang-tao K'ung Ya-jen"), "Robber Ho Chiung-jan" ("ch'iang-tao Ho Chiung-jan"), in ibid.; see also "False charges made by Wen Ming-chin" ("wu-kao Wen Ming-chin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 1.
10. "Local tyrant Feng Wu-k'uei" ("hao-tu Feng Wu-k'uei"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 3.
11. "Homicide committed by Feng Ju-shih and others" ("jen-ming Feng Ju-shih teng"), in ibid., 1st edn., *ch.* 1.
12. "False accusations made by Lu Wen-hai and others" ("wu-kao Lu Wen-hai teng"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
13. "Teng Yün-hsiao and his accomplices, the criminals wanted by His Majesty" ("ch'in-fan Teng Yün-hsiao teng"), in *k'an-ho*, 1st edn.
14. "Wu Fu, who pretended to be the servant of [a] local official" ("chia-mao huan-p'u Wu Fu"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1; see also "A lawsuit for

property filed by Ho Wei-tzu" ("sung-ch'an Ho Wei-tzu"), in ibid., *ch.* 2.

15. "Details of the false accusation of theft made by Liang Ts'ai and his accomplices" ("wu-tao Liang Ts'ai teng yu-hsiang"), in *fan-an*, 2d edn.
16. "Rapists Li Hsien and others" ("Ch'iang-chien Li Hsien teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 2.
17. "Local tyrant Feng Wu-k'uei and his followers" ("hao-tu Feng Wu-k'uei teng"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 3.
18. See *kung-i* in the first and second editions.
19. "Land seized by Liang Ho and others who pretended to be officials" ("mao-huan chan-t'ien Liang Ho teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2; see also "Land seized by Liang Ch'u-t'ing and others who pretended [to be officials]" ("chia-mao chan-t'ien Liang Ch'u-t'ing teng"), in ibid., 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
20. "Land seized by Lu Cho-hsiung who pretended to be a government official" ("mao-huan chan-t'ien Lu Cho-hsiung"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
21. See "Land seized by Ts'ui Ssu-chien through gambling games" ("tu-chü chan-t'ien Ts'ui Ssu-chien"), in ibid.
22. "Lin Kuei who claimed to be the landowner and mortgaged the land" ("tao-tien chu-yeh Lin Kuei"), in ibid.
23. "A dispute over land ownership among Yü Ch'ao-chung and others" ("cheng-t'ien Yü Ch'ao-chung teng"), in ibid., 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
24. "A case of land ownership filed by Huang Kuan-hsin" ("cheng-t'ien Huang Kuan-hsin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
25. "A dispute over land ownership among Lin Shao-chia and others" ("cheng-t'ien Lin Shao-chia teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2; see also "Murderer Li Yüan-chin" ("jen-ming Li Yüan-chin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
26. "A lawsuit for land ownership filed by Cheng Kuo-kuang" ("cheng-t'ien Cheng Kuo-kuang"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
27. "Ho Chi-po and others, who pretended to be officials and reaped the crops of other people" ("mao-huan ch'iang-ho Ho Chi-po teng"), in ibid., *ch.* 2.
28. "P'an Hai-yün and others who pretended to be officials and harvested other people's crops by force" ("mao-huan ch'iang-ho P'an Hai-yün teng"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
29. "Robber Ho Fu" ("ch'iang-tao Ho Fu"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
30. "Meng Hsing-i and others who fought for the favor of a prostitute and made false accusations against each other" ("cheng-chi k'uang-wu Meng Hsing-i teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
31. See "Huang Cheng and his followers who illegally sailed ocean ships into inland rivers" ("yang-ch'uan ch'uang-ju nei-ti Huang Cheng teng"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
32. "Boatmen Wu Ch'un and others" ("ch'uan-hu Wu Ch'un teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3; see also "A lawsuit concerning debt filed by Cheng Hui-yü" ("sung-chai Cheng Hui-yü"), in ibid., *ch.* 4.
33. "A dispute among Cheng Kuo-hung and others who fought to serve the

government as brick suppliers" ("cheng-tang hang-hu Cheng Kuo-hung teng"), in ibid.

34. "The flogging punishment for timber dealers Ch'en P'ing and others" ("mu-h'u Ch'en P'ing teng chang"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
35. "Huang Tuan-hao, owner of the lost goods" ("shih-chu Huang Tuan-hao"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
36. "Ho Chien-tung and others, who withdrew the lawsuit" ("hsi-sung Ho Chien-tung teng"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
37. "The cangue punishment for government servants Ho Kao and others who threatened and blackmailed local people" ("ho-cha ya-i Ho Kao teng"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
38. "Ou K'uo-so and Ch'en Feng-chao, two hooligans who violated government prohibitions" ("wei-chin chien-kun Ou K'uo-so Ch'en Feng-chao"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 2.
39. "The dishonest contractors Hsieh Yü-ning and others" ("chien-lan Hsieh Yü-ning teng"), in ibid.
40. "The false accusation made by Hsia Yang-cheng" ("wu-kao Hsia Yang-cheng"), in ibid., 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
41. "A dispute over inheritance among Chung Ching-ch'un and others" ("cheng-ch'an Chung Ching-ch'un teng"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
42. "A lawsuit for contested adoption filed by Ma Pang-tso" ("cheng-chi Ma Pang-tso"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
43. "A dispute over army fields among T'an Chin-wu and others" ("cheng chün-t'ien T'an Chin-wu teng"), in ibid., *ch.* 3.
44. "A dispute over adoption among Ch'en Lien and others" ("cheng-chi Ch'en Lien teng"), in ibid., *ch.* 2.
45. In ibid., 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
46. Depending on the scale, the business of institutions involved in loans and mortgages is referred to in Chinese as *tien, tang, an* (*chih*), and *ya*. The *tien* business is the largest, and the *ya* the smallest. It is common in the Pearl River delta area to use the term *an* for *chih*.
47. In *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 3.

Glossary

an 按

Chekiang 浙江

Ch'en Tzu-chuang 陳子壯

"cheng chün-t'ien Ch'en Chin-wu teng" 爭軍田陳進吾等

Chia-hsing 嘉興

ch'ien 錢

"chin ya-i" 禁衙役

"chin ya-kuan jao-min" 禁衙官擾民

ch'ing-fa chien-ku 情法兼顧

ch'ing-li chien-ku 情理兼顧

Ching-shih 京師

Ching-tu 京渡

chin-i 矜疑

chin-shen 矜審

chin-shih 進士

chüan 卷
Ch'ung-chen 崇禎
fan-an 翻案
Fo-shan 佛山
Fukien 福建
Hai-nan 海南
Han Jih-tsuan 韓日纘
Hao-p'an (street) 蠔畔街
Ho Wu-tsou 何吾騶
Hsia Yang-chen 夏仰鎮
hsiang-yüeh 鄉約
hsi-yeh yin 洗業銀
Hsüeh-ch'ü 雪臞
Huang Cheng 黃正
Hu-men 虎門
K'ai-mei 開美
k'an-ho 勘合
Kuang-chou 廣州
kung-i 公移
Kwangtung 廣東
Li Hsien 李先
liang 兩
li-chia 里甲
Lin I-mei 林一梅
Lu Ao 陸鏊
Lu Chao-lung 盧兆龍
Lu Wen-hai 陸文海
mai erh pu-tuan 賣而不斷
Meng shui chai ts'un-tu 盟水齋存牘
Nanking 南京
P'an-yü 番禺
pao-chia 保甲
San-shui 三水
Sheng Liang 陞良
shu Hsiang-shan hsien yen-lüeh 署香山縣讞略
shu P'an-yü hsien yen-lüeh 署番禺縣讞略
shu-fu fan-an 署府翻案
shu-fu yen-lüeh 署府讞略
Shun-te 順德
Sun Ssu-k'ung 孫思孔
Sung-chiang 松江
Teng Yün-hsiao 鄧雲霄
t'ieh-chia yin 貼价銀
Ts'ai Yung-hsing 蔡永興
Tseng-ch'eng 增城
Tsui-li 醉李
"Ts'un-chü tsa-hsing" 邨居雜興
tsung-tsu 宗族
t'uan-lien 團練
t'ui-kuan 推官
T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉
Tung-kuan 東莞
Wang Ying-hua 王應華
Wang Yün-ts'ung 王雲從
"wu-cha Liang Hai-yün teng" 誣詐梁海雲等
Yeh Ying-hung 葉應洪
Yen Chün-yen 顏俊彥
yen-lüeh 讞略
Yüeh 粵

Comments on Professor Cui's Articles

SÖREN EDGREN

Recent issues of the *Gest Library Journal* have been graced with two interesting articles by Professor Cui Jian-ying of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Peking. Aside from providing a wealth of information pertaining to the field of Chinese historical bibliography, the articles contain specific references to the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project and to various direct concerns of the project, all of which encourages me to offer some random comments.

The first article, "The Scope of the Term '*Shan-pen*,' the Identification of Woodblock Editions, and the Organization of Catalogues, in Relation to Traditional Chinese Books," appeared in the Winter 1989–1990 issue of the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 35–60). Since both articles have been translated from Professor Cui's original Chinese, some of my comments refer to the aptness of terminology or the correctness of interpolated facts, as well as to ideological differences with the contents. To begin with, Imperial Capital Library (p. 37) should probably be called [Imperial] Board of Education Library (Hsüeh-pu T'u-shu-kuan), as it was known from 1909 to 1912, or Capital Library (Ching-shih T'u-shu-kuan), as it was renamed in 1912, when it officially opened to the public.[1] It would be a mistake to refer to it as Metropolitan Library (by analogy with Metropolitan University, the name given early on to Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang), which was the official English designation for Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan, a municipal public library founded in 1926. In 1928 Hsüeh-pu T'u-shu-kuan changed its name to Pei-p'ing Pei-hai T'u-shu-kuan; in the same year Ching-shih T'u-shu-kuan changed its name to Kuo-li Pei-p'ing T'u-shu-kuan. The fol-

lowing year the two libraries merged to form what is now known as the National Library of China (Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan). Rare books from the National Library of Pei-p'ing, sent to the Library of Congress during the Sino-Japanese War years (see note 2 in Cui), and returned to the National Central Library in Taipei in 1965, are now stored at the National Palace Museum in Taipei.[2]

Also on page 37, the "Three Characteristics" — cultural object (*wen-wu*), document (*tzu-liao*), and art (*i-shu*) — are similar to the more traditional division of rare books into two constituent elements of textual and artifactual, the second characteristic representing the textual and the first and third corresponding to the artifactual. This seems to be muddled in the statement that "the last two characteristics . . . fall under the heading of 'character as a cultural object.' "

In the first sentence of the first new paragraph on page 38 a slight change in the translation might be appropriate: "Yet almost eight hundred institutional collections have been included in the compilation work, and the levels of attainment of the institutions' personnel are not uniform." This refers to the fact that 791 libraries and other institutions have contributed information to the National Union Catalogue,[3] resulting in an unprecedented level of comprehensiveness, but also magnifying the problems of accuracy and consistency. Cui's explanation of the scope of the term "*shan-pen*" is lucid, and he is correct to point out the inevitable difficulties resulting from subjective judgments about inclusion of editions from the later end of the chronological scale.[4] Extending the chronological boundary for "*shan-pen*" from 1644 to 1795 is a reasonable step, and, indeed, it is the boundary adopted by the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project. It is not unthinkable to extend the boundary even to 1911, the division between imperial China and republican China. This is already done in a number of Chinese libraries, although the books included are usually referred to as "old editions" (*ku-chi* or *chiu-chi*) rather than "rare editions" (*shan-pen*). Using 1900, for example, would be somewhat analogous to the trend in Western bibliography of using 1800 for Western books as a centennial dividing line between the age of hand printing and the era of mechanical printing. As Cui suggests, "there will come a day when all woodblock printed books will be looked upon as possessing high value."

The first paragraph of the section "The Identification of Editions" (p. 39) is of great importance, it seems to me, and requires additional elaboration.

The editor's explanation (note 5) is praiseworthy, especially for the decision to substitute the word "specimen" or "exemplar" for the word "copy." The practice is not maintained in the next article, however. The question of group character (*ch'ün-t'i hsing*) in relation to the general filiation of editions (*pan-pen hsi-t'ung*) seems quite clear, but the conclusion of the second paragraph is perplexing. It cannot mean that "in recent times . . . catalogues have become endlessly detailed in revealing group identities." Perhaps what is meant is that the assembling of large numbers of books representing different groups, as accomplished by concentration in large libraries, has resulted in the group identities having become endlessly detailed (i.e., minutely complex). We can only hope that these rich data will be analyzed and used to compile future catalogues. Regrettably, the *National Union Catalogue of Shan-pen among Old Chinese Editions*, mentioned earlier in the article, avoids accepting just this responsibility, and the result is more like a catalogue that "merely lists titles." For example, the most fundamental elements of descriptive cataloguing for older editions are lacking, such as enumeration of columns per page (half-folio) and characters per column, as well as other indications of block format. If the compilers, in fact, took into account the important questions of "*ch'ün-t'i hsing*" in their work, then they have done the scholarly community a disservice by not including the results in the published catalogue, which amounts to little more than a critical inventory of mainland holdings.

Following this (pp. 40–51) are listed three categories of causes of errors in identifying editions together with illustrative examples. In this section the "*hei-k'ou*" page format (p. 41) is described as a "solid black strip running through the upper portion of the page fold," but actually it usually runs through both the upper and lower portions of the center column. The caption for illustration 3 (p. 43) should read "Ten cols. of 21 chars." The expression "ca." occurring after the names Feng Yu-ching and Yüan Ying-t'ai (p. 45) and Wang K'en-t'ang (p. 49) apparently does not mean circa, but rather is a mistake for "cs," meaning *chin-shih*. Although the translation of this difficult text is generally successful, there appears to be an urgent need for an accurate glossary of technical and specialist terms. See, for example, the ambiguity surrounding the terms *ch'ung-k'o pen*[5] and *fan-k'o pen* (p. 51 and note 17).

In general, Professor Cui offers interesting examples to support his third category of "*Carelessness in examining content*," and my differences of opin-

ion are not significant enough to warrant mention here. Categories one and two, as generalized assertions of the weakness of subjective judgments, are certainly correct, but I do not believe that they are ever used as "absolute criteria" or as the "sole basis" for identification of editions. I assume that the first category ("*The error of accepting the 'latest date given in prefaces and postfaces as the date of engraving'* ") is an oblique reference to the custom of adding a preface or postface date to an edition statement, especially prevalent among our Japanese colleagues. Personally, I support the practice, if carried out with the highest level of discrimination, which presupposes that the given date lies in close proximity to the actual date of the engraving of the blocks. It must be understood that the date of preface or postface is not presumed to be the exact date of engraving of the blocks, that the exact date occurs nowhere else in the book, and that the catalogue format precludes giving the date anywhere other than in the edition statement. Simply put, I believe that an edition of unspecified date of the early seventeenth century is better served by the description "Ming Wan-li 40 (preface) edition" than by stating only "Ming edition," which spans a range of three centuries. Needless to say, a Sung-period preface would not be cited in this way for a Ming edition of a book. The second category ("*Judgments made in isolation, based on distinctive features of the printing*") lists some generalizations about books produced in different periods and attendant fallacies. It is of interest that in Professor Cui's next article for the *Gest Library Journal* ("The Identification of Woodblock-Printed Chinese Books: Five Case Studies," vol. 4, no. 1 [Spring 1991], pp. 40–63), he combines subjective judgments about the appearances of books with objective factors.[6]

The final section of the first article, "The Organization of Catalogues" (pp. 51–54), is a survey of the traditional fourfold (*ssu-pu*) classification schemes. The concluding paragraph refers to machine-readable catalogues, described as recording "only the name of the book, the author's name, the date of engraving and printing, and a note on the content," which more closely resembles the printed version of the *National Union Catalogue of Shan-pen among Old Chinese Editions.* The main thrust of Professor Cui's article, about which there is no disagreement, is the need for rigorous standards of research in the study of old Chinese editions.

The second article is another important contribution in this field. Each of the case studies involves a book "incorrectly" catalogued in the Gest Library catalogue compiled by Professor Ch'ü Wan-li.[7] Identification in the

first three case studies is aided by access to a bibliographical reference work, the *Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih*, a work compiled by and apparently available to members of the library of the Academy of Social Sciences in China. Needless to say, the formal publication of such works would be warmly received by all persons working in this field. The reference to various current union catalogue projects, once again, reminds us of the need to promote all manner of resource sharing.

I decided to make a case study of a case study, in this instance the third one, with quite unexpected results. Basing my study exclusively on readily available reference works, I am of the opinion that Professor Cui's conclusions are not tenable. To summarize his theories (pp. 52–55), the *Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi* (abbreviated to *Wen-chi*), by Han Jih-tsuan, although listed in the Gest Library catalogue as a Ming Ch'ung-chen period edition, is actually a Ch'ing K'ang-hsi period edition. The only other reference he finds to the work is an edition with a K'ang-hsi preface in the Chung-shan Library in Kwangtung Province. Although considering the possibility that *Wen-chi* is a K'ang-hsi edition, he notes the further possibility that the K'ang-hsi preface "was inserted into a later impression of the book." At this point he discovered a local gazetteer entitled *Po-lo hsien-chih* (abbreviated to *Hsien-chih*), which he believes was engraved in the K'ang-hsi period. A similarity of appearance is recognized between the editions of *Wen-chi* and *Hsien-chih*; moreover, the block carver's name "Yü" appears in both (see illustrations 5 and 6 in Cui's second article). It is then supposed that if the three books (two specimens of *Wen-chi* and one of *Hsien-chih*) were all carved by Yü, it is "safe to suggest" that "the Gest Library copy may also have been engraved about this time [K'ang-hsi]." With the *Wen-chi* now supposed to have been engraved in the K'ang-hsi period, it is considered remarkable that the *Wen-chi* contains anti-Ch'ing articles and does not observe the taboo character "*hsüan*," as was common for the K'ang-hsi period. Instead of drawing the correct conclusions from these clues, Cui suggests that the general principles for rare book cataloguing in China be revised to reflect these phenomena.

Indeed, I believe both titles were engraved in Po-lo County, Kwangtung Province, but in the Ch'ung-chen period and not in the K'ang-hsi period. Besides the Chung-shan Library specimen of *Wen-chi* (which has neither been seen nor had its K'ang-hsi preface explained), there is an edition identical to the Gest one among the rare books from the National Library of

Pei-p'ing (NLP) shipped to the Library of Congress during the Sino-Japanese War years (see above). Besides the usual references, it is described as a Ch'ung-chen edition by Wang Chung-min.[8] *Hsien-chih*, as cited by Cui, is the Naikaku Bunko (Tokyo) exemplar, the only known complete one. Another specimen, lacking *chüan* 1 (of seven), is in the Shanghai Library (former Hsü-chia-hui collection).[9] The revised edition of the Naikaku Bunko catalogue specifies that its edition of *Hsien-chih* was engraved in Ch'ung-chen (1631) and printed in K'ang-hsi (1687) from reconditioned wood blocks.[10] This kind of reprint edition (*pu-hsiu k'o-pen*) implies that only minor changes and repairs were made to the worn blocks. As seen in illustrations 5 and 6 of Cui's second article, *Hsien-chih* shows signs of worn blocks, whereas the *Wen-chi* blocks look quite fresh, which supports my contention. In fact, the Gest and NLP exemplars of *Wen-chi* both seem to have used some newly carved blocks and partially restored blocks, but there is no reason to think that either was printed as late as the K'ang-hsi period. It is essential to distinguish between the date or period of engraving of the blocks and the date or period of eventual later printing, with or without changes and repairs to the blocks. Concerning the Chung-shan Library version of *Wen-chi*, we do not really know that the blocks were engraved in the K'ang-hsi period, and if the character "*hsüan*" does not have an omitted stroke (as stated unequivocally by Cui on p. 55), it seems most likely that the blocks were engraved prior to the K'ang-hsi reign. We do know that *Hsien-chih* was printed in the K'ang-hsi period from Ch'ung-chen blocks, but not that "*hsüan*" appears unaltered in it. The author of *Wen-chi*, Han Jih-tsuan, who was a native of Po-lo County, took part in the compilation of *Hsien-chih*; hence it is not surprising that both works were published in the same place and around the same time in the Ch'ung-chen period, and that both used the same block carver named Yü. Therefore, I propose that no change be made to the Gest Library catalogue entry for the book.

The fourth case study (pp. 55–58) is a curious one, being a genuine case of forgery. As Professor Cui points out, this specimen of *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* by Hsü Ling is a twentieth-century woodblock facsimile edition, closely resembling the original edition of 1633. Unscrupulous persons obviously obtained the newly carved wood blocks, discarded the explanatory supplements of Hsü Nai-ch'ang (1862–1936), and excised from the blocks the one-line publisher's colophon by Hsü as well as the name (T'ao Tzu-lin) of

the modern block carver. The book was handsomely bound, and fake ex libris seals were stamped in it. It is quite surprising that Ch'ü Wan-li and even Wang Chung-min, as evidenced by his notes on the collection, could be so easily deceived. In fact, I. V. Gillis, who acquired the book for Gest, also bought an undisguised specimen of the modern edition without realizing that the two books were printed from the same blocks. (See illustrations 1 and 2 for comparisons of the last page of the text.)[11] All of this should be taken as a sober warning.

As Professor Cui notes, "[we] should not be confused by the superficial features of the book." I, too, had previously seen both editions and agree with him that "it is not difficult to tell the two apart." However, I disagree with him in his assessment of Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1919). Cui thinks that the seal impressions (three different ones) attributed to Miao "are all authentic" (see illustrations 3 and 5). I do not.[12] He unjustly states: "Miao Ch'üan-sun's seals, however, indicate that he failed to tell that this copy is in fact a Hsü Nai-ch'ang edition. A book collector as famous and experienced as Miao Ch'üan-sun can sometimes also be deceived by a fakery." In the first place, Miao could not have seen the book, let alone have owned it, since he died in 1919 (and not 1929, as stated in note 2 of Cui's first article) and the wood blocks for the new edition were carved in 1922. Second, although he is referred to by Cui merely as "a certain Mr. Hsü Nai-ch'ang from Nan-ling County," in fact, it is well known that Hsü Nai-ch'ang and Miao were intimate friends, and it is inconceivable that Miao, had he been alive, would not have been aware of all Hsü's publishing activities. Miao even composed a preface for a catalogue of Hsü's library (never published) in which he recalls that their bibliographical acquaintance went back thirty years to Liu-li-ch'ang in Peking,[13] and his diaries contain frequent references to Hsü.[14] The fake seal impressions are clearly part of the deceit.

The fifth case study (pp. 58–60) concerns itself with the *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi* of Li P'an-lung. Professor Cui is indeed correct in pointing out that this is a Ming commercial reprint edition (*fang k'o-pen*) and not the original edition of 1572. Probably "original edition" or "first edition" is a better way of expressing *yüan k'an-pen* or *ch'u k'o-pen* than "first impression." I doubt, however, that it is an intentional attempt "to fake the first impression of the book," but rather an example of the profitability of reprint editions of popular books. It is difficult to understand today the tre-

後敘

右玉臺新詠集十卷幼時至外家李氏於廢書中得之舊京本也宋失一葉閒復多錯謬版亦時有刓者欲求他本是正多不獲嘉定乙亥在會稽始從人借得豫章刻本財五卷蓋至刻者中徙故弗畢也又聞有得后氏所藏錄本者復求觀之以補亡校脫於是其書復全可繕寫夫詩者情之發也征戍之勞苦室家之怨思動於中而形於言先王不能禁也豈惟不能禁且逆揆其情而著之東山杕杜之詩是矣若其他變風化雅謂豈無膏沐誰適爲容終朝采綠不盈一掬之類以此集揆之語意未大異也顧其發乎情則同而止乎禮義者蓋鮮矣然其閒僅合者亦一二焉其措詞託興高古要非後世樂府所能及自唐花閒集已不足道而況近代挾邪之說號爲以筆墨動淫者乎又自漢魏以來作者皆在焉多蕭統文選所不載覽者可以覩歷世文章盛衰之變云是歲十月旦日書其後孔嘉陳玉父

太歲在元黓閹茂南陵徐乃昌影明崇禎吳郡寒山趙均小宛堂覆宋本重雕

1. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, Hsü Nai-ch'ang edn., 1922. Final page of text with publisher's one-line colophon. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

後敍

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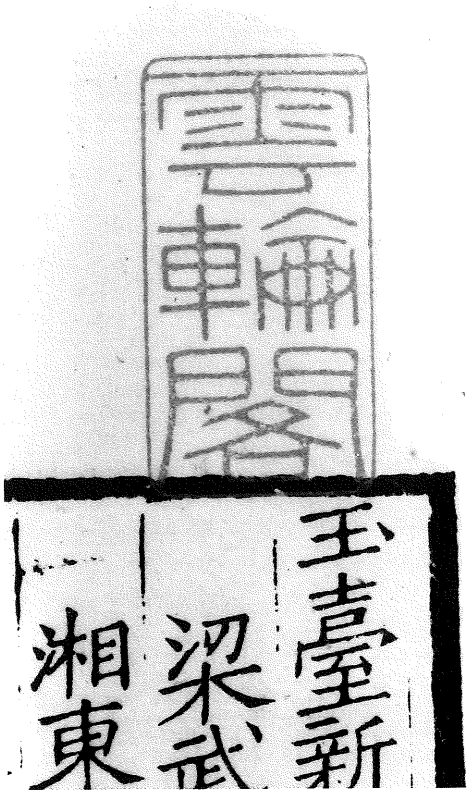
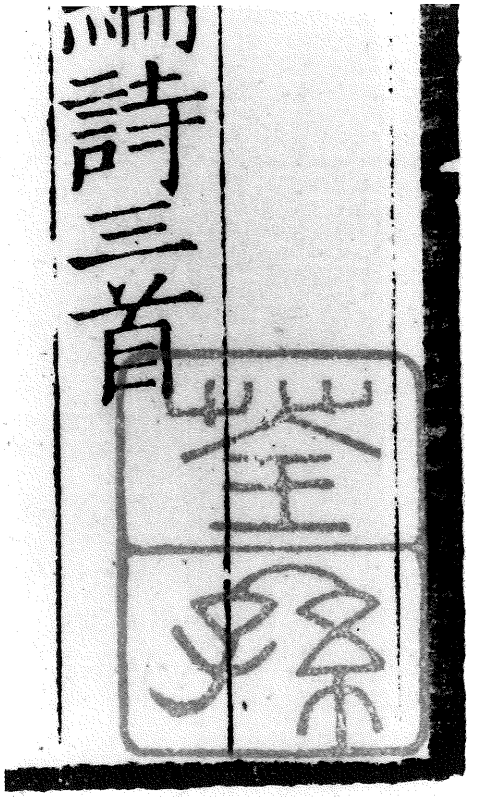
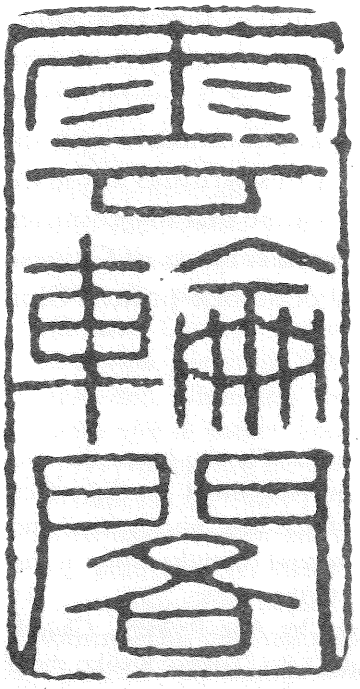
2. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, Hsü Nai-ch'ang edn., 1922. Forgery, lacking publisher's one-line colophon. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



3. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, Hsü Nai-ch'ang edn., 1922. Seal impression (30 x 16 mm.) attributed to Miao Ch'üan-sun. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



5. From Hsü Ling, *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, Hsü Nai-ch'ang edn., 1922. Seal impression (21 x 16 mm.) attributed to Miao Ch'üan-sun. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.



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4. From *Shan-pen ts'ang-shu yin-chang hsüan-ts'ui* (Taipei: National Central Library, 1988), p. 269. Reproduction of seal impression (30 x 15.5 mm.) belonging to Miao Ch'üan-sun.

荃孫

6. From *Shan-pen ts'ang-shu yin-chang hsüan-ts'ui* (Taipei: National Central Library, 1988), p. 268. Reproduction of seal impression (21 x 16 mm.) belonging to Miao Ch'üan-sun.

mendous popularity of Li during the late Ming period, not only in China, but even in Korea and Japan, where his works were collected, copied, and reprinted. I know of several different Ming editions that circulated after the first one was published, which should be ample proof of the great popular demand for Li's writings at the time.

In sum, I hope that my comments have shed some additional light on the truly complex subjects of Chinese historical bibliography and the identification of woodblock-printed Chinese books.

NOTES

1. Ching-shih T'u-shu-kuan, in fact, was not recognized as the official name of the new library until June 1913, several months after it had opened to the public.
2. Reported by Abe Ryūichi, *Chūgoku hōsho-shi, zōtei* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1983), p. 669.
3. The *National Union Catalogue of Shan-pen among Old Chinese Editions* (*Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu*) was conceived in the late 1970s and has been directed by a committee of experts in China. Three parts of five have been published, by Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she: *Ching-pu* (Classics, 1985), *chüan* 1–4; *Ts'ung-pu* (Collectanea, 1989), *chüan* 32–36; *Shih-pu* (History, 1991), *chüan* 5–14. It should be noted that distribution has lagged behind the official dates of publication. For example, the publisher's colophon for the History section indicates May 1991, but the book did not actually appear on booksellers' shelves until May 1992. The remaining *Tzu-pu* (Philosophy) and *Chi-pu* (Belles-lettres) sections, *chüan* 15–31, are eagerly awaited.
4. See Ji Shuying, "The Chinese Union Catalogue of Rare Books and Its Criteria of Inclusion," *Chinese Studies* (London: British Library, 1988), published as *British Library Occasional Papers* 10, for another comprehensive explanation of the principles behind the catalogue.
5. To add to the ambiguity, *ch'ung-k'o-pen* can sometimes mean the equivalent of *hsiu-k'o-pen*, which refers to a publication produced from retouching existing wood blocks (actually a form of "re-engraving," which further points to the ambiguity of this English term) and replacing missing or completely damaged ones before printing. In other words, statements in publications being catalogued cannot always be taken at face value. See Cheng Chen-to, *Chieh-chung te-shu chi* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 88, for an example of the problem. Cheng's example is actually a case of "converted blocks" (*chuan-pan*), described by Professor Cui in the preceding paragraph on p. 50.
6. See, for example, p. 43, where he ex-

amines the style of characters in *Ho Wen-ting kung wen-chi*; on p. 47, the same examination is made for the Gest copy of the *Po-sha tzu ch'üan-chi*, which on p. 49 is compared with an edition whose "characters display a style typical of the Wan-li period"; on p. 58 the edition of *Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi* is judged to not be the genuine original edition because the characters "display an awkward style of craftsmanship, and the general layout of the printing wood blocks is also poor."

7. See note 1 in Cui's second article.
8. *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 666.
9. Ch'en Kuang-i, *Hsi-chien ti-fang-chih t'i-yao* (Tsinan: Ch'i-lu shu-she, 1987), p. 876.
10. *Naikaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku, kaitei* (Tokyo: Naikaku bunko, 1971), p. 123.
11. Illustration 1 (Gest D68–1364) shows the unaltered version, clearly identified in the last column as the Hsü Nai-ch'ang re-engraved edition of 1922. Illustration 2 (Gest TD68-1365) shows the same page of the exemplar described by Cui with the final column of explanatory text excised.
12. The impressions in question, illustrations 3 and 5, *Yün-lun ko* and Ch'üan-sun respectively, strike me as mechanically regular, as if carved by a commercial artisan. They lack the aesthetic qualities appreciated by Chinese scholars and somewhat more apparent in versions of the two seals that I have seen elsewhere, exemplified by illustrations 4 and 6. The third seal impression in the book, reading "Miao Ch'üan-sun ts'ang," is of different proportions from the authentic one. Illustrations 4 and 6 are reproduced from photographic facsimiles from the collection of the National Central Library, Taipei (*Shan-pen ts'ang-shu yin-chang hsüan-ts'ui*, pp. 268–269). Ultimately, this opinion is subjective in nature, because it is always possible that the unfamiliar seals stamped in the Gest's *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* were made for Miao and used very little until after his death when they were misused by family members or others. This does not negate the fact that Miao Ch'üan-sun never saw the book and that he was not "deceived by fakery" in this case.
13. *I-feng-t'ang wen man ts'un, I-ting kao*, 2, 20b–21b (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1973), pp. 412–414. The preface is dated *ting-hai* (1887) according to so-called *t'ai-sui* cyclical characters, but that is clearly an impossibility. Internal evidence points to 1911 as the date, and I am grateful to my colleague Cao Shuwen for confirming that *ting-hai* can represent *hsin-hai* (1911) among the *t'ai-sui* characters. This is probably an instance of a superstitious substitution related to the revolution of 1911.
14. *I-feng lao-jen jih-chi* (Peking: Pei-ching ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1988), 10 vols.

GLOSSARY

Ch'ing 清
Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang 京師大學堂
Ching-shih T'u-shu-kuan 京師圖書館
chin-shih 進士
chiu-chi 舊籍
ch'u k'o-pen 初刻本
Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里
Ch'ung-chen 崇禎
ch'ung-k'o pen 重刻本
Chung-kuo ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu
中國古籍善本書目
Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao
中國善本書提要
Chung-shan 中山
ch'ün-t'i hsing 群體性
Cui Jian-ying 崔建英
fang k'o-pen 坊刻本
fan-k'o pen 翻刻本
Feng Yu-ching 馮有經
Han Jih-tsuan 韓日纘
Han Wen-k'o kung wen-chi 韓文恪公文集
hei-k'ou 黑口
Hsü Ling 徐陵
Hsü Nai-ch'ang 徐乃昌
hsüan 玄
Hsü-chia-hui 徐家匯
Hsüeh-pu T'u-shu-kuan 學部圖書館
I-feng-t'ang wen man ts'un 藝風堂文漫存
i-shu 藝術
K'ang-hsi 康熙
ku-chi 古籍
Kuo-li Pei-p'ing T'u-shu-kuan
國立北平圖書館
Kwangtung 廣東
Li P'an-lung 李攀龍
Liu-li-ch'ang 琉璃廠
Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫
Ming 明
Ming pieh-chi pan-pen chih 明別集版本志
Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫
pan-pen hsi-t'ung 版本系統
Pei-ching ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she
北京大學出版社
Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan 北京圖書館
Pei-p'ing Pei-hai T'u-shu-kuan
北平北海圖書館
Po-lo hsien-chih 博羅縣誌
pu-hsiu k'o-pen 補修刻本
shan-pen 善本
ssu-pu 四部
Sung 宋
T'ao Tzu-lin 陶子麟
Ts'ang-ming hsien-sheng chi 滄溟先生集
tzu-liao 資料
Wang Chung-min 王重民
Wang K'en-t'ang 王肯堂
Wan-li 萬曆
wen-wu 文物
Yü 宇
yüan k'an-pen 原刊本
Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰
Yü-t'ai hsin-yung 玉臺新詠

Maps in the *Gazetteer of Yung-an County (Yung-an Hsien Chih)*

BANGBO HU

INTRODUCTION

Maps began to be used in China on a large scale — for warfare, administration, city planning, and as objects to bury in tombs with the deceased — at least two thousand years ago.[1] The earliest extant maps from China, dating to the fourth or third century B.C.,[2] are those on boards found in the tombs at Fang-ma-t'an, T'ien-shui City, Kansu Province, in the northwestern part of China, in 1986. Early maps, however, are much less likely to survive than books: because techniques for making maps are much more complicated than those for writing and printing books, fewer were produced in the first place. Maps included in books as illustrations, for example, might appear only in an early edition and not be reproduced in later editions. In addition, maps were often produced on sheets of many different sizes, making them harder to protect. Finally, governments frequently had a policy of restricting map distribution. Early maps have thus become rare and highly valued objects both for collecting and for research.

Some early Chinese maps are well known throughout the world. A good example is the "Map of the Tracks of Yü" ("Yü chi t'u"), a map carved in stone in 1136.[3] Although the title includes the name Yü, the legendary Chinese emperor of about 2000 B.C. who is the supposed founder of the ancient Hsia dynasty (ca. 2100–1600 B.C.), the map purports to show China at the time of the Sung dynasty (960–1279). As Joseph Needham, a world-renowned scholar of the history of Chinese science, comments, "Anyone who compares this map with the contemporary productions of European religious cosmography cannot but be amazed at the extent to which Chinese geography was at that time ahead of the West."[4]

The most numerous maps in premodern China were those incorporated in local gazetteers (*fang-chih*), which began to be produced in significant numbers during the Sung dynasty. Chinese gazetteers, in Needham's description, "are really local geographies and histories."[5] Needham also pointed out that "the series of local topographical writings . . . are probably unrivalled by any nation for extent and systematic comprehensiveness,"[6] for it seems that no gazetteers appeared in the same form and in such large numbers in any other culture. Yet, despite the fact that the maps in the gazetteers are a distinctive Chinese form of cartographic expression, they have rarely been studied.

The *Yung-an hsien chih* is a local gazetteer of Yung-an County (*hsien*), Hui-chou Prefecture (*fu*), Kuang-tung Province (*pu-cheng-ssu*), in the southern part of China. It covers the area of present-day Tzu-chin County, Kwangtung Province. From its preface we know that the *Yung-an hsien chih* was compiled by Yeh Ch'un-chi and Kuo Chih-fan in the autumn of the fourteenth year of the Wan-li period (1573–1619) of the Ming dynasty, that is, in 1586. The maps in this gazetteer were probably drawn the same year. The National Library of China in Peking holds an original printing from the Wan-li period, which according to Chu Shih-chia's *A Bibliography of Chinese Gazetteers* (*Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih tsung-lu*), is the only known copy of this gazetteer.[7]

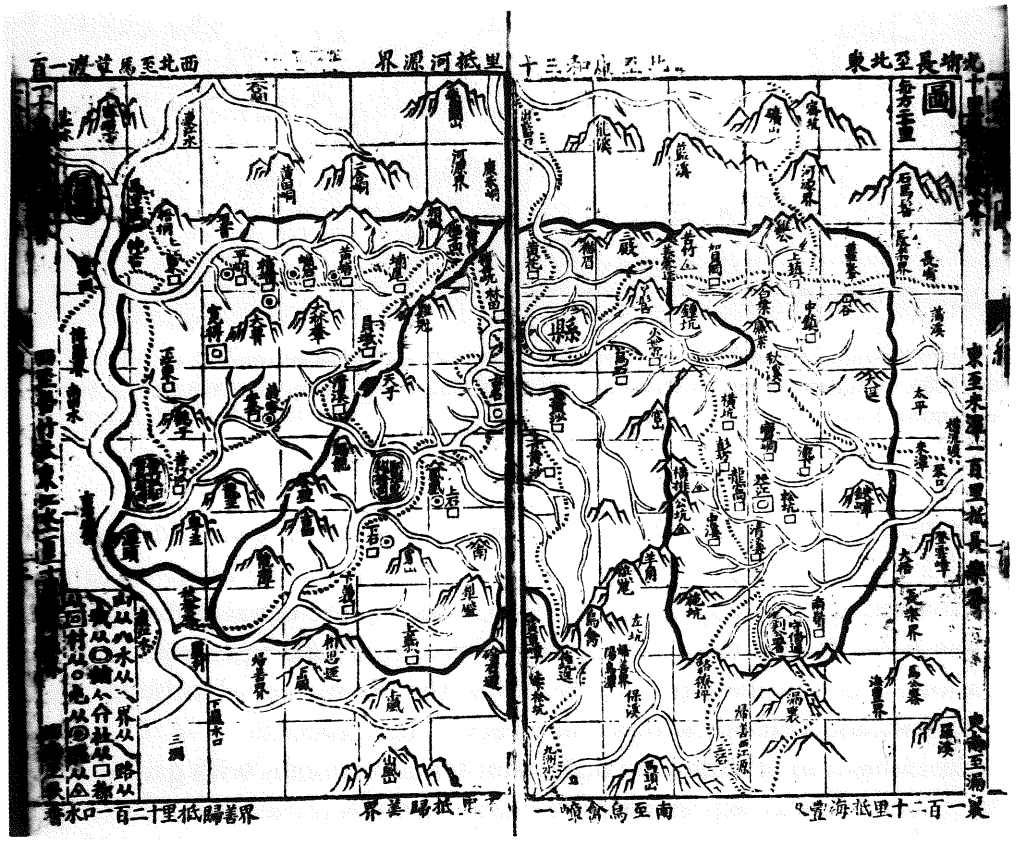
There are four maps in this copy. The titles are indicated in the "List of the Maps of Yung-an County," which follows the preface. The four are the "Map of Yung-an County" ("Yung-an hsien t'u"; see illustration 1), the "Map of Ku-ming Township" ("Ku-ming tu t'u"; see illustration 2), the "Map of K'uan-te Township" ("K'uan-te tu t'u"; see illustration 3), and the "Map of Ch'in-chiang Township" ("Ch'in-chiang tu t'u"; see illustration 4). The first map shows the entire territory of Yung-an County. The other maps cover the three townships, which at that time belonged to Yung-an County.

Characteristics of the Maps

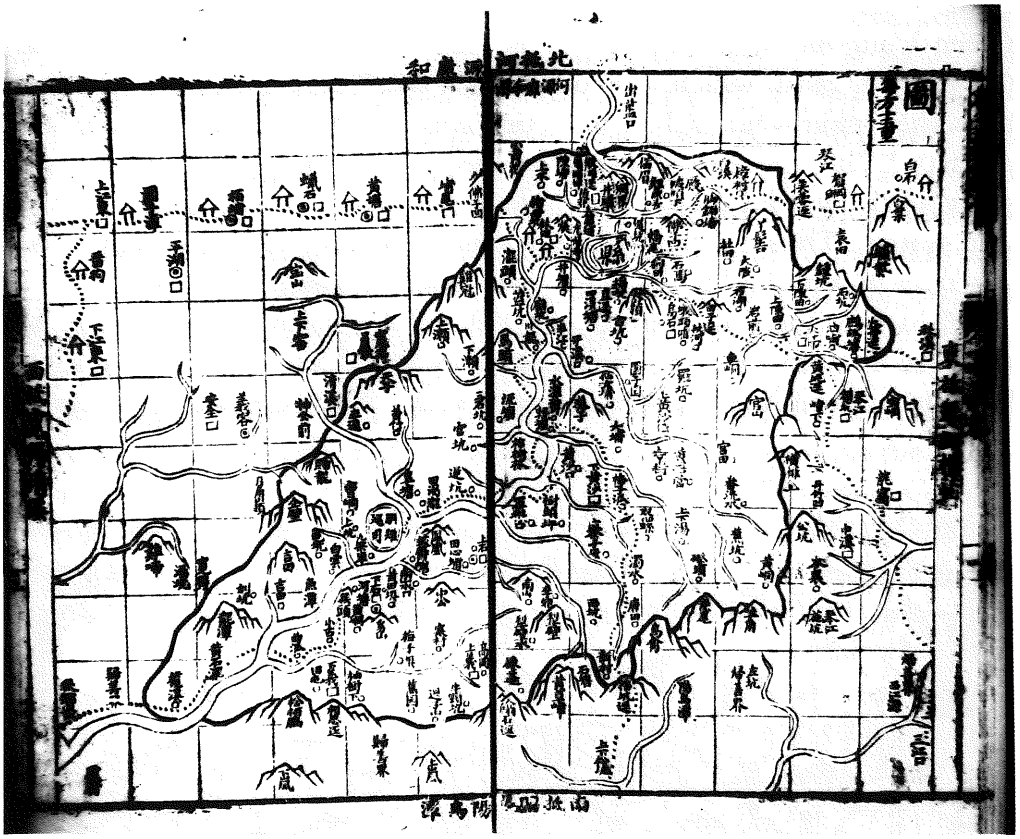
The maps in the Wan-li *Yung-an hsien chih* are distinguished by several characteristics, the most attractive one being that all of them were drawn by means of "*chi-li hua-fang*" (or *hua-fang chi-li*),[8] a grid system used in traditional Chinese cartography. The first gazetteer map to use the grid system

is the "map of Chien-k'ang Prefecture of the empire" ("Huang-ch'ao Chien-k'ang fu-ching chih t'u") in the *Gazetteer of the Chien-k'ang Prefecture* (*Chien-k'ang chih*), which was compiled by Ma Kuang-tsu and Chou Ying-ho in the second year of the Ching-ting period (1261) of the Southern Sung dynasty.[9] This gazetteer contains nineteen maps, but only the main map showing the entire Chien-k'ang Prefecture at that time was drawn with the grid system. Thus the *Yung-an hsien chih* of 1586 becomes the earliest extant gazetteer in which all of the maps were made by using a grid.

On each of the four maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih*, the grid system is arranged as twelve squares from left to right and ten squares from top to bottom. In the upper right-hand corner of the "Yung-an hsien t'u," there is



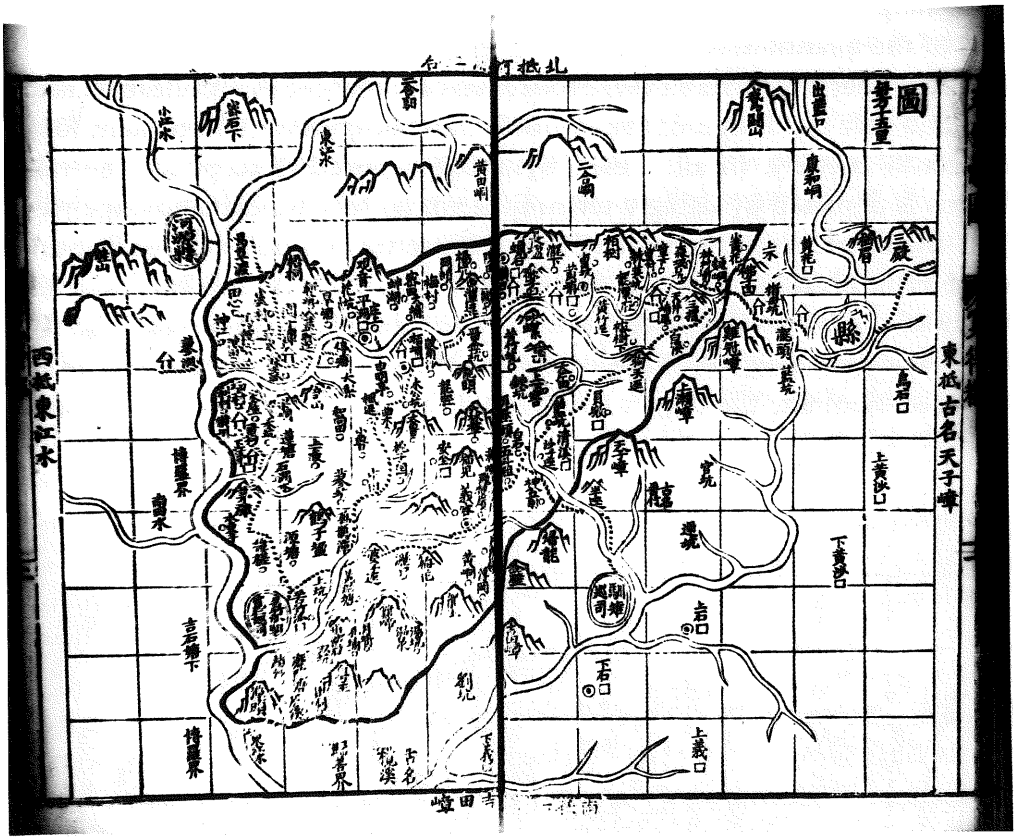
1. Map of Yung-an County. From Yeh Ch'un-chi and Kuo Chih-fan, comps., *Yung-an hsien chih*, 3 *ch.*, 1586. Text 2 *ch.*, 9 cols. of 20 chars. Maps 1 *ch.*, block of the map 20 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the National Library of China, Peking.



2. Map of Ku-ming Township. From Yeh Ch'un-chi and Kuo Chih-fan, comps., *Yung-an hsien chih*, 3 *ch.*, 1586. Text 2 *ch.*, 9 cols. of 20 chars. Maps 1 *ch.*, block of the map 20 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the National Library of China, Peking.

a notation "the length of the edge of one square equals twenty *li*" (*mei-fang erh-shih li*), indicating the map's scale. The scales of the other three maps are marked as "the length of the edge of one square equals fifteen *li*" (*mei-fang shih-wu li*). Because the length of the edge of one square on each map is about 2.2 centimeters, the scale of the first map should be about 1:450,000, and that of the other three about 1:340,000.

The indication of scale is an important feature of maps with grid systems. The indication was expressed by the ratio between the length of the edge of each square and actual distance, in phrases such as "the length of the edge of one square equals one hundred *li*," (*mei-fang pai li*) or "the edge of one square equals ten *li*" (*fang k'uo shih li*). The grid system enabled Chinese



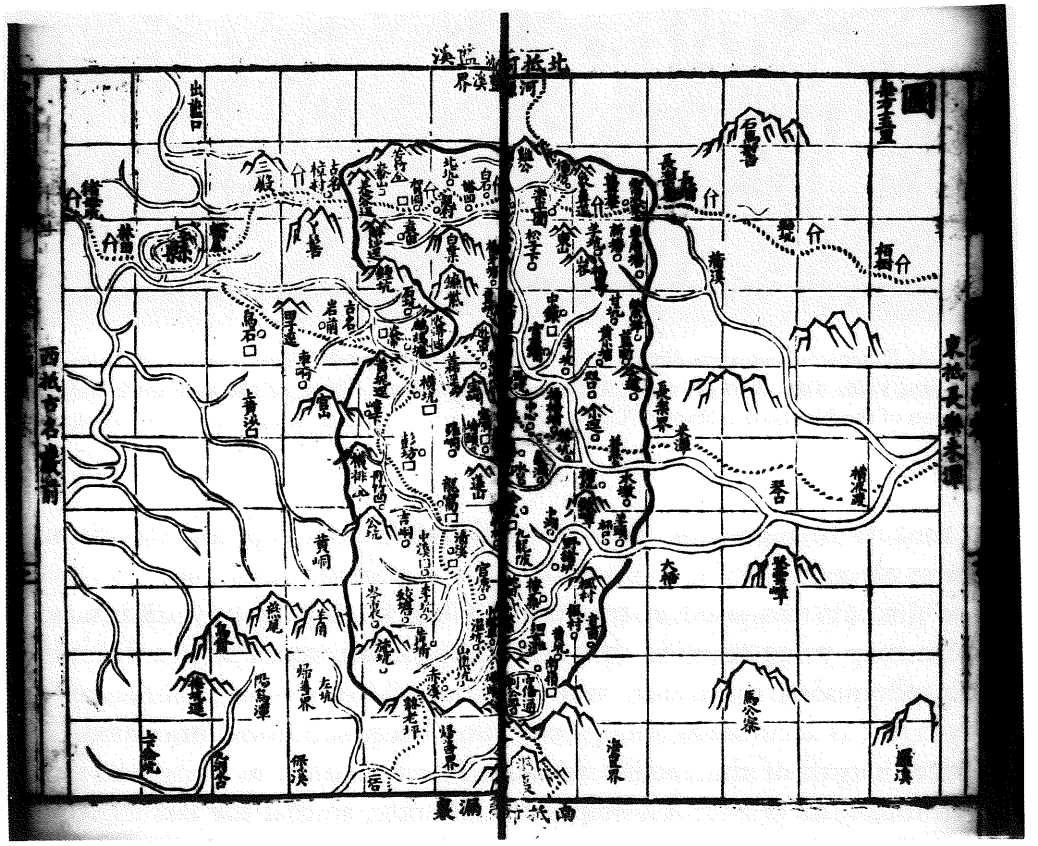
3. Map of K'uan-te Township. From Yeh Ch'un-chi and Kuo Chih-fan, comps., *Yung-an hsien chih*, 3 *ch.*, 1586. Text 2 *ch.*, 9 cols. of 20 chars. Maps 1 *ch.*, block of the map 20 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the National Library of China, Peking.

map makers to represent more precisely both direction and the distance between places.

The grid system used in traditional Chinese cartography differs from modern map projections in that it is based on the concept of a flat rather than a spherical earth surface. In theory, the grid system in Chinese cartography is not as accurate as a map projection because it does not consider the spherical nature of the earth's surface. The deviation in the grid system should make the center of a map most accurate, so that the farther an element is from the center, the greater the deviation. Nevertheless, because for some practical purposes the degree of the curve in a small area is negligible, the grid system can indeed be precise enough to make a very large

scale map. Historians of cartography regard the grid system as representative of the quantitative tradition in Chinese cartography.

Other characteristics of these four maps are that the symbolization is unified and that the design of the symbols must be considered excellent for the sixteenth century. In all, eleven symbols are used. Except for the relief, which is depicted by using a technique similar to Chinese landscape painting, the elements are represented by geometric symbols. Classification of these symbols is quite logical. For example, six different symbols were used to show the six levels of settlements. The sizes and patterns of these symbols vary according to the importance of the settlement: the higher the level of the settlement, the bigger the symbol. Some of the symbols are similar



4. Map of Ch'in-chiang Township. From Yeh Ch'un-chi and Kuo Chih-fan, comps., *Yung-an hsien chih*, 3 *ch.*, 1586. Text 2 *ch.*, 9 cols. of 20 chars. Maps 1 *ch.*, block of the map 20 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the National Library of China, Peking.

to those used in many modern maps. For example, villages and townships are represented by a small circle and a small circle with a dot in it respectively. In addition, except for city names, the names of the settlements were placed outside the symbols, an advance on the old pattern, which placed the names of the settlements within their symbols. By putting the names outside the symbols, it was possible to use smaller symbols. In this way, the location of the settlements could be indicated more precisely and the map itself could be more detailed. Furthermore, the design of these symbols corresponds to the subject of the maps. The main purpose of these four maps was to show the administrative subdivisions of Yung-an County, and to emphasize this purpose the administrative boundaries were designed as thick lines, making the administrative division the most obvious element on the maps.

To help readers understand the maps, a legend was inserted in the lower left-hand corner of the first one, the "Yung-an hsien t'u," to explain the meaning of the eleven symbols. The use of a legend indicates significant progress in the development of cartography. The earliest legends in extant Chinese maps appeared in the Ming dynasty. In "A General Map of the Ming Dynasty with Postscript Written by Yang Tzu-ch'i" ("Yang Tzu-ch'i pa Yü-ti t'u," 1512–1513), the legend is in the lower left-hand corner of the map. It appears as a written explanation without any symbols. The legend in the *Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas* (*Kuang-yü t'u*, 1555) compiled by Lo Hung-hsien (courtesy name Lo Nien-an, 1504–1564), an outstanding map maker of the Ming dynasty, is generally regarded as a landmark in the application of the legend. This legend includes twenty-four well-designed symbols and their explanations. The entire legend, however, is placed in the preface rather than on the maps themselves. It seems that the legend on the "Yung-an hsien t'u" in the *Yung-an hsien chih* is the earliest extant example of an entire legend that included both symbols and written explanations appearing on the map itself. This indicates progress because it is easier for readers to use a legend that is placed on a map than one that appears in a preface.

Orientation is another basic element in map making. All four maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* placed north at the top. On the margins of the main map of Yung-an County, both distances and directions to neighboring counties have been indicated. An example is "thirty *li* to the north is K'ang-ho at the boundary of Ho-yüan County." On the margins of the other three maps, only the direction toward the neighboring sites is indicated.

It is remarkable that one of the modern cartographic principles of selection was also used in the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih*, especially in the three township maps. This principle is that the contents of the central area should be more detailed than those of peripheral areas; in other words, more map elements should be included in the main area than in the outlying areas. For example, the "K'uan-te tu t'u" on average includes roughly 4 place names in one square of the grid in the main area, but only about 0.5 place names in one square in the peripheral areas, or about eight times as many place names in the main area as in the outlying areas.

The maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are also detailed. For example, in the main area of the "K'uan-te tu t'u," 135 place names, each accompanied by its symbol, are shown. Of these, 112 refer to settlements and the rest to mountains. Since the size of the main area on this map is about 165 square centimeters, there are on average about 0.82 place names per square centimeter in the main area. This number is close to that of a 1:200,000 modern topographic map of the same area. In addition to the settlements and mountains, this map also shows rivers, roads, and boundaries in detail.

The drafting and printing skills exhibited in these maps are excellent, considering that they date from the sixteenth century. The diameter of the circle that represents villages and townships on the maps is only about 2 millimeters, and the size of each Chinese character is about 3.5 by 3.5 millimeters. As a result, despite the fact that so many detailed elements have been included, the maps are still clear and easy to read.

In brief, the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are detailed, carefully designed, and beautifully drafted and printed. They are outstanding among the gazetteer maps of the Ming dynasty or earlier.

Mapping Process

There are few records describing the process of mapping in ancient Chinese literature. Fortunately, in his preface to the *Yung-an hsien chih*, Yeh Ch'un-chi, the compiler of the maps, gave a brief description of how they were constructed:

> When Yung-an County was established, . . . Yü [an official in charge of field work] and surveyors were ordered to make maps. They wore shoe spikes (*lei*) to make the survey maps. A total of four surveying maps was finished. Three of them were maps of

> townships (*tu*), and the other one was a general map of the county (*hsien*). The contents of the maps were complicated. In order to improve the surveying results, the old residents in the county were visited. These maps had been redrawn three or four times before the final products were completed.

Shoe spikes (*lei*) were used in mountain climbing. In classical Chinese "*lei*" is also called "*chü*," of which an annotation to the *Dynastic History of the Han (Han shu)* offers a further explanation: "A '*chü*' [spike] is made of iron. It is in the shape of a cone and is about half a *ts'un* long.[10] People fix them to their shoes to prevent sliding down when climbing mountains."[11]

On the basis of Yeh Ch'un-chi's explanation, it can be inferred that the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* were made in three steps: First came the map survey, that is, the original survey maps were made in the field using surveying tools. Second was field completion, that is, investigating and improving the survey results in the field. Cartographic design and drafting, that is, designing and drawing the drafting sheets on the basis of the improved survey maps, constituted the third step. Because the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are printed maps, there must have also been a fourth step — engraving the blocks and printing the maps — although there is no direct record of this step in the *Yung-an hsien chih.*

Yeh Ch'un-chi's explanation of the mapping process in the *Yung-an hsien chih* is significant for research on the history of Chinese cartography because it is difficult to find original records that deal with the mapping process in Chinese historical sources, especially records concerning the survey maps and the process of field completion. For example, the Han maps on silk found in Ma-wang-tui (second century B.C.) generally have been regarded as having been made by surveying. Yet the only basis for this hypothesis is the accuracy of the maps themselves and the possible technical background of that time — there is no direct evidence that any surveying was done in the construction of these maps.

Lo Hung-hsien and the Influence of His *Kuang-yü T'u*

The study of maps cannot be divorced from their cartographic background. One reason the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are so outstanding is that they were influenced by Lo Hung-hsien and his *Kuang-yü t'u.*

As discussed above, Chinese map makers developed their own carto-

graphic tradition, one based on the concept of a flat earth surface. During the Western Chin dynasty (265–316), P'ei Hsiu (223–271), the father of Chinese cartography, proposed six principles for making maps and established the theoretical basis for this tradition.[12] These six principles are *fen-lü, chun-wang, tao-li, kao-hsia, fang-hsieh*, and *yü-chih*. These terms are suggestive. One might presume that they signify something like the following: proportion, direction, distance, height, angle (right or acute), and line (curved or straight). Nonetheless, such speculation does not indicate how they may have been specifically applied in the technique of map making. Although scholars have different explanations for the details of these six principles, basically the principles emphasize the quantitative elements needed to make accurate maps, such as map scale, directions, and distances between places.

After P'ei Hsiu, the quantitative tradition was continued through the efforts of many Chinese map makers, among them Chia Tan (729–805) of the T'ang dynasty. According to his biography in the *Old Dynastic History of the T'ang* (*Chiu T'ang shu*), he drew a large map about 3 by 3.3 *chang*,[13] which is entitled "Map of China and the Barbarians in the World" ("Hai-nei hua i t'u"). This map shows both historical place names before the T'ang period and contemporary place names of the T'ang dynasty. The map used two colors, red and black, to distinguish the two kinds of place names, the first time this method was used for Chinese maps.[14]

In the Northern Sung period, Shen Kua (1031–1095) made his "Map of the Counties and the Prefectures" ("Shou-ling t'u"). This map was more accurate than older ones. On the older maps, the directions between places were only noted up to eight degrees: north, northeast, northwest, south, southeast, southwest, east, and west. In contrast, Shen Kua used twenty-four degrees to make his map. In another publication he explained that the twenty-four degrees were named according to the twelve "earthly branches" (*ti-chih*), eight of the ten "heavenly stems" (*t'ien-kan*), and four of the eight "divinatory symbols" (*kua*) used in ancient China.[15] This progress may be related to advances in the technology for making compasses at that time.

During the Yüan dynasty, Chu Ssu-pen (1273–1333)[16] spent about ten years (1311–1320) compiling his "Terrestrial Map" ("Yü-ti t'u"), basing it on older maps, literary sources, and his travels, which took him to about ten provinces. The "Yü-ti t'u," about seven by seven *ch'ih*,[17] was a large

map of the Yüan dynasty's territory. According to later records, this map definitely used the grid system.

Unfortunately, none of the maps made by P'ei Hsiu, Chia Tan, Shen Kua, and Chu Ssu-pen mentioned above has survived. The evidence for these maps can only be found in texts of Chinese literature. Lo Hung-hsien's *Kuang-yü t'u* is thus the most important and influential cartographic work that has survived from the quantitative tradition of Chinese cartography. Based on Chu Ssu-pen's "Yü-ti t'u," the *Kuang-yü t'u* was Lo's most important contribution to the development of Chinese cartography. An atlas of China, the *Kuang-yü t'u* contains forty-five maps: one general one, sixteen of the provinces, sixteen of the border regions, three of the Yellow River, three of the Grand Canal, two of sea routes, and four that covered Korea, Annam (the northern part of modern Vietnam), Mongolia, and Central Asia. This atlas accurately reflected large amounts of new geographical information, and all the maps were drawn by using the grid system. After the first printed edition appeared in 1555, the atlas was reprinted five times, the last edition appearing in 1799. It was also copied by hand. The influence of the *Kuang-yü t'u* continued for about two hundred years, and it was an important reference for many map makers in China during this period.

Specifically, Lo Hung-hsien's contribution to the development of cartography included three aspects. First, he continued the quantitative tradition in Chinese cartography and left us an actual example of his cartographic work. Although Chu Ssu-pen's "Yü-ti t'u" is one of the most important maps in Chinese history, it has not survived because the original map was drawn on a large sheet, which made it difficult to store and preserve. Only through Lo Hung-hsien's atlas could Chu Ssu-pen's achievement be passed on. Second, Lo Hung-hsien also created several new maps besides those he copied from "Yü-ti t'u." Third, as already mentioned, Lo Hung-hsien's *Kuang-yü t'u* contains the earliest extant maps to apply a legend including both symbols and written explanations.

The influence of Lo Hung-hsien and his *Kuang-yü t'u* is clearly reflected in the *Yung-an hsien chih* maps. In his "Forward to the Maps of Yung-an" in the *Yung-an hsien chih*, Kuo Chih-fan, co-author of the gazetteer, mentioned that "Mr. Yeh Shih-tung[18] and Mr. Lo Nien-an are very good at making maps by using the grid system, or '*hua-fang chi-li*.' This method was also used to make the maps of Yung-an." In the preface, Yeh Ch'un-chi,

the major author of the maps and the gazetteer, explained that "*hua-fang chi-li* is a mapping method used by Lo Wen-kung.[19] It was used to show territory, administrative divisions, population, and land tax on maps. I also used this method to make the maps in the gazetteers of Hui-an and Shun-te counties."

Yeh Ch'un-chi then went on to explain the mapping process used (see the paragraph quoted in "Mapping Process," above). From Kuo Chih-fan and Yeh Ch'un-chi's explanations, it can be seen that Lo Hung-hsien had a great influence in Yung-an County, and that the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* were made by adopting Lo's methods. Also important in Yeh Ch'un-chi's explanation is the fact that he had compiled the maps in the gazetteers of Hui-an and Shun-te counties by using the grid system called *hua-fang chi-li* before he made the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih*. Unfortunately, no copies of these two gazetteers have yet been found. Sadly, it is likely that they have been lost or destroyed.

Evidence for the influence of Lo Hung-hsien and his *Kuang-yü t'u* on the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* can also be found in an explanation written by Ch'en I-lien in the *Gazetteer of the Hui-chou Prefecture* (*Hui-chou fu chih*) in 1595. In his explanation, Ch'en I-lien pointed out:

> No mapping methods are better than those used in Lo Wen-kung's *Kuang-yü t'u* of the Ming dynasty. Mr. Ku Yen, the governor of Hui-chou Prefecture, made the "Map of the Hui-chou Prefecture" ("Hui-chou yü t'u") by imitating the *Kuang-yü t'u*. . . . After that, Mr. Yeh Ch'un-chi, a resident of Hui-chou, also made the maps by imitating Lo Wen-kung's *Kuang-yü t'u* when he compiled the *Yung-an hsien chih*. The maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* show mountains and rivers in detail.

Ch'en I-lien's explanation shows clearly that the maps in Lo Hung-hsien's *Kuang-yü t'u* were regarded as the best maps of the time and, again, that Yeh Chun-chi imitated the *Kuang-yü t'u* when he made the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih*.

By analyzing the similarity of these two groups of maps, additional evidence for the influence of Lo Hung-hsien's *Kuang-yü t'u* can be seen. First, both groups of maps were made by using the grid system. This similarity is significant because few gazetteers during this period included maps based on a grid system. Second, the orientation of both sets of maps places north

at the top. To put this striking similarity in context, it should be remembered that throughout Chinese history, various orientations were used in map design. For example, in the *Gazetteer of the Chien-k'ang Prefecture*, four different orientations were used — that is, north, south, east, or west could appear at the top of the map. Third, the design of the legend for the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* is similar to that in the *Kuang-yü t'u*. Although the *Yung-an hsien chih* has eleven symbols and the *Kuang-yü t'u* twenty-four, six of them are the same in the two legends. In addition, the style of the explanations and the design principles of the legends are similar. For example, the explanations in both legends are in the form of "mountain shown by . . ." or "river shown by . . ."

In brief, it is apparent from the above records in the gazetteers and from the similarities between the two groups of maps that the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* were deeply influenced by Lo Hung-hsien; when Yeh Ch'un-chi was compiling his maps, he obviously consulted the *Kuang-yü t'u*. This is another important reason the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are so outstanding among gazetteer maps.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the *Yung-an hsien chih*, which probably exists as only a single exemplar, is significant for the study of the history of Chinese cartography in several ways. First, it is the earliest Chinese gazetteer in which all the maps were made by using the grid system known as *chi-li hua-fang*. This fact, from one aspect, reflects when and how the quantitative tradition of Chinese cartography specifically exerted influence on the production of gazetteer maps. Second, the text of the *Yung-an hsien chih* provides a description of the map-survey and field-completion stages in the production of maps. The work in question also leaves modern scholars with the final result of the mapping processes, the full maps themselves. Although these data are simple, they are still valuable for examining mapping processes in Chinese history because few materials are available for this exploration. Third, among extant Chinese maps, the maps in the *Yung-an hsien chih* are the first to include an entire legend with both symbols and explanations on the map itself instead of within the text. This is evidence of progress in the use of legends. Finally, the *Yung-an hsien chih* also provides useful materials for studying the influence of Lo Hung-hsien and

his *Kuang-yü t'u*, an important figure and an important work in the history of Chinese cartography.

NOTES

1. For important books on the history of Chinese cartography, see Ogawa Takuji, *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō shobō, 1928–1929), 2 vols.; Wang Yung, *Chung-kuo ti-t'u shih-kang* (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1958); Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), vol. 3, chap. 22; Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, *Chung-kuo ti-t'u-hsüeh shih* (Hong Kong: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1979); Lu Liang-chih, *Chung-kuo ti-t'u-hsüeh shih* (Peking: Ts'e-hui ch'u-pan-she, 1984); Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yüan tzu-jan k'o-hsüeh-shih yen-chiu-so, ed., *Chung-kuo ku-tai ti-li-hsüeh shih* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1984), chap. 8; Ts'ao Wan-ju et al., eds., *Chung-kuo ku-tai ti-t'u-chi* (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1990), vol. 1; "Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies," in "The History of Cartography," ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming), vol. 2, bk. 2.
2. Ho Shuang-ch'üan dated these maps to ca. 239 B.C. See his "T'ien-shui Fang-ma-t'an Ch'in mu ch'u-t'u ti-t'u ch'u-t'an," *Wen-wu*, no. 2 (1989), pp. 12–22. In contrast, Chang Hsiu-kuei argued that these maps were drawn ca. 320–305 B.C.; see his "T'ien-shui Fang-ma-t'an ti-t'u te hui-chih nien-tai," *Fu-tan hsüeh-pao (she-hui k'o-hsüeh pan)*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 44–48. For other discussions of these maps, see Kansu Province Archaeological Institute and Cultural Center of the Pei-tao District of T'ien-shui City, "Kansu T'ien-shui Fang-ma-t'an Chan-kuo Ch'in-Han mu-ch'un te fa-chüeh," *Wen-wu*, no. 2 (1989), pp. 1–11, 31; Ts'ao Wan-ju, "Kuan-yü T'ien-shui Fang-ma-t'an Ch'in mu ch'u-t'u ti-t'u te chi-ko wen-t'i," *Wen-wu*, no. 12 (1989), pp. 78–85.
3. For discussions of the "Yü chi t'u," see W. E. Soothill, "The Two Oldest Maps of China Extant," *Geographical Journal* 69.6 (1927), pp. 532–555; Ts'ao Wan-ju, "Hua i t'u ho Yü chi t'u te chi-ko wen-t'i," *K'o-hsüeh shih chi-k'an*, no. 6 (1963), pp. 34–38; see also her "Lun Shen Kua tsai ti-t'u-hsüeh fang-mien te kung-hsien," *K'o-hsüeh shih wen-chi*, no. 3 (1988), pp. 81–84 and "Tsai-lun Yü chi t'u te tso-che," *Wen-wu*, no. 3 (1987), pp. 76–78, 59; Liu Chien-kuo, "Chen-chiang Sung-tai Yü chi t'u shih-k'o," *Wen-wu*, no. 7 (1983), pp. 59–63.
4. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, p. 547.
5. Ibid., p. 517.
6. Ibid.; here Needham was borrowing from A. Wiley. Needham translates *fang-chih* as "local topographical writings."
7. Chu Shih-chia, *Chung-kuo ti-fang-*

chih tsung-lu, enlarged edn. (Peking: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1958), p. 244.

8. One *li* equals about 0.5 kilometers.
9. See Bangbo Hu, "Ching-ting *Chien-k'ang chih* ho Chih-cheng *Chin-ling hsin chih* chung te ti-t'u ch'u-t'an," *Tzu-jan k'o-hsüeh shih yen-chiu* 7.1 (1988), pp. 24–37.
10. One *ts'un* equals about 3.3 centimeters.
11. *Han shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 29, p. 1676.
12. Scholars often quote P'ei Hsiu's six principles from "the biography of P'ei Hsiu" in the *Chin shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 35, pp. 1037–1041. However, the text on the six principles in the *Chin shu* is incomplete. The complete text appears in Ou-yang Hsün's *I-wen lei-chü* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1965), 6, pp. 100–101 and Hsü Chien's *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 5, p. 90. See Ch'en Lien-k'ai, "Chung-kuo ku-tai ti-i-pu li-shih ti-t'u-chi," *Chung-yang min-tsu hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao*, no. 3 (1978), pp. 76-84.
13. One *chang* equals about 3.33 meters.
14. *Chiu T'ang shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 138, p. 3786.
15. That is, *tzu, ch'ou, yin, mao, ch'en, ssu, wu, wei, shen, yu, hsü, hai, chia, i, ping, ting, keng, hsin, jen, kuei, ch'ien, k'un, ken*, and *hsün*. See Hu Tao-ching, ed., *Meng-hsi pi-t'an chiao-cheng* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), pp. 991–992.
16. The year of Chu's death is variously recorded. This is quoted from Wang Yung, *Chung-kuo ti-t'u shih-kang* (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1958), p. 63.
17. One *ch'ih* equals about 0.33 meters.
18. From the preface, it is obvious that Yeh Shih-tung is a courtesy name of Yeh Ch'un-chi.
19. The context of this paragraph and other information in the gazetteer indicate that Lo Wen-kung is Lo Hung-hsien.

GLOSSARY

Annam 安南
chang 丈
Ch'ang-sha 長沙
Ch'en I-lien 陳一濂
Chia Tan 賈耽
Chien-k'ang chih 建康誌
ch'ih 尺
chi-li hua-fang 計里畫方
(Western) Chin 西晉
Ch'in-chiang tu t'u 琴江都圖
Ching-ting 景定
Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書
Chou Ying-ho 周應合
chü 榈
Chu Shih-chia 朱士嘉
Chu Ssu-pen 朱思本
Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih tsung-lu 中國地方誌綜錄
chun-wang 準望
fang k'uo shih li 方括十里

fang-chih 方誌
fang-hsieh 方斜
Fang-ma-t'an 放馬灘
fen-lü 分率
fu 府
Hai-nei hua i t'u 海內華夷圖
Han 漢
Han shu 漢書
Ho-yüan 河源
Hsia 夏
hsien 縣
hua-fang chi-li 畫方計里
Huang-ch'ao Chien-k'ang fu-ching chih t'u 皇朝建康府境之圖
Hui-an 惠安
Hui-chou fu chih 惠州府誌
Hui-chou yü t'u 惠州輿圖
K'ang-ho 康和
Kansu 甘肅
kao-hsia 高下
Ku Yen 顧言
kua 卦
Kuang-tung pu-cheng-ssu 廣東布政司
Kuang-yü t'u 廣輿圖
K'uan-te tu t'u 寬得都圖
Ku-ming tu t'u 古名都圖
Kuo Chih-fan 郭之藩
Kwangtung 廣東
lei 樏
li 里
Lo Hung-hsien 羅洪先
Lo Nien-an 羅念庵
Lo Wen-kung 羅文恭
Ma Kuang-tsu 馬光祖
Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆
mei-fang erh-shih li 每方二十里
mei-fang pai li 每方百里
mei-fang shih-wu li 每方十五里
Ming 明
P'ei Hsiu 裴秀
pu-cheng-ssu 布政司
Shen Kua 沈括
Shou-ling t'u 守令圖
Shun-te 順德
Sung 宋
T'ang 唐
tao-li 道里
ti-chih 地支
t'ien-kan 天干
T'ien-shui 天水
ts'un 寸
tu 都
Tzu-chin 紫金
Wang Yung 王庸
Wan-li 萬曆
Yang Tzu-ch'i pa Yü-ti t'u 楊子器跋輿地圖
Yeh Ch'un-chi 葉春及
Yeh Shih-tung 葉石洞
Yü 禹
Yü 虞
Yü chi t'u 禹迹圖
Yüan 元
yü-chih 迂直
Yung-an 永安
Yung-an hsien chih 永安縣誌
Yung-an hsien t'u 永安縣圖
Yü-ti t'u 輿地圖

News and Notes: For the Friends of the Gest Library

RLG Chinese Rare Books Project Update

As announced by John Haeger in the Spring 1992 issue of the *Gest Library Journal* (vol. 5, no. 1), the RLG International Union Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books Project is now underway at Princeton University. Located in the Gest Library (Jones Hall, Room 305), the project enjoys the full support of the Firestone and Gest libraries and their staffs. For a project of this complexity, with activities on both coasts (RLG, The Research Libraries Group, is affiliated with Stanford University and based in Mountain View, California), the cooperation and goodwill of all those involved are most important. The choice of Princeton for the location of the central editorial office of the project was desirable for a number of reasons. To begin with, Princeton was active in the earlier pilot project phase, and it possesses the largest number of Chinese rare book titles among the current North American participants in the project. In addition, the bibliographical and reference collections of the Gest Library are comprehensive and capable of supporting the research that accompanies the cataloguing work.

The central editorial office opened in September 1991, and the first six months were devoted to important organizational matters. Furniture and equipment, as well as the necessary electronic and technical connections, were ordered and installed. At the same time, the important recruitment of two persons to fill project staff positions was begun. By January, a specialist Chinese rare books cataloguer in the person of Cao Shuwen was hired. She was educated at Peking University and gained experience in this field at the university library, where she began working after graduation. Ms. Cao participated in the pilot project at Princeton and since then has gained valuable experience in the use of RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network) and the application of standard Anglo-American cataloguing rules and other practices. Her expertise as a cataloguer is a great asset to the project. In March, Xu Hui was appointed project assistant. Ms. Xu holds an M.L.S. degree from SUNY Albany and another master's degree from Dartmouth College, as well as a B.A. from Beijing Normal University. Her diverse abilities make her well suited to the demands of this position.

As of September 1992 all nine North American participants in this phase of the project have rare book records on-line in RLIN, and the two Peking participants are soon to follow. The libraries of Peking University and the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Peking represent special cases, not only because of the large volume and high quality of their holdings, but because of the need to develop efficient means of delivering data and inputting records. It is hoped that their successful participation will

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UANG MING MING CHEN YEN HSING LU HSIN PIEN# - Cluster 1 of 3 - SAVE record - CJK
+
  ID:NYCP92-B5603                RTYP:c     ST:s    FRN:    MS:   EL:      AD:08-31-92
  CC:9114  BLT:am       DCF:a    CSC:d    MOD:    SNR:        ATC:        UD:09-02-92
  CP:ch      L:chi      INT:     GPC:     BIO:c   FIC:0       CON:
  PC:s      PD:1553/              REP:     CPI:0   FSI:0       ILC:         II:0
  MMD:       OR:    POL:      DM:      RR:        COL:        EML:       GEN:    BSE:
  040      CStRLIN#cCStRLIN
  043      a-cc---
  245 00   Huang◆Ming ming◆ch'en yen◆hsing◆lu hsin◆pien :#berh◆shih◆chüan /#cShen
       1 Ying-k'uei chi.                                  2
  245 00   皇明  名臣  言行錄  新編 :#b二十卷 /#c沈  應魁  輯.
  250      Ming Chia-ching kuei◆ch'ou (32◆nien) [1553] Shen Ying-k'uei k'o◆pen.
  250    3 明  嘉靖  癸丑  (32年) [1553] 沈  應魁  刻本.
  260      [China] :#bShen Ying-k'uei,#cMing Chia-ching kuei◆ch'ou (32◆nien) [155
         3]
  260      [China] :#b沈  應魁,#c明  嘉靖  癸丑  (32年) [1553]
  300      12 v. ;#c24 cm.
  300      12册 ;#c24 cm.
  500      Caption title.
  500      #6#a卷端題: "與常熟後學沈應魁文仲氏校刊".
  500      #6#a沈應魁嘉靖癸丑(32年, 1553)《序》, 提刻書事.
  500      #6#a此書又有同年刻三十四卷十行本, 與九行本內容同.
BKS/SAVE  Books        FUL/BIB   NYCP92-B5603            Cat Maintenance  NJPX-CSW
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           單黑魚尾. 版心上鐫"皇明名臣言行錄", 版心中鐫卷數.
  590      In 3 cases.
  651  0   China#xHistory#yMing dynasty, 1368-1644#xBiography.
  650  0   Statesmen#zChina#xBiography.
  650  7   Shih◆pu#xChuan◆chi◆lei#xTsung◆chuan.#2sk
  650  7 5 史部#x傳記類#x總傳.#2sk
  700 10   Shen, Ying-k'uei.
  700 10   沈  應魁,#e輯.
  797 20   CHRB.
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1. Printout of machine-readable record for Chinese rare book from Columbia University, entered on RLIN by the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project.

serve as a model for the inclusion of other important collections outside of North America in future phases of the project. In order to be inclusive, the project welcomes the participation of all libraries, large and small, that have relevant holdings. Besides the general Chinese rare book holdings of Princeton, Columbia, Chicago, and Berkeley, with their well known strengths, our current work also includes lesser known specialized collections. For example, the P'u-pan Collection of the Asian Library of the University of British Columbia is rich in literary and historical sources relating to Kwangtung Province, and the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library holds a small but choice collection of Ming and early Ch'ing illustrated books.

A printout of a typical Chinese rare book record on RLIN (from the C. V. Starr East Asian Library of Columbia University) is appended (see illustration 1). Fields and

subfields indicated by arrows and numbers one to six represent the most basic elements of a Chinese rare book record and the first five are shared by the two existing "union" catalogues for Taiwan and China. They are: (1) title; (2) author (compiler, editor, etc.); (3) edition statement; (4) collection indicator; (5) *ssu-k'u* classification; (6) block-format description. In addition, RLIN records contain numerous other descriptive elements and parallel romanization fields, as well as Library of Congress subject headings and several other "access points" for locating information.

Another responsibility of the project is the compilation of cataloguing rules applicable to the on-line cataloguing of Chinese rare books. The "Draft Cataloguing Guidelines" produced by the International Advisory Committee to the project in September 1989 were revised by the central editorial office in March 1992, and it is assumed that several more revisions will be needed before a final product is achieved. We also plan to produce a glossary of Chinese rare book terminology to meet the needs of the participants as well as other interested parties. As the project progresses we look forward to receiving the comments and criticisms of all RLIN users and anyone with an interest in Chinese rare book cataloguing.

Sören Edgren

Annual Report 1991–1992
Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections

By the end of June 1992, the total holdings of Gest Library stood at 490,847 volumes (including 91,535 stored at Forrestal). A total of $483,648 was expended for books and serials in the 1991–1992 fiscal year ($265,363 for Japanese, $183,078 for Chinese, $23,435 for Western, and $11,772 for Korean materials).

The second phase of moving Gest books to the Forrestal Annex was completed ahead of schedule on August 31, 1991, and close to one-fifth of the Gest Library holdings are now in storage there. This arduous task could not have been accomplished without our conscientious and dedicated staff. So far this move has not caused any great hardship or inconvenience to our readers.

The Research Libraries Group's International Chinese Rare Book Catalogue Project started operation on September 1 and is now located in Room 305, Jones Hall, courtesy of the East Asian Studies Department. Sören Edgren is the project director with two staff members. We are happy to have them with us.

After twenty years of service, the air-conditioning system acquired a new motor, and the filters and ducts were cleaned in July. The water filter in the Gest drinking-water system was also replaced.

Technical Services. Our cataloguers' productivity continues to be high. The number of new titles catalogued in Chinese increased by 0.5 percent over 1990–1991, and those in Japanese by 4 percent; there was a 44 percent decrease in Korean cataloguing. The number of volumes and reels catalogued and added, however, decreased by 8 percent overall, with a 10 percent and 20 percent decrease in Chinese and Korean cataloguing

respectively; Japanese cataloguing increased 0.2 percent. For the third year in a row, the cataloguing statistics for Japanese reached the highest ever.

Whereas the decrease in Chinese total volumes catalogued was attributable to the temporary disability of staff members and new NACO (National Cooperative Cataloguing Operation) training and procedures, the decrease in Korean cataloguing was mainly a result of the lack of LC and RLIN-member copies for new titles. For Japanese, cataloguing copies were much more readily available. As a NACO participant, Gest contributed 403 original headings and updated 119 existing ones to the Name Authority File.

The cataloguing patterns vary little from last year: 22 percent original (the same as last year), 36 percent LC copy (38 percent last year), 42 percent RLIN-member copy (40 percent last year).

Since acquisition figures continue to outpace cataloguing figures, the cataloguing arrearage showed an increase for the fourth consecutive year — from approximately 380 volumes and reels, to a total of 13,880, the majority of these consisting of the Chinese backlog, now numbering 9,280.

We filed close to twenty thousand Chinese cards in the Gest public catalogue, but still have a filing backlog. It is strongly urged that NOTIS (Northwestern Online Total Integrated System) put priority on developing vernacular-character display capacity for OPAC (Online Public Access Catalogue) so that we may be relieved of the double catalogue maintenance burden.

Collection Development. The declining trend of publishing activity in the People's Republic of China was reversed last year. Political control of publishing has gradually lessened, and publishing activity is increasingly controlled by market forces. During the past year, we established many new contacts in China to broaden our sources of acquisitions. After long negotiation, the China International Book Trading Corporation in Peking has agreed to give a 20 percent discount to Gest for all nationally distributed titles published in China.

In Taiwan, the Government Information Office started a new monthly called *Bibliogony: A Monthly Review of New Books* in July 1991. This journal will make it easier for the Gest to keep track of what is being published in Taiwan.

Hong Kong continues to serve as a transshipment point for Chinese mainland imprints. The recently established contacts with Mann's, one of the largest book dealers in Hong Kong, looks very promising.

The distribution of our acquisition expenditures for Chinese materials remained about the same: China, 39 percent; Taiwan, 26 percent; Hong Kong, 24 percent; United States, 8 percent; and others, 4 percent.

Both Taiwan and Hong Kong have a much higher inflation rate than the United States and thus drove up the price of everything, including books, binding, and postage. The average per-title price in Taiwan is now $30.01.

Although the total number of books on China, Japan, and Korea in Western languages ordered during 1991–1992 remained about the same as in 1990–1991 (355 to

351), Western-language book expenditures rose almost 30 percent to $23,435, and the deficit from $3,934 to $9,244. Because of this anticipated deficit, no Western books were ordered after January. Further, this deficit is not attributable to an upsurge in orders during either 1990–1991 or 1991–1992 but to the fact that this account has been seriously underfunded. It is hoped that serious consideration will be given to an increase in funding.

Japanese book prices for scholarly publications continue to soar, and it is common to find a single volume with the price tag of one hundred U.S. dollars. The exchange rate for the yen fluctuated between 124 and 125 to the dollar, resulting in a 7 percent decline in purchasing power. Nevertheless, Mrs. Kim managed to acquire 212 more volumes than in the last fiscal year.

After seventeen years of Japanese acquisition support for major East Asian libraries in the United States, the Japan-United States Friendship Commission (JUSFC) changed its funding policy, shifting from direct acquisition grants to support for resource sharing with the application of technology. Consequently, over ten thousand dollars of standing orders generated by JUSFC orders must be absorbed by us. Expenditure for periodicals and serials was 17 percent of the total acquisition budget; postage absorbed 5 percent and standing orders for Japanese publications 30 percent. Close to six hundred volumes of solicited gift and exchange items were received in 1991–1992. The per-volume cost for Japanese books was $53.00.

Cooperation among the East Coast Consortium members of Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale continues in the area of collecting Japanese local history. After the Conference on National Planning for Japanese Libraries held at the Hoover Institution in November 1991, three regional coordinating Japanese acquisition plans have evolved into a national plan to coordinate acquisition of expensive books and multivolume sets as part of a solution to overcome shrinking allocation, the weakening dollar, and soaring book prices. The *Union List of Current Japanese Serials in East Asian Libraries in North America*, for which Gest contributed a revised list of holdings and proofreading of the final version, was published in April 1992.

Since our Korean collection is funded at the minimal level, the growth is insignificant. This year, for the first time, a course in the Korean language was offered to undergraduates. We also received 257 volumes of Korean books in English from the Korean government through the Korean Consulate General of New York.

Public Services. The circulation statistics have gone down from 25,171 a year ago to the current 24,770 volumes — a decrease of almost 2 percent. But interlibrary loan activity has increased 6 percent.

The stack area for Western-language books is gradually filling up, and we must find ways to alleviate this problem or we will again find books on the floor.

Professional Development. Gest staff members continue to be active in the American Libraries Association (ALA), the Committee on East Asian Libraries (CEAL), Center for Research Libraries (CRL), East Coast Consortium, and the Research Libraries Group

(RLG). Martin Heijdra is the CEAL representative for the project to convert and update the Bibliography of Asian Studies into a CD-ROM version, and a member of the Staff and Review Committee, as well as a member of the Grievance Panel at Princeton University Library. He is also participating in the NOTIS Display Committee.

Soowon Kim continues to serve as a member of the Subcommittee on Japanese Materials (CEAL-AAS), and she is also a member of the Princeton University Library Grievance Panel, as well as a member of Task Force #2 of the National Planning for Japanese Libraries in North America.

Antony Marr remains a member of the Advisory Panel for East Asian Materials at the Center for Research Materials, a board member of the Center for Chinese Research Materials, a member of the Executive Group of the Committee on East Asian Libraries, and a member of Princeton University Library NOTIS OPAC Training Committee.

Mariko Shimomura continues to serve on the CEAL Subcommittee on Technical Processing.

Iping Wei served as the Princeton liaison to the RLG Chinese International Rare Books Catalogue Project and as a member of the Princeton University Library's Online Catalogue Advisory Committee. She is also a member of the NOTIS Data Conversion Team, the NOTIS Specification Team, and the Authorities Group.

All seven librarians attended the AAS-CEAL annual meeting in Washington, D.C. in April 1992. Charmian Cheng also attended the ALA annual convention in San Francisco in June, and in December 1991 Martin Heijdra took part in the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago.

Visitors. During the past year a total of 101 nonlocal visitors did research, used materials, or toured the collection at Gest Library. They came from the following countries: United States, 28; China, 20; Taiwan, 12; United Kingdom, 9; Germany, 8; Japan, 6; Hong Kong, 4; Switzerland, 4; Netherlands, 3; Austria, 2; France, 2; Norway, 1; Russia, 1; and Sweden, 1.

FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

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

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

Joining the Friends

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

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

All contributions exceeding the cost of the subscription are considered donations for tax purposes.