PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東西圖書館

East Asian Library
and the Gest Collection

This title is provided ONLY for personal scholarly use. Any publication, reprint, or reproduction of this material is strictly forbidden, and the researcher assumes all responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel and copyright. Titles should be referred to with the following credit line:

© The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University

To request permission to use some material for scholarly publication, and to apply for higher-quality images, please contact gestcirc@princeton.edu, or

The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection
33 Frist Campus Center, Room 317
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544
United States

A fee may be involved (usually according to the general rules listed on http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/research/rights.html).

The Gest Library Journal 6, no. 2 (1993), accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/ealj.v06.n02.pdf

EDITOR: Dr. Zhen-ping Wang
CHAIRMAN, ADVISORY BOARD: Prof. Frederick W. Mote

ADVISORY BOARD
Dr. Hung-lam Chu
Prof. Cui Jian-ying
Dr. Tai-Loi Ma
Prof. Matsuura Akira
Prof. Yue-him Tam
Prof. Ye Xianen

The Gest Library Journal
Published by the Trustees of Princeton University
Issued two times a year: Spring, Winter
Subscription: Thirty dollars
Orders and remittances payable to the
Trustees of Princeton University may be sent to:
Friends of the Gest Library
Jones Hall 211, Princeton University
Princeton, N.J. 08544 USA

Printed at BookCrafters
US ISSN 0891-0553
Copyright © 1993 by the Trustees of Princeton University

Contents

THE GEST LIBRARY JOURNAL

VOLUME VI · NUMBER 2 · WINTER 1993

From the Editor 1

Visitors to the Library 1

The Contributors 1

Acknowledgments 3

Romanization Style 3

I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection

By Sören Edgren 5

Chinese Technology in Eighteenth-Century American Eyes

By Wu Yiyi 31

The Liao-Dynasty Stone Inscriptions and Their Importance to the Study of Liao History

By Ruowei Yang 55

Bibliographical Notes on Two Ancient Chinese Medical Works

By Chuang Shen 73

Review: "Impressions de Chine"

By David Helliwell 93

News and Notes: For the Friends of the Gest Library 103

Report on the International Advisory Committee Meeting of the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project 103

Illustrations

I. V. Gillis in his Peking garden 4
Illustration from *T'ang-shih hua-p'u* (ca. 1621) 11
Illustration from *P'i-p'a chi* (ca. 1625) 12
Frontispiece, *Fo-shuo pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching* 13
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 1 13
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 2 14
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 3 14
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 4 15
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 5 15
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 6 16
Frontispiece, *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 7 16
Illustration from *Mu-tan t'ing huan-hun chi* (1617) 17
Title page, 1797 French edition of van Braam's *Voyage* 34
Single-wheel barrow drawn by A. P. Folie, Jr. 36
Single-wheel barrow shown in *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* 39
Cart with a sail 40
Passenger cart with windows and blind 42
An-ch'e as shown in the *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 43
Sowing machine 45
Plow recorded by van Braam 47
Reconstructed *chiang-tung li* 48
Tinker at work 50
Epitaph for Chang Chien 57
Epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Khitan "major characters" 61
Epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Chinese 62

Epitaph for the princess of Ch'en 66
Sample page from the *Honzō wamyō* 78
First page of preface from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* 81
Sample page from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* 82
Sample page, *chüan* 27, *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* 85
Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915) 87
Daci dabei jiuku Guanshiyin pusa 95
Copperplate depicting the Visitation 96
The Visitation in the idiom of the Chinese woodcut 97
From the *Hushan shenggai* 99

From the Editor

Visitors to the Library

From late July 1992 to early February 1993, the Gest Library welcomed over fifty visitors, researchers, and professors from the United States and abroad. Among the visitors in July were Ch'en Kuei-fen and Chang Hsiu-ling from the library of Taiwan Normal University. In August, five officials from the National Committee of Education, China, visited the library: Teng Teng, vice-chairman of the committee; Wang Keshi; Cai Keyong; Ma Li; and Tian Xiaogang. In the same month, Xie Qigang, education consul from the Chinese embassy in Washington, D.C., also visited our library. From late August to the end of 1992, the distinguished visitors were mainly professors: Dr. Li T'ien-min of the Institute of East Asian Studies, National Chengchi University; Dr. Satō Kazuhiko of the University of Arts and Sciences, Tokyo; Dr. Liu Chin-ch'ing of the University of Economics, Tokyo; Dr. Mitani Hiroshi of Tokyo University; Dr. Takeuchi Haruhisa of the Japan Institute of International Studies; and Dr. Li Lin-ch'in of the history department, Monashi University, Australia. During these four months, the library also welcomed Okumura Yoshirō, librarian of Waseda University; Wang Ming-lin of the National Central Library, Taipei; Li Ling-yün of the Center for Chinese Studies, Taipei; and three officials from the Japan Foundation: Asao Shinichirō, Hamanishi Eiichi, and Oshida Yukō. In early 1993, Professors Victor H. Mai of the University of Pennsylvania and Alice Y. Chai of the University of Hawaii visited our library. We also received two visitors from China: He Ling-yung of the Center for Demographic Studies, Peking, and Xu Wen-kan of the China Publishing Company of Reference Works.

The Contributors

Sören Edgren is editorial director of the Research Libraries Group Chinese Rare Books Project, which is located in the Gest Library at 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. He has already contributed two articles: "The *Ching-ying hsiao-sheng*

and Traditional Illustrated Biographies of Women," which appeared in the special issue *East Asian Women: Materials and Library Research* (Winter 1992), and "Comments on Professor Cui's Articles" in the 1993 spring issue. Readers were introduced to Dr. Edgren's scholarly activities and achievements in greater detail in the special issue.

Wu Yiyi received his M.A. degree from East China Normal University in 1981. He taught at the university for three years before coming to Princeton to pursue his doctorate. In Princeton he specialized in the history of science and received his Ph.D. degree from the Department of History in 1989. He then conducted postdoctoral research for one year at the University of Pennsylvania. He now works as a resource specialist for the New York City Board of Education. Dr. Wu has five Chinese articles on the history of science to his credit. His most recent work is "The Origin and Development of the Ho-chien and the Tan-hsi Schools of Medical Science" (*Hsi-ho suo-yüan*) published in the *Hsin shih-hsüeh* 3.4 (1992), pp. 57–94. He is now writing a book entitled "Thomas Kuhn: The Philosophical Implications of the History of Science" ("T'o-ma-ssu K'u-en: K'o-hsüeh shih te che-hsüeh i-i") to be published by the San-min shu-chü, Taiwan.

Ruowi Yang is an associate professor of Chinese history at Peking University. She received her B.A. and M.A. from Liaoning University, and her Ph.D. from Peking University. Dr. Yang is a specialist in the history and religion of the minorities of northeast China. Her recently published doctoral dissertation, *A Study of the Political and Military Systems of the Khitan Dynasty (916–1125)* (*Ch'i-tan cheng-chih chün-shih chih-tu yen-chiu*; Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1990), is widely regarded as the best recent study on Khitan society. She is the author or co-author of fifteen Chinese articles and other works on the history of the Liao dynasty, and has also translated two Japanese books into Chinese. In 1991 Dr. Yang was a visiting scholar at Concordia University in Montreal. In 1992, she won the prestigious Wenner-Gren Foundation scholarship in cultural anthropology and conducted postdoctoral research at the University of Washington.

Chuang Shen obtained his M.A. degree from Princeton University in 1964. He taught at the University of Hong Kong from 1965 to 1988, and was founding chairman of the Department of Fine Arts. He was a visiting professor at National Taiwan University during 1971–1972 and at Arizona State Uni-

versity during 1981–1982. Since his early retirement from the University of Hong Kong in 1988, he has been a research fellow at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, in Taiwan. His major fields are Chinese art history and the history of daily life in T'ang China.

David Helliwell writes for this issue a review article concerning the catalogue of the exhibition "Impressions de Chine" published by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris late in 1992. The exhibition, and its superbly produced catalogue, are important events in the East Asian scholarly world, as Dr. Helliwell's review makes clear. Dr. Helliwell is a distinguished sinologist; librarian of the Department of Oriental Books at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and secretary of the European Association of Sinological Librarians. In the last capacity he led a delegation of his European colleagues to this country in 1992 to attend the meeting of the Committee on East Asian Libraries of the Association for Asian Studies, and to visit several American libraries, including the Gest Library at Princeton.

Acknowledgments

Upon the completion of the preparation for this winter issue, the editor must acknowledge his indebtedness to the following persons for their timely support: Hsiang Nan, fellow of the Institute of History, Social Sciences Academy, Liaoning Province, provided us with the photographs of the Liao epitaphs, some of which have never before been published in China or the West. The National Palace Museum in Taiwan kindly allowed the journal to publish photographs of four rare books and a portrait in its possession. Mrs. Soowon Y. Kim, Japanese and Korean bibliographer of the Gest Library, offered her expert knowledge on nineteenth-century Japanese medical works. Mr. Zhou Jian-yu, a doctoral candidate in the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University, helped with the production of some illustrations. Mr. Antony Marr, curator of the Gest Library, informed the editor of recent activities in the library.

Romanization Style

Beginning with this issue of the *Gest Library Journal*, authors may use either Pinyin or Wade-Giles for romanization.

1. I. V. Gillis in his Peking garden, ca. late 1920s. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University.

I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection

SÖREN EDGREN

Irvin V. Gillis was born in 1875 in New England, we are told, and died in Peking in 1948.[1] He is best known for having collaborated with Guion M. Gest in creating the Gest Oriental Library now at Princeton University. Gillis was already in Peking early in the century serving as naval attaché at the United States legation, and his infatuation with things Chinese apparently determined that he would stay and live his life in China. By the 1920s he was well established among the expatriate community in Peking and had bought a house in his Chinese wife's name. His knowledge of the language as well as local customs and geography encouraged the legation to take advantage of his services, which resulted in his meeting many visiting Americans, including G. M. Gest. The coincidence of a serious eye illness suffered by Gest and Gillis's interest in Chinese books instigated a decade-long cooperation in building the Gest Library. Gillis began by introducing Gest to traditional medical texts and Chinese medicaments that ameliorated his eye condition. Gest was reportedly so grateful that he established an account in the American Bank in Peking for Gillis to acquire Chinese rare books, which soon expanded beyond the narrow scope of works on medicine. Gillis established an office for the purpose in his home and retained several employees; from then on he was actively engaged in acquiring, cataloguing, rebinding, and delivering Chinese books to Gest and later to other clients. From the start, the Gest Library was housed at McGill University in Montreal, and by the time that Berthold Laufer visited the library in 1929, only three years after its opening, it already contained 2,054 works in 50,640 volumes.[2] By 1931 there were approximately 75,000 volumes, but the Great Depression caused Gest to rather abruptly

discontinue his funding of the enterprise. During the ensuing years a new home was sought for the collection, and by 1937 the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation, was able to acquire the Gest collection. The management of the collection was turned over to the Princeton University Library, and a final lot of 27,000 volumes that had been held in Peking was shipped to Princeton. Despite his disappointment over Gest's failure to provide sufficient payment, Gillis continued his idiosyncratic researches and maintained a lively correspondence with Nancy Lee Swann, then curator of the Gest Oriental Library.

The Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library is devoted entirely to illustrated books and manuscripts, and also contains related examples of fine printing, binding, and graphic arts. In the words of its founding donor, William Augustus Spencer, its scope should be "the finest illustrated books that can be procured, of any country and in any language and of any period." Spencer's gift, described in detail in his will, came to the library earlier than expected after he died prematurely with the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912. It included a generous endowment, which has supported the growth of the collection ever since. Although renowned for its impressive holdings of Japanese illustrated books and manuscripts, the Spencer Collection also contains Chinese materials, which are virtually unknown.

Karl Kup (né Küp) was born in Berlin in 1903 and came to the United States in 1927.[3] He was an art historian with a special interest in graphic arts and book design; from 1928 to 1934 he served in the educational and art departments of the Oxford University Press. In 1934 he was asked to succeed Philip Hofer as adviser (i.e., curator) of the Spencer Collection, and his thirty-four-year association with the collection had a profound influence on its development. Retiring in 1968, he continued to live in New York until his death in 1981. During his tenure at the New York Public Library Kup frequently traveled abroad to buy books, including no less than seven trips around the world, and the collection grew from a few hundred books in 1934 to more than eight thousand items in 1968. The first Chinese and Japanese books were acquired for the collection in 1940 as the result of a trip to China and Japan that year. The "Oriental Trip for Spencer Collection: 1940" is well documented by a diary in the form of an engagement calendar and some related correspondence from before and after the four-month journey. The entire itinerary (July 22 to November 27, 1940) was: New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Yokohama, Tokyo, Kyoto, Keijo [Seoul], Mukden

[Shenyang], Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Vancouver, Seattle, Chicago, New York. Kup's principal contact for buying books in Japan was Mr. Sorimachi Shigeo, owner of the distinguished Tokyo antiquarian book firm Kōbunsō, to whom he had written in April outlining plans for building a representative collection of Chinese and Japanese book illustration for the Spencer Collection. Sorimachi had been introduced to Kup by Shio Sakanishi of the Library of Congress, and their relationship, which was to evolve for nearly three decades, resulted in the acquisition of hundreds of valuable early Japanese books and manuscripts by the Spencer Collection. In China his principal contact was with I.V. Gillis in Peking, and he acknowledged in a letter to Mr. Lydenberg, director of the New York Public Library, that "most of the Chinese purchases were made through him [Gillis]." Political conditions in China and the death of Gillis after the Second World War prevented a continuation of their relationship, and, indeed, the Chinese collection was never to develop.

Kup was in Peking for one month, from September 11 to October 12, and he had the good fortune to be introduced to Gillis by John C. Ferguson only five days after his arrival. Although Kup examined "fine Ming books" at Ferguson's house, including some brought there by dealers, it appears that no books were purchased directly from Ferguson. Incidentally, Kup was introduced to Ferguson by Arthur Hummel of the Library of Congress. After visits to Peking bookshops in the Lung-fu-ssu and Liu-li-ch'ang districts, September 23–26, he made the following note regarding his methodology. "All selections made were sent to Dr. Ferguson and to Captain Gillis for re-examination of dates and authenticity before final purchase; Gillis will do some kind of preparatory cataloguing."

In his letter to Lydenberg referred to above, Kup offered a biographical sketch of Gillis as well as his own assessment of the man. Here are some of his characterizations. "For years the purchasing agent for both the Gest Library at Princeton, and the McGill University." "A former navy man, married to a Manchu princess, he devotes all of his time to Chinese bibliography. He is a marvel at research, a flop at aesthetic appreciation. He ordered the books sent to his house, I studied the illustrations, and he checked the bibliographical points." "When, one day, I was able to purchase a small private collection (of the late Miss Punnett of Peking) he offered to help, proceeded to dissect each title and took it upon him to add the books to his shipments. He would be the ideal 'agent' or 'go-between' for us in time." "Hipped on titles and

position (through long association with the Chinese caste system) he asked me in a letter the following," whereupon Kup quotes from Gillis's letter.

> There is nothing of importance to add to my last letter, except that I would mention a point regarding my possible relations with The New York Public Library. I would appreciate if possible and agreeable to your authorities in control, that I be designated Honorary Advisor on Oriental Books. It might be useful to have this designation under certain circumstances out here.

Despite the perceived idiosyncrasies, it was obvious that Karl Kup regarded Gillis as reliable and businesslike and, indeed, someone to be counted on for future cooperation.

In the Spencer Collection are sixty-six Chinese items listed as books,[4] including a fragmentary Sung woodblock,[5] a misidentified Japanese edition of a Chinese illustrated medical book,[6] two books purchased in Hong Kong in 1964, and five Chinese editions, some of which were purchased from Mr. Sorimachi on the 1940 trip. The remaining fifty-seven items all appear to have been acquired by Kup in China in 1940. Of those clearly traceable, twelve came from E.A. Punnett & Co., Peking,[7] fifteen from the Peking Union Book Store,[8] and eighteen definitely from I. V. Gillis; most, if not all, of the remaining twelve titles seem to have come from Gillis.[9] The chief source of identification for the provenance of the books has been the existence of pencil notations written inside the folding paperboard cases of many of them, apparently added by Kup after the arrival of the books in New York. The notes have been compared with itemized lists of books acquired from the Punnett Gallery (FRB $1,050 for thirteen titles, selected September 28 and purchased October 4); the Peking Union Book Store (FRB $857.50 for twelve items, including postage and insurance, selected October 9 and purchased October 10); and I. V. Gillis (FRB $3,148 was received for twenty-three items, listed without specific titles, on a "statement of account" dated October 10).[10] An additional sum of FRB $202.50 for Gillis is mentioned on October 11, and on October 23 Kup sent Gillis US $40 for books, freight, and insurance. It is likely that some of the books for which Gillis received payment were selected by Kup from Peking bookshops, referred to above, and for which Gillis received only a commission. Some small cost also would have gone to petty repairs and the ordering of new folding cloth cases for most of the books, matters about which Gillis was most meticulous, as can be seen from the books in the Gest

Collection. In fact, a note by Kup on October 1 states that "Gillis will repair and bind the Punnett books." It is altogether possible that a thorough investigation of the Kup diaries and other documents and correspondence related to the Spencer Collection would result in a more detailed picture of circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the Chinese books.

The following descriptions of the fifty-seven works acquired by Kup in Peking in the autumn of 1940 will be kept simple, but it is hoped that the information will be ample enough to satisfy prospective users. Call numbers for the Chinese books in the Spencer Collection include the publication date assigned to each item, and to facilitate access, these dates are included in parentheses after each title. Descriptions in Chinese characters for each group of titles are in the appendix.

BOOKS FROM THE PUNNETT GALLERY

Yü-chih keng chih t'u (Spencer 1696). Illustrated by Chiao Ping-chen. 1696 (Peking). 1 folding vol. 46 woodcuts (hand-colored) of "tilling & weaving," that is, agriculture and sericulture.[11]

T'ang-shih hua-p'u (Spencer ca. 1800). Illustrated by various artists. Ca. 1621. 14 vols. Lacks 1 of 8 original parts. Woodcuts illustrating T'ang poems. (Same edition as below, but later impression.)

T'u-hui tsung-i (Spencer 1607). Compiled by Yang Erh-tseng; illustrated by Ts'ai Ju-tso. After 1607. 4 vols. Popular painting manual of the late Ming period.

T'ang-shih hua-p'u (Spencer 1621). Illustrated by various artists. Ca. 1621. 8 vols. Lacks 1 of 8 original parts. Woodcuts illustrating T'ang poems. (See illustration 2.)

Sheng-yü hsiang-chieh (Spencer 1681). Compiled by Liang Yen-nien. 1887. 10 vols. Moral maxims with illustrations and explanations. Reprint of the K'ang-hsi period edition.

Hung-lou meng t'u-yung (Spencer 1879). Illustrated by Kai Ch'i (1774–1829). 1879 (Hangchow). 4 vols. Woodcuts of the characters in the fictional *Red Chamber Dream*.[12]

Pai-mei hsin-yung t'u-chuan (Spencer 1805). By Yen Hsi-yüan. 1805. 4 vols. Illustrated biographies of 100 Chinese women.

Lieh-hsien chuan (Spencer 1833). By Hung Tzu-ch'eng. 1833. 4 vols. Illustrated biographies of 56 "immortals."

Hsien-fo ch'i-tsung (Spencer 1602). By Hung Tzu-ch'eng. After 1602. 8 vols. Illustrated biographies of Taoists and Buddhists.

Chieh-tzu yüan hua-chuan, 1–4 (Spencer 1679–1818). By Wang Kai et al. 18th–19th cent. 17 vols. Mediocre editions of all four parts (part 4 is spurious) of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual.*

Chieh-tzu yüan hua-chuan, 1–2 (Spencer 1679–1818). By Wang Kai et al. Ca. 18th cent. 9 vols. Good editions of the first two parts of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual.*

Shih-chu chai shu-hua p'u (Spencer 1763). By Hu Cheng-yen. 18th–19th cent. 16 vols. The *Ten Bamboo Studio Painting and Calligraphy Handbook*, with polychrome woodcuts.

Fo-shuo kuan-wu-liang-shou-fo ching (Spencer 1655). 1655 (Hangchow). 1 vol. Illustrated Buddhist sutra.

Books from the Peking Union Book Store

Jen Wei-ch'ang ssu-chung: *Lieh-hsien chiu-p'ai* (Spencer 1852). 1854. 1 vol.; *Yü yueh hsien-hsien chuan* (Spencer 1857). 1857. 2 vols.; *Kao-shih chuan* (Spencer 1858). 1877. 2 vols.; *Chien-hsia chuan* (Spencer 1879). 1879. 3 vols. Illustrated by Jen Hsiung (1820–1857), excepting some illustrations in the final part that were done after his death. Excellent woodcuts of human figures.

Ch'in-huai pa-yen t'u-yung (Spencer 1893). By Chang Ching-ch'i. 1892 (Canton). 1 vol. Illustrated tales of female entertainers in the Nanking area.

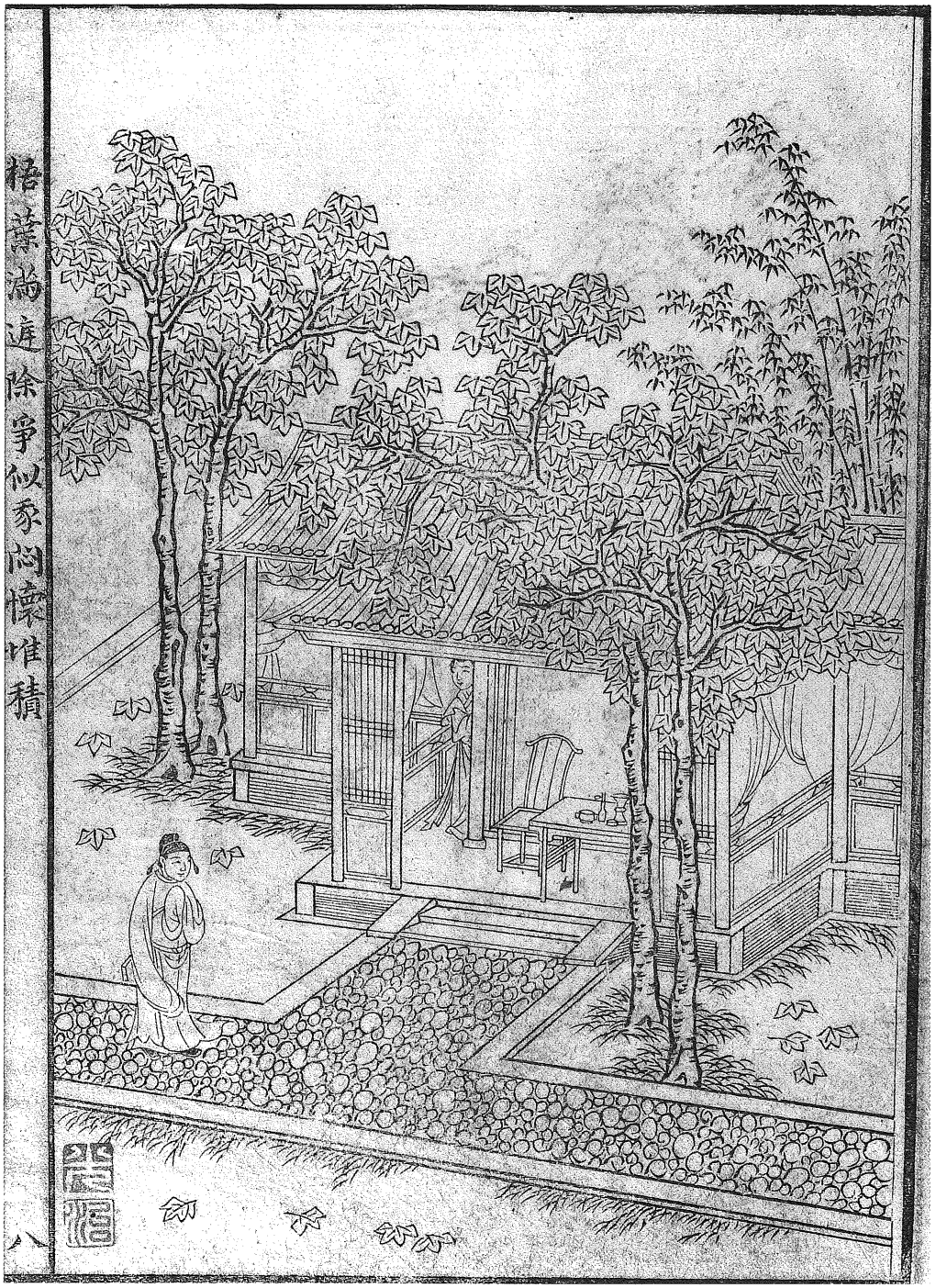
Hung-hsüeh yin-yüan t'u-chi (Spencer 1879). By Lin-ch'ing. (1791–1846). 1847 (Yangchow). 8 vols. Autobiographical work illustrating the life and travels of a Ch'ing official.

Hung-lou meng t'u-yung (Spencer 1879). Illustrated by Kai Ch'i (1774–1829). 1879 (Hangchow). 4 vols. Woodcuts of the characters in the fictional *Red Chamber Dream.*

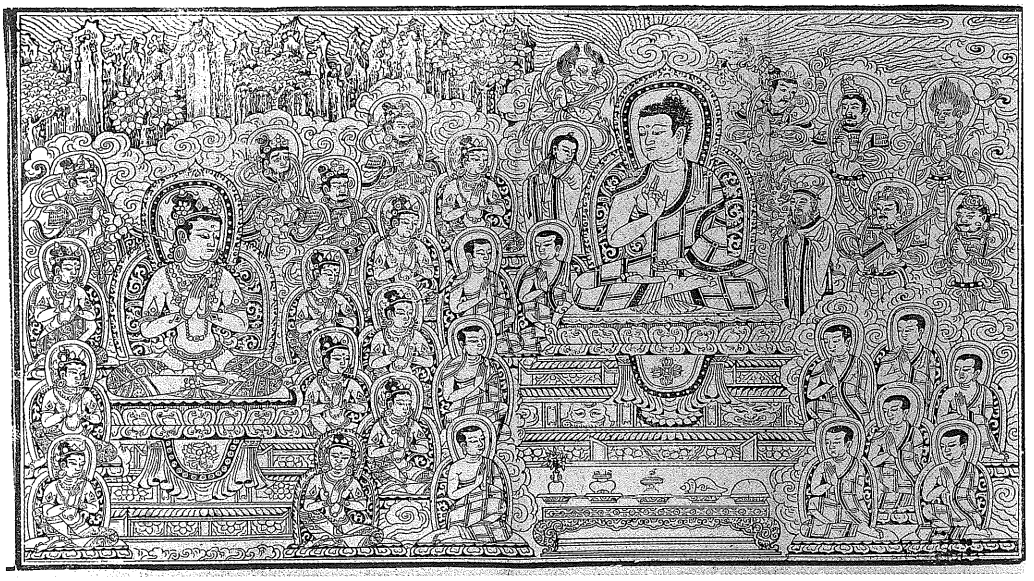
Fo-shuo pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching, *chüan* 2 (Spencer ca. 1850). 1301 (Soochow). 1 folding vol. *Chüan* 2 only of the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *Guhya-samaya-mahatantraraga-sutra*, preceded by a fine four-panel woodcut. From the *Ch'i-sha* (also pronounced *Chi-sha*) Tripitaka.[13] (See illustration 4.)

Wu-chün ming-hsien t'u-chuan tsan (Spencer 1829). By Ku Yüan. 1829. 10 vols. Portraits and biographies of resident scholars of the Soochow area.

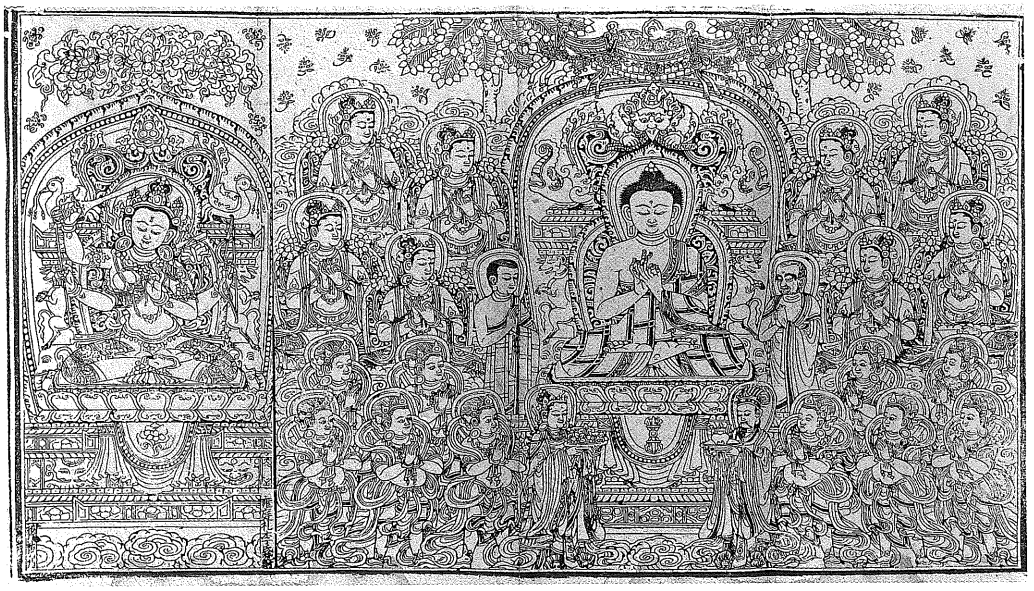
2. Illustration from *T'ang-shih hua-p'u* (ca. 1621). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



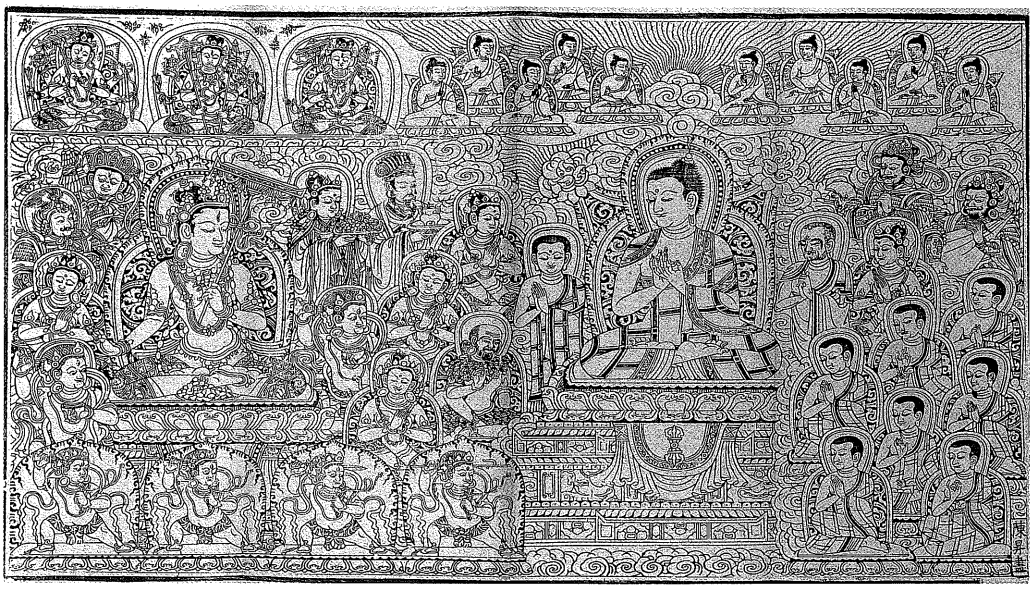
3. Illustration from *P'i-p'a chi* (ca. 1625). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



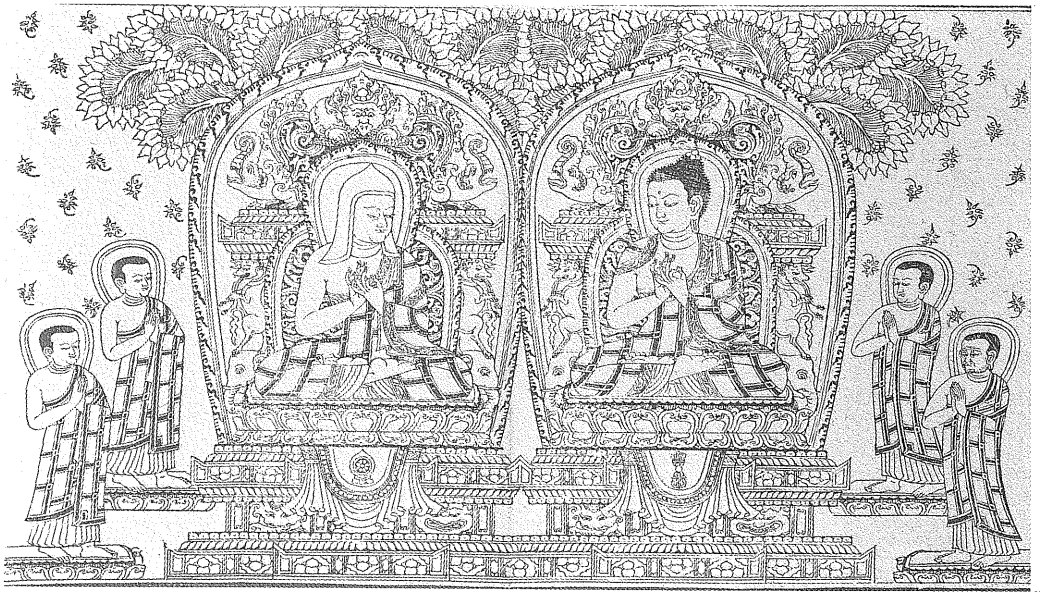
4. Frontispiece of *Fo-shuo pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching, chüan* 2 (1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



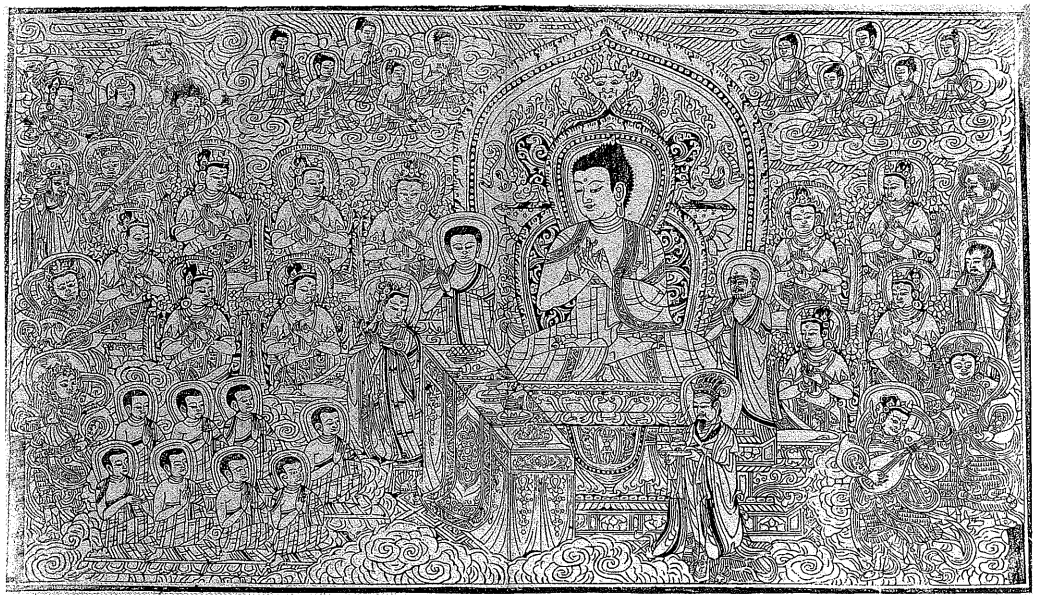
5. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 1 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



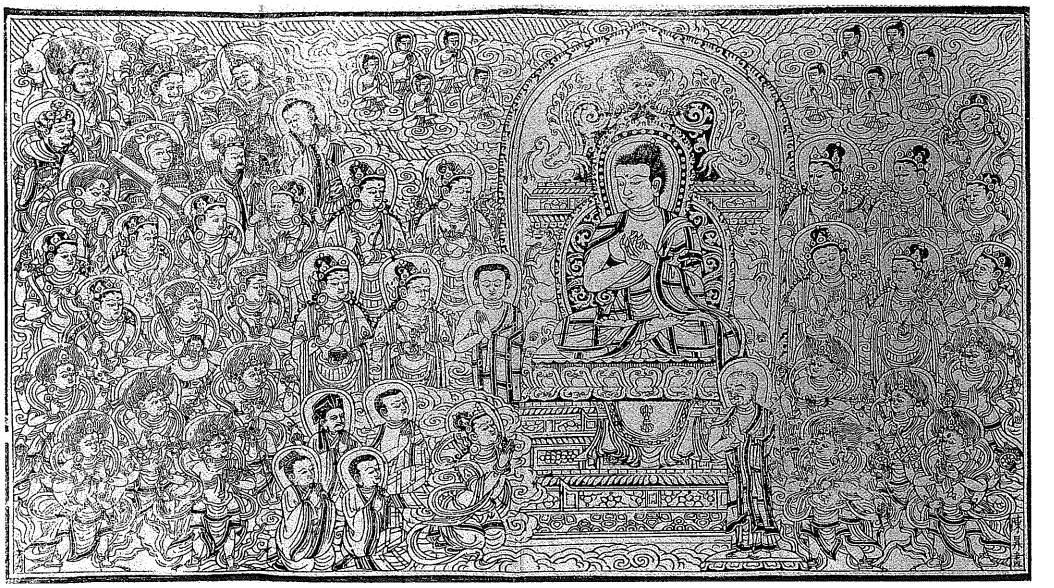
6. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 2 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



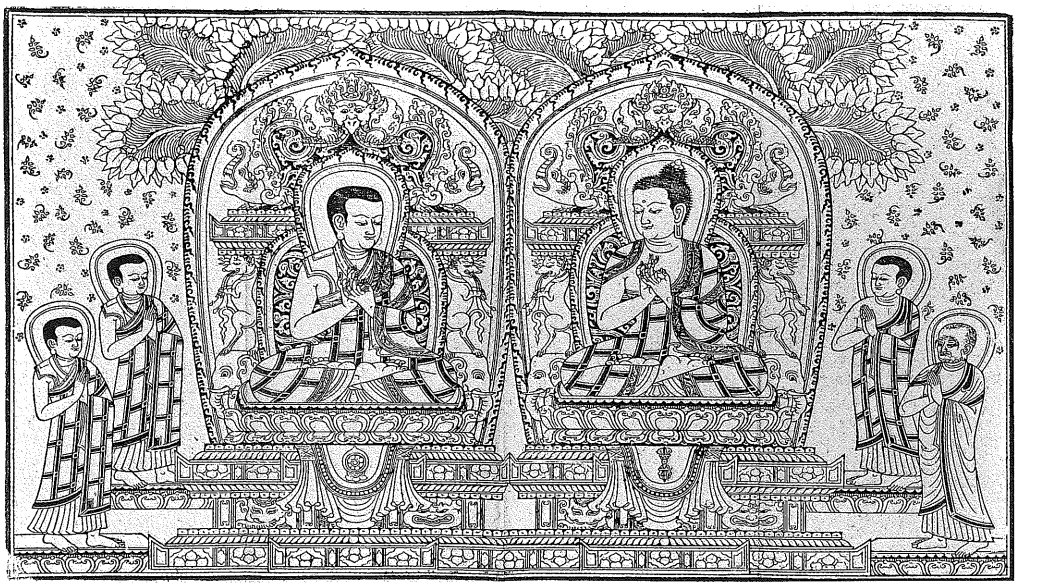
7. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 3 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



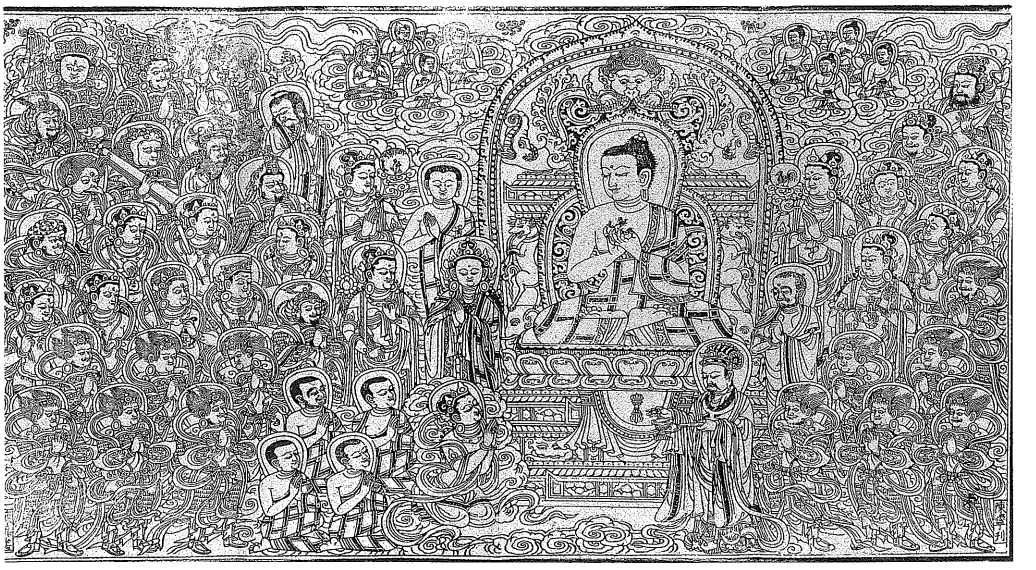
8. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 4 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



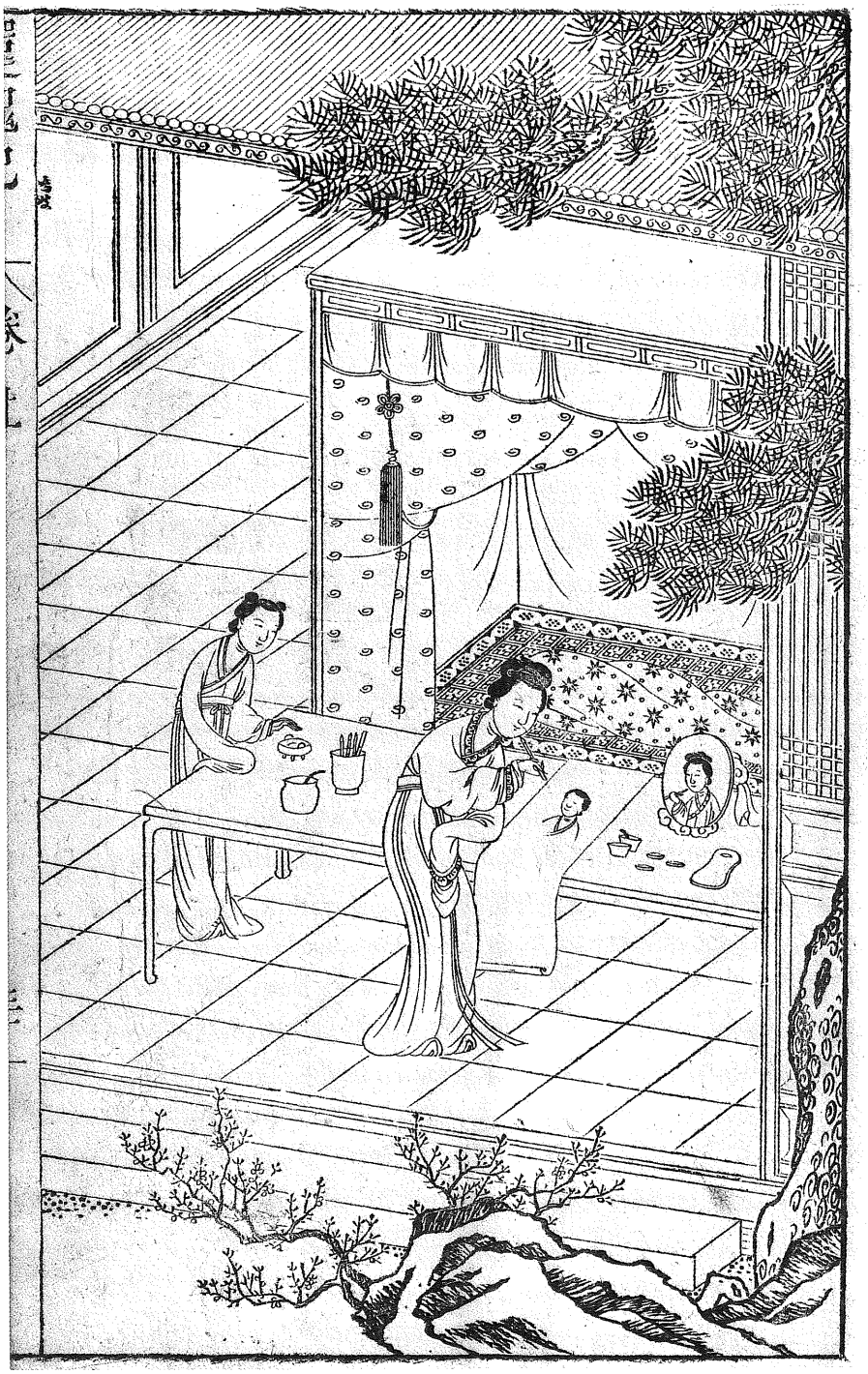
9. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching, chüan* 5 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



10. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching*, *chüan* 6 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



11. Frontispiece of *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching*, *chüan* 7 (ca. 1301). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.



12. Illustration from *Mu-tan t'ing huan-hun chi* (1617). From the Spencer Collection, the New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations.

P'an-shan-chih (Spencer 1756). Edited by Chiang P'u (1708–1761) et al. 1755 (Peking). 10 vols. Description of a mountain range near Peking and containing fine woodcuts.

Yü-ming t'ang huan-hun chi (Spencer 1785). By T'ang Hsien-tsu (1550–1616). 1785. 6 vols. Illustrated edition of the drama *Peony Pavilion*.

Yang-chia-fu yen-i (Spencer 1606). 1606. 8 vols. Fictional work based on the exploits of a certain General Yang.

Chüeh-shih ching t'u-shuo (Spencer 1851). 1851. 4 vols. Tales of morally upright deeds with woodcut illustrations.

Ta fo-ting-hsin t'o-lo-ni ching (Spencer ca. 1800). 15th cent. 1 folding vol. An illustrated sutra of *Kuan-yin* worship, of the sort circulating in northern China in the early 15th century.[14]

Hsing-ming kuei-chih (Spencer 1615). 1615. 4 vols. Illustrated work on meditation and other Taoist practices.

Books from I. V. Gillis

P'i-p'a chi (Spencer 1498). By Kao Ming. Ca. 1625 (Wu-hsing). 4 vols. The *Tale of the Lute* in a finely illustrated edition, with black and red printing in the text, published by Ling Meng-ch'u (1588–1644).[15] (See illustration 3.)

Nan-wu a-mi-t'o-fo ching (Spencer ca. 1600). 15th–16th cent. 1 scroll vol. A rare and unusual Ming sutra containing large Amida portraits. Originally a folding volume, rebound as a scroll.

Kuan-yin ta-shih hsien-hsiang ling-ying chi (Spencer ca. 1600). By Hu Ying-lin (1551–1602). 17th cent. 1 folding vol. An album of 51 woodcut illustrations, some hand-colored, of *Kuan-yin* images plus one of a European.

Tz'u-pei lan-p'en mu-lien ch'an-fa tao-ch'ang (Spencer 1625). 1584 (printed 1625). 3 folding vols. Illustrated Buddhist text, privately published.

Lung-t'u kung-an (Spencer ca. 1700). 1776. 6 vols. Detective fiction based on Sung-dynasty cases. Preceded by ten woodcuts.

Ssu-i fan-t'ien so-wen ching (Spencer 1736). 1735. 1 vol. Translation from Sanskrit of a Buddhist sutra.

Fo-shuo fo-ming ching (Spencer 1736–1795). 1795 (Peking). 12 folding vols. Buddhist sutra translated from the Sanskrit.

Shih-chu chai shu-hua p'u (Spencer ca. 1750). By Hu Cheng-yen. 18th–19th

cent. 8 vols. The *Ten Bamboo Studio Painting and Calligraphy Handbook*, with polychrome woodcuts.

Lieh-nü chuan (Spencer 1779). By Liu Hsiang (77–6 B.C.). 1779. 16 vols. *Biographies of Eminent Women* with portraits purportedly designed by the Ming artist Ch'iu Ying (d. ca. 1552). This edition is considered to have been printed partially from original woodblocks of the Wan-li period (1573–1620).[16]

Ching-t'u ch'uan-teng kuei-yüan ching (Spencer 1784). 1784 (Peking). 2 vols. Buddhist sutra published in Peking.

Fan ch'a t'u, 1–4 (Spencer 1826). By Chang Pao. 1819–1826 (Canton). 4 vols. Autobiographical descriptions of journeys to scenic places. Illustrated and published by the author. In four parts.

Shen-yin chien-ku lu (Spencer 1834). 1834. 10 vols. An anthology of selections from famous plays and stories with accompanying woodcut illustrations.

A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching (Spencer ca. 1850). Ca. 1301 (Soochow). 7 folding vols. Complete in 7 *chüan*, each of which is preceded by a different four-panel woodcut. From the *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka.[17] (See illustrations 5–11.)

Ming chuang-yüan t'u-k'ao (Spencer 1857). By Ku Ting-ch'en (1473–1540). 1856. 4 vols. Portraits and biographical notes on 76 Ming scholars who placed highest in the imperial examinations.

Sheng-hsien hsiang-tsan (Spencer 1879). 1878 (Ch'ü-fu). 4 vols. Portraits of sages and philosophers with eulogies.

Sheng-men li yüeh chih (Spencer 1888). 1887 (Ch'ü-fu). 4 vols. Two works, *Sheng-men yüeh-chih* (Confucian ritual music) and *Sheng-men li-chih* (Confucian rites), each in 2 volumes, published together.

Ho-fei hsiang-kuo ch'i-shih tz'u-shou t'u (Spencer 1891). 1892 (Tientsin). 6 vols. Lithographic illustrations of festivities surrounding the seventieth-birthday celebrations for Li Hung-chang (1823–1901) in volume one, with related texts and documents contained in the remaining volumes.

Shih-pa lo-han t'u (Spencer 1895). Illustrated by Ting Lien-feng. 1895. 1 vol. Portraits of the 18 Arhats of Buddhism, in the style of the Ming artist Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652).

BOOKS OF UNIDENTIFIED ORIGIN (PROBABLY MOSTLY FROM GILLIS)

Pao-ch'ieh-yin t'o-lo-ni ching (Spencer 975). Translated by Amoghavajra (705–774). Ca. 1930. 1 scroll. Small printed Buddhist charm preceded by a

simple woodcut, dated 975. The scrolls were discovered when the Lei-feng Pagoda near Hangchow collapsed in 1924. This appears to be from a woodblock facsimile edition made shortly thereafter.[18]

Hsü Chen-chün yü-hsia chi (Spencer 1433). By Hsü Hsün. Ca. 1488. 1 vol. Taoist divination texts with simple illustrations.[19]

Hsin-k'an Han Chu-ko wu-hou pi-yan ch'in-shu (Spencer 1588). By Ho Tung. 1588 (Nanking). 12 vols. An illustrated book of fortune-telling and divination practices purporting to derive from the prescient powers of Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181–234).

Hsin-k'o ch'üan-hsiang san-pao t'ai-chien hsi-yang chi (Spencer 1597). By Lo Mao-teng. 1597 (Nanking). 20 vols. An illustrated work of late Ming fiction.

Mu-tan t'ing huan-hun chi (Spencer 1598). By T'ang Hsien-tsu (1550–1616). 1617. 2 vols. Illustrated edition of T'ang's famous dramatic work *Peony Pavilion.* With forty excellent woodcuts by members of the Huang lineage of Hui-chou blockcarvers. (See illustration 12.)

Jen-ching yang-ch'iu (Spencer 1600). Compiled by Wang T'ing-na. 1600 (She-hsien). 12 vols. Lacking *chüan* 22. Profusely illustrated biographies of ancient worthies, also engraved by the Huang blockcarvers of Hui-chou.[20]

Hsien-fo ch'i-tsung (Spencer 1600). By Hung Tzu-ch'eng. After 1600. 6 vols. Illustrated biographies of Taoists and Buddhists.

Han-tan chi (Spencer 1601). By T'ang Hsien-tsu (1550–1616). After 1601 (later impression). 4 vols. This edition probably was published as part of a collection of four of T'ang's plays. Four of 28 original woodcut illustrations are lacking.

Hsin-chüan hai-nei ch'i-kuan (Spencer 1610). By Yang Erh-tseng; illustrated by Ch'en I-kuan. 1709 (Hangchow). 10 vols. Illustrated guidebook to scenic and historic places in China.

Hsin-chüan p'i-p'ing ch'u-hsiang Han Hsiang-tzu (Spencer 1623). By Yang Erh-tseng. Ca. 1623 (Nanking). 6 vols. A popular illustrated work of late Ming fiction.

Hsin-chüan wu-fu wan-shou tan-shu (Spencer 1624). By Kung Chü-chung. Supplemented by Cheng Chih-ch'iao. Ca. 1624 (Nanking). 4 vols. A popular book containing miscellaneous formulas for attaining good fortune and long life. Lacking *chüan* 4 and 5 (of 6).

Hsin-ting san-li t'u (Spencer 1676). By Nieh Ch'ung-i. Ca. 1676. 4 vols. Illustrations to accompany the three texts *Chou-li*, *I-li*, and *Li-chi*. Based on a Sung edition of 1175, which is still extant.

The relative value of the books contained in each lot can be determined in various ways by different readers. In purely economic terms the Punnett books may have offered the least value, especially if we take the example of the *Hung-lou meng t'u-yung*, which Punnett priced at FRB $45 and which the Peking Union Book Store sold for FRB $8.50. This fact was not lost on the manager of the Punnett Gallery who made the following statement in a cover letter addressed to Kup and attached to the invoice for FRB $1,105 on October 3.

> After checking over the books you picked out, I found it is true that some are too high in price while others are too low in price as you mentioned. This is because Miss Punnett's way of doing business was to always add a certain percentage of profit no matter whether she purchased the goods cheaply or expensively. That is why the prices of the books are not quite in proportion. Anyhow all these prices were marked years ago and I am sure they are very reasonable. Nevertheless we will be glad to give you a 5% discount.

Furthermore, the Punnett books were Kup's first purchase in China and he had no basis for comparison.

Although a few bibliographical data are still tentative,[21] it is believed that the descriptions of the fifty-seven works will rectify some discrepancies in the original Spencer Collection cataloguing notes, but, more important, it is hoped that calling attention to this collection will make the books available to those previously unaware of their existence.

Notes

1. The principal source of biographical information for I.V. Gillis is an eight-page typescript entitled "'Captain I.V. Gillis, Founder of the Gest Oriental Library' (A Chapter from the Unpublished Memoirs of Mr. Thomas Sze)" in the Gest Collection. It begins in 1920 with Sze joining "the International Lodge, Peking, a Massachusetts constitution masonic lodge," of which Gillis was a member, and it ends with his visiting Peking after the war and seeing Gillis at the British legation (where he had been allowed to live throughout the war because of a heart condition) and finding him in delicate

health, both physically and mentally, and finally reporting that he died on September 1, 1948. Gillis's birth date is deduced from a letter to Nancy Lee Swann (in the Gest Collection) dated February 28, 1946, in which he states that he is seventy-one years old. Elsewhere at about the same time he mentions having spent a total of thirty-five years in China and over thirty years collecting Chinese books (all of which were either sold or destroyed by the Japanese during the occupation of Peking). The Sze memoir was also used as the source of his biography by Hu Shih, in "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University" (*Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 15, Spring 1954), and by D. E. Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library" (*Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 43, Spring 1987). Another source of Gillis's biography, at least useful for comparison and corroboration, and presumably based on an interview, is an article from the English-language journal *Peking: News and Views of China* (August 1931), a copy of which is preserved in the Gest Collection. The four-page article begins with a full page of photographs headed "Chinese Culture Safeguarded" and is entitled "Gest–McGill–Gillis: Three Notable Forces Create Most Comprehensive Chinese Research Library Outside China — How They Did It." Among minor discrepancies are suggestions that Gillis and Gest had first met as passengers on a Pacific steamship, that the Ch'en Pao-ch'en collection of books in the Gest Collection was offered to Gest through the Chinese consul in his home city of San Francisco, that the Gest Collection contained 115,514 Chinese books in 1931, and that the *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka edition of sutras was unearthed in a remote part of China. Besides consulting copies of miscellaneous correspondence in the Gest Collection, I have particularly benefited from access to the Kup papers among the records of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library Archives, and I wish to thank Robert Sink, archivist and records manager, for assistance. I am also grateful to Robert Rainwater, curator of the Spencer Collection, who encouraged my work, and to Margaret Glover, librarian in the Print Room, who graciously attended to my many requests for books, photographs, and other information.

2. Laufer's usually insightful comments are contained in a pamphlet of eight pages entitled "The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University" and published in Montreal around 1929. Among other remarks, he pointed out that "next in number of volumes to the Chinese Division of the Library of Congress the important collection of Chinese literature made by Mr. Guion M. Gest of New York is the most outstanding and most comprehensive and at the same time outranks others in number of rare books in America. It is justly characterized as a research library."
3. Kup's birthplace and original nationality appear open to question. The *New York Times* obituary of July 7, 1981, states that he was born in Berlin; however, New York Public Library records give his birthplace as Haarlem, the Netherlands, and it is known that Kup in later years presented himself as Dutch. It is clear from early correspondence and even from his own bookplate that his name originally was Küp and that he changed the spelling to Kup sometime after coming to the United States. He is said to have stud-

ied in Berlin and Paris before leaving Europe, and personal circumstances, such as having spent time in Holland, or having become a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1934, or even feelings about Germany between the wars, may have led him to change his identity.

4. In addition there are eighteen items listed as Chinese manuscripts, consisting of mostly mediocre paintings and picture albums, plus an interesting two-volume set of Buddhist texts written in gold on indigo paper and dated 1640.
5. This extraordinary artifact is described in Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute, 1984), pp. 58–59.
6. The *Shinkan kōtei meidō kyūkei* was printed with wooden movable type and published in Japan between 1608 and 1620. See Kawase Kazuma, *Kokatsuji-ban no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Antiquarian Booksellers Association of Japan, 1967), p. 757.
7. The late Miss Edith Punnett had galleries in the Wagons-Lits Hotel, where Kup was staying in Peking, and at 39 Legation Street. Shortly after arriving, Kup learned that her remaining stock of about fifty titles of Chinese illustrated books was to be sold in toto for $4,000 (local currency) and that Mrs. John Stewart Happer, then in Peking, was in charge of the sale. After careful inspection of the books he made lists of "first choice" and "second choice," and in the end he selected thirteen titles for $1,050 as his first purchase in China. One of the Punnett books (*Hung-lou meng t'u-yung*) was identical to one purchased from the Peking Union Book Store, and, since there is only one copy in the Spencer Collection, one may have been disposed of at some point, so we credit Punnett as the source of only twelve of the existing fifty-seven items acquired in Peking.
8. The Peking Union Book Store was the enterprise of Mr. K. T. Koo, who had been introduced to Kup by L. C. Goodrich of Columbia University. His address was 12 Yang-feng chia-tao (7th Postal District), apparently near or in the legation quarter. Koo seems to have been employed in the secretarial department of the National Library of Peking. Immediately after the war he was still in business, and 1947 stationery lists him as representative of the Library of Congress, and the libraries of Columbia University and the University of Chicago.
9. Considering the scrupulousness with which Kup and Gillis carried out their business dealings, it is more than likely that detailed lists or invoices for all the books acquired from Gillis exist somewhere among the Kup papers. Until they are found, my reconstructed list may serve as a provisional one.
10. The Chinese local currency dollars used in Peking at the time are referred to as FRB. I am grateful to F. W. Mote for pointing out that FRB is an abbreviation of "Federal and Reserve Bank" of North China (deriving from Chung-kuo lien-ho chun-pei yin-hang, the issuing body of the notes). The rate of exchange was approximately fifteen FRB dollars to one U.S. dollar. Most of Kup's purchases were paid for in local currency.
11. See Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 120–121, for a full description of this edition.
12. The same edition of this work is listed with the books from the Peking Union Book Store, and it is not really known which of the two copies has been retained in the collection.
13. This single volume, together with the

seven-*chüan A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching* (see note 17 below), contains all eight of the fine frontispiece woodcuts found in the *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka. See Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 80–81, for an introduction to the Tripitaka edition as well as a description of a related volume in the collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art (formerly in the collection of Jean-Pierre Dubosc). In fact, Dubosc once owned all three of the volumes (*chüan* 1, 3, and 4), which together with this one make up the complete *Pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching*. They were acquired in Peking in the late 1930s. Interestingly enough, Kup had intended to meet Dubosc, who was attached to the French legation, and had with him an introduction from Alan Priest of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dubosc had also been recommended to Kup by Laurence Sickman. Kup's diary entry merely indicates that they did not meet, and one might assume that Dubosc was away from Peking. Since Dubosc's copy of *chüan* 1 bears a colophon dated 1301, we may safely ascribe the Spencer Collection volume to the same year. The Spencer volume is among those bearing ex libris seal imprints of Li Shu-ch'ang (1837–1897) and Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915). The dating of "ca. 1850" probably comes from Gillis, who expressed a similar opinion about parts of the entire *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka, which he had acquired for the Gest Collection. In fact, K. T. Koo's memo on the invoice, "Yuan sutra — Pu Ning Ssu, Hangchou," was much closer to the truth. Although production of the Tripitaka began in the vicinity of Soochow in the late Sung period, it may have been completed in the early Yüan at Hangchow, where the woodcuts were executed. For reference, other *Ch'i-sha* volumes with the same woodcut frontispiece are in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I am addressing questions about the printing of this edition and the significance of the particular style of the woodcuts in ongoing research on the Sung and Yüan editions of the Buddhist canon, and it would not be appropriate to try to deal with them here. Nevertheless, there are unanswered questions about the Yang Shou-ching provenance (the National Library of Peking has some volumes that also have a *Sung-p'o t'u-shu-kuan* seal imprint together with that of Yang's), about the appearance of odd volumes from the Tripitaka with early impressions of fine woodcuts (primarily acquired by foreigners in Peking in the 1930s), and about the presence of frontispiece woodcuts in each of the volumes of the latter group, which is inconsistent with traditional Chinese sutra publication practice. Regarding the last point we have two nearly complete sets of the Tripitaka to use for comparison: one discovered around 1930 divided between two Buddhist temples in Sian and now in the Shensi Provincial Library (a reduced size photolithographic reprint was made in Shang-hai during the following six years), and the one acquired in Peking (Ta-pei ssu?) by Gillis for the Gest Collection in the late 1920s. Since the paper of the frontispieces is invariably different from that of the text portions of the volumes, it is not impossible that a cache of woodcuts was found with the Peking set and the best of these were mounted for separate sale. I am presently comparing the titles and *chüan* numbers of the errant volumes with their counterparts in the Gest set and

will report on any correlation with missing or modern manuscript replacement volumes in another article.

14. This sort of *dharani-sutra*, with its simple narrative illustrations filling the upper one-third of each page and continuous text on the lower two-thirds, is an important manifestation of popular religion in the early Ming. Of those I have seen with dates and places of publication, the majority are from the Peking area and were printed in the early fifteenth century. A similar variant edition of this work is illustrated in Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: British Library, 1985), p. 19. Another copy of the same (ex Jean-Pierre Dubosc) is held by the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.
15. This book is alone among the books identified as having been acquired from Gillis in October 1940, in that inside the folding case it gives the date as June 1941, probably meaning that it arrived at the library at that time. In a letter dated October 25, 1940, addressed to Kup in Shanghai, Gillis states: "I bought the work that you inspected and that had one booklet lacking, it having been sent to Tientsin. This booklet came back and made the work then complete. Although there were a few slight defects, you had examined this work yourself and said that you wished to procure it if complete, so I bought it at the cost of local currency $250. This will be set down in your account when I send you a statement of the shipping charges." I believe that the *P'i-p'a chi* is being referred to and that it was sent to New York after the original shipment. Incidentally, two specimen pages from the Spencer copy of *P'i-p'a chi* were published by P'an Ch'eng-pi and Ku T'ing-lung in *Ming-tai pan-pen t'u-lu ch'u-pien* (Shanghai: K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1941), *chüan* 10, pp. 10–11. For more information about the edition see Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, p. 110.
16. See Sören Edgren, "The *Ching-ying hsiao-sheng* and Traditional Illustrated Biographies of Women," *Gest Library Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Winter 1992), p. 162.
17. As mentioned in note 13 above, it is highly irregular to find a different frontispiece before each *chüan* of a work like this from a Tripitaka edition. Indeed, all of the eight different "superior" frontispiece woodcuts from the *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka known to me are represented in the two Spencer Collection titles. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968), facing pls. 278 and 279, also note: "These Gest examples in the exhibition, dated from 1306 to 1315, are not exactly in the same artistic quality and craftsmanship as the earlier examples (1301) from the Dubosc collection." These seven volumes do not contain any seal imprints of Yang Shou-ching or Li Shu-ch'ang. Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1975), p. 51, describes the eight frontispiece illustrations (numbered 1–8) from the photolithographic reprint edition of the Shensi set of the *Ch'i-sha* Tripitaka (Shanghai, 1931–1935) in the order in which they appear. In describing these seven illustrations I refer to her numbers. The woodcut before *chüan* 2 of *Pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching* (see note 13) corresponds to Karmay's no. 7. The following seven woodcuts (borderline measurements for each woodblock are indicated) precede each of the seven *chüan* of the *A-ch'a-mo p'u-sa ching*. *Chüan* 1:

244 x 442 mm.; Karmay no. 6; donor of funds for printing: Li family of Yung-chou; blockcarver: Sun Yu. Other examples of this illustration are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Indianapolis Museum of Art (former Dubosc collection), and the Denver Art Museum. *Chüan* 2: 241 x 436 mm.; Karmay no. 3; illustrator: Ch'en Sheng. Other examples are in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Ryūkoku University in Japan. *Chüan* 3: 249 x 441 mm.; Karmay no. 5. Another example is in the former Dubosc collection (see Karmay, pl. 30). *Chüan* 4: 248 x 436 mm.; Karmay no. 4; the name of Yang Tech'un in the lower right-hand corner and the text "printed by the Yang family, north of Chung-an Bridge, Hangchow" in the lower left-hand corner are obliterated by black "mo-ting" marks. Another example (containing the two lines of text) is in the Gest Collection. *Chüan* 5: 245 x 444 mm.; Karmay no. 1; illustrator: Ch'en Sheng; blockcarver: Yuan Wang. Another example is in a private collection in Japan. *Chüan* 6: 247 x 440 mm.; Karmay no. 2. Other examples are in the former Dubosc collection (see Karmay, pl. 29), the Gest Collection, the British Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. *Chüan* 7: 239 x 442 mm.; Karmay no. 8; blockcarver: Ch'en Ning; illustrator: Ch'en Sheng. Other examples are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the former Dubosc collection, and Ryūkoku University.

18. Kup's diary records that on September 30, 1940, he visited Mrs. Nellie Hussey in Peking and "purchased a so-called 'Sung' sutra of 700 AD [*sic*!] for $70. FRB, after having been offered the same scroll by Ferguson for $350.00." Elsewhere the price is mentioned as $75. It is possible that this may refer to the Lei-feng Pagoda sutra.

19. The title of this work is derived from the preface and therefore is tentative. The contents are possibly incomplete or misordered: the center column is uniformly damaged and restored with blank paper, so that the *chüan* and folio numbers are missing. As a product of the popular religion of the time, this work mixes together Taoist and Buddhist elements. The traditional dates for Hsü Hsün, author of the *Yü-hsia chi*, are A.D. 240–374!

20. Gillis's letter of October 25 (see note 15 above) possibly refers to this work thus: "The '$2,400' work is also now in my safe awaiting your instructions. A few days after you left the owner recovered it from the book-store (Han Wen Chai). They brought it back and told the owner that it had been sent to Tientsin for examination by a prospective purchaser and sent back as not desired. (You were the prospective purchaser, of course.) The owner has now gone back to the price he originally set upon it when it was offered to me some months ago. As there has been so much 'advertising' and hanky-panky about this item I doubt very much if the price can be cut, although my son says that he thinks that it could have possibly been obtained for a couple of hundred dollars less probably if there had not been so much dickering, as the owner is now fully aware of its value. If you wish me to buy this book you can let me know at your convenience, but not with too much delay. A one-word cable — Gillis, Peking ACCEPT (or REJECT) is all that is necessary, and a decision one way or the other would be appreciated, so that I may return this promptly to the owner if you do not want it. I will pay for it myself and you can reimburse me." On November 1, two days before his departure from Shanghai, Kup apparently sent

$1,250 to Gillis: $250 for one book (probably the *P'i-p'a chi*; see note 15) and $1,000 for the "famous Ferguson $2,400. book." The quote, at least, offers further insight into the working relationship between Gillis and Kup.

21. The RLG Chinese Rare Books Project, based at Princeton, is currently cataloguing and inputting records for Chinese rare books held by the New York Public Library. Altogether thirty-six titles in the Spencer Collection fall within the scope of the project and will be on RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network) before autumn 1993. They may be consulted for definitive and more detailed bibliographical descriptions.

Appendix

Books from the Punnett Gallery

御製耕織圖　清焦秉貞繪　清康熙三十五年內府刻本
唐詩畫譜　明萬曆天啓刻本
圖繪宗彝八卷　明楊爾曾輯　明蔡汝佐繪　明末刻本
唐詩畫譜　明萬曆天啓刻本
聖諭像解二十卷　清梁延年編　清光緒十三年寶善堂刻本
紅樓夢圖詠　清改琦繪　清光緒五年刻本
百美新詠圖傳　清顏希源撰　清嘉慶十年集腋軒刻本
列仙傳　明洪自誠輯　清道光十三年在茲堂刻本
仙佛奇踪八卷　明洪自誠輯　明末刻本
芥子園畫傳初集二集三集四集　清王槩等輯　清刻本
芥子園畫傳初集二集　清王槩等輯　清刻本
十竹齋書畫譜　明胡正言輯　清刻本
佛說觀無量壽佛經圖頌　清刻本

Books from the Peking Union Bookstore

任渭長四種　列仙酒牌一卷　於越先賢傳二卷　高士傳三卷　劍俠傳一卷
　清任熊繪　清咸豐四年至光緒五年刻本
秦淮八艷圖詠　清張景祁撰　清光緒十八年越華講館刻本
鴻雪因緣圖記　清麟慶撰　清道光二十七年刻本
紅樓夢圖詠　清改琦繪　清光緒五年刻本
佛說秘密三昧大教王經卷二　宋施護等譯　元大德五年刻磧砂藏本
吳郡名賢圖傳贊二十卷　清顧沅輯　清道光九年刻本
盤山志十六卷　清蔣溥等纂　清乾隆二十年內府刻本

玉茗堂還魂記二卷　明湯顯祖撰　清乾隆五十年冰絲館刻本
楊家府演義八卷　明秦淮墨客校正　明萬曆三十四年刻本
覺世經圖說　清咸豐元年春暉書屋刻本
大佛頂心陀羅尼經　明初刻本
性命圭旨　明萬曆四十三年刻本

Books from I. V. Gillis

琵琶記四卷　元高明撰　明天啓淩氏刻朱墨套印本
南無阿彌陀佛經　明刻本
觀音大士現象靈應記　明胡應麟輯　明末清初刻本
慈悲蘭盆目連懺法道場三卷　明萬曆十二年刻天啓五年印本
龍圖公案十卷　清乾隆四十一年種書堂刻本
思益梵天所問經四卷　清雍正十三年刻本
佛說佛名經十二卷　元魏菩提流支譯　清乾隆六十年衍法寺刻本
十竹齋書畫譜　明胡正言輯　清刻本
列女傳十六卷　漢劉向撰　明仇英繪　明萬曆刻清乾隆四十四年鮑氏知不足齋印本
淨土傳燈歸元鏡二卷　清乾隆四十九年龍王廟刻本
泛槎圖附續集三集四集　清張寶繪　清嘉慶二十四年至道光六年自刻本
審音鑑古錄　清道光十四年刻本
阿差末菩薩經七卷　西晉竺法護譯　元大德刻磧砂藏本
明狀元圖考　明顧鼎臣撰　清咸豐六年刻本
聖賢像贊　清光緒四年會文堂刻本
聖門禮樂誌　清光緒十三年硯寬亭刻本
合肥相國七十賜壽圖　清光緒十八年石印本
十八羅漢圖　清丁蓮峰著并繪　清光緒二十一年自刻本

Books of Unidentified Origin (probably mostly from Gillis)

寶篋印他陀羅尼經　唐不空譯　民國覆宋開寶八年刻本
許眞君玉匣記　晉許遜撰　明刻本
新刊漢諸葛武侯秘演禽書十二卷　明何動輯　明萬曆十六年葉貴刻本
新刻全像三寶太監西洋記二十卷　明羅懋登撰　明萬曆二十五年三山道人刻本
牡丹亭還魂記二卷　明湯顯祖編　明萬曆四十五年刻本
人鏡陽秋二十二卷　明汪廷訥編　明萬曆二十八年環翠堂刻本
僊佛奇踪六卷　明洪自誠輯　明末刻本

邯鄲記二卷　明湯顯祖撰　明臧懋循訂　明末刻本
新鐫海內奇觀十卷　明楊爾曾輯　明陳一貫繪　明萬曆三十八年夷白堂刻本
新鐫批評出相韓湘子三十回　明楊爾曾撰　明天啓九如堂刻本
新鐫五福萬壽丹書六卷　明龔居中纂　明鄭之僑補　明天啓周如刻泉刻本
新定三禮圖二十卷　宋聶崇義撰　清康熙通志堂刻本

Glossary

Kōbunsō　弘文莊
Liu-li-ch'ang　琉璃廠
Lung-fu-ssu　隆福寺
Ming　明
Sorimachi Shigeo　反町茂雄

Chinese Technology in Eighteenth-Century American Eyes

WU YIYI

INTRODUCTION

Eighteenth-century China had long been closed to the outside world, its inland areas even less well known to Westerners than the coastal regions. But on the inauguration of the sixtieth year of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's reign (r. 1736–1795), along with many other foreign guests, an American was invited to observe the celebration in Peking. Andreas Everaardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739–1801), the ambassador of the East India Company and later of the United States, thus had an opportunity to travel about two thousand miles across inland China.

During his journey in China, van Braam kept a detailed day-by-day diary in which he described the Chinese bureaucratic system, the everyday farm life, and technological inventions. These inventions were van Braam's favorite topic. He documented with illustrations agricultural instruments, transport vehicles, buildings, and bridges, as well as craftsmen at work. Van Braam's journey does not sound a total pleasure, but his journal is obviously a rich mine of information for present-day sinologists.[1]

THE AUTHOR

Van Braam was born in 1739 in the province of Utrecht, the Netherlands, and served in the navy until 1759, when he joined the East India Company and sought his fortune in Canton and Macao, China. His interest in China presumably dated from this period.[2] But the 1760s were not a good time for Western visitors to China. The empire was intoxicated with its recent pros-

perity and paid little attention to foreigners, who in the eyes of the Chinese bureaucrats were "uncivilized."

Van Braam stayed in Canton for about fifteen years with only two brief returns to his native land. No evidence shows that he entered inland China during his long stay in the southern cities, which were open to foreigners at the time. Inspired by the news of the American revolution, he decided to move to the United States and was appointed Dutch consul to North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. He settled down in Charleston and started to operate a rice plantation. Four years after becoming a naturalized American citizen, van Braam decided to leave for China again, partly because of a series of tragic events affecting his family. He arrived in Canton in the summer of 1790, and soon heard the news that George III had sent his representatives to the Manchu monarch, Ch'ien-lung. With much difficulty, he had himself appointed the second ambassador to visit Peking on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Ch'ien-lung's reign in 1794. At that point van Braam was fifty-five years old.

He returned to Philadelphia early in the winter of 1795, half a year after the trip to Peking. He bought a farm at Mount Bergen near Bristol in Pennsylvania where he built a fifteen-room house which he named China's Retreat. He took pains to maintain the lifestyle he had enjoyed in Canton. Because of the great variety of objects he brought back from China, this site was regarded as "undoubtedly the first comprehensive Chinese collection seen in the United States."[3]

But van Braam was not financially successful in the United States. His wife divorced him, and he had to auction off the beloved articles he had brought back from China only three years before. Van Braam died in 1801 in Amsterdam. The auction catalogue prepared by Christie's survived him,[4] inducing memories about the legendary trip of this former second ambassador to the "unknown land" exactly two hundred years ago.

The Journey and the Journal

Van Braam and his party, known to consist of at least one other representative of the East India Company and several servants, left Canton on November 22, 1794, and reached their destination on January 9, 1795. The schedule was hectic, with the envoys covering some two thousand miles in fifty days. They had to squeeze themselves into small carts and hurry in order to reach the

capital before the New Year Ceremony. For more than eighteen days they had to travel over sixty miles daily. They made their way mainly by land because the water level of rivers and canals and the strong winds were not favorable for water travel in winter. The journey was uncomfortable, and supplies did not always reach them on time. Sometimes the situation was so "indescribably bad" that they "even had no wine at dinners."[5]

But by traveling overland van Braam was able to see more of China. From December 10 on, he enriched his diary with observations about bridges, pagodas, boats, wheelbarrows, and carts with sails. He even had the opportunity to acquire various articles and bring them back to the United States. Some of them were used as models for drawings when Moreau de Saint-Méry, an emigre bookseller and publisher, was translating van Braam's manuscript into French for publication. American engravers, such as John Vallance, Samuel Seymour, and A. P. Folie, collaborated in preparing drawings for the publication.

Van Braam's descriptions and discussions of Chinese technological inventions are especially noteworthy because they were not made by a layman or a curious traveler, but by a professional. His service in the navy and his extensive travel made him a keen and open-minded observer. The accuracy and variety of his records are rare compared with those of other contemporary travelers. On the other hand, it is plain that most of the information in van Braam's work was obtained from observation alone. Presumably, he did not know Chinese and thus could not communicate directly with Chinese farmers and officials.

Van Braam wrote his journal in Dutch, and the original is preserved in the Rijksarchief at The Hague. The first published edition, however, was in French. Its title page announced that the book was based on the author's personal experience and contained descriptions "de plusieurs parties de la Chine inconnues aux Européens" (see illustration 1). Van Braam was described as the former director of the Society of Sciences and Arts of Haarlem in Holland, and of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, whose library is still proud to possess one copy of this rare journal.

The French-language edition was published in Philadelphia in 1797–1798. It was in two volumes in octavo and contained engravings depicting subjects as diverse as the Chinese court and mule wagons. The publisher was to be found at "the corner of First Street South and Walnut," in Philadelphia, not far from the dock on the Delaware River where van Braam had concluded his

VOYAGE
DE L'AMBASSADE
DE LA
COMPAGNIE DES INDES
ORIENTALES HOLLANDAISES,
VERS L'EMPEREUR DE LA CHINE,
DANS LES ANNÉES 1794 & 1795 :

Où se trouve la description de plusieurs parties de la Chine inconnues aux Européens, & que cette Ambassade à donné l'occasion de traverser :

Le tout tiré du Journal d'André Everard Van Braam Houckgeest, Chef de la Direction de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises à la Chine, & Second dans cette Ambassade; ancien Directeur de la Société des Sciences & Arts de Harlem en Hollande; de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie, &c. &c.

Et orné de Cartes & de Gravures.

Publié en Français par M. L. E. MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY.

TOME PREMIER.

A PHILADELPHIE;

Et se trouve chez... { L'Éditeur, Imprimeur-Libraire au coin de la première rue Sud & de Walnut, N°. 84. / Les Principaux Libraires des États-Unis d'Amérique. / Les Libraires des principales Villes d'Europe.

1797.

1. Title page of the 1797 French edition of van Braam's *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

journey from China about a year earlier. The journal was translated into a two-volume English edition, which was based on a private Paris edition of the first volume of the Philadelphia edition.[6] The translation is faithful, but materials other than the journal itself, such as drawings and appendixes, were all omitted, except for a map of the "route of the Dutch Embassy to and from Peking in 1794–5," engraved by T. Foot.

Judging by the number of published translations that came out within a decade of the French edition, this diary must have been popular in the late 1790s. The copies preserved in Princeton University are gifts to the university from Walter van Braam Roberts, a descendant of A. E. van Braam and a Princeton student of the class of 1915. On the page facing the cover of the original French edition, there are notes in pencil: "Presented to J. E. Baker by the g.g. grandson of the author, . . . [here there are three groups of letters or signs that I cannot decipher]. E. T. Roberts, London, July 10, 1908." Immediately beneath, two lines, which seem to be a postscript, in the same handwriting read: "This book is paid for by me in London. ETR." Far below is another "note": "given back to E.T.R. by J.E.B. before his death." On the front page of the English translation is a formal dedication: "To Erastus Titus Roberts, this work, written by his ancestor, is now, in commemoration of the one hundredth year of its issue, presented by his friend, J. E. Baker. Oct. 3rd., 1898."

Chinese Technology as Seen in the Diary

The Chinese inventions and technical devices van Braam recorded on his way to Peking fall into three main groups. (1) Means of transportation: sail-carts received much attention in the diary, and vehicles are often described with detailed specifications. Mule- or horse-drawn wagons are also noted and compared with their counterparts in the West. (2) Agricultural devices: instruments designed for deeper and more effective plowing, as well as seeding machines and other tools, are described. (3) Miscellaneous devices, such as tinkers' equipment. This paper compares van Braam's descriptions of certain Chinese devices with those in the relevant Chinese sources so as to further our knowledge of Chinese technological inventions.

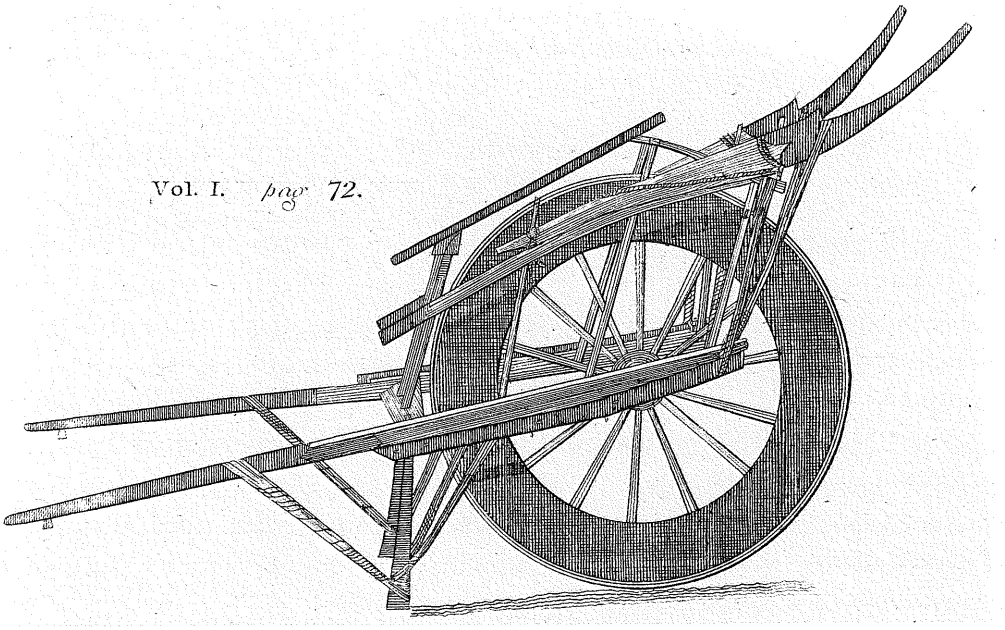
Small Cart (La brouette)

Van Braam began traveling in a small cart on December 11, 1794, a week after he entered Chiang-hsi Province.[7] During the long and tedious journey to

Peking, he must have had time to observe and study the cart offered by his Chinese hosts, and it became one of his favorite topics in his diary. He often used comparisons to illuminate his observations and to reveal the significance of seemingly unimportant details. Here is an example of his method:

> It is equally easy to see that there is a difference in the men, particularly in the color of the skin. In general they are here of a much ruddier complexion than the inhabitants of the south of China; a circumstance that is still more perceptible among the women, whose cheeks are as red as those of European females, in the full bloom of youth and health.[8]

Then wheelbarrows, used to transport both people and goods in Chiang-hsi Province, caught his attention (see illustration 2).[9] This vehicle was operated in a way different from what he had observed in Kuang-tung Province, so he described it carefully: "a wheel-barrow, singularly constructed, and employed alike for the conveyance of persons and goods.



2. Single-wheel barrow drawn by A. P. Folie, Jr., presumably after a real model brought home by van Braam. From van Braam, *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

According as it is more or less heavily loaded, it is directed by one or two persons, the one dragging it after him, while the other pushes it forward by the shafts."

Actually what van Braam saw was one of the most popular means of transportation in rural China in the Middle Ages. Even today wheelbarrows of this kind are still in use in certain parts of China. Van Braam went on to describe the single wheel with professional accuracy:

> The wheel, which is very large in proportion to the barrow, . . . is as it were cased up in a frame made of laths, and covered over with a thin plank, four or five inches wide. . . . In addition to this, I should say that the wheel is at least three feet in diameter, that its spokes are short and numerous, and consequently, that the felloes are very deep; and that its convexity on the outer side, instead of being nearly flat, like common wheels, is of a sharp form.

Experienced in engineering, van Braam found the design of the wheel interesting: the edge was narrow compared to its European counterpart.[10] At first he thought the narrowness of the outer edge of the wheel "unsuitable" for a clay-soil road. But after comparing these carts with those used in Java, which he must have visited when he was in the navy, he realized that in rainy seasons narrow felloes may cut through heavy ground and thus make the cart move better. Van Braam mentioned that "the learned M. Hooyman" had experienced such problems with broad-wheeled carts when he was in Batavia. Van Braam found himself "obliged to follow the custom of the country," and was "convinced that the Chinese wheel is the best suited to a clayey soil."

Not only the structure of the cart but its operation was "new" to van Braam: "The wheel . . . is placed in the center of the part on which the load is laid, so that the whole weight bears upon the axle, and the barrow men support no part of it, but serve merely to move it forward and to keep it in equilibrium."

His report was precise. But to maintain equilibrium was not easy. I had a chance to try the cart some years ago, and therefore can appreciate van Braam's account of the way it is loaded, which is an equally important factor in keeping the cart balanced:

> On each side of the barrow is a projection on which the goods are put, or which serves as a seat for the passengers. A Chinese traveler

> sits on one side, and thus serves to counterbalance his baggage, which is placed on the other. If his baggage be heavier than himself, it is balanced equally on the two sides, and he seats himself on the board over the wheel, the barrow being purposely contrived to suit such occasions.

The barrow cart impressed van Braam. He repeatedly admired the "singularity" and "simplicity" of this invention. But the barrow was nothing new for the Chinese. Illustration 3 gives a comparison found in the *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*, a popular book by Sung Ying-hsing (1587–?) published in the late Ming.[11] The cart had only one wheel, which made it suitable for narrow and winding trails in mountainous areas, as the background of the drawing suggests, and in paddy fields. It had two handles, with which the cart-man shared part of the weight and, more important, directed the cart along the road. It looks identical to what van Braam observed in Chiang-hsi Province where, according to the *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*, these carts were used. Some scholars have asserted that the use of such carts, which were referred to as "wooden cattle," can be traced back as far as the third century A.D., as described in the *Dynastic History of the Three Kingdoms* (*San-kuo chih*), and in the popular work based on it, the sixteenth-century novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San-kuo yen-i*).[12]

Cart with Sails

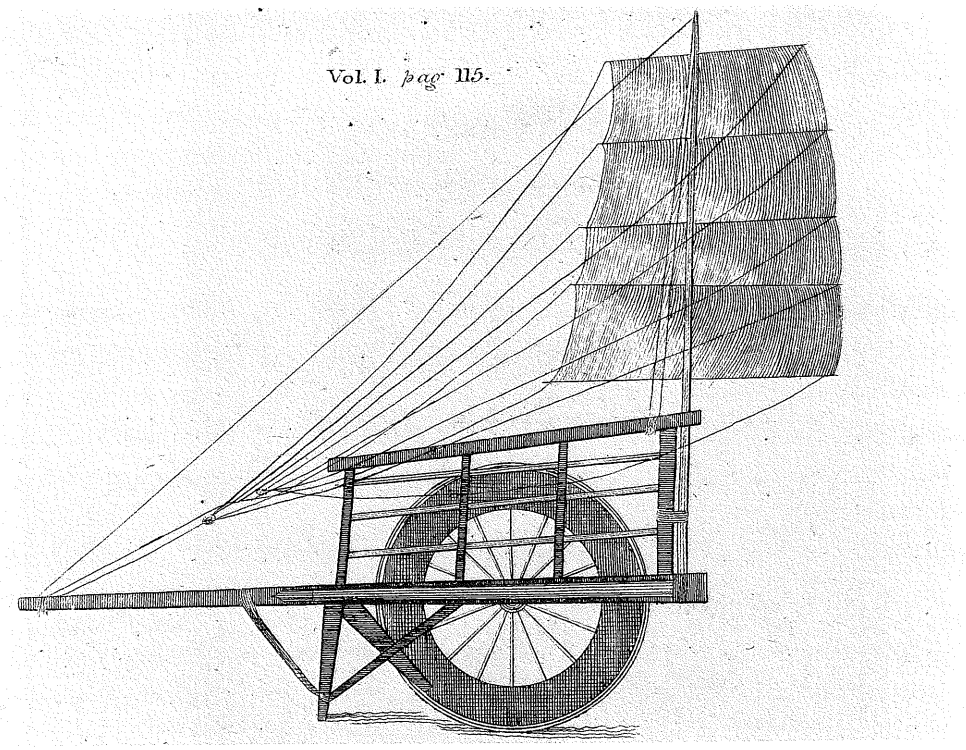
By the end of 1794, the envoys entered north China where a seemingly endless plain extended north and east. Not only was the environment different from the mountainous provinces south of the Yangtze River, but, van Braam noted, the carts were "much larger than that I have already described, and drawn by a horse or mule," instead of by men. In particular, the sail-cart (*fan-ch'e*) aroused his sincere admiration. He discussed it in detail in his diary on the last day of 1794, when the embassy traveled in southern Shan-tung Province:

> But how great was my surprise when I this day saw a whole fleet of wheel-barrows, all of the same size. I have good reason to call them a fleet, for they were all under sail; having a little mast very neatly inserted in a hole or step cut in the forepart of the barrow. To this mast is attached a sail made of matting, or more commonly of canvas, five or six feet high, and three or four wide, with reefs, yards, and

3. Single-wheel barrow shown in Sung Ying-hsing (1587–?), *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* (1637 edn. published by T'u Po-chü), b, p. 43a. Block 15 x 22 cm. Facsimile. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

braces, like those of the Chinese boats. The braces lead to the shafts of the barrow, and by means of them the conductor trims his sail.[13]

An experienced sailor, van Braam could understand the function of the sail. He said that the sail was not merely "a momentary matter"; it was an "additional contrivance [*combinaison*] in the carriage" to help the cart-men. He gave detailed survey data as well as a drawing (see illustration 4), showing the structure of this "memorable thing" (*chose momentanée*)." Father Matin once claimed in his *Description géographique de la Chine* that the Chinese sailing barrows, or wagons, did not really exist.[14] Van Braam's accounts and illustration now provide convincing evidence that they were real Chinese inventions. Seeing these sailing barrows rolling along one after another, the former sailor said in his diary that he "felt real pleasure."



4. Cart with a sail. The string fastened at the top of the mast shares the weight loaded on the handles when the wind is strong. Two shorter strings from the bottom of the sail are "controllers" of the sail. From van Braam, *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

It is easy to see the difference between these two kinds of carts. The smaller Chiang-hsi cart was easier to operate than one equipped with a sail, important in a mountainous area like Chiang-hsi. In contrast, the sail-cart, larger, heavier, and demanding more power, was good for Shan-tung Province where flatlands spread out hundreds of miles east to the sea. Seasonal winds there were strong and steady, providing an inexhaustible source of energy for the barrows.

In the early 1950s investigators from Ch'ing-hua University, Peking, found sail-carts near the port city of Tsingtao. They photographed and documented them,[15] and their investigation confirmed what van Braam saw on the first day he entered Shan-tung Province. In fact, a similar device, a sail-on-ice-sled, was used in Manchuria where snow covers the ground four or five months a year.

Passenger Cart (La charrette)

Van Braam later described with the same accuracy the *charrette* used in Shan-tung Province:

> It appears that carts and wheel-barrows are the only carriages known in this province, either for the conveyance of persons or goods. If the cart were not so small and hung so low upon the wheels, which are not of more than four feet diameter, and which are of singular form, it might be compared to the Hessian cart; but the felloes of the wheel are at least six inches deep, and, in the direction of a whole diameter, is a large piece of wood, more than six inches square, crossing the axle, while two other pieces of wood, shorter and thinner than that I have just spoken of, cross it in their turn at right angles, and are inserted at each end in the corresponding felloes. The axle, of which the end is square, is let into the first of these three pieces, so that the axle and wheels all turn together.[16]

Because the water level of the Yellow River was seasonal and the smaller rivers almost all flowed eastward, inland waterway transportation was difficult. Carts were thus the major means of transportation until railroads and other modern forms of transportation were developed early in the twentieth century.

Van Braam reported that carts were powered by five oxen, or horses, or mules. The strongest beast was always placed between the shafts, and

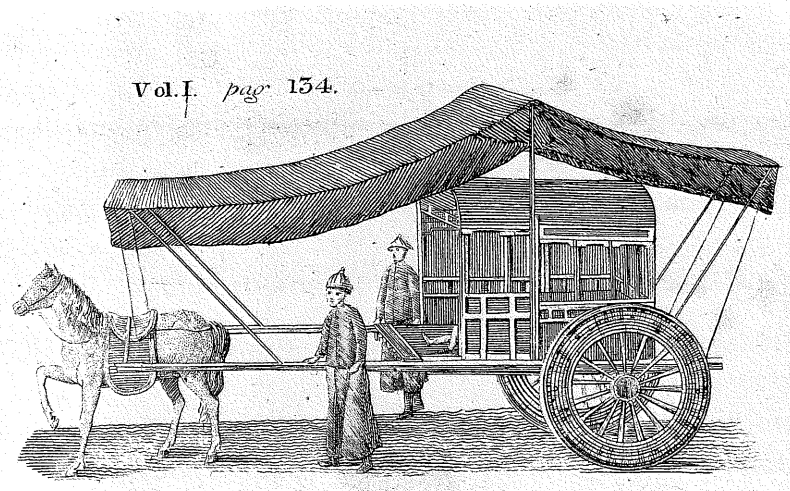
another "abreast of him." Although a shortage of large domestic animals had long been a problem for economic development in China, van Braam seems not to have experienced this shortage.

Van Braam and the other envoy had the honor of using special carriages (illustration 5) provided for them when they arrived in Peking on January 10, 1795. Van Braam described the two *charrettes* as follows:

> They [the carts] are only intended to carry a single person. The outside is neat and covered with cloth, and in the sides are little windows, by means of which the person within can see everything while sitting on a cushion laid in the bottom of the carriage, according to the Chinese custom.[17]

This kind of vehicle was also recorded in the Ch'ing imperial encyclopedia published in 1726 (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*), where it was named "comfortable vehicle" (*an-ch'e*; see illustration 6), and the idea of the design was explained:

> The design of the *an-ch'e* does not use high wheels because the body of the cart would not be steady while traveling if high wheels were employed. The cabin is six *ch'ih* [about two meters] in length so that



5. Passenger cart with windows and blind. From van Braam, *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

6. *An-ch'e* as shown in the *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (1726 edition), "K'ao-kung tian," *ch.* 174. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

> passengers can lie down in the cart, and as wide as the distance between the wheels.[18]

The encyclopedia goes on to explain that the cabin was covered with varnished cloth and oilpaper. At the rear of the cabin was a door; the passenger could climb aboard through it with the help of a rail and stair. Inside the cabin was a deluxe mattress to make the trip comfortable. By the side of the mattress was a movable long narrow table (*chi*), to facilitate eating and reading in the cabin. The window that van Braam particularly enjoyed was also described:

> There is a window toward the rear axle, through which the passenger can enjoy the scenic view while lying on his side in the cabin during his trip. At the rear part of the car is installed a blind of oilpaper. Two wooden beams are set at each end of the blind. The blind can be opened fully to keep the passenger from rain, or partly toward either the front or one side to lessen the wind [to make travel more comfortable]. When in use, the blind is fastened with iron buckles to the roof and the base of the cabin; when not in use, it can be wrapped up and stored at the rear part of the cart.

Although the Ch'ing encyclopedia discusses extensively the blind of the carriage (*hsien*), regrettably it does not illustrate it. In contrast, van Braam's book has a clear and accurate illustration of the blind. The drawing matches perfectly the written description of the blind in the encyclopedia, thus offering reliable supplementary data.

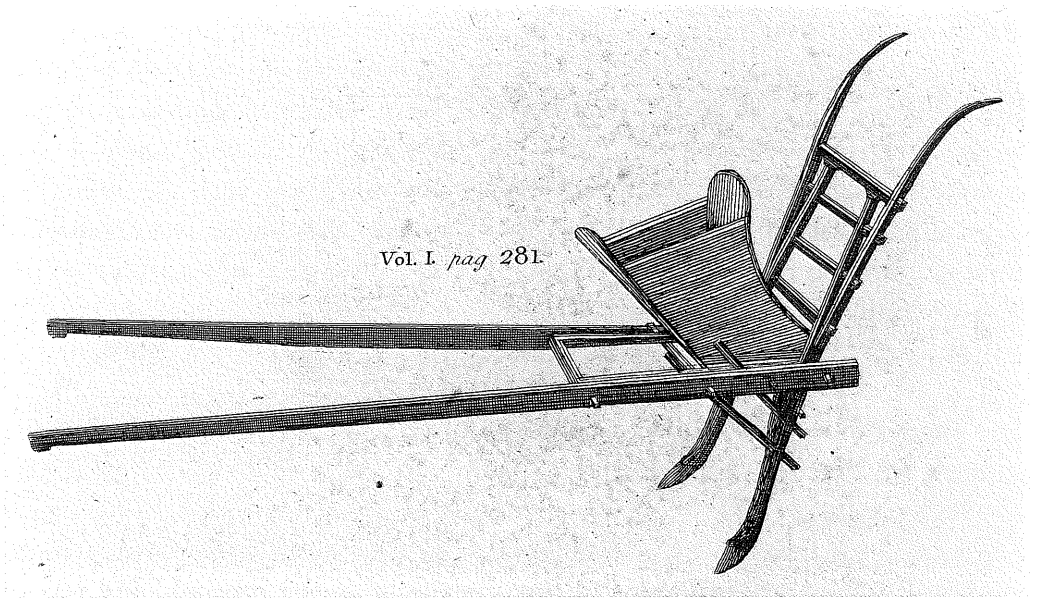
Seed-drill (La semoir)

Van Braam and the other envoy made it to the capital in time to attend the celebration of the sixtieth year of Ch'ien-lung's reign. During their stay, they were treated hospitably and were invited to various festivities, some of which were presented by the emperor himself. On January 29, 1795, a state banquet was held for foreign envoys, during which the Dutch and the Korean ambassadors each received a cup of wine from the emperor's hands, the greatest honor that the Ch'ing emperor would accord to "barbarians." They were also granted lavish gifts. Later the ambassadors had several other opportunities to pay their respects to the emperor and to visit the Manchu princes, who showed great interest in the small articles, such as a watch, used by foreigners.[19]

When the celebration was eventually over, the Ch'ing court wasted no time in sending the foreigners back to the remote southern province. Van Braam had to leave the capital where he had stayed only thirty-six days after his exhausting fifty-day journey. The return trip, however, was more comfortable and leisurely. An imperial edict to officials of all the provinces that the envoys were to pass through ensured a courteous reception in every city they stopped in.[20]

It was already early spring when the ambassadors entered Shan-tung Province. There farmers were busy "*sur la terre qui doit être fécondée,*" van Braam noted with admiration. On February 20, he was able to examine an instrument used by the farmers for sowing, which he called a *semoir* (illustration 7) and described in his diary as follows:

> It consists of two sticks or pieces of wood about four feet long, the lower extremities of which are shod with a kind of iron wedge that serves to open the furrow. A little above is a square box placed between the two sticks, and tapering downwards in the shape of a funnel. Behind this is a plank put across for the purpose of covering up the furrow after the seed has fallen in.[21]



7. Sowing machine. From van Braam, *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

According to van Braam, this instrument was operated by three men; two pulled it forward and the third directed it along the furrow. This machine, van Braam remarked, "*J'avais déjà conçu*," because he had noticed that the quality of planting was high for the whole field.

This instrument is called "*lou-li*" in Chinese, and is known to have been in use as early as Emperor Han-wu's reign (140–86 B.C.).[22] During the Sung dynasty, the *lou-li* was widely employed by Chinese farmers. Wang An-shih (1021–1086), a well-known Sung reformer in government administration and agriculture, highly praised its efficiency in his poems.[23] In a Yüan-dynasty work, *Nung-shu*, compiled in 1313, Wang Chen included a detailed description of the *lou-li*. According to Wang, this instrument was animal powered and capable of sowing thirty-five *mu* (about 5.34 acres) per day.[24] Wang also described different models of the *lou-li* employed in other areas of China. The model used in Shan-tung Province and the method of its operation were accurately confirmed by van Braam's work. For instance, both authors said that the instrument was operated by three men. As to its size, van Braam reported that the machine was "about four feet high," whereas in Wang's book its height is said to have been "approximately three *ch'ih*," which is about three feet, five inches.[25] The sowing machine functioned as a combination of plow and drill. Seeds were deposited in the seed box. There were channels and holes at the bottom of the box. When the machine jerked forward, the seeds were shaken down through the holes. As the distance between the holes was preset, the device would produce regular furrows without special attention from the farmer. Wang mentioned in his book that some "recent" models used two boxes, one for seeds and the other for manure pills. If the machine was operated properly, the right number of pills would drop with the seeds, no more and no less, to provide the necessary fertilizer. Van Braam was apparently amazed at this "extremely simple" machine. He said it was "*très-agréable*" to see it in operation.

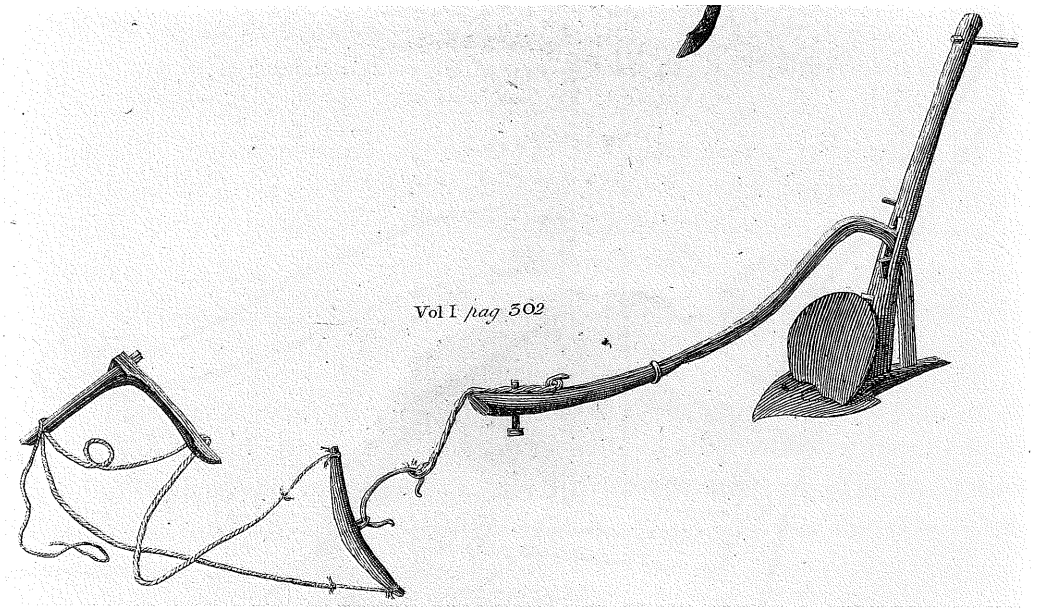
Chinese Plow (La charrue chinoise)

The envoys traveled through Shan-tung Province in early spring, and "all the country we have this day travelled through consists of arable land, a great part of which having been sown in the autumn, begins already to be covered with a delightful verdure."[26] Van Braam also saw farmers work with plows, which, though simple, were "sufficient to turn up the strongest ground." He was so amazed by the instrument that he admitted feeling that the Western plow was

"inferior to theirs," and was "resolved to buy one the first opportunity to carry out of the country with me." So he did. The one he brought back became the model for drawings (see illustration 8), which enable today's readers to visualize this "excellent instrument for indifferent land."

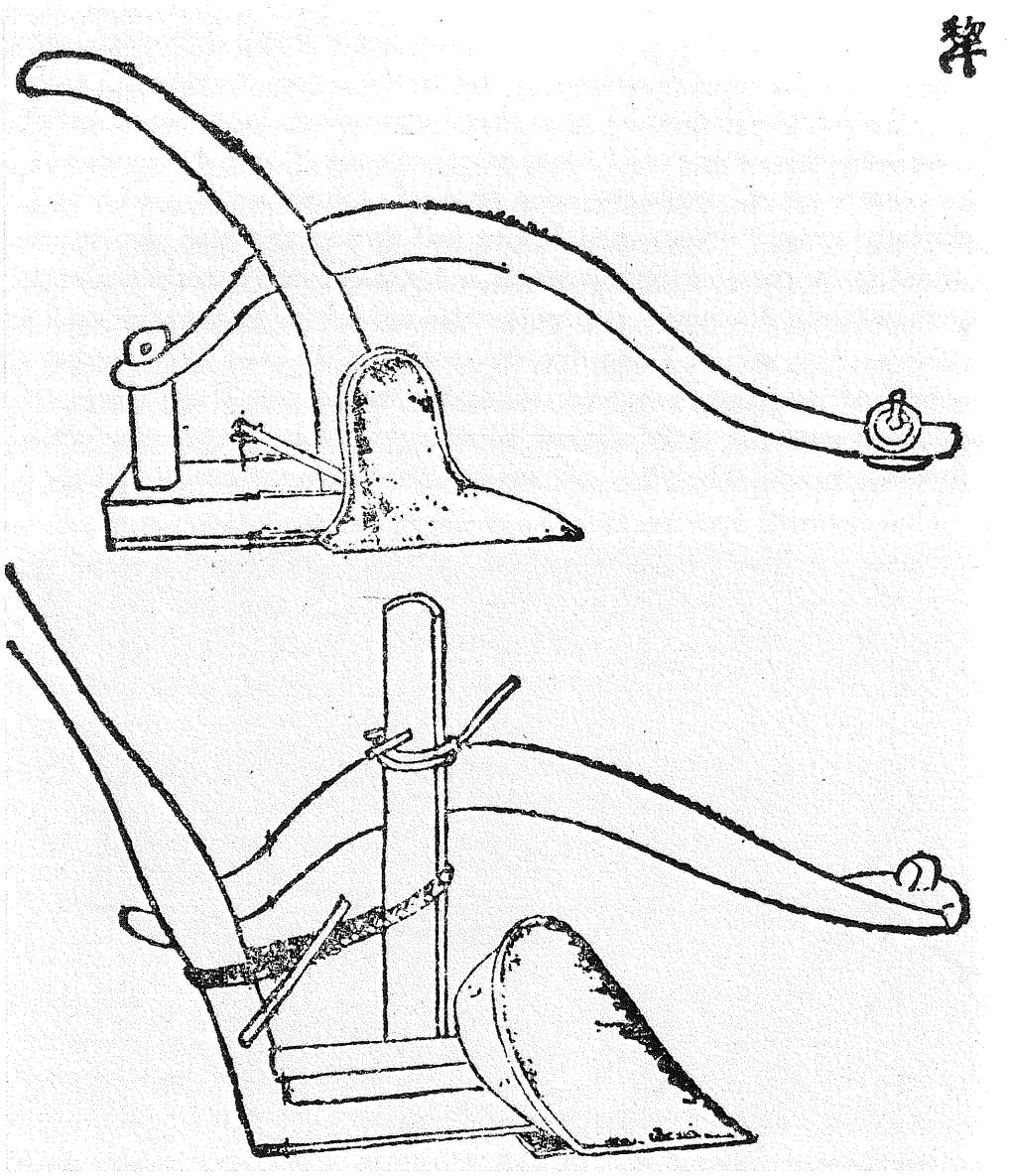
This plow is extremely simple. An iron plowshare is attached at the far end of the plow. The plow sole is also clearly visible. The shaft and the set of harness show that cattle were probably the source of power. The angle of the plowshare and the moldboard is just slightly larger than a right angle, which is appropriate for the soft and fertile soil in Shan-tung Province.

As the most important agricultural instrument, the plow is described in almost all major Ming and Ch'ing reference books,[27] and illustrations of the plow tend to be essentially the same. Its use in China can be traced back to prehistoric times.[28] Plows used before and during the Han dynasty were pictured in frescoes on tomb passages and engravings on earthen tiles. Iron plowshares were also employed. But the Han models did not contain such fine parts as a plow sole. A T'ang-dynasty work, *Lei-ssu ching*, records that the structure of the plow improved noticeably during the T'ang dynasty.[29] A moldboard appeared, as did a minor plowshare, making plows more efficient in forming furrows. The plow sole was separated from the handle and became



8. Plow recorded by van Braam in his *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

an independent part, which made the plow steadier while plowing. Later scholars considered this a fully developed plow, and named it the "*chiang-tung li*" (illustration 9). Few improvements had been made to this plow since the T'ang dynasty, for the plow that van Braam observed and recorded is almost identical to this model.



9. A reconstructed *chiang-tung li*. Adapted from *K'ao-ku*, no. 7 (1964), plate 9–8.

Van Braam noticed that the "husbandmen" were working with the plow, but he did not specify whether the plow was powered by man or animal. On other occasions, he did mention that the *semoir* was man powered: "This instrument is put in motion by means of two wheels. Two Chinese draw it, while a third who guides with his two hands, first sows one, and then the other furrow."[30] At the two ends of the field were sets of pulleys. A long rope was used to connect the sowing machine and the pulley sets. Two men operated the pulleys to provide power for the machine and made it move back and forth along the furrows over the field. This device was also described by a Ch'ing-dynasty scholar, Ch'ü Ta-chün, in his *Kuang-tung hsin-yü*.[31] According to Ch'ü, the device was equivalent to two men's power. Local farmers praised the device and named it "wooden cattle."

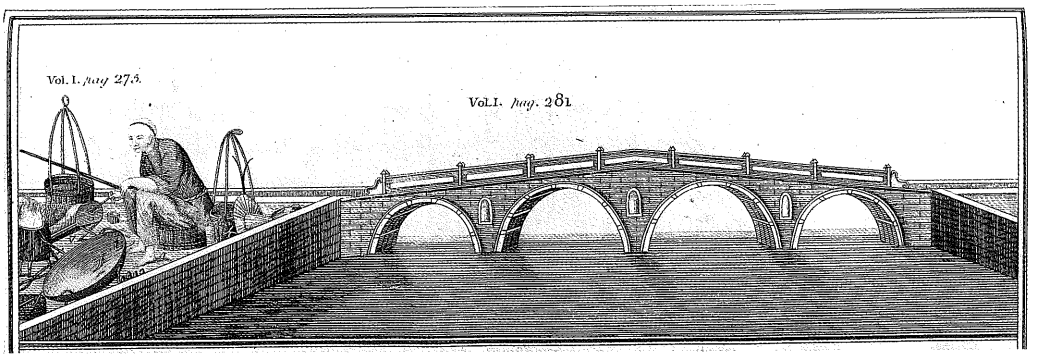
The Tinker

Van Braam's curiosity was not limited to machines. He observed and recorded men at work as well. On his journey back to Kuang-chou, he encountered a tinker in Fang-kuan Village.[32] The tinker was busy repairing frying pans, which were "cracked and full of holes." He "restored them to their primitive state, so that they became as serviceable as ever." The skill astonished van Braam. He carefully examined the tinker's equipment and found that

> all the apparatus of the workman consists in a little box sixteen inches long, six inches wide, and eighteen inches in depth, divided into two parts. The upper contains three drawers, with the necessary ingredients; in the lower is a bellows, which, when a fire is wanted, is adapted to a furnace eight inches long and four inches wide. The crucibles for melting the small pieces of iron intended to serve as solder are a little larger than the bowl of a common tobacco pipe, and of the same earth of which they are made in Europe; thus the whole business of soldering is executed.[33]

This description corresponds precisely to what I saw some thirty-five years ago in China, when craftsmen were still offering their services in small lanes and back streets in cities and towns. It is truly amazing that the tinkers did their job thirty-five years ago in exactly the same way that their predecessors had some two hundred years before:

> The workman receives the melted matter out of the crucible upon a piece of wet paper, approaches it to one of the holes or cracks in



10. Tinker at work as depicted in van Braam's *Voyage*. Rare Books Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

> the frying-pan, and applies it there, while his assistant smooths it over by scraping the surface, and afterwards rubs it with a bit of wet linen. The number of crucibles which have been deemed necessary are thus successively emptied in order to stop up all the holes with the melted iron, which consolidates and incorporates itself with the broken utensil, and which becomes as good as new.[34]

Van Braam thought that this process was unknown in Europe. He admired the skills of the craftsmen so much that he claimed their accomplishments "must indeed appear impossible to any one who has not been witness to the process." To increase the credibility of his description, he added an engraving (see illustration 10). In the drawing the man has set up his business at one end of a bridge, as most craftsmen would. His shoulder pole was behind him, and he was operating the bellows, which increased the heat of his furnace. A big wok was sitting to one side waiting to be repaired. A small box to his right presumably contained the solder he was going to use. The box for the "apparatus" served as a stool for the man. His clothing, his hairstyle, the bamboo hat that he would need when it rained, and other objects in the picture all encourage the presumption that this is a drawing from life.[35]

Discussion

The value of van Braam's diary to modern scholars is manifold. It covers a wide variety of topics, including bridges, pagodas, city walls, boats, the layout of the capital, and landscape painting, as well as different lifestyles, and the geography and agriculture in the areas the ambassadors traversed. Many of

these topics have not been touched on in this paper, nor have they received enough attention in the traditional Chinese references. Van Braam's work is therefore an important supplement to these sources. The value of his diary lies first of all in his unusual qualifications. An experienced sailor who had traveled extensively over the world and a knowledgeable, open-minded, and keen observer, van Braam was able to understand quickly the objects he observed through comparisons, to pick up professionally the technical details, and to gauge and record them accurately. More important, his work makes it possible for modern scholars to conduct comparative studies of the relevant Chinese books that deal with similar topics: means of transportation, agricultural instruments, and other articles of everyday life. Many of these books also contain illustrations.[36] A perusal of those books indicates, however, that most of the illustrations were not the original work of the compiler, but copies of those in the *Nung-shu*. This immediately casts doubts on their accuracy and reliability. Van Braam's independent and reliable work provides modern scholars with engravings of the highest technical standards and the rigorous principles of Western perspective. They will considerably facilitate the further study of inventions and devices in late eighteenth-century China.

Notes

Mr. Roy Goodman, librarian at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, first drew my attention to van Braam's book. F. W. Mote, emeritus professor in East Asian Studies at Princeton University, gave me his notes on the journal and other materials. The Rare Books Collection of Firestone Library at Princeton provided convenient access to various versions of this book, including the French-language first edition of 1797–1798. Professor Emeritus D. Lacey, Rutgers University, helped make the paper more readable in English. Mr. Cary Liu, Art and Architecture, Princeton University, helped with the illustrations, and Barbara Westergaard helped spare me from a possible blunder. My sincere thanks are due them all.

1. The relation between the embassy and the Ch'ing court, the author, and his journey has been studied by J.J.L. Duyvendak in his "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794–1795)," *T'oung Pao*, no. 34 (June 1938), p. 1, and a supplementary note in ibid., no. 35 (1940), p. 329. George R. Loehr, "A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, the First American at the Court of China," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, no. 15 (1954), p. 179, studied the book as well as the life of the author.
2. The main source of his biography is Moreau de Saint Méry's *Advertisement* attached to his translation of van Braam, *Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises, vers l'Empereur de la Chine, dans les années*

1794 & 1795 (Philadelphia, 1797–1798); hereafter referred to as *Voyage*. It is an important translation into French by Moreau de Saint Méry from the original Dutch manuscript.

3. Loehr, "A. E. van Braam," p. 188.
4. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy," appendix 2, pp. 116–131.
5. Ibid., p. 43.
6. A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises* (Paris, Garnery, and Strasbourg: Levrault, 1798), 2 vols. This is a pirated edition of volume 1 of the Philadelphia edition. The English translation is entitled *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company, to the Court of the Emperor of China, in the Years 1794–1795* (London: R. Phillips, 1798), 2 vols. See Howard C. Rice, Jr., Shih-kang Tung, and Frederick W. Mote, *East & West, Europe's Discovery of China, & China's Response to Europe, 1511–1839* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1957), p. 74. The quotations in this paper are based on the English-language edition; each has been checked with the original French-language edition.
7. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy," p. 43. During the fifty-day journey, van Braam traveled by water only one or two days. See ibid., appendix 1.
8. *Voyage*, p. 72; English translation (hereafter abbreviated as E), vol. 1, p. 96.
9. *Voyage*, pp. 72–73; E, vol. 1, pp. 96–97.
10. George Stubbs's "Labourers" (1785, enamel on biscuit and earthenware, Tate Gallery, London) shows European wheelbarrows with a much wider wheel.
11. Sung Ying-hsing, *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* (1637 edn., rpt.; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 2, p. 246. The edition most modern authors use, however, is slightly different from the original 1637 edition, which had been lost for hundreds of years until its reappearance in the late 1950s. The drawing adapted in this paper is from a 1637 edition. I examined the corresponding drawing (drawing 70) in the later Ch'ing editions. No significant difference can be discerned for the barrows; the backgrounds are, however, entirely different. But both show a mountainous landscape. See also the English translation of the work: *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu, Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. E.T.Z Sun and S. C. Sun (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), pp. 183–185.
12. Ch'en Shou, *San-kuo chih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 33, p. 896. But what "wooden cattle" actually were is controversial. The term has also been used to refer to seed-drills (see the section "Seed-drill [*La semoir*]" below). Luo Kuan-chung, *San-kuo yen-i* (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1985), 102, pp. 876–878, provides a detailed description of "wooden cattle." Most scholars refer to the records in Kao Ch'eng's *Shih-wu chi-yüan* (Hsi-yin hsüan edn., preface dated 1447), 8, pp. 2–3, and Ch'en Shih-tao's *Hou-shan t'an-ts'ung* (Pao-yen-t'ang mi-chi edn.), 4, pp. 1a–b. Both Kao and Ch'en were Sung scholars.
13. *Voyage*, p. 115; E, vol. 1, p. 152.
14. Father Matin's work is quoted in the English version of the *Voyage*. The quotation appears in the "glossary" prior to the translation. Pages of this glossary are unnumbered. In the glossary, items of Chinese technological invention are arranged alphabetically, and a brief comment is attached to each of them.

The author of the glossary is not identified, although it seems possible that he was one of the English translators.

15. Liu Hsien-chou, *Chung-kuo chi-hsieh kung-ch'eng fa-ming shih* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1962), p. 58, photograph by Chou Hsü-tung. Judging by the picture, the present sail-cart is larger than that described by van Braam. I attempted to find a mention of the device in the Ming-Ch'ing "informal jotting" (*pi-chi*), but to no avail.
16. *Voyage*, p. 124; E, vol. 1, p. 164.
17. *Voyage*, p. 134; E, vol. 1, p. 178.
18. Ch'en Meng-lei, "K'ao-kung tien," *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (1726 edn., rpt.; Taipei: Wen-hsing ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1964), 174, pp. 435–436; the English translation is mine.
19. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy," p. 69.
20. Ibid., pp. 86–88. The edict was dated December 22, 1794, and took two months to reach the embassy.
21. *Voyage*, p. 281; E, vol. 2, p. 85. Van Braam mentioned here that two wheels were attached to the machine. When the drawing he provided is compared to information from other Chinese sources, however, the use of the term "wheels" becomes confusing.
22. *Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edn.), 24a, p. 13. It is worth noting that in a different edition of the *Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 24a, p. 1139, it is called "*ou-li*."
23. Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an edn.), 11, p. 4b, "Lou-chung."
24. Wang Chen, "Nung-ch'i t'u-p'u chi," *Nung-shu* (1313 edn., rpt.; Peking: Nung-yeh ch'u-pan-she, 1981), 2, pp. 211–212.
25. For metric equivalents of ancient Chinese measurements, see Ch'iu Lung, *Chung-kuo ku-tai tu-liang-heng t'u-chi* (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1985), p. 66. Later, in the Ming dynasty, Hsü Kuang-ch'i cited Wang Chen in his *Nung-cheng ch'üan-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1956), 21, pp. 426–427. For further discussions of the "sowing machine" (seed-drill), see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), vol. 6.2, pp. 262 ff.
26. *Voyage*, pp. 302–303; E, vol. 2, p. 114.
27. Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ts'an-k'ao-pu, "Chung-kuo li-tai nung-chü t'u i-lan piao," *T'u-shu kuan*, no. 3 (1963), pp. 21–24.
28. Fang Chuang-yu, "Chan-kuo i-lai chung-kuo pu-li fa-chan wen-t'i shih-t'an," *K'ao-ku*, no. 7 (1964), pp. 355–362.
29. Lu Kuei-meng, *Lei-ssu ching* (I-men kuang-tu edn.), pp. 2–3. Unlike most traditional Chinese writings, this book is not divided into *chüan*.
30. *Voyage*, p. 281; E, vol. 2, p. 85. A man-powered plow was first recorded by Wang Cheng. See his "Tai-keng t'u-shuo," in *Chu-ch'i t'u-shuo* (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edn., rpt.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1983), 3, pp. 58–59.
31. Ch'ü Ta-chün, *Kuang-tung hsin-yü* (preface by P'an Lei, dated 1700), 16, p. 17b.
32. In van Braam's diary, the village is referred to as "Fan-koun."
33. *Voyage*, p. 275; E, vol. 2, p. 78.
34. *Voyage*, p. 275; E, vol. 2, p. 79.
35. Van Braam was not the only European visitor attracted by the way a Chinese tinker worked. John Henry Gray also recorded a Chinese tinker in his book *China: Laws, History, and Customs* (London: Macmillan, 1878). A drawing of a tinker in which the furnace and the box for his apparatus are clearly shown appears in vol. 2, p. 192. Two pots and two candlesticks sitting at the top of

the box were apparently what the tinker would work on or had just repaired. The box, the furnace, and the bamboo hat all confirm van Braam's descriptions of the same objects.

36. For example, Wang Chen, *Nung-shu* (1313); Sung Ying-hsing, *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* (1637); Hsü Kuang-ch'i, *Nung-cheng ch'üan-shu* (1639); Emperor K'ang-hsi, *Keng-chih t'u* (1696); Ch'en Meng-lei, *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (1726); and Eh-erh-t'ai, *Shou-shi t'ung-k'ao* (1742).

Glossary

an-ch'e 安車
chi 几
Chiang-hsi 江西
chiang-tung li 江東犁
Ch'ien-lung 乾隆
ch'ih 尺
Ch'ing 清
Ch'ing-hua 清華
Ch'ü Ta-chün 屈大均
fan-ch'e 帆車
fang-kuan 方官
Han 漢
Han-wu 漢武
hsien 幰
K'ang-hsi 康熙
Kuang-chou 廣州
Kuang-tung 廣東
Kuang-tung hsin-yü 廣東新語
Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng 古今圖書集成
Lei-ssu ching 耒耜經
lou-li 耬犁
Ming 明
mu 畝
Nung-shu 農書
San-kuo chih 三國志
San-kuo yen-i 三國演義
Shan-tung 山東
Sung 宋
Sung Ying-hsing 宋應星
T'ang 唐
T'ien-kung k'ai-wu 天工開物
Tsingtao 青島
Wang An-shih 王安石
Wang Chen 王幀
Yüan 元

The Liao-Dynasty Stone Inscriptions and Their Importance to the Study of Liao History

RUOWEI YANG

The Liao (916–1127) was a conquest dynasty founded by the nomadic Khitan people. It controlled a vast territory that included the northern border zone of China and much of Inner Asia, and during the Five Dynasties period (907–959) was much more powerful than the neighboring Chinese regional states. After China had been reunified under the Northern Sung dynasty (960–1127), the Liao posed a considerable military threat to the Middle Kingdom. The impact of the Liao was felt not only by its contemporary rivals, but by later Chinese conquest dynasties as well: the Chin (1115–1234), the Yüan (1271–1368), and the Ch'ing (1644–1911).

The main source for the study of the Liao dynasty is the *Liao-shih* (Standard history of the Liao), compiled during the Yüan dynasty. The quality of the *Liao-shih* is, unfortunately, the poorest among the twenty-four standard histories.[1] This is so because when the Yüan historians started compiling the *Liao-shih* in 1343, the Liao dynasty had been extinguished for over two hundred years. Largely because of deliberate Liao policy, the Yüan historians' knowledge of some aspects of Liao history was inadequate. The Liao court had strictly forbidden the spread of Liao works and other documents to other countries. During the war-ridden years before the fall of the Liao, many of these documents were destroyed, leaving only a few available to Yüan historians. The best they could do was collect the remaining Liao works and other Liao records preserved in Sung and Chin sources, and use them as the

documentary basis for the *Liao-shih*. Among the available source materials were the *Veritable Records of the Liao Emperors* (*Liao chu-ti shih-lu*) by Yeh-lü Yen; an incomplete "official Liao history" by a Chin-dynasty historian, Ch'en Ta-jen; the *Treatise on the Khitan State (Ch'i-tan kuo chih)* by a Sung scholar, Yeh Lung-li; and other such works. It was on the basis of these limited materials that the Yüan historians, in less than a year (from the fourth month of 1343 to the third month of 1344), rigged up a history of the Liao dynasty in 116 *chüan*. Not surprisingly, their final product is marked by omissions, duplications, mistakes, and obscure passages.[2]

In the *Liao-shih* many important historical events, outstanding historical figures, and government regulations are either totally omitted or treated very briefly. One example of omission can be seen in the compilers' handling of the name for the Liao dynasty, which is known to have been changed several times. In 938, Emperor T'ai-tsung (r. 928–942) named his kingdom the "Great Liao" (Ta Liao); this was changed to the "Great Khitan" (Ta Ch'i-tan) when Emperor Sheng-tsung (r. 983–1031) was enthroned. In 1066 it was changed back to the "Great Liao" by Emperor Tao-tsung (r. 1055–1101). In the *Liao-shih*, however, there is no trace of these changes. Nor, until recently, could modern scholars find any account regarding the changes in Liao reign titles.[3] It is with the help of the Sung documents and the Liao stone inscriptions that modern scholars have learned about these important political events.[4]

The scanty historical data about the Liao forced the Yüan official historians deliberately to duplicate, with only minor revisions, certain historical records and use them to expand the otherwise rather slim *Liao-shih*. One example is found in the *Liao-shih*'s lengthy descriptions of the "*ordo*" and the "*kung-wei*," which give readers the impression that they are two different organizations,[5] when in fact they refer to the same palace-guard system. These duplications have muddied our understanding of Liao history.

The *Liao-shih* contains numerous factual mistakes. The biography for Chang Chien, a famous prime minister during the reigns of Emperors Sheng-tsung and Hsing-tsung, reports that he was made "Lord of Han" (*Han-wang*) during the T'ai-p'ing period (1021–1031), and died in 1043.[6] But the epitaph for Chang Chien discovered in 1969 indicates that these two events occurred in 1037 and 1053 respectively (see illustration 1). To make matters worse, compilers of the *Liao-shih* often misinterpreted historical data, resulting in erroneous assertions. The *Liao-shih* lists the number of cavalrymen who served

1. The epitaph for Chang Chien. Unearthed in Hsi hua-p'i-ch'ang, Peking, 1969. The cover for the tombstone is missing. Tombstone 98 x 105 x 10 cm.

each emperor as guards,[7] and reports that during the Liao dynasty, the nine emperors altogether had one hundred thousand cavalrymen. In another account, however, the compilers claimed that each of the Liao emperors controlled one hundred thousand cavalrymen, and that if war broke out, any Liao emperor could immediately send one hundred thousand cavalrymen to the battlefield.[8] This is apparently not true, and even the last Liao emperor never commanded one hundred thousand guards. The compilers were including guards who would have belonged not just to the emperor in question but to his predecessors and successors as well.

Another example concerns the General Office for [Military] Affairs in the Northwest (Hsi-pei-lu tsung-ling ssu). In the "Treatise on Government Organizations" this office is listed as parallel to the Office of Campaign Commissioner in the Northwest (Hsi-pei-lu chao-t'ao-shih ssu). In fact, this "General Office" never existed during the Liao. Apparently the compilers of the *Liao-shih* overinterpreted a statement in the biography of Hsiao T'u-yü — "In 1001, [Hsiao] was made responsible for military affairs in the Northwest"[9] — stretching this description of Hsiao's duty and manufacturing a new office for the Liao military. As a matter of fact, at that time Hsiao's official position was "commissioner for pacification in the northwest."[10]

The poor quality of the *Liao-shih* often makes its accounts of the functions of government offices and the names and locations of tribes difficult to understand. When the compilers themselves had difficulty in understanding the function of a Liao office, they simply attached the phrase "details unknown" to the name of that office,[11] leaving the puzzle unsolved. In some cases, however, they should perhaps not be blamed for the ambiguity in their work. The meanings of certain Khitan terms seemed to them so self-evident, and some aspects of Liao history were so familiar to them, that they felt no need for any explanation. For example, they often used Chinese characters as phonetic renderings for Khitan words without any annotation.[12] But the use of those words has puzzled many later historians, involving them in endless and fruitless discussions. Sometimes, they are even not sure whether a term is Chinese, Khitan, or Jurchen; how it should be pronounced; or what it can possibly mean.

It is crucial for historians to subject the *Liao-shih*'s accounts to critical treatment, and to make efforts to collect new and reliable source materials concerning the Liao dynasty. The Ch'ing-dynasty scholars were the first to do this. Li Eh's (1692–1752) *Notes on Liao History* (*Liao-shih shih-i*) contains his

critical evaluation of the accounts in the *Liao-shih* and the related materials that he collected from Sung, Chin, and Yüan works. *Supplementary Notes on Liao History* (*Liao-shih shih-i-pu*) by Yang Fu-chi is a work of the same nature. Ch'ing scholars also started to collect Liao stone inscriptions as a means of supplementing Liao primary sources,[13] thus opening a new field in the study of Liao history. Although their pioneer work deserves much credit, they were generally unsuccessful in advancing understanding of the Liao dynasty.

The real breakthrough came in the middle of the twentieth century when archaeology enjoyed a rapid development in China, bringing more Liao historical and cultural relics to light. These relics include temple notes, inscriptions carved on pagodas, religious tablets, epitaphs on tombstones, mourning inscriptions for the deceased, and other inscriptions. The discovery of these objects has greatly increased the quantity of Liao primary sources, offering modern scholars many new and reliable original materials for research.

Among the Liao cultural relics, stone inscriptions deserve special attention. They have been found in a vast area of northern China which was once under the control of the Liao dynasty: Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shansi, Hopei, and other places. Most of the inscriptions are dedicated to the Khitan and the Chinese, but some are dedicated to people from such tribes as the Hsi, the Po-hai, the Jurchen, and the Pai-hsi. Examination of the early Liao stone inscriptions makes it quite obvious that they were created mainly for the Chinese who lived in the agricultural area south of the Great Wall. At that time the Khitans still lived a nomadic or seminomadic life in the steppes north of the Great Wall, and they had not yet adopted the Chinese practice of compiling an epitaph and engraving it on a tombstone for the deceased. But the Khitan people, especially members of the ruling class, were strongly influenced by Chinese culture, and they gradually assimilated Chinese funeral customs. The discovery of Yeh-lü Yü-chih's tomb in 1992 indicates that as early as the Hui-t'ung reign period (938–946), the Khitan people had already created a tombstone for a distinguished member of their society, and the form of this tombstone is identical to that for the Chinese.

Most Liao epitaphs are written in Chinese, but some are in both Chinese and Khitan, and some in Khitan only. This is indicative of the spread of literacy among the Khitan people. They had had no written language of their own and used literary Chinese as the official language until Emperor T'ai-tsu (r. 916–926) came to the throne. The Khitan intellectuals, having

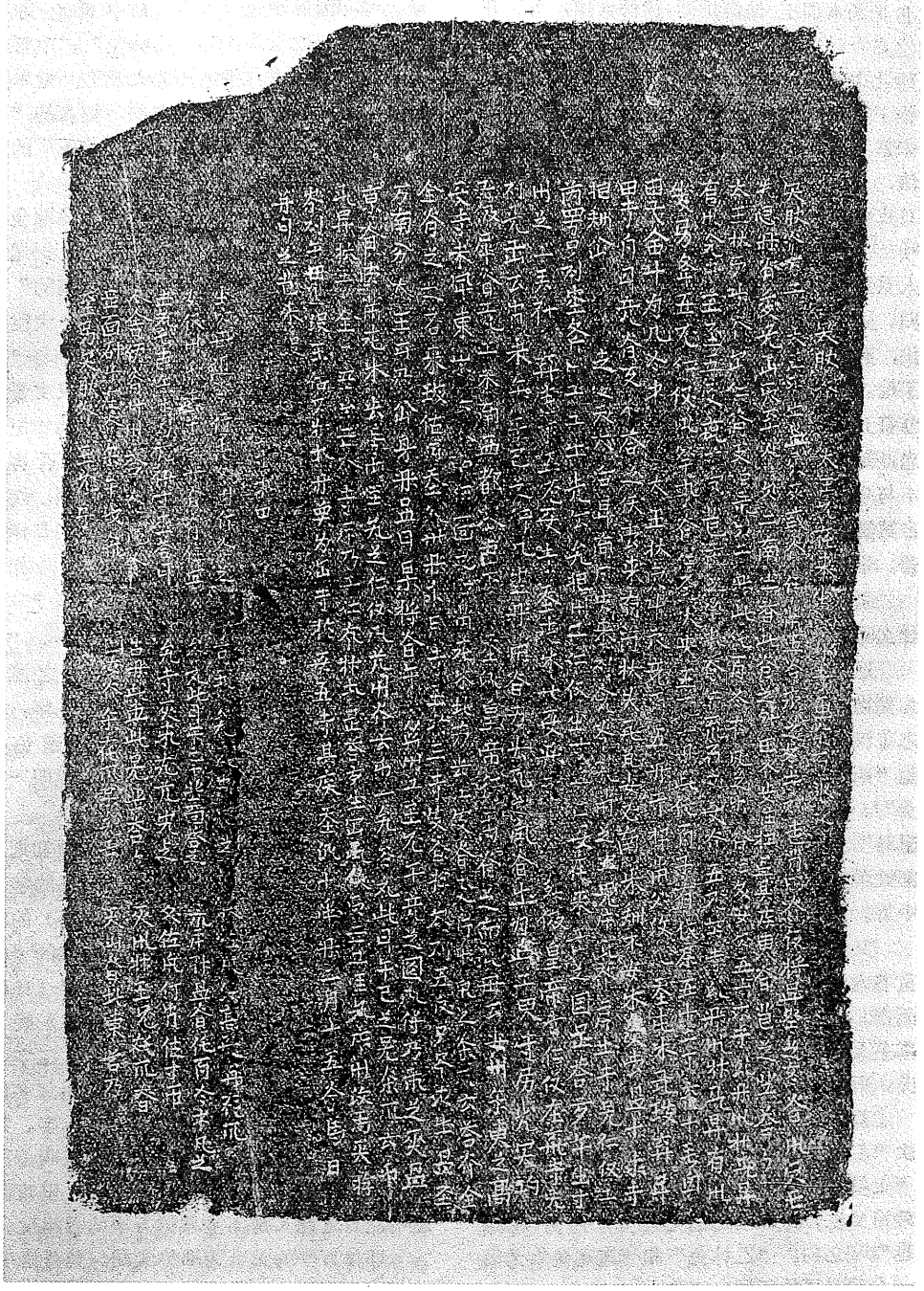
consulted Chinese and other writing systems, created two sets of Khitan characters: the major and the minor characters, which were widely used by members of the upper class.[14] At this time both literary Chinese and Khitan were designated official written languages of the Khitan court. This situation is well reflected in the Liao epitaphs that are compiled in both Chinese and Khitan. The epitaph for the "Great Lord in the North" (Pei ta-wang), which was discovered in Inner Mongolia in 1975, is an exemplar of such an epitaph. On one tombstone is the epitaph written in Khitan "major characters" (see illustration 2); on another tombstone is the same epitaph in Chinese (see illustration 3).[15] But there are exceptions to this general practice. The Khitan and the Chinese versions of the epitaph for Yeh-lü Yen-ning written in 986 are engraved on the same side of one tombstone, the former appearing in the upper part and the latter in the lower.

About ten years ago, Professor Hsiang Nan and I started to collect and classify Liao stone inscriptions. There are now over 450 of them, many of them having come to light during local construction projects. Some of the tombstones are exhibited in local museums and maintained in good condition; some are preserved by the cultural relics departments of local governments. During our field studies, we photographed some tombstones that remain in their original locations. We also managed to obtain from private collectors a few rubbings of stone inscriptions. Other scholars have also published photographs and brief introductions to some of the stone inscriptions,[16] but the majority still await scholarly investigation.

Many inscriptions collected in our work appear in the Ch'ing-dynasty or earlier prefectural and county gazetteers, collective works, private notes, and other literary works. To facilitate the research of other scholars, we decided to gather as completely as possible any written records relating to these inscriptions. We visited many libraries and archives in northern China, examining all the relevant works. Sometimes the original tombstone has been destroyed, but its inscription appears in different versions in various primary sources. In such a case, we conducted careful textual studies of all the existing versions, corrected any mistakes in the text, and determined which version was best.

The result of our ten-year project is a manuscript entitled "Collections of the Liao Stone Inscriptions" (*Liao shih-wen pien*). This work consists of six volumes and a supplement. Each volume deals with the inscriptions discovered in one primary region. The supplement is devoted to inscriptions found

2. The epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Khitan "major characters." Unearthed in K'un-tu Village, A-lu-k'o-erh-ch'in League, Inner Mongolia, 1975. Tombstone 96 x 62 x 6 cm.



3. The epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Chinese. Unearthed in K'un-tu Village, A-lu-k'o-erh-ch'in League, Inner Mongolia, 1975. This epitaph appears on the back of the tombstone cover. Cover 94 x 61 x 7 cm.

in all other regions and to additional information about the inscriptions. To preserve the inscriptions' original features, we included in our work the foreword and the postscript to each inscription. To help readers understand the text better, we wrote a brief introduction to each inscription, specifying the date of engraving, the location of the tombstone, its physical features, and its current state of preservation. Detailed annotations were also attached to the text of each inscription, since its contents often touch on complicated questions concerning other peoples of the Liao empire, names of places, the Liao bureaucratic system and government regulation, religious life, and other important historical figures and events. The work amounts to some four hundred thousand words. Unfortunately, however, because of the difficulty of reproducing the Khitan characters, the work, when in print, will contain only inscriptions in Chinese.

The Liao stone inscriptions have provided modern scholars with extensive new historical data which have enabled them to fill in many omissions in the *Liao-shih*, to verify the authenticity of certain accounts in the *Liao-shih*, to correct errors in those accounts and other related historical documents, and to solve some complicated problems concerning Liao history.

As recently as the early years of the twentieth century, scholars still knew little about the Khitan matrimonial system, religion, family structure, and social organizations. With the discovery of the Liao stone inscriptions, they have learned that the Khitan imperial elite consisted of two clans: the Yeh-lü and the Hsiao. The Khitan emperors all came from the Yeh-lü clan, the empresses from the Hsiao clan. Marriage between members of the same clan was strictly forbidden, but a member of one clan could freely marry any member of the other clan. Therefore a marriage between an aunt and her cousin, or between an uncle and his niece was not considered taboo by the Khitan people. A son was even allowed to marry his stepmother. The epitaph for Yeh-lü Shu-chi, for example, reads: "Ch'iu-k'o, the oldest son of Kuan-ning, had slept with his stepmother, and she gave birth to a girl and a boy." The epitaph for Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng, a member of the imperial family, reports that Emperor Sheng-tsung issued an imperial edict ordering him to marry his stepmother. Tsung-cheng defied the order. But after both Tsung-cheng and his stepmother had died, Emperor Tao-tsung made the two nominal husband and wife, and on her death, an imperial edict ordered Tsung-cheng's step-mother to be buried next to him in the same tomb. The Khitan people practiced sororate, levirate, and polygamy among themselves, but also married

Han Chinese, Jurchens, and people from the Hsi and the Po-hai. Information on the Khitan matrimonial system in the Liao stone inscriptions has enabled scholars to offer new interpretations of the system and to challenge the previously accepted ones.[17]

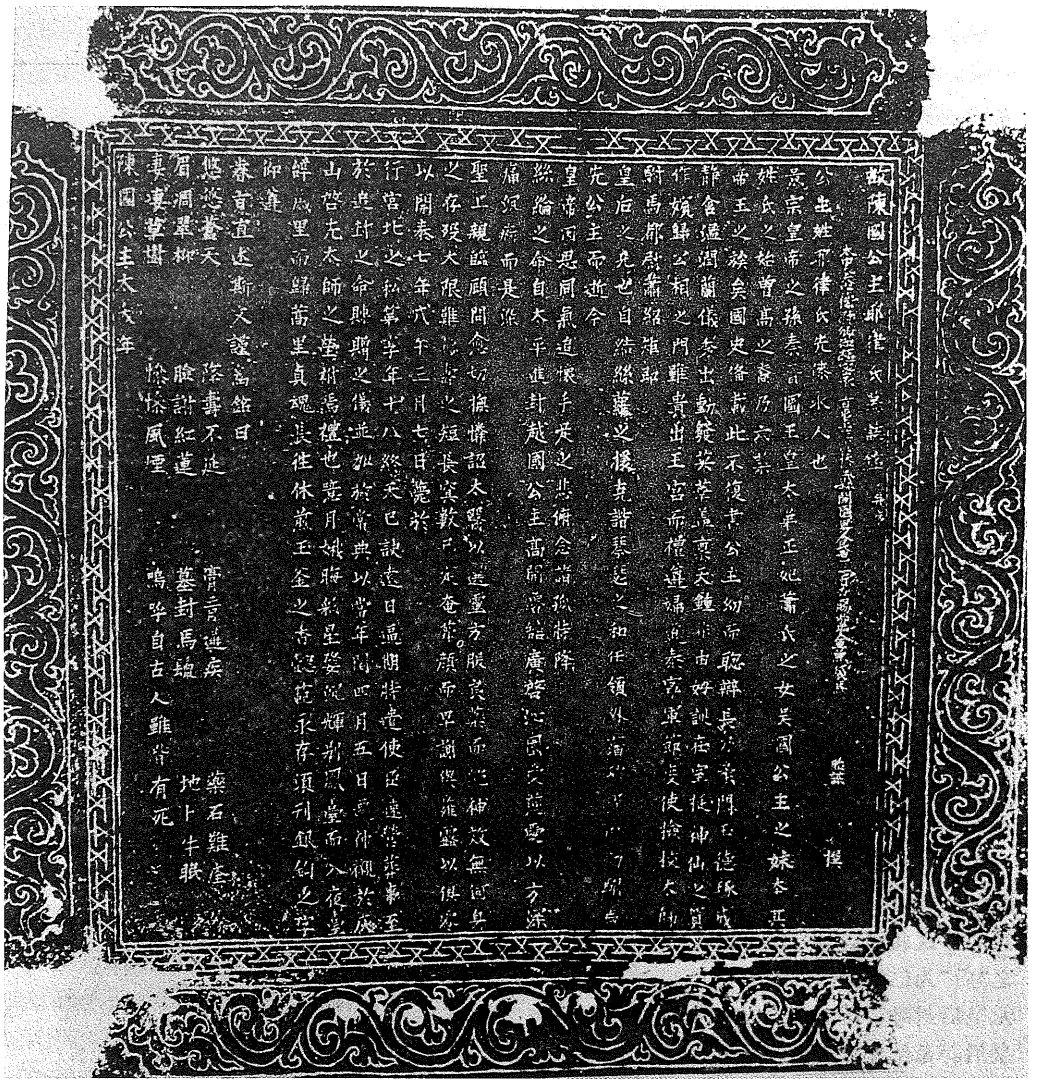
The creation of two sets of Khitan characters during Emperor T'ai-tsu's reign marked a new level of literacy among the Khitan people. Except for one brief record, however, the *Liao-shih* tells us little about the principles employed in using the Liao "minor script." The mystery surrounding the Khitan language was first removed in 1922 when three Khitan emperors' mausoleums, known as the Liao Ch'ing-ling, were unearthed at Pa-lin-yu-ch'i in Inner Mongolia. In the tombs, archaeologists found that the epitaph for each emperor and empress was written in both Chinese and Khitan, and each version of the epitaph was engraved on a separate tombstone. This discovery allowed modern scholars their first glimpse of Khitan characters. Even more exciting news came in 1951, when the tomb for Hsiao Hsiao-chung was unearthed at Chin-hsi, Liaoning Province. Scholars noticed that the Khitan characters used in Hsiao's epitaph were different in form from those known to them. At this point they realized that the Khitan people had indeed created two sets of characters, as recorded in the *Liao-shih*. Since then, more stone inscriptions in the Khitan language have come to light, offering more data about this ancient language. Some inscriptions record the pronunciation of a Khitan word by using Chinese characters to make imprecise phonetic renderings, such as "*i-li-mien*" (wife), "*pieh-hsü*" (wife or consort),[18] and "*meng-she*" (attendants). They allow modern scholars to reconstruct the sound of certain Khitan words and to advance their philological research on a difficult problem in the *Liao-shih*: the meaning and pronunciation of the character "*chiu*," which have puzzled scholars since the Ch'ing dynasty and generated heated debate.[19] This character appears in the *Liao-shih* without any explanation of its meaning. We can also find the word written in a slightly different form in two other standard Chinese histories, the *Chin-shih* and the *Yüan-shih*,[20] but again with no explanation. Scholars have debated over which language, Chinese or Khitan, the word represented by this character belongs to. The appearance of this character in the stone inscriptions written in the Khitan language has made some scholars believe that it must be a Khitan word,[21] but they have not been able to work out its meaning or pronunciation. The discovery of a large number of Liao epitaphs written in Chinese offers another plausible answer to the question. That the character "*chiu*" also

appears in these epitaphs, coupled with the fact that it is used in three Chinese standard histories, implies that it is probably a Chinese character in either its popular or simplified form, and used as a phonetic symbol for the Khitan word "military."[22] There are still many questions about this character; the tentative answers that scholars have come up with are far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, the vast amount of information in the Liao stone inscriptions has at least provided a reliable documentary basis for further research on these problems.

We also find valuable information about the religious life of the Liao people in these stone inscriptions. They describe, among other things, the operation of the theocracy, the landed properties possessed by Buddhist temples, the flourishing and decline of Buddhism and Taoism, and the activities of folk religions. They even shed some light on the dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in East Asia. We find that a Taoist temple is reported to have been converted to a Buddhist temple. We also find Christian crosses in several Liao tombs. One is engraved at the top of a tablet erected for a Buddhist temple, which was later renamed the "Cross Temple" (Shih-tzu ssu).

Some epitaphs and religious tablets are dedicated to important Liao figures who do not have biographical entries in the *Liao-shih*. They furnish modern scholars with much needed primary sources about such important historical figures as Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng; the lord of Wei (Wei-wang); Yeh-lü Tsung-yun; the lord of Cheng (Cheng-wang); Consort Ch'in-chin (Ch'in-chin kuo-fei);[23] the princess of Ch'en (Ch'en-kuo kung-chu; see illustration 4);[24] members of the Khitan imperial house on the maternal side;[25] and Prime Minister Liang Yüan.[26] The epitaphs for the early Liao figures Liu Shou-ch'i, his son Liu Ch'eng-ssu, and other members of the Liu family, are particularly valuable for the study of Liao history, since little information about this early period has been preserved in other primary sources.[27] In general, however, most stone inscriptions concern figures in the later Liao period. They can best be used to answer questions about Liao politics, the economy, the composition of the ruling class, external relations, and military affairs. For example, scholars long assumed that the Liao Censorate (Yü-shih-t'ai) had a permanent location. Thanks to the information in the epitaphs for Chang Chien and Liang Yüan,[28] it is now clear that the Censorate was located in the emperor's tent city (*wo-lu-to*), and was therefore mobile.

The Liao stone inscriptions also make it possible for modern scholars to correct errors. In the *Liao-shih*, Office for Campaign Commissioner in the



4. The epitaph for the princess of Ch'en. Unearthed near the Ch'ing-lung shan garrison, Nai-man League, Inner Mongolia, 1986. Tombstone 89.5 x 89.5 x 12 cm; cover 89.5 x 89.5 x 16 cm.

Southwest (Hsi-nan-mien tu-chao-t'ao ssu), Office for Military Commissioner in the Southwest (Hsi-nan-mien an-fu-shih ssu), and Office for Pacification Commissioner in Fei-hu, I-chou Prefecture (I-chou Fei-hu chao-an-shih ssu) are listed as three separate offices.[29] But a paragraph from the epitaph for Keng Yen-i reads: "In 997, the [Liao] state sent an expeditionary force against Sung. [Keng] was appointed campaign commissioner in the southwest. His office was at Fei-hu, and his assistant was stationed at Ling-ch'iu." This paragraph points out that the location of Keng's office was at Fei-hu, and thus makes it clear that the three individual offices mentioned in the *Liao-shih* are in fact the same office under variant names.

A similar example is found in the records in the *Liao-shih* concerning (a) the General Office for Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Chu hsing-kung tu-pu-shu yüan), (b) the Office for Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Hsing-kung tu-pu-shu), and (c) the Office for Han Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Han-erh hsing-kung tu-pu-shu).[30] On the basis of these records, Tsuda Sōkichi suggested that (a) was the highest administrative organ in the Liao court, which controlled two subordinate offices: (c) and (d), the Office for Khitan Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Ch'i-tan hsing-kung tu-pu-shu).[31] His interpretation has been widely accepted by other scholars since it was first advanced in the 1920s. But the Liao stone inscriptions and other related documents point to the fact that (a) and (b) are merely slightly abbreviated versions of (c). Therefore (a) is not an office higher than (d) in the Liao administrative hierarchy. Rather, the two have equal status and are parallel to each other. There are other examples in the *Liao-shih* showing that its compilers often mistakenly regarded different versions of the title for one office as titles for several individual offices.[32]

Prior to the discovery of the Liao stone inscriptions, the insufficient primary sources about the Liao made it difficult to verify the reliability of the *Liao-shih*. Now such verification is possible. Comparisons between the epitaphs for Chang Chien, a Han prime minister; Hsiao I, a northern prime minister;[33] Yeh-lü Jen-hsien, an army commander; and Yeh-lü Chung, a famous Khitan minister, and their respective biographical entries in the *Liao-shih* indicate that their epitaphs not only contain more accurate and detailed information about these people, they also touch on a variety of other historical figures and events. These epitaphs therefore can be used to confirm, correct, or enrich the biographies in the *Liao-shih* as well as other works concerning the Liao dynasty.

The Liao stone inscriptions have also helped solve other problems that

would otherwise remain puzzles for modern scholars. One of these puzzles is the location of the Liao imperial tent city, known as *ordo* in the Khitan language. *Ordo* was the place where the emperor, members of the imperial family, and courtiers lived and worked. Almost all their daily activities, official or personal, were conducted there. In the *Liao-shih*, eleven *ordo* are reported to have been established by the successive Liao emperors in eleven different locations.[34] In the 1930s, Japanese scholars attempted to locate these *ordo*. They came to the conclusion that the *ordo* for each emperor was located in the same place as the mausoleum for the emperor, just like the Mongol *ordo* during the Yüan dynasty, which all had fixed locations, an opinion widely accepted by other historians.[35] The Liao stone inscriptions, however, indicate that the Liao *ordo* was mobile. It suited perfectly the nomadic lifestyle of the Liao emperors. The eleven different locations for the *ordo* specified in the *Liao-shih* are therefore fabrications by its compilers, who had apparently interpreted the Liao *ordo* in the light of the Yüan *ordo* system. That the Liao *ordo* had never been set up permanently at one place also helps clarify another contentious problem among modern scholars: whether in the latter half of the Liao, the court had ever moved to its "central capital" (chung-ching).[36] It is clear from the Liao stone inscriptions that the idea of "moving" the central court and settling it down in one fixed place had never crossed the Khitan rulers' minds. The court was constantly on the move with the emperor.[37]

The Liao stone inscriptions are a rich mine of information invaluable for the study of Liao history. We hope that more scholars will pay attention to and make full use of these inscriptions in their research.

Notes

My work on the Liao stone inscriptions has been generously supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. As this article goes to press, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Stevan Harrell, Hok-lam Chan, Jack L. Dull, and David H. Spain of the University of Washington for their guidance. I am also heartily grateful to Professor Xiang Nan, who assisted in acquiring photographs and bibliographical information in China, to Dr. Zhenping Wang for his editing, and to my patient and helpful husband, Dr. Bennan Zhang, whose encouragement made the completion of this article possible.

1. The most important study of the Liao period in a Western language—Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao 906–1125* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949) — consists of lengthy translations from the *Liao-shih* with extensive analysis and commentary.
2. For discussions of the problems in the

Liao-shih, see Feng Chia-sheng, *Liao-shih cheng-wu san-chung* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), pp. 5–61; Lo Chi-tsu, *Liao-shih chiao-k'an chi* (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), pp. 3–8; K'uang Yu-ming, "Liao-shih ping-wei chih 'yü-chang ch'in-chün' 'ta-shou-ling pu-ts'u chün' liang shih-mu k'ao-yüan pien-wu, *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao (jen-wen k'o-hsüeh)*, no. 2 (1956), pp. 69–80; Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin, and Sung Histories," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 56–106. The first two works have been collected in *Liao-shih hui-pien*, ed. Yang Chia-lo (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1973), vol. 11.

3. For instance, one of the reign titles for Emperor Hsing-tsung was "Ch'ung-hsi." But when Emperor T'ien-tso Ti was enthroned, that reign title was changed to "Ch'ung-ho," because the pronunciation of Emperor T'ien-tso Ti's first name was similar to "*hsi*," and the use of the word "*hsi*" was therefore taboo.
4. Lo Chi-tsu, *Liao-shih chiao-k'an chi*, p. 7.
5. *Liao-shih*, 31, pp. 362–371; 25, pp. 402–409.
6. Ibid., 80, p. 1277.
7. Ibid., 35, pp. 402–406.
8. Ibid., p. 402.
9. Ibid., 93, p. 1378.
10. Ibid., 45, p. 715. Another example of the same nature can be found in the *Liao-shih*, 46, p. 746. This record concerns the establishment of the "Chü-ma-ho hsü-chang ssu." In fact, the record is also a fabrication based on an overinterpretation of an account in ibid., 17, p. 202, the second month, 1028.
11. Ibid., 45, p. 715.
12. An example is the use of the Chinese character "*chiu*" to record the pronunciation of the Khitan word "military." For more examples, see ibid., 31, p. 31.
13. See, for example, Chu I-tsun, *P'u-shu t'ing chi* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an edn.), 51; Wang Ch'ang, *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsü-pien edn.; Taipei: Hsin wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1977), 115; Ch'ien Ta-hsin, *Ch'ien-yen t'ang wen-chi* (1806 edn.), 18; Miao Ch'üan-sun, *Liao-wen ts'un* (I-feng-t'ang hui-k'an edn.); Wang Jen-chün, *Liao wen-ts'ui* (Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u ch'i-pien edn., 1933); and Luo Fu-i, *Man-chou chin-shih lu* (Jih-man wen-hua hsieh-hui, 1937), vols. 1–2.
14. An epitaph written in "minor characters" was discovered in 1991 in Hai-t'ang shan, Fu-hsin County, Liaoning Province. The epitaph, however, remains unpublished.
15. Similar examples can also be found on the tombstones for Empress Hsing-tsung Jen-i, Emperor Tao-tsung, and Empress Tao-tsung Hsüan-i. See Ch'en Shu, *Ch'üan Liao wen* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1982), vol. 9, p. 213; vol. 10, pp. 273, 275.
16. See, for example, Liaoning sheng po-wu-kuan wen-wu kung-tso-tui, "Liao-tai Yeh-lü Yen-ning mu fa-chüeh chien-pao," *Wen-wu*, no. 7 (1980), pp. 18–22; Cheng Shao-tsung, "Yeh-lü Chia-i-li fei mu-chih ming," *K'ao-ku*, no. 5 (1981), pp. 469–470; Feng Yung-ch'ien, "Fa-k'u ch'ien-shan Liao Hsiao P'ao-lu mu," *K'ao-ku*, no. 7 (1983), pp. 624–635.
17. Yang Ruowei and Hsiang Nan, "Lun Ch'i-tan tsu te hun-yin chih-tu," *Li-shih yen-chiu*, no. 5 (1980), pp. 141–160.
18. For "*i-li-mien*," see Liu Feng-ch'u, "Shih Ch'i-tan yü i-li-mien ho yi-lin-mien,"

Shen-yang shih-fan hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao, no. 1 (1980), pp. 14–22. This interpretation is tentative, and further research into the real meaning of this term is needed. For a discussion of the general characteristics of the Khitan language, see his "Lüeh-lun Ch'i-t'an-yü te yü-hsi kuei-shu yü t'e-tien," *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 84.5 (1992), pp. 19–26. For "*pieh-hsü*," see Ch'en Shu, *Ch'üan Liao wen*, vol. 10, p. 310.

19. See Yü Cheng-hsieh, "Shu Chin-shih kuo-yü-chieh hou," in *Kuei-ssu ts'un-kao* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 3, p. 83; Ch'ien Ta-hsin, "San-ta Yüan Chien-chai shu," in *Ch'ien-yen t'ang wen-chi* (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1968), 34, pp. 536–538; Wang Kuo-wei, "Chih T'eng-t'ien po-shih shu erh," in *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 16, pp. 15b–16b; Haneda Tōru, "'Futatabi Ryōkin jidai no kyūgun ni tsuite' o yomu," *Shigaku zasshi* 27.1 (1916), pp. 64–89; Fujita Toyohachi, "Mondai no nigo," *Shigaku zasshi* 37.9 (1926), pp. 41–45; Ch'en Shu, "Chiu-chün k'ao-shih ch'u-kao," *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an*, no. 20b (1949), pp. 251–300; Liu Feng-ch'u, "Kuan-yü hun-ju han-tzu chung te Ch'i-tan ta-tzu chiu te tu-yin," *Min-tsu yü-wen*, no. 4 (1979), pp. 103–128; Chia Ching-Yen, "Chiu-chün wen-t'i ch'u-i," *Chung-yang min-tsu hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 3–20; Ts'ai Mei-piao, "Chiu chi chiu-chün chih yen-pien," *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung*, no. 2 (1983), pp. 1–22.
20. *Chin-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 44, p. 998; *Yüan-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976), 98, p. 2509.
21. Liu Feng-ch'u, "Kuan-yü hun-ju han-tzu chung te Ch'i-tan ta-tzu chiu te tu-yin," pp. 103–128.
22. My argument here is preliminary. During the Liao dynasty both Chinese and the Khitan language were used by the Khitan nobility. As a result, many words in the Khitan language were borrowed from Chinese. The word "*chiu*" is one example. I propose that it originates from the Chinese word "*chün*" (military). When the Khitan people borrowed and pronounced this word, they dropped the final nasal sound "n," which resulted in a sound similar to "*chiu*," with the result that they then wrote it with one or another of the Chinese characters that are pronounced *chiu*.
23. The epitaphs for these five people were discovered in 1967.
24. Her epitaph was found in 1986.
25. Epitaphs were discovered in 1976 at the Yeh-mao-t'ai in Liaoning Province.
26. His epitaph was found in 1979.
27. The epitaphs for the Liu family members were discovered in 1979. Liu Shou-ch'i came to serve the Liao in 907. After a few years, he left Liao to return to the Later T'ang (923–935). Liu Ch'eng-ssu was born in the Liao and served the Liao court during the reigns of Emperors T'ai-tsung, Shih-tsung, and Mu-tsung.
28. Chang Chien's epitaph reads: "During the T'ung-ho reign period (983–1012), . . . [Chang Chien] was made censor to serve the emperor in the Wo-lu-to." Liang Yüan's reads: "In 1069, Liang Yüan accompanied the emperor during a spring hunt. In the Wo-lu-to, he concurrently held an office in the Censorate."
29. *Liao-shih*, 46, p. 747; 48, p. 828;
30. Ibid., 45, pp. 716–717; 47, p. 796.

31. For this office, see ibid., 45, p. 716. For Tsuda Sōkichi's discussion, see his *Tsuda Sōkichi zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1964), vol. 12, p. 374.
32. For example, "X X kung-shih" is an alternative title for "X X kung tu-pu shu." But in the *Liao-shih*, 45, pp. 716–718, they were listed as two different posts.
33. He is known as Hsiao Ch'ang-ko in the *Liao-shih*, 82, pp. 1294–1295.
34. Ibid., 31, pp. 326–369.
35. See, for example, Shimada Masao, *Ryōdai shakaishi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Sanwa shobō, 1952), pp. 145–167; Fei Kuo-ch'ing, "Liao-tai wo-lu-to t'an-so," *Li-shih hsüeh*, no. 3 (1979), pp. 77–92.
36. T'an Ch'i-hsiang, "Liao hou-ch'i ch'ien-tu chung-ching k'ao-shih," *Chung-hua wen-shih lun-ts'ung*, no. 2 (1980), pp. 43–54.
37. See my *Ch'i-tan wang-ch'ao cheng-chih chün-shih chih-tu yen-chiu* (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1991), pp. 119–127.

Glossary

Chang Chien 張儉
Ch'en Ta-jen 陳大任
Cheng-wang 鄭王
Ch'en-kuo kung-chu 陳國公主
Chin 金
Ch'in-chin kuo-fei 秦晉國妃
Ch'ing 清
Chin-hsi 錦西
Chin-shih 金史
Ch'i-tan hsing-kung tu-pu-shu 契丹行宮都部署
Ch'i-tan kuo-chih 契丹國志
chiu 糾
Ch'iu-k'o 求哥
Chu hsing-kung tu-pu-shu yüan 諸行宮都部署院
chung-ching 中京
Fei-hu 飛狐
Han 漢
Han-erh hsing-kung tu-pu-shu 漢兒行宮都部署
Han-wang 漢王
Heilungkiang 黑龍江
Hopei 河北
Hsi 奚
Hsiang Nan 向南
Hsiao 蕭
Hsiao Hsiao-chung 蕭孝忠
Hsiao I 蕭義
Hsiao T'u-yü 蕭圖玉
Hsi-nan-mien an-fu-shih ssu 西南面安撫使司
Hsi-nan-mien tu-chao-t'ao ssu 西南面都招討司
Hsing-kung tu-pu-shu 行宮都部署
Hsing-tsung 興宗
Hsi-pei-lu chao-t'ao-shih ssu 西北路招討使司
Hsi-pei-lu tsung-ling ssu 西北路總領司
Hui-t'ung 會同
I-chou Fei-hu chao-an-shih ssu 易州飛狐招安使司

i-li-mien 迤麗免
Keng Yen-i 耿延毅
Kirin 吉林
Kuan-ning 慣寧
kung-wei 宮衛
Li Eh 厲鶚
Liang Yüan 梁援
Liao 遼
Liao ch'ing-ling 遼慶陵
Liao chu-ti shih-lu 遼諸帝實錄
Liao shih-wen pien 遼石文編
Liaoning 遼寧
Liao-shih 遼史
Liao-shih shih-i 遼史拾遺
Liao-shih shih-i pu 遼史拾遺補
lieh-chuan 列傳
Ling-ch'iu 靈丘
Liu Ch'eng-ssu 劉承嗣
Liu Shou-ch'i 劉守奇
meng-she 蒙舍
ordo (wo-lu-to) 斡魯朵
Pai-hsi 白霫
Pai-kuan chih 百官志
Pa-lin-yu-ch'i 巴林右旗
Pei ta-wang 北大王
piao 表
pieh-hsü 別胥
Po-hai 渤海
Shansi 山西
Sheng-tsung 聖宗
Shih-tzu ssu 十字寺
Sung 宋
Ta Ch'i-tan 大契丹
Ta Liao 大遼
T'ai-p'ing 太平
T'ai-tsu 太祖
T'ai-tsung 太宗
Tao-tsung 道宗
ti-chi 帝紀
Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉
Wei-wang 魏王
wo-lu-to (ordo) 斡魯朵
Yang Fu-chi 楊復吉
Yang Hsi 楊晳
Yeh Lung-li 葉隆禮
Yeh-lü 耶律
Yeh-lü Chung 耶律忠
Yeh-lü Jen-hsien 耶律仁先
Yeh-lü Shu-chi 耶律庶幾
Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng 耶律宗政
Yeh-lü Tsung-yun 耶律宗允
Yeh-lü Yen 耶律儼
Yeh-lü Yen-ning 耶律延寧
Yeh-lü Yü-chih 耶律羽之
Yüan 元
Yüan-shih 元史
Yü-shih-t'ai 御史臺

Bibliographical Notes on Two Ancient Chinese Medical Works

CHUANG SHEN

At present, the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University owns 220,000 stitched volumes of Chinese books printed from traditional woodblocks. A substantial number — 367 titles — are works on Chinese medicine; of these 65 are designated rare books.[1] When I was studying at Princeton University in the 1960s, I noticed these traditional medical books but was not particularly interested in them. Almost thirty years later, in the spring of 1989, I was appointed a member of the Inventory Committee of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. The inventory check lasted from July 1989 through May 1991, during which time I observed a good number of Chinese rare books, many of which were medical works. I decided to write this article to share with the readers of the *Gest Library Journal* bibliographical information on these rare Chinese medical books preserved in Princeton and Taiwan.

PEN-TS'AO CHING STUDIES IN TRADITIONAL CHINA

One essential and popular text on Chinese medical science is the *Pen-ts'ao ching*, which is the basic compilation on *materia medica* of China. The *Pen-ts'ao ching*, as conventionally understood, was originally a collection of anonymous works dating from the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.) to the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220).[2] During the later years of the Eastern Han its authorship began to be associated with Shen-nung. In Chinese mythology, the official title of Shen-nung is "The Emperor of Inflammation" (Yen Ti). He is regarded as the god of agriculture and medicine, and is said to have voluntarily tasted every herb to determine whether it was poisonous. Having

discovered the medical nature of herbs, he used them to heal the diseases of his people. This legendary figure is remembered by the Chinese for his efforts to save his people from disease and to satisfy their need for food.[3] But the association of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* with Shen-nung is in fact a device used by later scholars to lend authority to this work.

The *Pen-ts'ao ching* consists of three sections, of which the first is the focus of this article. Originally, the first section listed 360 kinds of herbs, minerals, insects, and animals for medicinal use, which had been classified into three categories: upper, middle, and lower. It also contained an explanation of the classification. Up to the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–581), about fifty books had been written about the *Pen-ts'ao ching*.[4] However, by then all but the *Pen-ts'ao ching chi-chu* by T'ao Hung-ching (452–536) had been lost. This work is a collection of annotations to the *Pen-ts'ao ching*; in it the total number of medicinal herbs and other substances more than doubled from the original 360 to 730.

Pen-ts'ao ching studies reached a new level during the T'ang dynasty (618–907). *The Newly Revised Pen-ts'ao of the T'ang Dynasty* (*T'ang hsin-hsiu pen-ts'ao*) was completed in 659 through the efforts of some twenty scholars. Basing their work on T'ao Hung-ching's version, the compilers consulted literary references and drawings of medicinal substances submitted to the T'ang court by local officials. This T'ang-dynasty version of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* corrected mistakes in T'ao Hung-ching's work and recorded 114 new items, raising the total number of medicinal substances to nearly 850.

During the Sung dynasty (960–1279), further studies of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* resulted in new editions: the *Pen-ts'ao ching of the K'ai-pao Era* (*K'ai-pao pen-ts'ao*), compiled by Liu Han and eight of his colleagues during 973–974, in which the number of medicinal herbs and other substances increased to 983; the *Chia-yu pen-ts'ao*, written by Su Sung, Lin I, and others in 1057, in which the pharmaceutical items totaled 1,082. But the most important Sung work on the *Pen-ts'ao ching* was the *Classified Pen-ts'ao for Emergency Cases Collected from the Classics and Histories* (*Ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao*). This work was edited by T'ang Shen-wei (ca. 1056–1093) in the late eleventh century. It contains a table of contents in one *chüan* and thirty-one *chüan* of text, and includes discussions of 1,748 medicinal herbs and substances. Thereafter, three more versions were produced to update the work of T'ang Shen-wei: Ai Ch'eng's *Ta-kuan ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao*, compiled in 1108; Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung*

pen-ts'ao in 1116; and Wang Chi-hsien's *Shao-hsing chiao-ting ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao* in 1157.

Of these three revised editions, Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's work was the most popular. It was reprinted in 1249; copies of this reprint are now the earliest extant exemplars of Ts'ao's work. The Peking Library has two copies in complete sets.[5] During the Yüan and Ming dynasties Ts'ao's work was re-engraved and printed at least a dozen times: in 1302, 1468, 1523, 1537, 1552, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1577, 1578, 1579, and 1587. The ten-volume set of the *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao* that the Gest Oriental Library possesses belongs to the 1587 edition.[6]

Two rare book collections in Taiwan housed in the National Central Library (NCL) and the National Palace Museum (NPM) provide further information about Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's book. These two institutions together hold eight of the twelve editions mentioned above, each of which is in excellent condition. Table 1 provides bibliographical information on them.

Table 1 reveals some interesting aspects of the revision and printing of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* during the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties. First, the printers deserve attention. The 1302 edition was printed by a private studio, which, except for the 1537 edition, apparently did not continue printing this reference work. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the task was shouldered chiefly by local authorities. In this regard, the exemplar of the 1587 edition that the Gest Library holds is unique in that it was sponsored by the Ming court and graced by an imperial preface signed by Emperor Shen-tsung (r. 1573–1620). On the other hand, the 1537 and 1577 editions indicate that imperial princes and other individuals were also involved in the publication of this work.

Second, it is well known that during the Ming dynasty, except for Pei-ching, major printing centers were located in the lower Yangtze basin: Nan-ching, Hang-chou, Su-chou, Hui-chou, and Hu-chou. It is therefore peculiar that Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao* was quite frequently reprinted in the north, in various places on the Shan-tung peninsula.

Finally, the 1537 version deserves special attention. This version was printed by the Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan, which was the study of the prince of Ch'u, the sixth son of the Ming founder and the first prince of Ch'u, who took up his fief at Wu-ch'ang in 1381.[7] According to the *Standard History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming-shih*), of the sixty-two princes granted hereditary

Table 1

REVISIONS OF THE *PEN-TS'AO CHING*

DATE OF PRINTING	PRINTER AND PUBLISHER	PRESENT OWNER	PARTICULARS OF THE PRINT
1302	Tsung-wen shu-yüan	NPM	1 complete set, 31 *chüan* bound in 20 stitched vols.; 2 incomplete sets, 1 in 2 stitched vols. containing *chüan* 24–31, 1 in 7 stitched vols. covering *chüan* 1–7
		NCL	1 complete set, 31 *chüan* in 22 stitched vols.; 1 incomplete set in 1 stitched vol. containing *chüan* 7–8
1468	Yüan Chieh, governor of Shan-tung	NCL	2 complete sets, both in 30 *chüan*, bound in 24 stitched vols.
1537	Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan of the prince of Ch'u	NCL	3 complete sets, both in 30 *chüan*; 1 bound in 20, the other in 24 stitched vols.
1552	Government of Shantung	NCL	3 complete sets, all in 30 *chüan* bound in 10, 22, and 40 stitched vols. respectively
1569	Unknown	NCL	1 complete set in 30 *chüan* bound in 20 stitched vols.
1572	Surveillance commissioner of Shan-tung	NCL	1 complete set in 30 *chüan* bound in 20 stitched vols.
1577	Shang-i t'ang of Wang Ch'iu, Nan-ling, Anhui Province	NPM	2 complete sets printed by repaired blocks; both in 31 *chüan* bound in 28 stitched vols.; 1 incomplete set in 29 stitched vols. containing all but *chüan* 5 and 13
1579	Yang Hsien-ch'un	NCL	1 complete set in 30 *chüan* bound in 12 stitched vols.

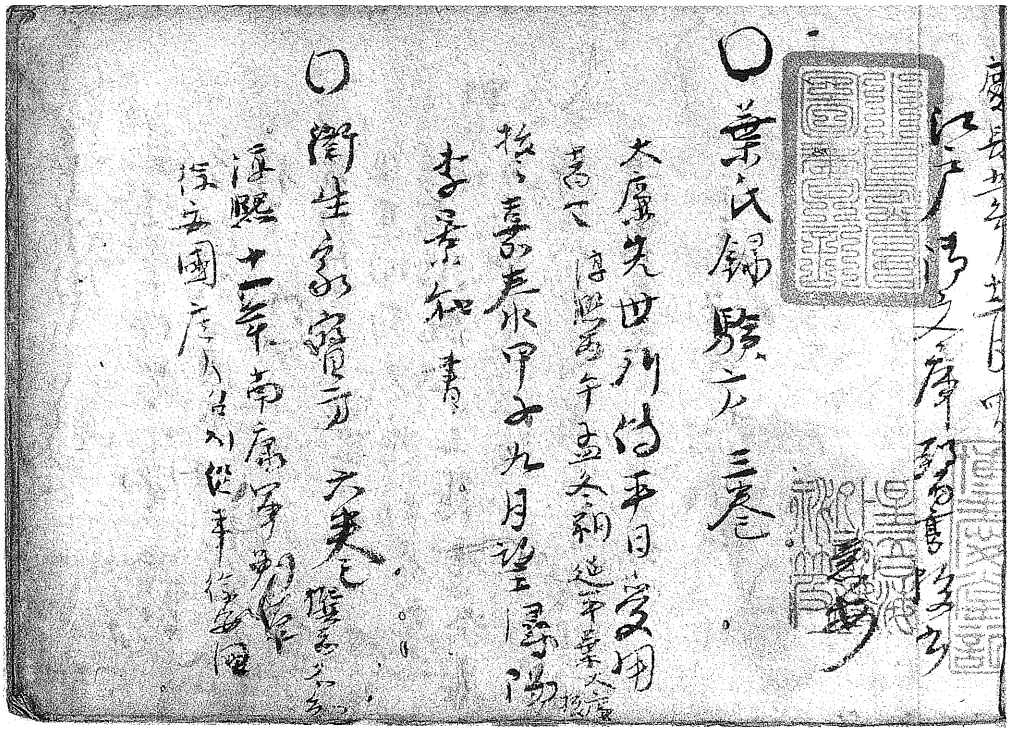
princely ranks by the imperial court, fifty had their own fiefs. Twenty of these princedoms, the prince of Ch'u's among them, were known for their sponsorship of book printing, and for the fine quality of books they produced.[8] One account of the Ming woodblock cuttings shows that the prince of Ch'u printed altogether sixteen books of different kinds.[9] However, it fails to mention the 1537 edition of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. In any event, this edition itself is a good example of the "*fan-k'o*" books, which were produced by block cutters and printers working for the princely households.

The publication of Li Shih-chen's (1518–1593) *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was another important event in the history of the printing and production of revised editions of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. A native of Hu-pei, Li was a medical doctor and a researcher in pharmaceutical botany. Starting in 1552, Li devoted over forty years to compiling his *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, using the *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao*, a slightly revised edition of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*, as the foundation for his work. He completed a first draft in 1578 and continued to revise the work until his death in 1593. Three years later, the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was first block cut and printed in Nan-ching. In 1948 the only known copy of this first edition was in the hands of Doctor Ting Chi-min,[10] but since then the whereabouts of Ting's copy have been a mystery.

This first edition of the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was later re-engraved and printed in many places: by Hsia Liang-hsin in Nan-ch'ang, Chiang-hsi Province in 1603, and in Hu-pei Province and Hang-chou in 1606 and 1640 respectively. The NCL owns a copy of the 1603 version.[11]

Japanese scholars have also contributed to the study of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. In the Edo period (1603–1867) Japanese scholars produced no less than nineteen writings on the *Pen-ts'ao ching*;[12] the earliest was the *Honzō wamyō* edited by Fukae Sukehito in the early 1600s. A handwritten copy of this work, which remains largely unknown to scholars of oriental medicine, is preserved at the NPM (see illustration 1).

The NPM also houses two other handwritten copies and one printed copy of the *Honzō wamyō*. One handwritten copy was made in 1796 by an anonymous person. The other, done by Imao Dōjun in 1860, bears a handwritten inscription by Mori Risshi (1807–1885), a well-known nineteenth-century bibliographer of Chinese learning. These three Japanese works were purchased in 1880 by Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915), attaché of the Chinese embassy in Japan.



1. A sample page from the *Honzō wamyō* edited by Fukae Sukehito. The lower right corner of this page bears Yang shou-ching's seal. It reads "rare book acquired by Hsing-wu [i.e., Yang Shou-ching] overseas [Japan]" (Hsing-wu hai-wai fang-te mi-chi). Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine (Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen)

The *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* is another popular ancient Chinese medical text. This work consists of two parts, the *su-wen* and the *ling-shu*. Because the *su-wen* section was placed before the *ling-shu* section, it was usually considered more important, and thus the word "*su-wen*" is customarily adopted to represent the entire text. Part of the work was written in the form of an essay and part in the form of a catechism, in which the legendary "Yellow Emperor" raised questions concerning pathology and physiology, and a famous physician, Ch'i Po, answered them, a form similar to that of the *Confucian Analects* and the *Dialogues* of Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.).

The seventy-four essays in the *su-wen* are believed to have been compiled around the third century B.C., whereas the seven essays in the *ling-*

shu, although they are often attributed to the legendary Yellow Emperor, are generally considered to date from a later time. This suggests that the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* should be regarded as a medical anthology containing works written at different times, ranging from the Warring States period to the Eastern Han dynasty.[13]

The title *Ling-shu* was adopted after a long period of disagreement. It has been suggested that the original title of this work was *Chen-ching* (Classic of acupuncture), since portions of it dealt with the art of acupuncture.[14] During the Han dynasty, however, it was referred to as the *Chiu-chüan*, because the work without the *Su-wen* consisted of nine *chüan*.[15] The Gest Library exemplar of the *Ling-shu ching*, numbered C83/150 in its catalogue, is a nine-*chüan* version with annotations compiled by Chang Chih-ts'ung and printed in 1890.[16] During the Chin dynasty (A.D. third and fourth centuries), the original title *Chen-ching* was adopted again, and the variant title *Chiu-chüan* abandoned. It was during the T'ang dynasty that Wang Ping first entitled the work *Ling-shu*. A late Ming scholar, Chang Ching-yüeh (1563–1640), explained the meaning of the word "*ling*" used in the title: "Spirit (*shen*) is the pivotal essence of the soul (*ling*)."[17] Thus the title *Ling-shu* seems to denote a relationship between spirit and soul.

"Bequeathed Essays of the *Su-wen*" (*Su-wen i-pien*) is a work often attached to the *Huang Ti nei-ching*. But these essays have generally been considered unauthentic and probably the work of pseudonymous authors of later times. The reason for this belief is that when Wang Ping was editing the *Su-wen* during the mid-eighth century, two essays, the seventy-second and the seventy-third, were missing from the text. Presumably they were already lost by that time. Thus when Liu Wen-shu in the eleventh century claimed that he had discovered them, people found it difficult to believe him.[18]

The authorship of the *Huang Ti nei-ching* has long been attributed to the Yellow Emperor. As a matter of fact, in the bibliographical section of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Han-shu*), the Yellow Emperor or Shen-nung is associated with at least twenty-three works, the *Huang Ti nei-ching* among them.[19] A telling passage in an Eastern Han–dynasty work, *Huai-nan tzu* by Liu An (ca. 179–122 B.C.), explains the reason: "Ordinary people respect ways of the ancient sages and despise those of contemporary individuals. Therefore, if one wants to persuade people to accept and act according to his ways, he has to claim that they are in fact the ways of the Yellow Emperor and Shen-nung."[20] Clearly, it was this appeal to authority that made people

attribute the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* to the Yellow Emperor, and the *Pen-ts'ao ching* to Shen-nung.

Numerous editions of the *Huang Ti nei-ching* were produced in traditional China; some contained only the text, others the text and annotations.[21] The annotated editions are undoubtedly more significant in terms of scholarship. Ch'üan Hsüan-ch'i is said to have been the first to annotate the *Huang Ti nei-ching* in the mid-sixth century. His annotations amounted to eight *chüan*, and contained sixty essays. This edition still existed as late as the Northern Sung dynasty but has since disappeared. Now Wang Ping's work stands as the earliest extant annotated version. According to Wang's preface of A.D. 762, it took him twelve years to complete this work. In the course of his research he discovered the seven missing essays from the *ling-shu*, and annotated them together with the original seventy-four from the *su-wen*; he also arranged the essays in the present twenty-four-*chüan* format. The Peking Library holds a copy of this work printed during the Chin dynasty (1115–1234).[22] The copy held by the NCL was printed in 1339. Both the NPM and the NCL own copies of a 1474 woodblock edition of Wang Ping's work. This edition is in twelve *chüan*; it was published by the Chung-te t'ang under the auspices of Hsiung Tsung-li. Ku Ts'ung-te of Wu-ling sponsored the printing of another Ming edition of Wang Ping's work in 1550. The printer's note indicates that it was a reprint of a Sung edition that has long been lost (see illustration 2). Numerous copies of this 1550 edition are available in Taiwan: six are housed in the NCL and five in the NPM. The Gest Library also has a copy of this edition. A study of the physical forms and the variant contents of all the copies in Taiwan and the United States would advance our bibliographical knowledge of this important work.

The Japanese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* that Yang Shou-ching purchased during the late Ch'ing are also important to the study of traditional Chinese medicine. These works are now preserved at the NPM and can be classified into three categories according to their contents: Japanese reprints of Chinese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching*, Japanese handwritten copies of Chinese works related to the *Huang Ti nei-ching*, and works on medical sciences by Japanese specialists.

Ma Shih's *Subtle Discoveries Concerning the Annotations of Huang Ti's nei-ching and the Ling-shu ching* (*Huang Ti nei-ching ling-shu fa-wei*) was the earliest Chinese work on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* reprinted in Japan. The original Chinese work was first printed during the Wan-li reign period (1573–1619)

重廣補註黃帝內經素問序

啓玄子王冰撰 新校正云按唐人物志冰仕唐爲太僕令年八十餘以壽終

夫釋縛脫艱全眞遺氣拯黎元於仁壽濟羸劣以獲安者非三聖道則不能致之矣孔安國序尚書曰伏羲神農黃帝之書謂之三墳言大道也班固漢書藝文志曰黃帝內經十八卷素問即其經之九卷也兼靈樞九卷迺其數焉 新校正云詳王氏此說蓋本皇甫士安甲乙經之序彼云七略藝文志黃帝內經十八卷今有鍼經九卷素問九卷共十八卷即內經也故王氏遵而用之又素問外九卷漢張仲景及西晉王叔和脉經只爲之九卷皇甫士安名爲鍼經亦專名九卷楊玄操云黃帝內經二帙帙各九卷按隋書經籍志謂之九靈王冰名爲靈樞 雖復年移代革而授學猶存懼非其人而時有所隱故第七一卷師氏藏之今

國立故宮博物院

2. The first page of the preface from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* reprinted in 1550, Japan. Ten cols. of 20 chars.; border 16 x 21.5 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

重廣補註黃帝內經素問表

臣聞安不忘危存不忘亡者作聖之
先務求民之瘼恤民之隱者上主之
深仁在昔黃帝之御極也以理身緒
餘治天下坐於明堂之上臨觀八極
考建五常以謂人之生也負陰而抱
陽食味而被色外有寒暑之相盪內

3. A sample page from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* reprinted in 1663, Japan. Seven cols. of 14 chars.; border 15.5 x 19.5 cm. One of the square seals is the same as one in illustration 1, showing that the book was also acquired by Yang Shou-ching in Japan. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Table 2
JAPANESE COPIES OF THE *HUANG TI NEI-CHING T'AI-SU*

COPYIST	FORMAT	NUMBER OF *CHÜAN*	PARTICULARS
Sugimoto Bōun	23 stitched vols.	*Chüan* 1, 4, 7, 16–18, 20, 21 missing	Colophon written by Kojima Tadasu; 14–17 characters per line; bound together with a printed copy of *chüan* 27 based on an anonymous handwritten copy
Anonymous	24 stitched vols.	*Chüan* 1, 4, 7, 16–18, 20, 21 missing	No colophon; text collated in red ink by Kojima Tadasu
Anomymous	1 stitched vol.	*Chüan* 8 only	
Anonymous	1 stitched vol.	*Chüan* 8 only	
Anonymous	1 stitched vol.	*Chüan* 14 only	
Fukui Tanbanokami	1 stitched vol.	*Chüan* 14 only	

in China. In 1625 Inoko Baiju sponsored the first Japanese reprint, using movable type. Three years later, he sponsored another reprint which was also in movable type. This 1628 edition is in ten *chüan*, including a supplement (*pu-i*). Another Japanese reprint of the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* in twenty-four *chüan* was produced in 1663 by the Keishi Fūgetsudō (see illustration 3). It was annotated by Wang Ping, revised by Lin I and others during the Sung, and punctuated by Hsiung Tsung-li during the Ming. This Japanese reprint was based on a 1584 Chinese edition. The NPM owns two sets of this 1663 Japanese edition, one in four and the other in twelve stitched volumes. Yet another Japanese reprint is the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* in twenty-four *chüan* printed in 1857. This work is based on the 1550 Chinese edition, but all punctuation has been left out. The NPM has two sets of this Japanese edition, one of which contains an additional *chüan* of revisions and collections.

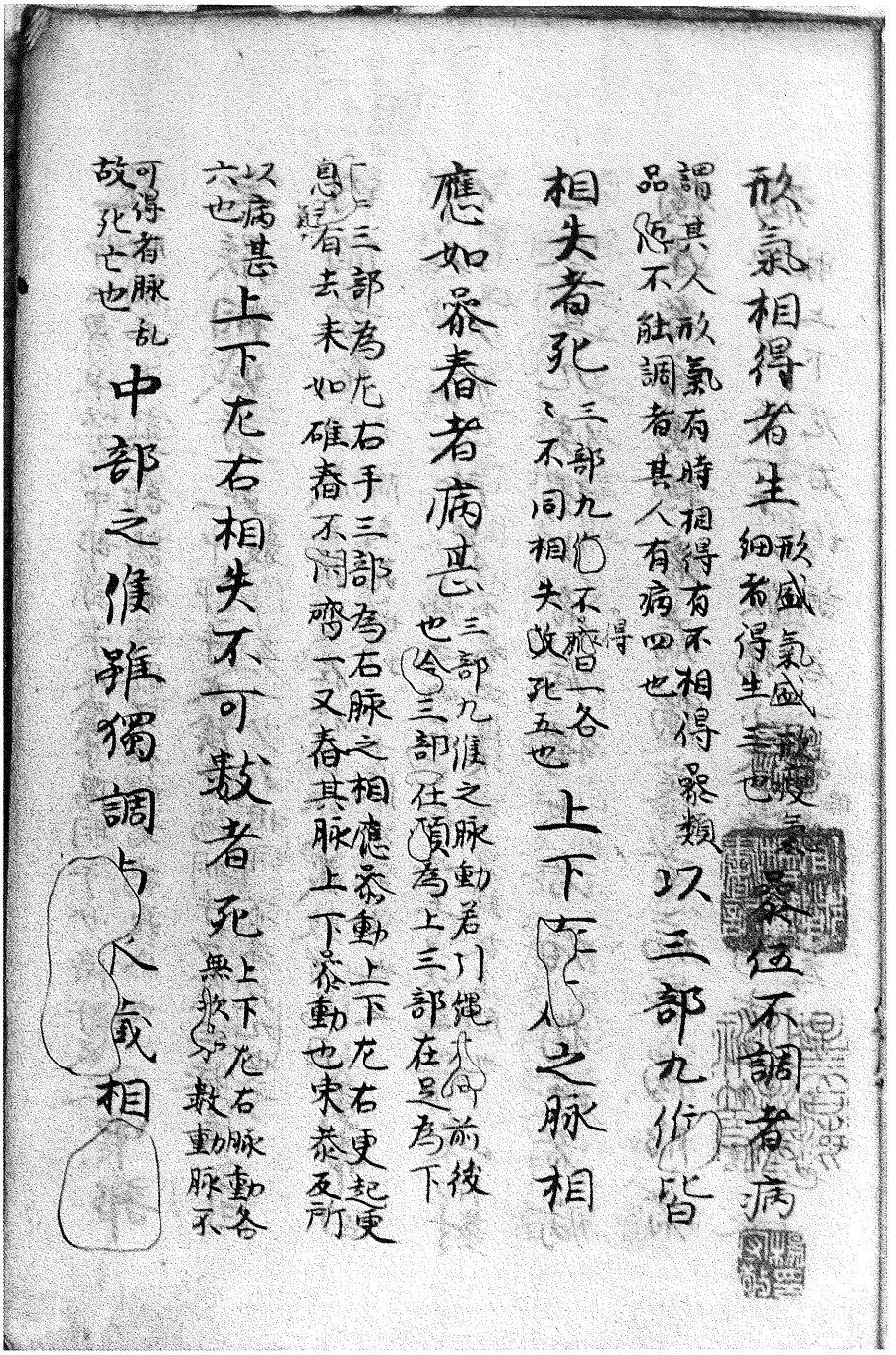
The NPM also holds six Japanese handwritten copies of the *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* by Yang Shang-shan of the Sui dynasty (581–618). This book had long been lost in China,[23] but its twenty-seventh *chüan* was discovered in

Table 3
JAPANESE MEDICAL BOOKS

AUTHOR	TITLE AND YEAR OF COMPLETION	NUMBER OF *CHÜAN* AND FORMAT	PARTICULARS
Den Yō	*Somon myōgi* (1820)	1 in 1 stitched vol.	Handwritten
Tanba Genkan	*Somon shiki* (1837)	8 in 3 stitched vols.	Block print; NPM has 3 sets
Tanba Motokata	*Somon shōshiki*		Similar to the *Somon shiki*; NPM has 2 sets, 1 handwritten by Kosuge Tsubasa in 1851, another by an anonymous copyist and undatable
Tanba Genka	*Reisū shiki* (1863)	In 6 and 12 stitched vols. respectively	NPM has 2 sets printed by Seijukan; 1 bears no colophons; another has red and blue notes by Yamada Chintei (courtesy name Gyōkō)
Gakukai Kan	*Kōtei naikei taiso koi*	In 1 stitched vol.	Handwritten by Kōkosai; text not divided into sections; owned by NPM
Nakano Genyo	*Somon kibun*	3 in 3 stitched vols.	Handwritten copy owned by NPM

SOURCE: Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, ed., *Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan shan-pen chiu-chi tsung-mu* (Taipei: Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1982), p. 687.

the nineteenth century in Japan and was hand copied by Fukui Tanbanokami (1725–1792; see illustration 4). Later, some twenty other *chüan* of the same book were found in the library of the Ninna-ji temple in Kyoto. These were hand copied by Ohada Seiyoku, whose copy is believed to be the only one extant in Japan;[24] it reflects the characteristics typical of the old-book format adopted during the first quarter of the tenth century in Japan.[25] Basing his work on Ohada's copy, Sugimoto Bōun made another handwritten copy at the request of Kojima Tadasu. Table 2 provides bibliographical information on



4. A sample page of *chüan* 27 of the *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* compiled by Yang Shang-shan and hand copied by Fukui Tanbanokami. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

the six Japanese handwritten copies of the *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* preserved at the NPM.

The NCL also owns four Japanese handwritten copies of Fukui Tanbanokami's work. But the texts of these copies are incomplete. One of them bears a colophon written by Weng T'ung-ho (1830–1904), another a colophon by Yang Shou-ching.

Table 3 contains information on Japanese books on medical science compiled by Japanese specialists.

Yang Shou-ching and His Collection of Japanese Rare Books

During the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government enthusiastically carried out a Western-style political and cultural reformation. As a result, interest in traditional books and other cultural relics declined among the Japanese. Some were even selling their collections of rare Chinese and Japanese books by weight.[26] Serving the Chinese embassy in Japan from 1881 to 1884, Yang Shou-ching (see illustration 5) was the right person in the right place at the right time to collect some of those books. Yang used as his purchasing guide two works by Shibue Zenzen (1805–1858) and Mori Risshi — *In Pursuit of Old Books on Chinese Classics* (*Keiseki hōko shi*) and its supplementary volume, the *Keiseki hōko shi hoi* — that recorded the history of Japanese ownership of rare Chinese and Japanese books. Yang often traded rubbings of ancient Chinese Bronze Age relics that he had brought from China for books, making his purchases relatively inexpensive.[27]

Yang returned to China in 1884 and subsequently established a small library, the Kuan-hai-t'ang shu-lou, in Peking to house the rare book collections that he brought back from Japan. The Chinese government purchased his collections when he died in 1915 in Peking and preserved them in a government building called the Cheng-shih t'ang. But poor administration soon resulted in books disappearing from the building. The handwritten copies of Japanese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* now owned by the NCL are among those then reported as missing.

Finally, in 1918, about 60 percent of the remaining books were moved out of the Cheng-shih t'ang and transferred to the Sung-p'o Library established in memory of Ts'ai Eh (1882–1916), a patriotic Chinese general. The remaining 40 percent were placed somewhere near Ts'ai's tomb. It was not until January 1926 that these two portions of Yang's former collection were

5. A photograph of Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915). Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

reunited and transferred to the NPM. According to the museum's catalogue, Yang Shou-ching's collection of Chinese and Japanese rare books totals 15,491 stitched volumes.

The size of Yang's collections is certainly impressive. But the symbolic meaning of this collection in the history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges is perhaps even more important. On the one hand, it is a vivid reflection of the cultural interflow between China and Japan from the eighth to the twelfth centuries; on the other, it is also a monumental testimony to the late nineteenth-century Japanese enthusiasm for political and cultural reformation, and concurrent distaste for sinology and relics of the once-revered past.

NOTES

1. Ch'ü Wan-li, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ke-ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chung-wen shan-pen shu-chih* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1974), pp. 242–260, lists 37 titles of rare Chinese medical books. Ch'ang Pi-te, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ke-ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chung-wen chiu-chi shu-mu* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1990), pp. 301–374, lists 330 more titles of Chinese medical books in the Gest Library, and adds the "*shan*" (rare) designation to 28 of those. In fact, by standards widely applied today, many more would now be designated "rare" works.
2. Sun Chia-shan, "Pen-ts'ao-hsüeh ti ch'i-yüan chi-ch'i fa-chan," in *Nung-shih yen-chiu chi-k'an*, ed. Chung-kuo nung-yeh i-ch'an yen-chiu-shih (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1959), pp. 101–114.
3. Yüan K'o, *Chung-kuo shen-hua ch'uan-shuo* (Peking: Chung-kuo min-chien wen-i ch'u-pan-she, 1968), p. 154.
4. A full list of these books is in *Sui-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), 34, pp. 1040–1050.
5. Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, ed., *Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu* (Peking: Shu-mu wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she), p. 1234. This catalogue is undated, but was probably published in 1987 as the preface is dated 1987.
6. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Pu-lin-ssu-tun*, p. 224.
7. *Ming-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 116, p. 3570.
8. Yeh Te-hui, *Shu-lin ch'ing-hua* (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 116–120; Ch'ien Chi-po, *Pan-pen t'ung-i* (Peking: Pei-ch'ing ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 52; Mao Ch'un-hsiang, *Ku-shu pan-pen ch'ang-t'an* (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), p. 48; Yen Tso-chih, *Ku-chi pan-pen-hsüeh kai-lun* (Shanghai: Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1989), p. 58.
9. Li Chih-chung, "Ming-tai k'o-shu shu-lüeh," *Wen shih*, no. 23 (1984), pp. 127–158.
10. Ting Chi-min, "Pa Ming chin-ling k'an-pen *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*," *Chung-hua I-shih tsa-chih* 2.1–2 (1984), pp. 14–29.
11. Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, ed., *Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Taipei: Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, 1967), p. 492.
12. P'an Chi-hsing, "Pen-ts'ao kang-mu tsai kuo-wai ti ch'uan-po," *K'o-chi shih wen-chi*, no. 3 (1980), p. 141, table 2.
13. Jen Ying-ch'iu, "Huang-ti nei-ching

yen-chiu shih-chiang," in Jen Ying-ch'iu and Liu Ch'ang-lin, eds., *Nei-ching yen-chiu lun-ts'ung* (Hupei: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp. 1–99, particularly pp. 13 and 16. For an English translation see Ilza Vieth, *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1949).

14. Jen Ying-ch'iu, "Huang-ti nei-ching yen-chiu." See also Yü Chia-hsi, *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), pp. 625–632, under the subtitle "Ling-shu ching."
15. Jen Ying-ch'iu, "Huang-ti nei-ching yen-chiu."
16. Ch'ang Pi-te, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun*, p. 301.
17. Chang Ching-yüeh, *Nei-ching* (*Wen-yüan-ko Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1983), 1, p. 1.
18. These two essays were first attached to Liu Wen-shu's own book, the *Su-wen ju-shih yün-ch'i lun-yao*; the preface was dated 1099. A copy of an early Ming-dynasty edition of this book is owned by the Fu Ssu-nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Since then, these two essays have been incorporated into most editions of the *Nei-ching*.
19. *Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 30, pp. 1776–1779.
20. *Huai-nan tzu* (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* edn.; Shang-hai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1934) 19, p. 11b. Some portions of the *Huai-nan tzu* (but not the chapter containing the passage quoted in the text) have appeared in English translation; see Roger T. Ames in *The Art of Rulership* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983).
21. *Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu*, p. 1242.
22. Ibid., pp. 1242–1243. Four more sets of the 1339 edition are also housed in the Peking Library.
23. Yang Shou-ching, "Yüan-ch'i," in *Jih-pen fang-shu chih* (1897 edn.), p. 6.
24. Liao Wen-jen, "Sōdai no Somon kei ko," in *Naito hakushi shōju kinen shigaku ronsō*, ed. Nishida Naojirō (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1930), pp. 637–686.
25. Shibue Zenzen and Mori Risshi, *Keiseki hōko shi* (Shu-min ts'ung-pien edn.; Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967), p. 5. Kaiho Genko wrote a preface to this work in 1856; Hsü Ch'eng-tsu wrote another in 1885.
26. Yang Shou-ching, "Yüan-ch'i," p. 4.
27. Li Shu-ch'ang, the Chinese ambassador to Japan, published a collection, *Ku-i ts'ung-shu*, in Tokyo in 1884. This collection includes Chinese classics, history, philosophy, philology, music, lexicology, and genealogy as well as twenty-six books that Yang Shou-ching acquired in Japan. However, for reasons unknown, it includes no Chinese medical works like those discussed in this paper. For more discussion of the *Ku-i ts'ung-shu*, see Wu T'ien-jen, *Yang Hsing-sheng nien-p'u* (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1974), appendix, p. 4.

Glossary

Ai Ch'eng 艾晟
An-hui 安徽
Chang Chih-ts'ung 張志聰
Chang Ching-yüeh 張景岳
Chen-ching 針經
Cheng-shih t'ang 政事堂
Ch'i Po 岐伯
Chiang-hsi 江西

Chia-yu pen-ts'ao 嘉祐本草
Chin 晉
Chin 金
Ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao 經史證類備急本草
Chiu-chüan 九卷
Ch'u 楚
Ch'üan Hsüan-ch'i 全玄起
Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao 重修政和經史證類備用本草
Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan 崇本書院
Chung-te t'ang 種德堂
Den Yō 田陽
Edo 江戶
fan-k'o 翻刻
Fukae Sukehito 深江輔仁
Fukui Tanbanokami 福井丹波守
Gakukai Kan 學海寬
Gyōkō 業廣
Han 漢
Hang-chou 杭州
Han-shu 漢書
Honzō wamyō 本草和名
Hsia Liang-hsin 夏良心
Hsing-wu hai-wai fang-te mi-chi 惺吾海外訪得秘笈
Hsiung Tsung-li 熊宗立
Huai-nan tzu 淮南子
Huang Ti nei-ching 黃帝內經
Huang Ti nei-ching ling-shu fa-wei 黃帝內經靈樞發微
Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen 黃帝內經索問
Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su 黃帝內經太素
Hu-chou 湖州
Hui-chou 徽州
Hu-pei 湖北
Imao Dōjun 今尾道醇
Inoko Baiju 豬子梅寿
K'ai-pao pen-ts'ao 開寶本草
Keiseki hōko shi 經籍訪古志
Keiseki hōko shi hoi 經籍訪古志補遺
Keishi Fūgetsudō 京師風月堂
Kojima Tadasu 小島質
Kōkosai 考古斎
Kosuge Tsubasa 小官翼
Kōtei naikei taiso koi 黃帝內經太素考異
Ku Ts'ung-te 顧從德
Kuan-hai-t'ang shu-lou 觀海堂書樓
Li Shih-chen 李時珍
Lin I 林億
ling 靈
Ling-shu 靈樞
Ling-shu ching 靈樞經
Liu An 劉安
Liu Han 劉漢
Liu Wen-shu 劉溫舒
Ma Shih 馬蒔
Ming 明
Ming-shih 明史
Mori Risshi 森立之
Nakano Genyo 中野玄與
Nan-ch'ang 南昌
Nan-ching 南京
Nan-ling 南陵
Ninna-ji 仁和寺
Ohada Seiyoku 尾藩正翼
Pei-ching 北京

Pen-ts'ao ching 本草經
Pen-ts'ao kang-mu 本草綱目
Pen-ts'ao ching chi-chu 本草經集註
pu-i 補遺
Reisū shiki 靈樞識
Seijukan 躋寿館
Shang-i t'ang 尙義堂
Shan-tung 山東
Shao-hsing chiao-ting ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao 紹興校定經史證類備急本草
shen 神
Shen-nung 神農
Shen-tsung 神宗
Shibue Zenzen 渋江全善
Somon kibun 素問紀聞
Somon myōgi 素問明義
Somon shiki 素問識
Somon shōshiki 素問紹識
Sung-p'o 松坡
Su Sung 蘇頌
Su-chou 蘇州
Sugimoto Bōun 杉本望雲
Sui 隋
Sung 宋
Su-wen 素問
Su-wen i-p'ien 素問遺篇
Ta-kuan ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao 大觀經史證類備用本草
Tanba Genkan 丹波元簡
Tanba Motokata 丹波元堅
T'ang 唐
T'ang hsin-hsiu pen-ts'ao 唐新修本草
T'ang Shen-wei 唐慎微
T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景
Ting Chi-min 丁濟民
Ts'ai Eh 蔡諤
Ts'ao Hsiao-chung 曹孝忠
Tsung-wen shu-yüan 宗文書院
Wang Chi-hsien 王繼先
Wang Ch'iu 王秋
Wang Ping 王冰
Wan-li 萬曆
Weng T'ung-ho 翁同鶴
Wu-ch'ang 武昌
Wu-ling 武陵
Yamada Chintei 山田椿庭
Yang Hsien-ch'un 楊先春
Yang Shang-shan 楊上善
Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬
Yen Ti 炎帝
Yüan 元
Yüan Chieh 原傑

Review: "Impressions de Chine"

DAVID HELLIWELL

This skillfully named exhibition was held in the autumn of 1992 in the Galerie Colbert of the Bibliothèque Nationale, only a few steps from the Palais Royale in the heart of Paris. It was accompanied by a fully illustrated catalogue,[1] in color where necessary, in which each exhibit was carefully described and documented, with each group of items being preceded by a short introductory essay. The selection of the exhibits and the text of the catalogue are the work of Monique Cohen, director of the library's Oriental Department and herself a sinologist, and Nathalie Monnet, the curator of the Chinese collection. As most of the items have never been exhibited before, and a few were hitherto unknown even to specialists in the history of Chinese printing, it is appropriate not merely to review the manner in which this remarkable collection has been presented to the public, but also to give an account of some of the objects themselves and invite further consideration of them.

The first section, "Procédés techniques et formes du livre," illustrates the history of Chinese printing and binding processes along the traditional lines laid down by Carter and Goodrich, Tsien, and others.[2] Though doubtless intended for the general public, this section instantly catches the attention of the trained eye through the very rarity and quality of the examples offered. There can surely be no better way of starting an exhibition than by presenting an item that is not only the earliest known example of the genre, but preserves an otherwise lost text, an ink squeeze of the "Wenquanming" ("Hot spring inscription") of Tang Taizong (no. 1). Two pieces of ephemera in this section are also noteworthy: a paper stencil of a Buddhist deity whose small perfora-

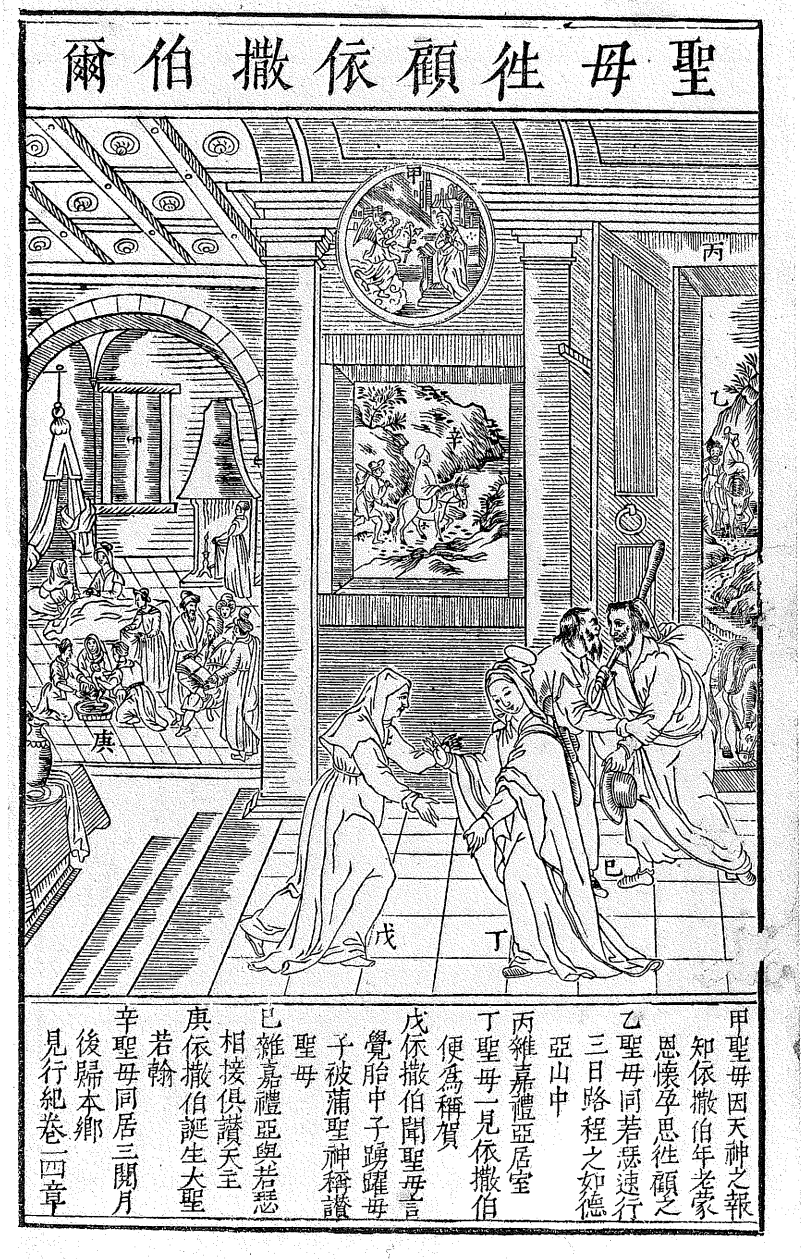
tions enabled the artist to reproduce faithfully the correct proportions and aspect of his subject (no. 5), and a scroll wrapper of finely split bamboo and silken threads that are carefully woven to form the title and number of the volume (no. 14). These three items are all from Dunhuang.

The earliest surviving printed images are of course pictures, and the next section, "De l'image au texte," illustrates the transition from the rather crudely executed "thousand Buddha" scrolls of the eighth century, through illustrated prayer sheets, to the fully developed printed text. At this stage, the sheer wealth of the Bibliothèque Nationale's holdings becomes apparent, as the library preserves some thirty printed documents from cave no. 17 at Dunhuang, and thus shares with the British Library by far the greatest surviving corpus of the earliest Chinese printed material: surely it would not be beyond the capacity of the two institutions to reproduce the entire corpus in facsimile? Among the finest exhibits in this section is a tenth-century printed image of Guanyin (no. 31) depicted with such consummate artistry that the divinity seems to emerge from the page to greet its beholder — how far the art of printing has progressed from its earliest manifestations! It is most unfortunate that this item is marred by a particularly obtrusive red library stamp applied in less enlightened times, and one wonders if it could perhaps be removed. Like most other libraries outside the Far East, and certainly in Europe, the Bibliothèque Nationale holds very little in the way of Song and Yuan editions. The golden age of Chinese text printing can therefore only be represented by Buddhist sutras, which were printed in huge numbers and very widely distributed, and an edition of *Zhuangzi* (no. 45), formerly owned by Huang Peilie which may date from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

A somewhat diffuse section on illustrated books, "Livres illustrés," brings us away from the historical approach of previous sections into a more thematic consideration of the subject. The emphasis now shifts away from the art of printing itself to a fuller consideration of the nature and variety of what is printed and the circumstances of its publication, and aristocrats such as the *Chengshi moyuan* (no. 66) and *Lienüzhuan* (no. 67) rub shoulders with the vulgar, but in many ways more interesting popular works that began to reach Europe in the opening years of the seventeenth century, almost certainly through the Dutch East India Company. These early imports were split up and sold in Amsterdam, the center of the "curiosity" trade, and are now widely scattered among European libraries. Examples of these fascinating and often unique survivals are a *Bencao* edition (no. 51), other parts of which are in

1. *Daci dabei jiuku Guanshiyin pusa* (Dunhuang?, tenth century; no. 31). Single sheet, 28.9 x 9.5 cm. The print is monochrome, but the halo of the divinity has been hand colored in yellow, the flesh in pink.

2. Copperplate depicting the Visitation. From Geronimo Nadal, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Anvers: Martin Nutius, 1915; no. 71). One vol., 35 x 24.5 cm. It is known from a letter of Matteo Ricci that a copy of this work was in the hands of Emmanuel Diaz in south China in 1605.



3. The Visitation, expressed in the idiom of the Chinese woodcut. From Giuli Aleni, *Tianzhu Jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (Jinjiang: Jingjiaotang, 1637; no. 70). One fasc., 23.8 x 14 cm.

Oxford, Rostock, and Bern, and the well-known unique surviving edition of *Shuihuzhuan* (no. 55) now shared with Copenhagen and Stuttgart, Oxford having piously preserved a single leaf.

The section on the Jesuit press in China, "Impressions sino-européennes," again demonstrates the careful research that has been devoted to this exhibition, evident, for example in the placing of Ferreira's *Rosary* (no. 69) and Aleni's *Life of Christ* (no. 70) beside Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (no. 71), from whose fine copperplates the illustrations in the two Chinese works were largely derived. Among several block-printed works containing Latin script is Kangxi's "Red Decree" of 1716 (no. 74). Irritated by the failure of his two envoys to the papal court to return to China (the first had, in fact, been shipwrecked off Portugal), Kangxi announced that no missives from that quarter would be believed until the two envoys appeared in person, and lest there be any doubt about the seriousness of the matter, the decree was printed in Canton in Manchu, Chinese, and Latin, and a copy given to every European who left China. Copies of this document are now exceedingly rare, and it is worth adding to the four examples noted in the catalogue in Paris, London, Wolfenbüttel, and Stockholm a fifth in Oxford, which has recently been identified as a direct result of this exhibition.

There is a short section on the well-worn theme of imperial printing, "Des presses impériales," containing few surprises other than an exquisite Buddhist sutra that after being printed in silver, was then retouched in gold by hand in 1615 (no. 82). Sustaining the extraordinary interest of the exhibition to the end, the concluding section on color printing, "Impressions polychromes," presents some of the finest examples of this art that have ever been produced. For virtuosity of both design and execution, surely nothing could rival the so-called Kaempfer prints made in Suzhou in the late seventeenth century (nos. 99–102), or even the outstanding *nianhua* with which the exhibition closes (nos. 104, 105). Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet deserve special praise for recognizing the importance of the *Hushan shenggai* (no. 94), apparently unknown hitherto, but of outstanding quality and quite unlike most of the other late Ming or early Qing picture albums. The work includes twelve full-page scenes of Wushan in Hangzhou, which are predominantly of a subtle blue, articulated with black, reds, and yellows, and printed by the *taoban* technique. The way in which dimension is given to the rocks by varying the concentration of the block markings themselves rather than their inking has more in common with Western processes than the *douban*

4. From the *Hushan shenggai* (Hangzhou?, ca. 1620–1640?, no. 94). One of twelve illustrations from a set of forty-eight detached leaves, incomplete. Printed in color by the *taoban* technique. Blue predominates, with the roofs printed in black, the lattices of the gate in red, and some of the garments in yellow.

shadings of the Ten Bamboo and Mustard Seed albums, which produce a quite different effect. A work of the same name from Peking Library was exhibited in Machida in 1988;[3] the edition is different, and though similar in style and execution, appears to be altogether inferior in quality to that of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The provenance of Chinese books in European libraries is of intrinsic interest, and is duly supplied for each item in the catalogue. Only a minority of the exhibits reached the Bibliothèque Nationale through the agency of the Jesuits, who are often wrongly credited with being solely responsible for the excellence of that library's historic Chinese holdings. Throughout this exhibition one is aware of the towering presence of Paul Pelliot: as many as one-third of the items displayed were acquired by him, whether from Dunhuang or through judicious and informed purchasing in Peking and other places, including such enormous works as the *Zhengtong daozang* (nos. 15, 44) and the original edition of *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (85). It would be interesting to have heard a little more on the subject of provenance, particularly concerning such named donors as Atherton Curtis, who gave such a large percentage of the fine illustrated editions.

For those who approach the Chinese book for the first time, *Impressions de Chine* is a valuable introduction to both printing itself and what is printed. Equally, the specialist will find much that is new in the pages of the catalogue, which has been conscientiously researched and beautifully printed with the support of the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation, and should take its place on the shelves of any serious student of Chinese bibliography. The catalogue may also serve as a guide to one of Europe's most outstanding collections of old Chinese books until it is possible to follow the excellent example of the Gest Library itself, and find some means of offering the republic of letters a complete catalogue of the entire collection compiled according to sound modern principles.

Notes

1. Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992).
2. Thomas F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (2d edn.; New York: Roland, 1955); Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Written on Bamboo and Silk* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

3. *Chūgoku kodai hangaten: Chūgoku hanga 2000 nen ten dai 3 bu Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijitsukan* (Machida: Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijitsukan, 1988), p. 248.

Glossary

Bencao 本草
Chengshi moyuan 程氏墨苑
douban 饙版
Dunhuang 敦煌
Guanyin 觀音
Hangzhou 杭州
Huang Peilie 黃丕烈
Hushan shenggai 湖山勝概
Kangxi 康熙
Lienüzhuan 烈女傳
Ming 明
nianhua 年畫
Qinding gujin tushu jicheng 欽定古今圖書集成
Qing 清
Shuihuzhuan 水滸傳
Song 宋
Suzhou 蘇州
Tang Taizong 唐太宗
taoban 套版
Wenquanming 溫泉銘
Wushan 吳山
Yuan 元
Zhengtong daozang 正統道藏
Zhuangzi 莊子

News and Notes:
For the Friends of the Gest Library

Report on the International Advisory Committee Meeting of the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project

The first International Advisory Committee (IAC) meeting of the current Phase III of the Chinese Rare Books Project (CRBP) was held at Princeton University, March 4–5. As stated, the purpose of the meeting was to address the issues of standards and cataloguing as they relate to CRBP, as well as to review and advise on the past performance and future direction of the project. The previous IAC meeting, held in Washington, D.C., in 1989, had laid a viable foundation for the project that resulted in the compilation of a set of draft cataloguing guidelines. It was gratifying that several original members of the committee were able to continue their participation.

The current IAC membership is comprised of eleven outstanding specialists from the fields of scholarship and librarianship. They are: Peter Chang, deputy director of the National Palace Museum (Taipei); Cui Jian-ying, head of Special Collections of the Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (Beijing); Jane Hwang, former curator of Chinese collections of the Bavarian State Library (Munich); Tai-loi Ma, head of the University of Chicago East Asian Library; Frederick Mote, professor emeritus, Princeton University (absent); Susan Naquin, professor, University of Pennsylvania; Beatrice Chang Ohta, head of the Chinese Section of the Regional and Cooperative Cataloguing Division of the Library of Congress; Shen Naiwen, head of the Rare Book Cataloguing Group of the Peking University Library; Lynn Struve, professor, Indiana University (absent); Tsuen-hsiun Tsien, professor emeritus, the University of Chicago and former head of the East Asian Library (absent); Chi Wang, head of the Chinese Section of the Asian Division of the Library of Congress (absent).

Five others were appointed to participate in the IAC meeting as special observers: Karen Smith-Yoshimura, director of the Research Libraries Group (RLG) Library and Bibliographic Services; Iping King Wei, head of technical services of the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University; Charles Wu, head of technical services of the Starr East Asian Library of Columbia University; Martin Heijdra, Chinese bibliographer of the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University; Fran Lafleur, Chinese bibliographer of the Starr East Asian Library of Columbia University (absent). Organizers of the conference, also participating, were the staff of the Central

Editorial Office (CEO) of the project: Sören Edgren, editorial director; Cao Shuwen, Chinese rare book cataloguer; Xu Hui, project assistant.

Many of the participants arrived on Wednesday, March 3, and took advantage of the opportunity to attend a public lecture by Peter Chang entitled "Rare Book Collections in Taiwan." (Chang had been in Princeton for the previous week serving as special consultant to the project.) On Thursday morning, March 4, the conference began with an introductory meeting at the Firestone Library's Taylor Room, where a book exhibition entitled "Chinese Woodblock Books and Edition Discrimination" had been mounted by the CEO. Karen Smith-Yoshimura offered an overview of the project to date and discussed prospects for the future. Sören Edgren and Cao Shuwen spoke on some bibliographic and cataloguing aspects of the project and how the CEO deals with various inherent problems. After a break for lunch at Prospect House, the remaining three meetings took place in the East Asian Studies Seminar Room in Jones Hall. The agenda for the final sessions was based on the contents of the recently revised (February 1993) "Cataloguing Guidelines (Draft)," a copy of which each participant had received in advance. The guidelines had previously been revised by the CEO in March 1992. The afternoon session consisted of a review of the project to date with comments on existing on-line records and a general critique of the guidelines as a whole. An important aspect of the project's mandate is the production of a suitable document to be submitted to the appropriate committee of the American Library Association (ALA) for acceptance as a "standard" for the on-line cataloguing of Chinese rare books. In order to be able to submit the "Cataloguing Guidelines (Draft)" to the ALA by early summer 1993, it was deemed necessary to review the guidelines thoroughly; therefore, the final two working sessions of the IAC meeting on Friday, March 5, were devoted to a point by point discussion of the contents. Both sessions on Friday were intense and fruitful, largely because of the participants' ability to concentrate on specific issues and avoid generalities. All disputed points were resolved through open debate and consensus, and all agreed that any personal compromises were made for the benefit of improving both the quality and quantity of Chinese rare book records yet to be produced by the CEO. After a hard day's work, the IAC meeting officially closed with a reception in the Taylor Room hosted by the Princeton University librarian, Donald Koepp.

After the departure of the conference participants, the staff of the CEO immediately set out to implement the recommended revisions. It had been decided that a rough draft of the revised guidelines should be sent out to the participants by the first of April, with the firm requirement that replies and comments be delivered to the CEO no later than April 15. To the great credit of the participants all their comments were received by the deadline. Numerous minor revisions and other adjustments were made to the document, and the latest revision of the "Cataloguing Guidelines (Draft)" of the RLG Chinese Rare Books Project was completed on May

6, with the intention of submitting it to the ALA Committee on Cataloguing: Description and Access at the annual meeting in June. In the meantime, the CEO is engaged in revising our Chinese-language edition of the guidelines to reflect the many changes that resulted from the International Advisory Committee meeting in March.

Sören Edgren

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.