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From the Editor

A NEW EDITOR

I am pleased to be able to announce that the *East Asian Library Journal* has a new editor. Starting with volume eight, number one, Sören Edgren will assume that post. Dr. Edgren was first introduced to the readers of our journal as a contributor to the special (Winter 1992) issue *East Asian Women: Materials and Library Research*, and he has written three other articles for us, the fourth of which appears in this issue. Dr. Edgren also serves as the editorial director of the Research Libraries Group Chinese Rare Books Project, and we are all looking forward to the energy and skill he will bring to this task.

Working with Dr. Edgren and the advisory board will be a newly created editorial board. Its members include Professors Martin Collcutt, Susan Naquin, and Willard Peterson, as well as Dr. Martin Heijdra.

Dr. Edgren's first issue will contain a major contribution on Chinese book binding and the restoration of old Chinese books. To coincide with its publication in the spring of 1995, the Friends of the Gest Library are planning an exhibition, to be held at Princeton. The exhibition has as its working title "Traditional Chinese Books: Form, Format, and Function." Further information will go out to all members of the Friends and to subscribers to the *East Asian Library Journal* in due course.

VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY

From January 1993 to March 1994, the Gest Library welcomed 107 visitors, including publishers, researchers, librarians, and professors. Forty were from the United States, 28 from Japan, 25 from China, 7 from Taiwan, 4 from Korea, and 1 each from Holland, Germany, and India.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Timothy Brook is associate professor of history at the University of Toronto. A specialist on imperial and modern China, he received his doctorate from Harvard University. Professor Brook has engaged in extensive travel, study, and research in China. Among his numerous publications, the most recent are *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement* (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1992), and *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993). He is now involved in research on the collaboration between the Chinese local elite and the Japanese occupying forces during the Sino-Japanese war from the 1930s to the 1940s.

Sugihashi Takao is professor of Japanese history, Department of Letters, Ritsumeikan University. He received both his master's and doctoral degrees from Kyoto University. After graduation in 1974, Professor Sugihashi was appointed to a teaching position in Kyoto University, where he worked until 1977. The next year he joined Ritsumeikan University as associate professor of Japanese history, and was promoted to full professor in 1989. Professor Sugihashi's research covers a broad scope, ranging from legal history and ancient documents to the local histories of many cities. He has numerous publications to his credit. Among the most recent is *Source Materials: A History of Kyoto (Shiryō: Kyoto no rekishi)* (Tokyo: Heibunsha, 1991), of which he is one of the co-authors. Professor Sugihashi is no stranger to Princeton. From October 1988 to March 1989, he was a visiting fellow at the Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University.

Professor Sugihashi's article for this issue of the journal has been translated into English by Ronald K. Frank, visiting associate professor of Japanese history, Old Dominion University. A German national, Professor Frank was educated at Leningrad and Humboldt universities. He conducted postdoctoral research at the University of Tokyo and Harvard University. A specialist on Japanese legal history, Professor Frank is preparing a monograph entitled "A Comparative Analysis in Sengoku Law," which will be published by Harvard University Press.

So Kee Long is lecturer at the Department of History, Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). He received his B.A. and M.Phil from CUHK. In 1979, he was awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship to pursue doctoral studies at Australian National University. Before joining CUHK in 1993, Dr. So taught at the Department of Chinese Studies, National University, for more than five years. He has two books in Chinese to his credit: *Studies in the Historical Geography of T'ang-Sung South Fujian* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1991) and "Studies in the Law and Political Institutions of T'ang and Sung China" (forthcoming). He is also the author of more than a dozen articles in both Chinese and English. These articles deal with Chinese historical geography, political institutions, socioeconomic history, legal history, and China's relations with the West.

Sören Edgren is the editorial director of the Research Libraries Group Chinese Rare Books Project which is located in the Gest Library, Princeton University. Dr. Edgren received his doctorate in sinology from the University of Stockholm. A specialist on Oriental books, Dr. Edgren has contributed three other articles to the *East Asian Library Journal*: "The *Ching-ying hsiao-sheng* and Traditional Illustrated Biographies of Chinese Women," which appeared in the special issue (Winter 1992) *East Asian Women: Materials and Library Research*; "Comments on Professor Cui's Articles" in the Spring 1993 issue; and "I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection" in the Winter 1993 issue. Dr. Edgren's scholarly activities and achievements were presented to the readers in greater detail in the special issue.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Upon the publication of the 1994 autumn issue of the journal, the last for which I serve as editor, I would like to acknowledge my heartfelt gratitude toward those who have rendered me timely and unfailing support, without which editing an academic journal would have been an impossible task for me. I am particularly indebted to Professor Mote. His devotion to excellence in scholarship has maintained a high academic standard for the journal, and his sensitivity to the new trends in modern scholarship has constantly provided new guidance to the journal. It has been a great experience working with and learning from him. Barbara Westergaard, manuscript editor, and Judith Waterman, designer of the journal, are two great colleagues whose efforts have made the smooth operation of the journal possible. Since I accepted a teaching position in Toronto in 1990 and then in Singapore in 1993, a major part of the daily business of the journal has been managed by Ms. Westergaard. Thanks to Ms. Waterman's efforts, the journal has been successfully transformed from a publication using type-setting technology to one employing advanced computing software. This transformation has substantially reduced publication costs, and thus put the journal on a sounder financial basis. Last but not least my gratitude is due to Antony Marr, curator of the Gest Library, and Mrs. Kim Soowon, Japanese and Korean bibliographer. Their help and cooperation have made it possible for the journal to keep its readers abreast of the major news and activities in the library.

A NOTE ON THE NEW COVER

Many readers have commented on the new design of the *East Asian Library Journal* cover. The material represented on the cover is a silk brocade typical of those used for Chinese book and album covers in the Ch'ing period (1644-1911). Our example is derived from a photograph of the boards of an album of nineteenth-century paintings in the collection of F. W. Mote.

Mapping Knowledge in the Sixteenth Century: The Gazetteer Cartography of Ye Chunji

TIMOTHY BROOK

When a county magistrate of the late Ming or Qing arrived to take up a new post, he faced the daunting task of quickly mastering sufficient knowledge of his new jurisdiction to be able to govern effectively. Huang Liuhong's well-known handbook for magistrates compiled in the 1690s advised that, on assuming office, magistrates read the local gazetteer. "When the magistrate makes a thorough study of the local gazetteer, he will be able to have a clear picture of its geographical layout, the amounts and rates of taxation, and the vital statistics and degree of prosperity of its population. This information is indispensable in planning his administration."¹

Ye Chunji, a Guangdong provincial graduate (*juren*) of 1552 who pursued a modest career as a local official in the last third of the sixteenth century, would have given the same advice.² When Ye arrived in the coastal Fujian county of Huian in 1570 (or possibly 1571) to take up the second posting of his career, and his first magistracy, he immediately went looking for the local gazetteer. He was fortunate in finding copies of four: the 1530 and 1566 editions of the Huian County gazetteer (*Huian*

xianzhi), and the 1525 and 1568 editions of the gazetteer of Quanzhou (*Quanzhou fuzhi*), the prefecture in which Huian was located.

That Huian should be chronicled in two county and two prefectural gazetteers as early as 1570 is only mildly remarkable. By the late Ming, the local gazetteer had become well established as the dominant genre for recording geographical, historical, and biographical data of significance to the public life and administration of a county. The genre began to take form in the Tang, and underwent a measure of standardization in the Yuan after the government issued compilation guidelines in 1296.³ Not all the conventions that came to govern how a gazetteer compiler should organize his material were fully in place even in the Ming dynasty, however. That process would continue into the first century of the Qing. Nonetheless, the gazetteer by the late Ming had become a recognizable genre, communicating local knowledge within general categories. Situated between the pre-Ming formative phase and post-Ming formalization, the sixteenth century may be regarded as the period when gazetteers universalized, for this was when the first editions of gazetteers for most counties and prefectures in China, as well as many mountains and monasteries, were produced.⁴ Magistrates liked to sponsor their publication, and scholars with an interest in local geography and history considered gazetteers, and not just those of their own locale, worth owning.

Of the four gazetteers available to him, Ye found the 1530 *Huian xianzhi* most useful for learning about conditions in the county, even though it suffered for being forty years out of date.⁵ The prefectural gazetteers simply borrowed their data from the county gazetteers, and the 1566 edition of the county gazetteer is basically a straight reprint. It was therefore on the 1530 *Huian xianzhi* that Ye relied for his best data. The man responsible for this gazetteer was Zhang Yue (1492–1553). Zhang would become Huian County's most prominent native son of the sixteenth century, serving incorruptibly and energetically in office. At home to observe mourning in the late 1520s, Zhang took on the task of compiling the county's first gazetteer. He not only oversaw the project but wrote substantial portions of the text, which helps to account for this being one of the most nicely written of mid-Ming gazetteers.

Ye Chunji was fortunate in having a good gazetteer to use “in planning his administration,” yet he soon began to discover disturbing imprecisions and gaps in knowledge. The disturbance may have been in part a matter of his Confucian commitment to complete knowledge, but it was not purely that. What drove him to probe, and later emend, the errors in the textual record was his equally Confucian commitment to statecraft, which in post-Wang Yangming days regarded perfect action as predicated on perfect knowledge, and the impairment of knowledge as in turn causing the impairment of action. We read in the 1573 preface that the eminent Fujian writer and expert on border affairs, Guo Zaoqing, wrote for Ye’s *Huian zhengshu* (Administrative records of Huian County) that what first distressed Ye was that Zhang’s gazetteer had no maps. Ye does not say whether he went to the gazetteer to get maps that he could use for administrative purposes, or whether the discovery that there were none made him realize that he needed accurate maps to carry out his duties. Whichever was the case, the absence of maps inspired in him a lifelong absorption in the problem of recording precise geographical knowledge.

Ye’s more immediate response in 1570 was to decide that the drawing of maps for Huian had to be among his first priorities as magistrate. Shortly after taking up his post, Ye called together a council of thirty-odd “local elders” to discuss county affairs. At this first meeting he put the project of drawing maps before them.⁶ They agreed to carry out the task, but the results were not what he had hoped for. The process of getting good maps, he discovered, would be more complicated than issuing a simple order.

When I arrived at the county, I first ordered the elders to map their local areas. . . . When the elders’ maps were submitted, they did not tally [with each other]. Just at this time, Guo Zaoqing, a native of the province, visited me on his way up to the border. I showed him their maps, and he questioned me sharply about their accuracy before departing. After examining the prefectural and county gazetteers, I believed what Guo had said [about their inaccuracy] and ordered clerks to take compasses and go over

them three or four times. Only after a year's work were the maps finished. Meanwhile I collated the discrepancies regarding mountains, rivers, and administrative boundaries [in the gazetteers, which generated] rather excessive documentation. When Guo returned and saw my notebooks, he said, "Every gazetteer compiler gives a different story. If you don't write a text [to accompany the maps], who will realize that the present version is the one free of errors?"⁷

Thus was Ye prompted to produce his own idiosyncratic variation on the local gazetteer genre, which he entitled *Administrative Records of Huian County*. The manuscript was completed in 1573 and is current to that year. The sole existing copy appears to be the version printed as *juan* three to seven in the 1672 re-edition of Ye's collected works, *Shidong wenji*, held at the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo.⁸

Maps were the inspiration for Ye's work, and would prove to be his most significant contribution to the production of geographical knowledge in the late Ming. By restoring the map as the core mode of organizing knowledge of place, Ye was returning, unconsciously it seems, to the Han-dynasty practice of recording geographical information on cadastral survey maps. It was this practice that led to the development of books of maps (known variously as *tuji*, *tujing*, and *tuzhi*) in the Sui and Tang, sometimes running over a hundred *juan*.⁹ Out of these atlases (books of maps explained by appended texts) grew gazetteers (books of texts illustrated by maps). This shift in the representation of knowledge from visual to textual was undertaken presumably because of a need to record types of knowledge with greater descriptive precision than a visual summary allowed.

Precise knowledge of the status or quantity of things (such as land, crops, taxes) came to outweigh precise knowledge of their location relative to other things. In gazetteers after the Tang, location would be generalized, and maps accordingly reduced to simple pictures. By the Song, the term "*tu*" disappears from gazetteer titles (except when adopted as a conscious archaism), and the efforts expended on creating the maps in gazetteers decrease. The maps inserted in the prefatory material

of Ming gazetteers are mostly pictorial summaries rather than exact renderings of precise knowledge of spatial dimensions and relationships. The reader would be hard pressed to extract from such maps information about where places actually were or how one could get from one place to another.

Although maps lost their primacy as a mode of organizing local knowledge in Ming gazetteers, they were revitalized by imperial fiat early in the Ming dynasty as a format for organizing fiscal knowledge of land at the village level. In 1387, the Hongwu emperor, displeased with the persisting evasion of fiscal registration by wealthy households, ordered his tax captains to compile booklets of maps for their areas showing the boundaries and ownership of all agricultural land. Every plot was to be paced out and measured.¹⁰ The resulting Fish-Scale Registers (*yulin tuce*), so called because the pattern of plots on the maps looked like fish scales, may not have been topographically precise, but inasmuch as they were created for tax purposes, it would have been in most landowners' interest to see that the boundaries were carefully surveyed and exactly recorded, lest one find himself due for taxes on someone else's land, or unable to verify ownership of his own. The drawing of the Fish-Scale Registers for every village in China was possibly the most exhaustive mapping program in China prior to the twentieth century.

Little otherwise appears to have happened in the field of cartography during the Ming prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Then that too was revitalized when the Jiangxi Neo-Confucian Luo Hongxian (1504–1564) revived and developed the grid system for drawing maps. Luo was one of the leading Wang Yangming scholars of the mid-sixteenth century. Like Wang, he was a man of action, though his exclusion from the civil service between 1541 and 1558 meant that he could not act out his sense of social responsibility through the usual channels of officialdom. Undaunted, he worked instead on local and regional problems in an informal, advisory capacity. His work included resurveying local lands to enable his county magistrate to adjust inequitable tax burdens, organizing defenses of the county seat during bandit attacks, and compiling information to help regional officials defend the coast during the piracy surge at mid-century. His experience with land surveys, combined with his

recognition that national defense required precise knowledge of coastal and border areas, led him to map making, and to the revival of the grid system.

The grid system is an isometric projection in which territory is mapped according to equal squares, each square in the grid representing the same distance on the ground. It is conventionally attributed to Pei Xiu (224–271), although the earliest surviving example of grid mapping is an 1136 reduction of a map by Jia Dan (730–805). This map, *Yuji tu* (Map of the vestiges of Yu), depicts all of China on a grid of uniform squares. It bears the inscription “each [side of a] square is equal to a ground distance of one hundred *li*” (*meifang zhe di baili*).¹¹ In the Yuan dynasty, Zhu Siben (1273–1337) devoted a decade to composing a national map of China using this grid system. His *Yudi tu* (Map of the terrestrial realm), considered to be the most accurate cartographic rendering of China to that time, did not substantially alter Chinese cartographic practice until Luo Hongxian, after three years of searching, found a manuscript copy. Luo reports that the original, a chart seven feet (*chi*) square, was drawn according to “the method of counting *li* and dividing into squares” (*jili huafang zhi fa*). What Luo did was to use the grid method himself to convert this great chart into a book of forty-five regional and provincial maps: not a universal map of China but a universal collection of regional maps. *Guangyu tu* (Enlarged terrestrial atlas) was first published in 1555. The book was well received and went through at least five editions over the next quarter-century (1558, 1561, 1566, 1572, and 1579). It became the standard for all subsequent cartographers of China, including Matteo Ricci, who relied on the 1579 edition to draw the Chinese portion of his 1584 map of the world.¹²

Ye Chunji had already acquainted himself with Luo Hongxian’s cartography before he took up his post in Huian County. In fact, he was acquainted with Luo himself. During the 1550s while studying for the provincial examinations, Ye traveled with friends up to Jiangxi and met Luo several times.¹³ Luo’s seriousness of purpose and his scholarly interest in administrative geography impressed Ye, who came to regard Luo as his intellectual mentor. When in the 1570s after Luo’s death (and his own temporary banishment from public life) Ye chose the studio name Shidong (Stone Grotto), he may have done so to publicize his relationship to Luo,

who at a similar stage in his career withdrew to his retreat-cum-school, Shilian Dong (Stone Lotus Grotto). There is no evidence that Luo personally instructed the junior visitor from Guangdong in the craft of making maps. It seems likelier that Ye, impressed with Luo, took up the study of his mentor's work and taught himself.

Repeated references through the first two chapters of *Administrative Records* display his familiarity not just with Luo's method but with other recent work in cartography. He cites the remarkable atlas of the northern regions, *Jiubian tulun* (Maps and commentaries on the nine border regions), which Xu Lun (1495–1566) completed in 1534, presented to the Jiajing emperor in 1537, and published in 1538. Luo Hongxian relied on the *Jiubian tulun* for his renderings of the northern border areas and may have been responsible for introducing the work to Ye.¹⁴ Ye also refers to a book by a man surnamed Li entitled *Yudi tuxu* (Maps and descriptions of the terrestrial realm), also of the Jiajing era (1522–1566), but apparently no longer extant.¹⁵ He learned much studying both books, he says, yet neither had the level of practical detail that set Luo's maps apart from all the other cartographic work available to him.

Using Luo's method to draw a county map was not a straightforward matter, however. Luo himself had never applied his method on this scale, and his atlas did not go below the county level. He had revived the grid system only with a view to systematizing existing cartographical knowledge at the county level and above. What Ye did was to take Luo's method below the county level and develop a technology of drawing accurate local maps on the basis of on-the-ground surveys. In his preface to *Administrative Records*, Guo Zaoqing draws attention to this innovation, which is Ye's great, and hitherto neglected, contribution to Ming cartography: precise mapping at the local level.¹⁶

Ye's order to the elders to draw up local maps specifies that they were to use the grid method he had taken from Luo's atlas. As noted, the project did not produce satisfactory results. Possibly Ye left the application of Luo's principles to the local elders to figure out. If so, it seems that they met his request in good bureaucratic fashion: that is, they simply sketched preexisting drawings or maps of their areas onto the grid to give the appearance of having used it, rather than actually surveying their areas by grid square and transcribing the results onto the larger grid.

Ye's second attempt "to apply Luo's ingenious method to my county" was done under close supervision.¹⁷ He recruited "the well-read among the scholars junior to me" to help compile documents for the project, then explained to them the grid method so that they could help work on the maps.¹⁸ Then he mobilized local elders and village leaders to help with drawing maps at the level of the *lijia* hundred (*li*). Altogether 155 local maps were made. Ye then took these and used them as raw material for constructing maps of every township (*du*). In southeast China, the township was the principal administrative unit between the county and the village.¹⁹ Huian had had thirty-four townships earlier in the Ming; by the sixteenth century, seven had been amalgamated to others, for a total of twenty-seven.

To draw his township maps, Ye set up working grids, whose dimensions he established through the following calculations: According to the 1530 gazetteer, Huian was 90 *li* by 80 *li* in size (Ye later found these figures to be incorrect). There were twenty-seven townships plus the county seat, so he rounded the number of subunits up to thirty and divided the total area of the county (7,200 square *li*) by that number, which yielded an average township size of 240 square *li*. Since a township was likelier to be oblong than square, he could not make do with a grid whose side was simply the square root of 240. To allow for irregular shapes, he chose instead to divide the total area by ten and set up a grid that was 24 *li* on each side. At 1 *li* per square, his drafting board for each township map was 24 squares across and 24 squares down: a total grid of 576 squares. These he would truncate or add to as the need arose.²⁰ Following this method, Ye produced the twenty-nine maps that appear in *Administrative Records*: a map of the entire county, an urban map of the county seat, and twenty-seven township maps.²¹

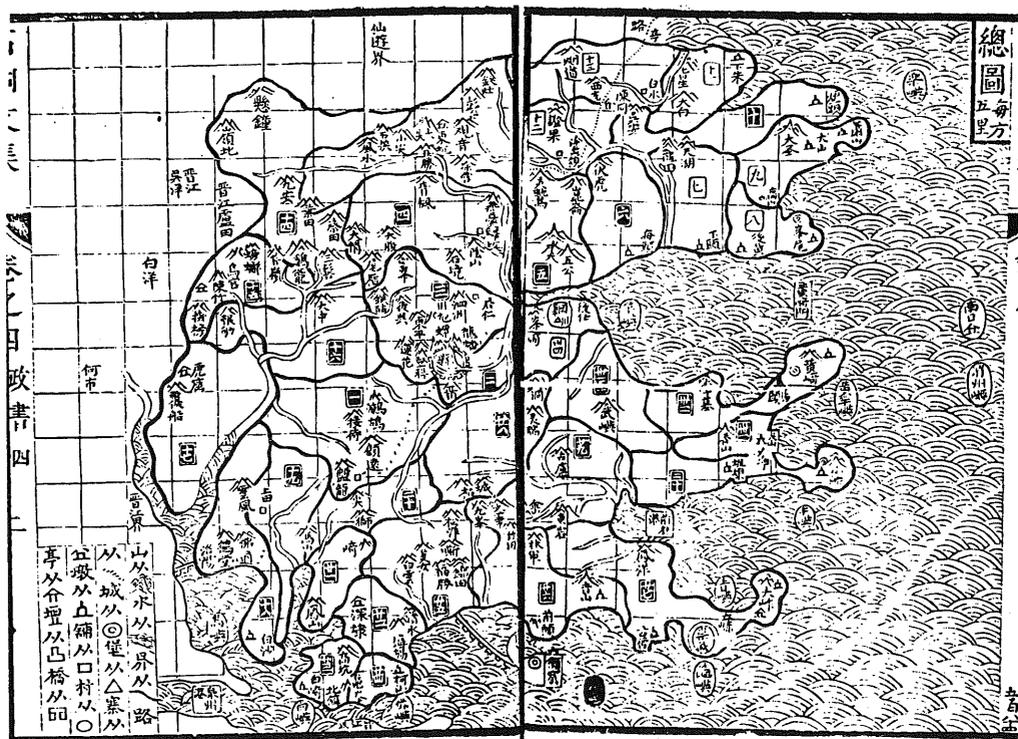
Printing his maps of townships of different shapes and sizes on pages that were all one size posed Ye's next problem. He could not simply draw them all to the same scale and hope to produce maps of uniform size. Ye had to vary the scale for each map, but he did so not by putting them on grids of different scales, but by reducing or expanding the size of the squares on paper. The squares on the printed maps will thus be found to range in size from 0.7 cm. to 5 cm. What remains constant, for all but two maps, is the distance that one square in the grid represents.

With two exceptions, every map bears the notation: “[the length of the edge of] every square is one *li*” (*meifang yili*). As Ye phrased his method, “The grid of squares (*fangce*) has to be filled (*biying*)” uniformly at the same rate, but the size of the grid did not have to be the same on every map.²² The two exceptions to this uniform variable scale are the map of Townships #14–17, which uses a scale of two *li* per square, and the county map, drawn to a scale of five *li* per square.

Ye Chunji states that his goal in making these maps was to compile a precise record of topographical features and settlements.²³ Yet he did not choose to produce an atlas. He recognized from the start that certain categories of administratively useful information, such as the amount of arable land, were difficult to represent visually. Thus, despite the importance of his maps, his goal was not simply to produce a book of maps, but to use maps as one technology among several to organize knowledge efficiently. Rather than try to produce adequately detailed cadastral maps, he chose instead to append knowledge in two other formats. A one-page text summarizing the main characteristics of the township precedes each map, and five charts (*biao*) follow it: human settlements and structures (post houses, villages, altars, pavilions, schools), *lijia* household categories, population figures (by male and female, adult and child), arable land, and taxes. As he did for the maps, Ye compiled these charts working from actual data collected by his junior associates rather than using material on file in the county office. (One of his discoveries when he assumed office was that the county’s records had not been revised for forty years — in other words, since the time when Zhang Yue compiled the 1530 gazetteer.)²⁴ The data are current to 1573.²⁵

The grid design of the charts makes them as easy to consult as the maps. And the charts follow the same format for every township, again like the maps — a point that Ye himself notes.²⁶ Ye thus treats knowledge about different places as no longer specific to where it occurs. He has standardized it into a single, infinitely repeatable form which can nonetheless be perfectly adapted to circumstances by modulating the mesh and scale of the grid on the maps and the size of the blanks on the charts.

The first map in the book, which shows the entire county (see illustration 1), is on a grid of three hundred squares using a scale of five *li* per square. Like all the other maps in the book, the county map is



1. Map of Huian County. From Ye Chunji, *Huian zhengshu* 4, pp. 1b–2a. This and the following three illustrations are reproduced from the 1672 edition of Ye Chunji's collected works, *Shidong wenji*, courtesy of the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.

precisely territorial: that is, it leaves the space beyond the boundaries of the territory it maps blank, except to indicate adjoining settlements or administrative jurisdictions. His attention to detail focuses in this map on the larger features of topography and boundaries. The boundaries appear on the county map as thick lines, and the township numbers are marked (in most cases) as white numbers in framed black rectangles. Determining township boundaries was the biggest difficulty he says he faced, especially in places where neither mountains nor rivers served as natural markers. In this task, the 1530 county gazetteer could be of surprisingly little use. It lists embankments, for instance, according to Song subcantons (*li*) rather than Ming townships.²⁷ Determining which natural feature or public works lay in which township required on-site surveys. Even then it could not finally be ascertained until township boundaries were set,



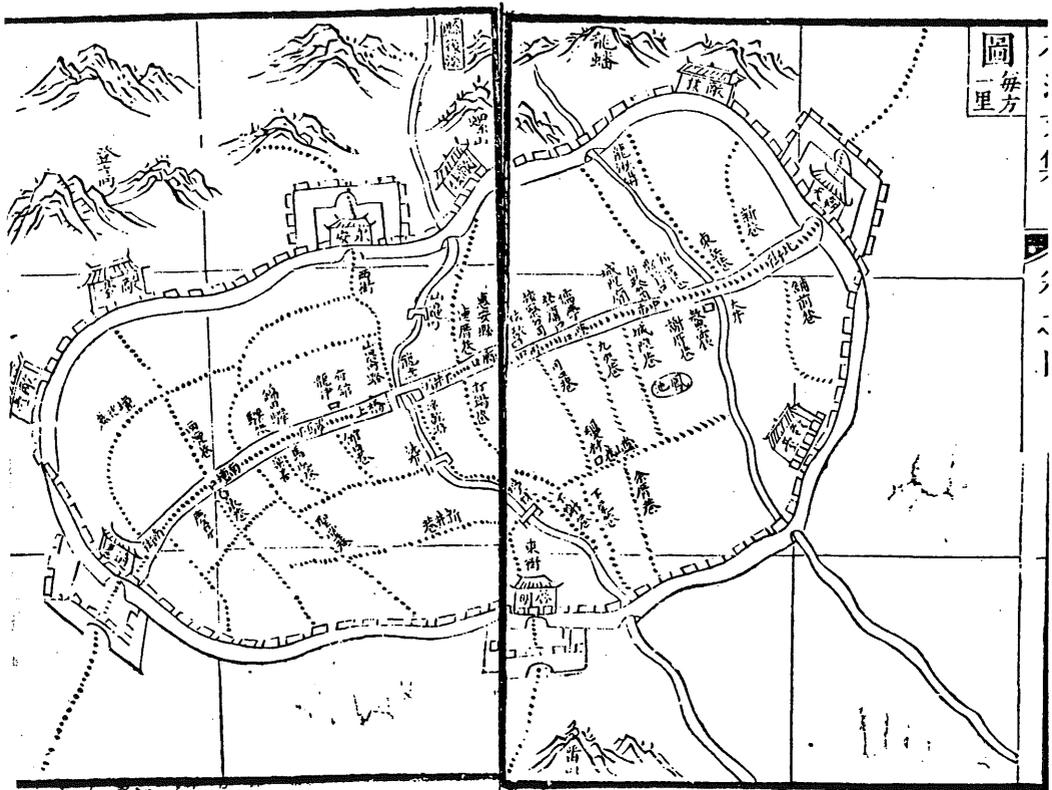
2. Legend on the map of Huian County. From *Huian zhengshu* 4, p. 2a.

since even local residents disputed about which pieces of territory fell within which township. Ye notes with regard to siting mountains that, by comparison, Luo Hongxian faced an easier task, since his national map shows only the five sacred mountains of China. Rivers were even more difficult to map, for whereas the actual shape and location of a mountain do not have to be indicated precisely when using the Chinese pictorial convention for mountains, the location of a river could not similarly be fudged. Its constantly turning course had to be got just right.²⁸

Most of the features Ye chose to put on the county map appear in the legend set in the lower left corner of the map (see illustration 2). Luo Hongxian had used symbols in his *Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas* and grouped these symbols together in a legend, but he put the legend in the book's preface, not on the map itself. Ye's map of Huian appears to be the first

Chinese map on which a legend appears in a blank area of the page. Only the first two entries in the legend, for mountains (*shan*) and rivers (*shui*), are pictorial; the rest are symbolic. Boundaries (*jie*) appear as thick lines, roads (*lu*) as broken lines, and city walls (*cheng*) as double encircling lines, although on the map the wall around the county seat is distinguished as a crenelated circle. The remaining eight symbols indicate structures: military camps (*bao*), stockades (*zhai*), beacons (*dun*), post houses (*pu*), villages (*cun*), pavilions (*ting*), altars (*tan*), and bridges (*qiao*). Some of the symbols Ye uses (such as those for stockades and beacons) come straight from Luo's legend. Others, like the empty rectangle, are redeployed: for a prefecture on Luo's maps, for a post house on Ye's. Yet others are of his own choosing. In actual fact, Ye's county map does not include all these structures, only the coastal beacons and post houses. The legend, which is not repeated on any of the township maps, is thus intended to serve for all the maps.

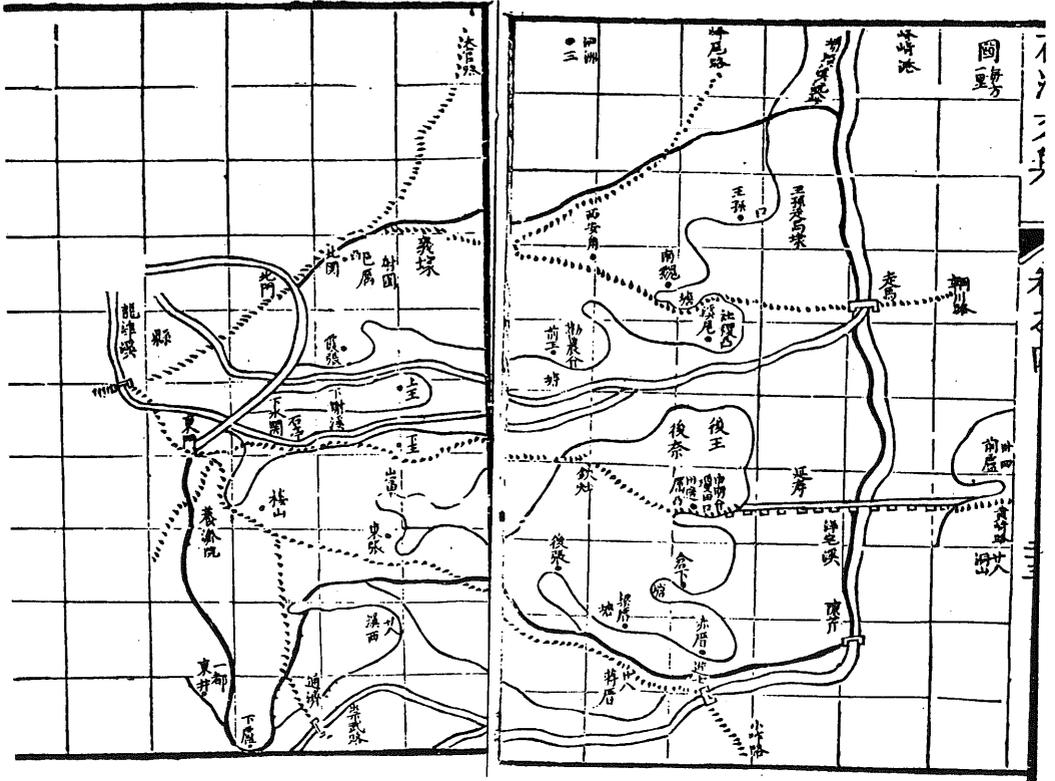
The next map in the book, of the county seat (illustration 3), was drawn on a grid of only twelve squares, each of which stood for one *li*. Perhaps because of the low scale, Ye felt free to employ conventional pictorial elements more extensively in this map than in his others, notably the crenelated city wall, the towers and protective outer walls of the city gates, and Phoenix Pond in the southeastern area of the town. Otherwise, he repeats the use of symbols given in the legend — with one variation: the open rectangle designating post houses (*pu*) is also used on the town map to mark police posts, which as it happens are also called *pu*. This map is unlike other county-seat maps in gazetteers in the detail it gives regarding the locations and names of the main streets, intersections, and public buildings in town, particularly the last. One could actually walk through the town with Ye's map in hand and find everything that is marked on it. Reading right to left down the main street running from the north gate of Chaotian to the south gate of Tonghui, one finds Aozhen Police Post on the south side of the street (just past Longqiu Sluice), then on the north side the main county post house (*xianqian [pu]*), the suboffice of the Provincial Administration Commission (*buzheng fensi*), the City God Temple (*chenghuang miao*), the county school (*ruxue*), Dengyong Police Post, the suboffice of the Provincial Surveillance Com-



3. Map of the Huian County seat. From *Huian zhengshu* 4, pp. 10b-11a.

mission (*ancha fensi*), and Xuange Police Post. Further west past the Longjin River, one finds the prefectural hostel (*fuguan*), Longjin Police Post, the county courier station known as Jintian Station, Leshan Police Post across the street, and, down near the south gate, Qingquan Police Post.

The map of Township #2 (see illustration 4) is drawn on a scale between the county and city maps. The ratio of the grid is 1 square per *li*, as in the city map, but the size of the township requires a much denser grid (of 120 squares) to accommodate its greater expanse. Township #2 lies immediately southeast of the county seat, the city wall of which is marked by the curving double lines on the left-hand side of the map. The land is reasonably flat and featureless, which means that the topography is defined by its rivers. Longjin River and Longqiu Sluice flow out of the



4. Map of Huian Township #2. From *Huian zhengshu* 4, pp. 23b–24a.

county seat left to right across the middle of the map and converge before reaching Yangkang River, which flows across the bottom of the map and joins its tributary halfway up the right-hand side. Around each river Ye has drawn a continuous thin line, which seems to indicate the river's spillway or flood plain. The meaning of this line is suggested by the depiction of Yanshou Bridge in the lower right-hand quadrant of the map. Unlike the four other bridges shown on the Yangkang River, Yanshou is shown not just spanning the riverbed but stretching from the line on one side of the river to the line on the other. This bridge, built in 1366, consisted of 129 arches and was over two-thirds of a kilometer in length:²⁹ a bridge designed to keep the east road open even when the river flooded. This use of lines to mark flood plains — contour lines gauged not to sea level but to the level of the river — is a feature I have seen on no other Ming map.

Besides rivers, bridges, and flood plains, the map displays many other categories of information: twenty villages (each marked by a black dot), three altars, three pavilions, two police posts, and a lock (*dai*). In addition, in the area of the township close to the county seat are marked such institutions as the school archery compound (*shepu*), the charitable cemetery (*yizhong*), and the hostel for the destitute (*yangji yuan*), though in each case the name appears without an accompanying symbol. The only institution listed in the charts for Township #2 but not shown on the map is schools, of which five are listed. There was certainly no precedent for marking schools on maps, and Ye apparently saw no purpose in starting one.

Where the map is particularly good is with regard to the two networks of roads leading out of the north and east gates of the county seat. The main official road (*da guanlu*) running out of the north gate soon forks, then further subdivides along its eastern branch. The road out of the east gate immediately divides into three, with a fourth route branching off from the southeastern road and heading due south. All are not only marked but named. Ye notes in his first chapter that he paid special attention to the marking of roads on his township maps, particularly to ensure that the point where a road is shown as exiting from one township is the same as the point where it crosses into the next.³⁰ Significantly, it was Luo Hongxian's failure to pay attention to roads on the maps of his *Enlarged Territorial Atlas* that earned him criticism from writers on topography in the seventeenth century.³¹ The same criticism could not be leveled at Ye.

It is well to bear in mind that what we are looking at are not manuscript maps, but printed maps. Ye does not reflect on problems that may have arisen in the course of transferring his hand-drawn maps to wood blocks. The sole reference to publishing appears in the preface, where he says that he entrusted the work of having the wood blocks cut to his friend Guo Zaoqing. One thing it is possible to determine is that the craftsman who engraved the map of Township #2 was not also the engraver of the county and town maps. The obvious visual clues are the difference in character styles between this and other township maps, the use of black dots rather than empty circles to locate villages, and the sharper hatching of the dotted road lines. Whether the different hand has

introduced more than stylistic ticks that materially alter (or distort) the character of the map requires a finer analysis than is possible working from photoreproductions.

The maps and their appended texts and charts constitute about two-thirds of *Administrative Records of Huian*. In terms of the chapter structure, however, they fill only the middle five of the twelve chapters or “administrative records” (*zhengshu*) into which the book is divided. Three chapters precede them. The first, “Questions on Maps and Annotations” (*Tuji wen*), is a series of twenty-eight questions and answers that lay out in some detail the difficulties entailed in record keeping and making. The second, “Investigations on Geography” (*Dili kao*), is a series of entries on mountains, rivers, bridges, and major buildings, in which Ye carefully notes discrepancies in previous gazetteers. His list of sites therein is not comprehensive, being restricted to those for which previous records are incorrect. The third, “Investigations on Cadastral Registers” (*Banji kao*), reads much like the chapter on county finances in any gazetteer. The last four chapters of the book are reports on four institutions that Ye, following in the tradition of Luo Hongxian,³² sponsored as magistrate: rural covenants (*xiangyue*), community rites (*lishe*), community schools (*shexue*), and mutual defense units (*baojia*).

Taken together, these twelve “administrative records” add up to something other than a regular county gazetteer. The book resists classification as a gazetteer, for four reasons. First of all, it highlights maps and charts over text to organize data. Second, it does not follow the customary arrangement of chapters, nor does it include such standard gazetteer information as records of former officials, lists of degree winners, biographies, and local writings. *Administrative Records* reads more like the first third of a gazetteer, and only then one in the making. Third, unlike most county gazetteers, *Administrative Records* does not aggregate all its data to the county level, but leaves much at the township level. In this way it is more localistic than the average county gazetteer. A fourth characteristic that sets the book apart is the presence of the compiler as narrator. Ye does not disappear behind the facade of objectivity that the gazetteer format provides, but shows himself at work, analyzing, organizing, advocating. His book is thus far more revealing about the processes that informed the creation of the book, and about the designing of the

maps, Ye's particular contribution to Ming cartography. The gazetteer format, it seems, is not what he wanted.

Ye was not entirely unique in choosing to compile an administrative record of Huian County rather than a gazetteer. Other Ming county magistrates, it seems, did the same, though few of their records have been preserved. The one whose work in this vein comes to mind is Ye's elder and more famous contemporary, Hai Rui (1513–1587). Hai's *Chun'an xian zhengshi* (Administrative affairs of Chun'an County), completed eleven years before Ye's *Administrative Records*, similarly discusses the tasks and procedures of local administration and does not aspire to be a complete account of the county.³³ By comparison with *Administrative Affairs of Chun'an*, *Administrative Records of Huian* stands slightly closer to the gazetteer genre because it focuses more on geographical knowledge and less on budgetary and judicial matters.

Like Hai Rui, Ye Chunji was a conscientious magistrate who used the knowledge he amassed and organized to administer the affairs of the county with a strict hand. He alleviated tax burdens that fell disproportionately on the poor, and sought to regulate county life better by revitalizing the *baojia* and rural covenant systems. These efforts were appreciated by the common people, but not by the local power holders. The biography of Ye in the Quanzhou prefectural gazetteer of 1763 observes that he did not defer to the powerful. While he was in office, they were obliged "to stay their hands and did not dare to break the law." But as Huang Lihong warned, a magistrate's "more clever and articulate enemies will criticize or even create trouble for him at the time of his departure."³⁴ Clearly, Ye's strict administration of county affairs made him enemies. When at the end of his tenure in Huian he received a promotion to a subprefectural magistracy in Sichuan, one of these enemies absconded with the official order for his transfer. Without it, Ye could not proceed to his new post, making him liable for punishment for desertion from duty.³⁵ Cornered effectively, Ye could do nothing but plead illness to his superiors and retire to Stone Grotto. The blow was not only vicious but effective. For failing to take up his post, Ye was banished from public life for twenty years.

Ye's forced retirement would have its benefits for scholarship, however, for it released his talents from administration and led him a

decade later to become active as a gazetteer compiler. When he wrote *Administrative Records of Huian*, he was not trying to compile a full gazetteer, but a gazetteer was reasonably the next stage to proceed to in summarizing and expanding the data on which he concentrated in this first experiment with local knowledge. In the 1580s, he compiled three gazetteers for places back in his native Guangdong: for Shunde County in Guangzhou Prefecture (*Shunde xianzhi*, 1585); for Yongan County in his home prefecture of Huizhou (*Yongan xianzhi*, 1586); and for Zhaoqing Prefecture (*Zhaoqing fuzhi*, 1588).³⁶ Although I have not had the opportunity to examine these gazetteers, they appear to adhere more closely to standing gazetteer conventions for organizing local geographical knowledge.³⁷

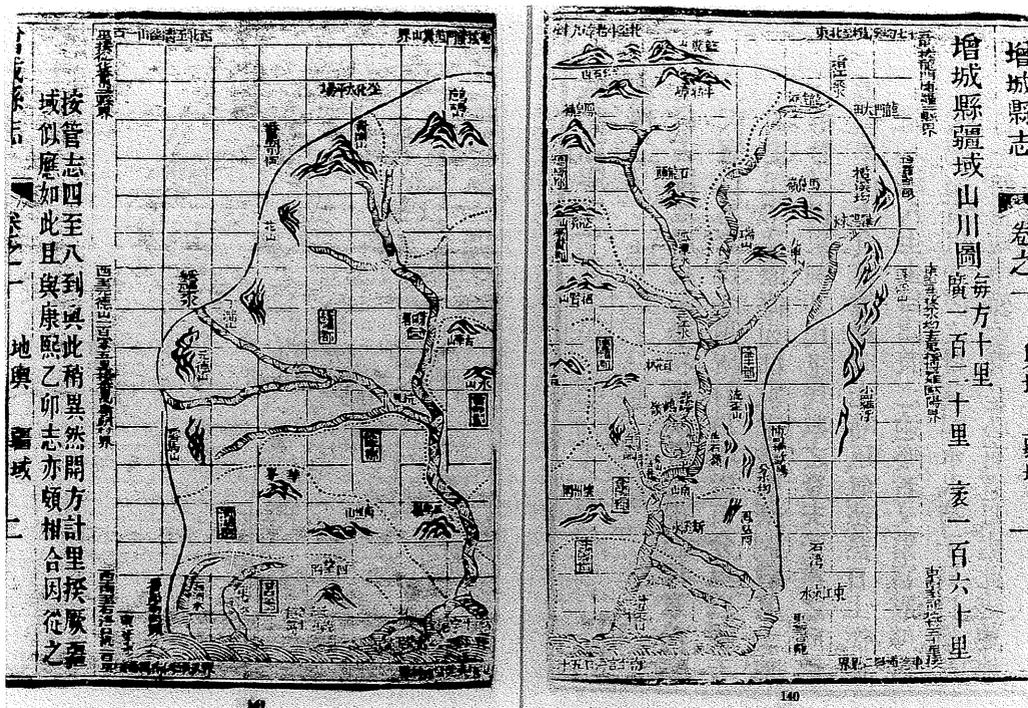
Ye's maps in *Yongan xianzhi* have already been examined closely by Bangbo Hu in a recent issue of this journal.³⁸ As in *Huian*, Ye used the grid system; he also generated his maps through surveys conducted by assistants who paced out the territory. To Hu's observations regarding the *Yongan* maps I wish only to add two evaluations of Ye's 1586 work, one negative and one positive. The negative evaluation is that the low scale and high detail that characterize *Administrative Records of Huian* have been compromised in the *Yongan* gazetteer. The gazetteer includes only four maps, one of the county and three of townships, compared to the twenty-nine in the *Huian* handbook. Furthermore, the scales of the *Yongan* maps are fifteen and twenty *li* per square, compared to a range of one to five *li* for the *Huian* maps. As a result, data like the contours of flood plains are not marked. One could also note with dismay that Ye has compromised the precise territoriality that distinguished his *Huian* maps, cluttering the spaces outside the county or townships with topographical features beyond their borders.

More positively, it deserves to be pointed out that Ye did not take on the task of mapping *Yongan* by simply repeating a formula he had worked out in *Huian*. This is apparent, for instance, when one compares the legends on the two sets of maps. The *Yongan* legend is not a copy of the *Huian* legend. Rather, Ye has reduced the number of symbols by two and changed the types of sites included in the legend, presumably to take account of the different institutions and terminology in inland Guangdong

as opposed to coastal Fujian. The principal symbols remain unaltered between the two legends, but two are put to different uses, and three new symbols are introduced. Ye has thus been flexible in adapting his work to the conditions he found. Local reality, in other words, had greater authority with him than his own precedents.

Ye Chunji's maps, with their legends and grid lines, have the seductive appearance of modern cartography. The similarities, at the time that Ye was drawing his maps, were accidental. The Chinese were unaware of the European cartographic practice of drawing lines to indicate latitude and longitude until Matteo Ricci printed his map of the world in 1584. Nor did they understand that the European grid of meridians and parallels was devised to produce a spherical rather than flat projection. Nonetheless, the coincidence may have had its impact. It is possible to speculate, for instance, that Ricci's grid echoed Luo Hongxian's atlas in such a way that Chinese readers were inclined to regard it with favor: the presence of a grid induced them to believe that this was a carefully made map. It is also possible that Ricci, ever alert for ways to bridge cultural differences with his Chinese audience, himself recognized the value of mapping on a grid precisely for this reason. After all, he understood Luo's atlas to be the best there was.

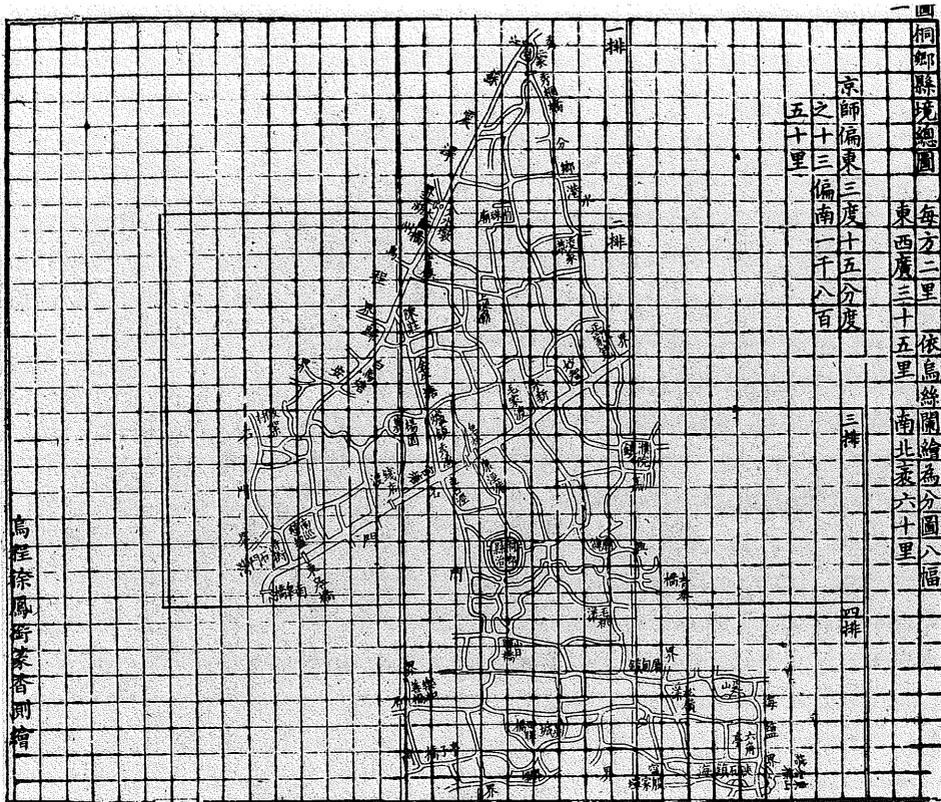
This brief moment of mutual misrecognition between Chinese and European cartography did not promote any change in Chinese practice. Despite the obvious strengths of Ye's method, gazetteer cartographers continued to make use of the older pictorial conventions for conveying spatial information. A casual survey of Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang gazetteers after Ye's time has turned up no grid maps of counties or townships before the nineteenth century. The earliest gazetteer where grid maps appear is of Zengcheng, Guangdong, and dates from 1820 (see illustration 5); others soon follow.³⁹ By the 1870s the grid method had spread up into the gazetteers of Fujian and Zhejiang,⁴⁰ and by the 1880s into Jiangsu and Hubei.⁴¹ As of the 1870s, however, Guangdong gazetteers begin to abandon the Chinese grid in favor of marking latitude and longitude.⁴² One of these, in fact, is the 1876 gazetteer of Zhaoqing Prefecture — for which Ye Chunji had compiled the 1588 edition. It is difficult to argue for any sort of internal influence between these two



5. Map of Zengcheng County, Guangdong. From *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1820 edn.) 1, pp. 1b–2a. This is the earliest Qing gazetteer map I have found for which the grid system was revived. The scale is ten *li* per square.

editions; indeed, none of the gazetteers that uses a grid makes reference to Ye Chunji's work.⁴³ Ye was the first to do what these nineteenth-century compilers have done, yet he was unknown to them.

The revival of the grid system was clearly a response to the arrival of Western maps in China, for the grid system gave Chinese maps a specious likeness to the much admired and more accurate maps from the West. The transitional nature of the revived Chinese grid is demonstrated in the 1887 gazetteer of Tongxiang County in Zhejiang (illustration 6), in which the cartographer has exploited the coincidence between Chinese and Western grids by drawing his maps on a Chinese grid while citing longitudinal position.⁴⁴ I suspect the grid system would never have been revived in the nineteenth century were it not for the apparent confirmation the method received from the outside. Its revival was also its demise, since the interest in making maps in the style of Ye Chunji



6. Map of the waterways of Tongxiang County, Zhejiang. From *Tongxiang xianzhi* (1887 edn.), *juan* 1. This map is noteworthy for being drawn according to the grid system (two *li* per square) but also being correlated to longitude: the caption inserted at the upper right states that the county is $3^{\circ} 15' 13''$ east of the capital. The caption is in error by one degree. Tongxiang is actually located one full degree further east. The caption provides no indication of latitude, noting only that Tongxiang is 1,850 *li* south of Beijing.

died as soon as Chinese cartographers were capable of drawing them according to Western methods. The grid method, in other words, provided a convenient, but quickly dismantled, bridge to European cartography.

Seen in academic terms, Ye Chunji's place in the history of Chinese cartography is unmistakably important. He applied Luo Hongxian's method at a level of detail Luo had never attempted, and he left behind in his writings rich accounts of the process by which he produced his maps. In practical terms, his impact was limited. In some part, this was because his work did not circulate widely. *Administrative Records of Huian*

was almost completely unknown, and his three gazetteers are quite rare. The greater part of his failure to alter Chinese map making was because there was no sense of demand for the quality of map he produced until a competing cartography arrived from Europe and cast non-grid methods into disrepute.

Ye's place in the history of the Chinese organization of geographical knowledge more broadly conceived is less easy to evaluate than his cartographic work. In a sense, *Administrative Records of Huian* was an impressive and innovative piece of work that did not go anywhere. It did not lead even Ye himself to generate new ways of organizing geographical knowledge when he went on to compile conventional gazetteers. The key factor, it seems, was Ye's point of view, which remained inextricably bound to administrative concerns. He did not compile or organize information for its own sake. He did so because he understood the value that precise information had for an official like himself "in planning his administration." A better map or a better compendium of documents contributed to better statecraft. But these needed to be bettered only to the extent that the precision with which certain categories of knowledge could be registered was improved. The best cartography and the best summaries of geographical knowledge in the latter half of the Ming dynasty may have been produced by men like Luo Hongxian and Ye Chunji who spent much of their careers out of office, but knowledge for the sake of statecraft, not for the sake of knowledge, was the object of their work. It would never have occurred to Ye Chunji to think of it in any other fashion. But then, it would never have occurred to him to produce the maps he did were he not in need of the type of knowledge to which he was bound.

Behind the administrative needs that shaped Ye's cartography, I would suggest, lies a more pervasive influence on his ways of organizing local knowledge, and that is the growth of the commercial economy. The evidence for this influence is the very precision that sets the maps in *Administrative Records of Huian* apart from earlier map making. Earlier gazetteer cartographers had been content simply to picture a visual world from the comfortable vantage of the county seat. As one looked toward boundaries, this world faded into hills and clouds — uncharted territo-

ries. Ye Chunji felt the need for a more precise representation of spatial relations, one that did not replicate the hierarchical relationship of core and periphery implied in most county gazetteer maps. One effect of this precision was to map peripheral areas with as much attention as core areas. This universal gaze is significant of more than bureaucratic thoroughness. The administrator might value such precision to the extent that it facilitated the collection of taxes in peripheral areas; yet the person to whom it mattered to know where exactly places were was the merchant, not the magistrate. By incorporating county peripheries into larger marketing systems, commerce in the sixteenth century strove to put all places on the map, not just those that enjoyed administrative status. The county-level grid system thus may be thought of as responding to this mapping by furnishing a method that made all places in a county equally knowable.

On the basis of this reasoning I would argue that although Ye Chunji's cartography was certainly devised to make administration more effective, it came into being because it was organizing knowledge in a world that commerce was rapidly remaking. If the method did not become the dominant way of drawing maps in county gazetteers, it was because of the privilege that conventions associated with administrative knowledge enjoyed. Only with the elevation of economic knowledge in the nineteenth century would the grid system be revived, and then superseded, in the pursuit of ever greater precision.

NOTES

1. Huang Liu-hung [Huang Liuhong], *A Complete Book concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, trans. Djang Chu (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), p. 129.
2. Ye Chunji was born in 1532 in Guishan County, not much more than three hundred kilometers west of Huian, and won his provincial-graduate degree at the age of twenty. He continued to study for the *jinshi* degree, but without success. For submitting a thirty-thousand-word memorial on contemporary problems to the Longqing emperor on his ascension to the throne, Ye was awarded the post of county school instructor of Mingqing County, Fujian, in 1568. He was promoted to the magistracy of Huian in 1570 or 1571, held the post for three years, then was forced to retire from public office. He returned

- to official life in 1591, first as a subprefectural magistrate, then as a vice prefect, then as a bureau director in the Ministry of Revenue. He died in office in 1595. Ye Chunji, *Huian zhengshu* (hereafter abbreviated as HAZS) (*Shidong wenji* edn., 1672), Guo's preface, p. 2a; Ye's preface, p. 1a; *Guishan xianzhi* (1783) 10, p. 13a, 14, pp. 8b–9a; *Quanzhou fuzhi* (1763) 27, p. 61a. Although Ye was a conscientious official, his career was modest and he is not noticed in either the *Ming shi* or the *Dictionary of Ming Biography*.
3. Timothy Brook, "Native Identity under Alien Rule: Local Gazetteers of the Yuan Dynasty," forthcoming in "The Uses of Literacy, 1200–1330," ed. Richard Britnell (London: Boydell and Brewer).
 4. Timothy Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988), pp. 50–53.
 5. HAZS 1, p. 13a; 2, p. 1b.
 6. *Ibid.*, Ye's preface, p. 1b.
 7. *Ibid.* 2, p. 1a.
 8. HAZS was reprinted in facsimile as volume 1286 of the Wenyuange Siku Quanshu series (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1983). It has been published in a modern edition by the Quanzhou Historical Research Association (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 1987); the edition is based on a Tōyō Bunko copy obtained by Fu Yiling in 1980.
 9. Ogawa Takuji, *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1940), pp. 26, 41.
 10. Wei Qingyuan, *Mingdai huangce zhidu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1961), p. 74.
 11. Ogawa, *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū*, pp. 48, 51. The history of the grid system is outlined in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), pp. 539–556.
 12. Ogawa, *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū*, pp. 59–62; Stanley Huang, "Lo Hung-hsien," *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 982; Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968), 8.1.3.
 13. *Guishan xianzhi* (1783 edn.) 14, p. 8b.
 14. Luo wrote a colophon to *Jiubian tulun*; see his *Nian'an wenji* (Siku quanshu edn.) 10, p. 25b. Regarding *Jiubian tulun*, see Franke, *Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*, 7.3.7. This book continued to influence atlases published after Luo Hongxian; see, e.g., Huo Ji, *Jiubian tushuo* (1569), p. 2a.
 15. The author is Li Mo (js. 1521); according to his biography in *Ouning xianzhi* (1693 edn.) 8, p. 17b, his *Yudi tu* "circulated among his generation."
 16. HAZS, Guo's preface, p. 6a. Guo Zaoqing was a friend of Luo Hongxian. He argues for the feasibility of Ye's approach by observing that Luo himself was capable of such precision, as he realized when he saw the genealogy Luo compiled for his family, which Guo says contains detailed diagrams for the performance of family rites. Luo compiled the genealogy in 1548; see his *Nian'an wenji* 5, p. 19b.
 17. HAZS, Ye's preface, p. 2a.
 18. *Ibid.* 1, p. 12b; Ye names five of his assistants; see also 4, p. 5b.

19. Timothy Brook, "The Spatial Structure of Ming Local Administration," *Late Imperial China* 6.1 (June 1985), p. 16.
20. *HAZS* 1, pp. 1a-b.
21. Although the original thirty-four townships of Huian had been reduced by amalgamation to twenty-seven, the old township numbering system continued to be used. The four maps of the amalgamated townships (for Townships #3-4, 11-13, 14-17, and 19-20) show the original township boundaries (*HAZS* 4, p. 28b; 6, pp. 2b, 10b, 21b).
22. *Ibid.* 1, p. 17b.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 2a-b.
24. *Ibid.*, Ye's preface, p. 3b.
25. It is difficult to verify his population data. He observes that the county population records were completely out of touch with the actual households, and that household status and composition had been much manipulated over the years (*HAZS* 2, pp. 1b-2a). Compared to the 1530 county gazetteer, Ye's household figures are lower by about 8 percent, and his population totals lower by over 25 percent. See *HAZS* 4, pp. 3b-4a; *Huian xianzhi* (1530 edn.) 6, pp. 2b-3a. The problem is discussed in Yamane Yukio, "Jūroka seiki Chūgoku ni okeru kokō tōkei ni tsuite: Fukken Keian-ken no baai," *Tōyō daigaku kiyō* 6 (1954), pp. 161-172.
26. *HAZS* 4, p. 5b.
27. *Huian xianzhi* (1530 edn.) 3, pp. 3a ff. On the other hand, mountains, when they are located, are located by township.
28. *HAZS* 1, p. 15a. Regarding discrepancies among the gazetteers with regard to the location of mountains, rivers, and township boundaries, see *ibid.*, pp. 13a-b, 15a-b, 16b.
29. *Huian xianzhi* (1530 edn.) 3, p. 11a.
30. *HAZS* 1, p. 16b.
31. See, e.g., the postface to *Tianxia lucheng tuyin*, a 1626 route book in an early Qing edition, as reproduced in *Tianxia shuilu lucheng*, ed. Yang Zhengtai (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1992), p. 513.
32. Luo Hongxian was an advocate of organizing these types of institutions to reconstruct local solidarity; for his views on the rural covenant system, see his *Nian'an wenji* 6, pp. 6a-7b.
33. *Hai Rui ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), pp. 36-201.
34. Huang Liu-hung, *A Complete Book concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, p. 617.
35. *Quanzhou fuzhi* (1763 edn.) 31, p. 35b.
36. *Guishan xianzhi* (1783 edn.) 14, p. 9a. In this biography, the title of the Zhaoqing gazetteer is given as *Duanzhou zhi*, Duanzhou being the literary (pre-Ming) designation for Zhaoqing. All three gazetteers are extant in China; see *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983), pp. 685, 695, 709. It is worth noting that Luo Hongxian was an enthusiastic supporter of gazetteer publication; two gazetteer prefaces he wrote are collected in *Nian'an wenji* 11, pp. 23a, 33b.
37. Ye compiled no more gazetteers after returning to official life in 1591. His one

post-gazetteer publication was a comprehensive record of commercial levies on goods coming into Beijing, entitled *Chongwen jueshu* (Customs records of Chongwen Gate). It is mentioned in *Guishan xianzhi* (1783 edn.) 14, p. 9a, but appears to be no longer extant.

38. Bangbo Hu, "Maps in the *Gazetteer of Yung-an County (Yung-an hsien-chih)*," *Gest Library Journal* 6.1 (Spring 1993), pp. 85-100. Having not seen a copy of *Hui'an zhengshu* when he wrote his article, Hu has drawn conclusions — such as that the Yong'an gazetteer is "the earliest extant gazetteer in which all of the maps were made by using a grid" (p. 87) — that need to be revised. Also, his elaborate attempt to prove Luo's influence on Ye (pp. 96-97), though entirely correct, is now perhaps unnecessary.
39. *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1820 edn.) 1, pp. 1b-3a; *Dianbai xianzhi* (1825 edn.) 1, pp. 1b, 5b; *Xining xianzhi* (1830 edn.), *shou*, pp. 1b, 8b-27a; *Xinhui xianzhi* (1841 edn.) 1, pp. 1b, 9b-37a. The scales vary from one to thirteen *li* per square; the last two include township as well as county maps. For an early example from Shansi Province, see *Taiyuan xianzhi* (1826 edn.), *tu*, p. 2a.
40. *Fujian tongzhi* (1871 edn.); *Haiyan xianzhi* (1876 edn.), *shou*, pp. 5b-11b; *Xiaofeng xianzhi* (1877 edn.) 1, pp. 2b-8a; *Shangyu xianzhi* (1891).
41. *Jiangdu xian xuzhi* (1883 edn.), *shou*, pp. 12b-16b; *Jingzhou fuzhi* (1880 edn.), *yutu*, pp. 1b-11a; *Dean fuzhi* (1888 edn.), *tu*, pp. 1b-16b.
42. *Panyu xianzhi* (1871 edn.) 2, pp. 1b-12b; *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1876 edn.), *shou*, pp. 1b-31a.
43. The only reference to earlier applications of the grid system in these gazetteers is to Hu Wei, *Yugong zhuizhi* (1705) and Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao*, in *Jingzhou fuzhi* (1880 edn.), *fanli*, p. 2a.
44. *Tongxiang xianzhi* (1887 edn.) 1, pp. 33-41.

GLOSSARY

ancha fensi 按察分司

Aozhen 鰲震

Banji kao 版籍考

bao 堡

baojia 保甲

biao 表

biying 必盈

buzheng fensi 布政分司

Chaotian 朝天

cheng 城

chenghuang miao 城隍廟

chi 尺

Chun'an xian zhengshi 淳安縣政事

cun 村

da guanlu 大宮路

dai 埭

Dengyong 登庸

Dili kao 地理考

du 都

dun 墩

- fangce 方策
 fuguan 府館
 Guangdong 廣東
 Guangyu tu 廣輿圖
 Guo Zaoqing 郭造卿
 Hai Rui 海瑞
 Hongwu 洪武
 Huang Liuhong 黃六鴻
 Huian 惠安
 Huian xianzhi 惠安縣志
 Huian zhengshu 惠安政書
 Huizhou 惠州
 Jia Dan 賈耽
 Jiajing 嘉靖
 Jiangxi 江西
 jie 界
 jili huafang zhi fa 計里畫方之法
 Jintian (yi) 錦田(驛)
 Jiubian tulun 九邊圖論
 juren 舉人
 Leshan 樂山
 li 里
 Li 李
 lijia 里甲
 lishe 里社
 Longjin xi 龍津溪
 Longqiu gou 龍湫溝
 lu 路
 Luo Hongxian 羅洪先
 meifang yili 每方一里
 meifang zhe di baili 每方折地百里
 Pei Xiu 裴秀
 pu 舖
 qiao 橋
 Qingquan 慶泉
 Quanzhou 泉州
 Quanzhou fuzhi 泉州府志
 ruxue 儒學
 shan 山
 shepu 射圃
 shexue 社學
 Shidong 石洞
 Shidong wenji 石洞文集
 Shilian dong 石蓮洞
 shui 水
 Shunde 順德
 Shunde xianzhi 順德縣志
 Sichuan 四川
 tan 壇
 ting 亭
 Tonghui 通惠
 Tongxiang 桐鄉
 tu 圖
 tuji 圖記
 Tuji wen 圖籍問
 tujing 圖經
 tuzhi 圖志
 Wang Yangming 王陽明
 xiangyue 鄉約
 xianqian (pu) 縣前(舖)
 Xu Lun 許論
 Xuange 絃歌
 yangji yuan 養濟院
 Yangkang (xi) 洋坑(溪)
 Yanshou 延壽
 Ye Chunji 葉春及

yizhong 義塚

Yongan 永安

Yongan xianzhi 永安縣志

Yudi tu 輿地圖

Yudi tuxu 輿地圖敘

Yuji tu 禹跡圖

yulin tuce 魚鱗圖冊

Zengcheng 增城

zhai 寨

Zhang Yue 張岳

Zhaoqing 肇慶

Zhaoqing fuzhi 肇慶府志

Zhejiang 浙江

zhengshu 政書

Zhu Siben 朱思本

The Origin, Proclamation, and Implementation of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*

SUGIHASHI TAKAO

[TRANSLATED BY RONALD FRANK]

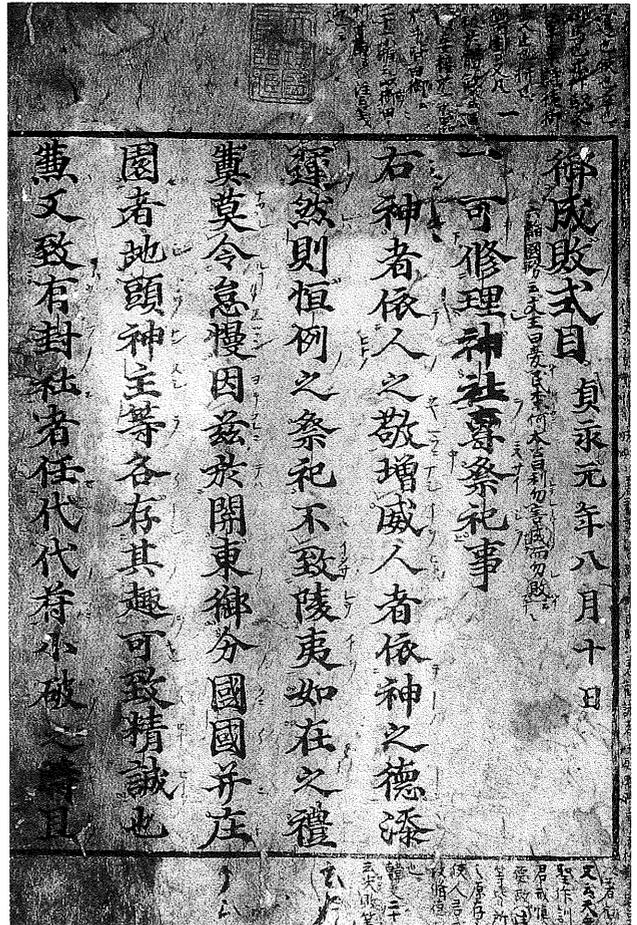
The *Goseibai Shikimoku*, enacted in 1232 by the Kamakura shogunate (1192–1333), is the first warrior code of laws in Japan. In the title of the code, “*go*” is an honorific prefix, “*seibai*” has the meaning of “judgment,” and “*shikimoku*” can be interpreted as an abbreviation for “*hōshiki*” (laws) and “*jōmoku*” (regulations). The title can thus be roughly translated as *Laws and Regulations for Judgment in the Honorable (Shogunal Court)*.¹ It is also known as the *Laws and Regulations of the Jōei Reign Period (Jōei shikimoku)* since the code was enacted during that period.

At the time of its proclamation, a large number of transcriptions of this code of laws was prepared. Through the “military governors” (*shugo*), the transcriptions were delivered to the “stewards” (*jitō*) and “retainers” (*gokenin*) of the provinces under their respective jurisdiction. Regent Hōjō Yasutoki (1183–1242), author of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, described the distribution of the code in a letter dated the eighth day of the eighth month, 1232, to his younger brother Hōjō Shigetoki (1198–1261), then emissary of the shogunate to Kyoto.² The code, however, not only represented the legislation of the Kamakura shogunal government, it

served as the basis for the legal system of the subsequent Muromachi shogunate (1336–1572), and it had a pronounced influence on the laws the regional lords of the Warring States period (1467–1568) used in their domains. Moreover, its legal principles, while enhancing warriors' power, gradually influenced the laws of the imperial court in Kyoto and came to be applied to the land holdings of the civil aristocracy (*kuge*) and of temples and shrines. Consequently, the *Goseibai Shikimoku* was studied by many people, and commentaries to the code were compiled in the very early stages [of its implementation]. During the Edo period (1600–1867), the code was used by the temple schools (*terakoya*), which were educational institutions for children of commoners, as a textbook of calligraphy, and was published in a variety of woodblock editions. The oldest extant handwritten exemplar of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* is the Suga (or Kan) edition, Suga being the name of its previous owner. Although it is not clearly dated, judging from the writing style this exemplar must have been transcribed shortly after the enactment of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*. The 1524 edition is the oldest of the woodblock prints of the code, and the Tenri Library at Tenri University and the Ryūmon Collection, both in Nara Prefecture, hold copies. In the Ryūmon collection is the oldest extant commentary to the code, a book entitled *Yuijō uragaki*, with a postscript dated 1289.³

Study of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* had already started during the Kamakura period. After the introduction of modern historical science to Japan, studies of the code, typical of which are works by Miura Hiroyuki and Ueki Naoichirō,⁴ have highly acclaimed the *Goseibai Shikimoku* not only as a development of legal principles specific to a warrior society but as the basic code of laws that later regulated Japanese society for a long time. In recent years, there have been criticism and partial revision of this assessment [of the code], but in general this assessment, which has been further refined, stands as the mainstream opinion [among scholars] to this very day.

In recent years, the publication of volume one of *Sources of Medieval Legal History* (*Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū*), as well as the first volume of the supplementary volume, *Medieval Political and Social Thoughts* (*Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*), and other works has facilitated research on the code. In



2. Opening paragraph of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*, woodblock print of the fourth year of the Taiei reign period (1524).

Collection of the Tenri Library at Tenri University.

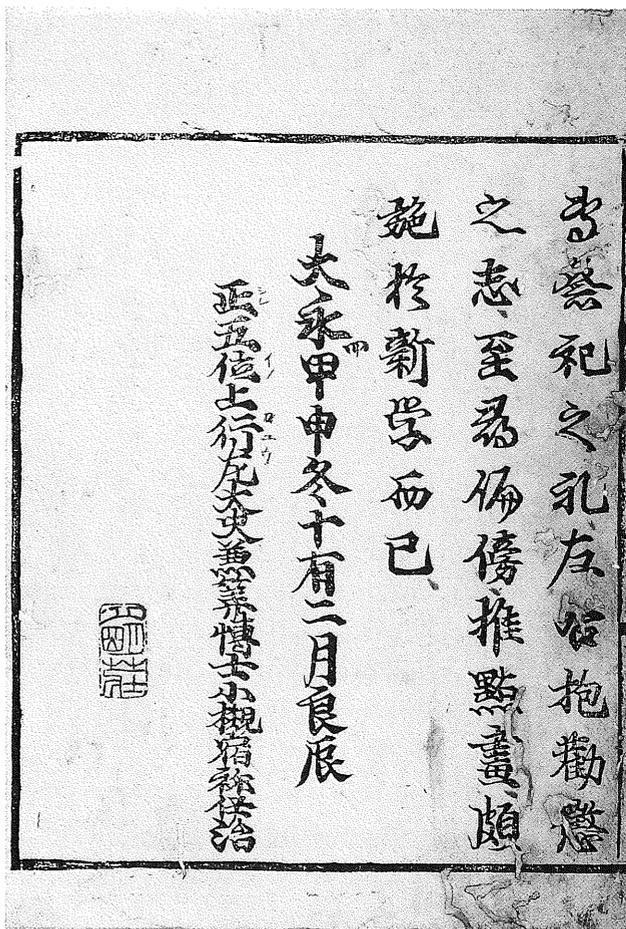
volume one, part one, of the first work is a meticulously collated version of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* by Satō Shin'ichi, who used the Tsurugaoka edition as the master copy. In part two Ikeuchi Yoshisuke offers, in chronological sequence, a collection of the "supplementary laws" (*Tsuikahō*)⁵ that were promulgated by the Kamakura shogunate. Thanks to the efforts of Ikeuchi, eight different editions of commentaries to the code have been re-engraved and collected in the supplementary volume.⁶ In the second work is a detailed annotation to the code and the supplementary laws by Kasamatsu Hiroshi.⁷ In addition, the *Bequeathed Works of the Kamakura [Period]* (*Kamakura ibun*), edited by Takeuchi Rizō and published from 1971 to 1991, has greatly facilitated research in the field.⁸ This

is an easy-to-use comprehensive collection of historical sources, which makes it possible for readers to find all the related documents.

In the meantime, new trends have emerged in the research on the Kamakura laws, including the *Goseibai Shikimoku*. In particular many young scholars are no longer satisfied with the study of individual regulation and legal principle. Taking advantage of such collections of source materials as the *Kamakura ibun*, they have adopted an approach whereby they try to look specifically into the development of laws and the legal system by examining the actual implementation of laws. Although the new results published in recent years, including the articles by those young scholars,⁹ should be highly esteemed, I am nevertheless not satisfied. For one thing, compared to previous scholarship these works tend to pay less and less attention to the very process of enactment, proclamation, and implementation of the *Goseibai Shikimoku*. In particular, most of them have avoided discussion of the relationship between [the shogunal court], which now implemented the code, and the imperial court in Kyoto, which used to be the sole source of legislative authority. Their studies have indeed accorded the code insufficient treatment.

Although it is true there are few primary sources about the process leading from the enactment to the actual implementation of the code, I recently examined this process from the viewpoint of the relations between the civil and military aristocracy.¹⁰ In my article on the process I first examine in detail accounts in the *Mirror of the East* (*Azuma kagami*) that record the enactment and the dispatch of the code to the deputy of the shogunal court in Rokuhara, Kyoto (Rokuhara tandai). I also examine two documents sent roughly at the same time [as the dispatch of the code] by Regent (*shikken*) Hōjō Yasutoki to his younger brother Shigetoki who was also in Rokuhara, Kyoto.¹¹ On the basis of these studies I was able to point out, among other things, that first, Yasutoki in the eighth month of 1232 enacted a fifty-article code of laws entitled “*shikijō*,” a term that had been used to refer only to laws promulgated by the imperial court; second, after negotiations with the imperial court, the title of the code was changed in the ninth month to “*shikimoku*,” which was a more common term [than “*shikijō*”]. In the meantime one more article was

3. The last page of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* showing a note by Ozuki Koreharu dated the twelfth month of the fourth year of the Taiei reign period (1524). Collection of the Tenri Library at Tenri University. The note indicates that this is the oldest woodblock print of the work in question. The Ryūmon Collection also possesses an exemplar of this edition. Both exemplars have punctuation marks in vermilion, a characteristic feature of books during the late Muromachi period.



added to the code, specifying the areas and cases in which the warrior code would not apply; and third, negotiations [with the imperial court] were stepped up in order to make the *Goseibai Shikimoku* applicable to Western Japan which was still controlled by the court. And this demand was gradually met in early 1233.

One part of the conclusion of my article contains my arguments supporting the three-step theory of the enactment of the code, as opposed to the two-step theory advocated by Satō Shin'ichi.¹² More important, if scholars agree with the major arguments in my article, then the traditionally well accepted assertion that the total number of articles in the code is fifty-one, three times as many as the *Seventeen-Article Constitution* promulgated by Prince Shōtoku (574–622), would be entire-

ly unfounded. In our future study we must consider the formation of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* as a continuous process, and we must also carefully investigate its relationship with the laws of the imperial court.

Unfortunately, until recently no rapid progress in this direction has been discernible in contemporary scholarship. The lack of source materials has certainly hindered progress. But most detrimental is that many topics in the related fields of research are left unexplored. For example, Ikeuchi Yoshisuke spent his lifetime working on the *Studies on the Goseibai Shikimoku*,¹³ which deals with the evolution of different editions of the code. But so far there is no bibliographical study of the numerous collections of supplementary laws compiled during the Kamakura and the Muromachi periods. I hope these difficulties will soon be overcome, and appropriate results will soon appear.

NOTES

1. The title of this work has been translated as *List of Precedents in Adversary Proceedings Decided in the Honorable [Shogunal Court]* by Carl Steenstrup in his *A History of Law in Japan until 1868* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 84.
2. This letter is attached to the *Goseibai Shikimoku*.
3. See Miura Hiroyuki, "Jōei shikimoku," in his *Zoku hōseishi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1925), pp. 868–1009; Ueki Naoichiro, *Goseibai Shikimoku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1930; rpt. Tokyo: Meicho kankōkai, 1976), pp. 417 ff.; Uwayokote Masataka, "Goseibai shikijō," in *Gunsho kaidai* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunshoruijū kanseikai, 1960), pp. 95–101.
4. See their works cited in note 3.
5. This term was originally used to refer to the individual regulations enacted by the Kamakura shogunate to supplement the *Goseibai Shikimoku*. But now scholars tend to use the term as a general category, which includes the laws promulgated before the enactment of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* and the entire body of shogunal legislation except the code.
6. See *Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 1, and the supplementary volume (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1955, 1978).
7. See *Nihon shisō taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), pp. 7–177, 429–445.
8. This collection, published by Tokyodō shuppan, consists of forty-two volumes, plus a four-volume index to personal and geographical names. It is intended to be a complete collection of source materials from the Kamakura period.
9. A case in point is Furusawa Naoto's *Kamakura bakufu to chūsei kokka* (Tokyo: Azekura shobō, 1991).
10. See my "Goseibai shikimoku seiritsu no keii, shiron," in *Nihon seiji shakai shi*

- kenkyū*, ed. Kishi Toshio kyōju taikan kinenkai (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1985), vol. c, pp. 155-183.
11. See the documents dated the eighth day of the eighth month, and the eleventh day of the ninth month, 1232. These documents are attached to the *Goseibai Shikimoku*.
12. See his “*Goseibai Shikimoku no genkei ni tsuite*,” *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai geppō* 15 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), pp. 1-4. It also appears in his *Nihon chūseiishi ronshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), pp. 305-311. Paraphrasing these works, Satō states the following: “The number of articles in the code was never changed from the original fifty-one; rather at one point after 1232 the fifty-one original articles were condensed into thirty-five, and sixteen articles of supplementary law [*tsuika hō*] were attached to the end of the main code. The *Goseibai Shikimoku* we know today is therefore the product of subsequent rearrangements of the original.”
13. See his *Goseibai Shikimoku no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973).

GLOSSARY

<i>Azuma Kagami</i> 吾妻鏡	Muromachi 室町
<i>Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū</i> 中世法制史料集	Nara 奈良
<i>Chūsei seiji shakai shisō</i> 中世政治社會思想	Rokuhara 六波羅
Edo 江戸	Rokuhara tandai 六波羅探題
go 御	Ryūmon 龍門
gokenin 御家人	Satō Shin'ichi 佐藤進一
<i>Goseibai Shikimoku</i> 御成敗式目	seibai 成敗
Hōjō Shigetoki 北条重時	shikijō 式条
Hōjō Yasutoki 北条泰時	shikimoku 式目
hōshiki 法式	shikken 執權
Ikeuchi Yoshisuke 池内義資	Shōtoku 聖德
jitō 地頭	shugo 守護
<i>Jōei shikimoku</i> 貞永式目	Suga (Kan) edition 菅本
jōmoku 条目	Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三
Kamakura 鎌倉	Tenri 天理
<i>Kamakura ibun</i> 鎌倉遺文	terakoya 寺子屋
Kasamatsu Hiroshi 笠松宏至	Tsuikahō 追加法
kuge 公家	Tsurugaoka 鶴岡
Miura Hiroyuki 三浦周行	Ueki Naichirō 植木直一郎
	<i>Yuijō uragaki</i> 唯淨裏書

The Case of A Yün

A Textual Review of Some Crucial Facts

SO KEE LONG

The case of A Yün is one of the best documented legal cases of Sung China, providing modern scholars with a chance to examine in considerable detail certain intriguing dimensions of the Chinese legal tradition. Although the case has been meticulously studied and discussed at some length by numerous scholars,¹ textual scrutiny renders questionable their descriptions of many details. This article adopts a textual approach to the case in order to reconstruct it on a more reliable basis for future interpretive pursuits.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Of the numerous sources cited in previous studies,² the “Biography of Hsü Tsun” in the *Sung shih* and records in the *Wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao* provide the most basic materials. Hsü Tao-lin, a modern scholar, was the first to try to produce a detailed account of what had happened.³ The following account of the case is based on his work, which is representative of the viewpoint of previous scholarship. Numbers in brackets have been inserted in the text to indicate points that are examined later.

The incident occurred sometime before 1068. A woman named A Yün who lived in Teng-chou Prefecture (modern Shan-tung Province)

was betrothed to a man named Wei A-ta during the period she was mourning her mother's death, and had not yet been formally received by the groom into his household. A Yün, finding her fiancé an ugly man, attempted to kill him during the night while he was asleep in a farm hut. She hacked him with a knife over ten times, but was able only to sever one of his fingers. Unable to find any attacker, the local authorities [1] began to suspect A Yün and arrested her for questioning. She confessed before inquisitional torture was applied to her.[2]

Hsü Tsun, [3] prefect of Teng-chou Prefecture, referred the case to the Supreme Court.[4] On the basis of a statutory provision that confession redemption would not apply if bodily harm had actually occurred, the Supreme Court held that A Yün should be sentenced to strangulation. Hsü Tsun, however, disagreed and argued that A Yün's confession should be taken into consideration and that her punishment should be reduced by two degrees. The Imperial Court passed the case to the Board of Punishments for further discussion. After reviewing the case, the board rejected Hsü's argument and upheld the Supreme Court's decision. But the throne was quite lenient toward A Yün, allowing her to make a payment for redemption of her sentence.[5]

Later Hsü Tsun was himself promoted to the position of judge on the Supreme Court.[6] There he was criticized by the Censorate for having made an error when handling A Yün's case. But Hsü rejected the accusation. Instead he pointed out that the Supreme Court and the Board of Punishments should be criticized for their decision, which, by refusing to grant reduction of punishment to A Yün after her confession, would discourage future offenders from confessing to the authorities. Hsü Tsun suggested that A Yün's case be reviewed by Hanlin academicians and edict drafters (jointly called *liang-chih*). Emperor Shen-tsung (1048-1085) assigned the task to Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) and Wang An-shih (1021-1086). But these two arrived at opposite opinions, the former supporting the decision of the Board of Punishments, the latter that of Hsü Tsun. A favorite of the emperor, Wang managed to have his opinion accepted by the court. An edict was issued on the third day of the seventh month, 1068, stipulating that for those who had plotted to kill and had caused bodily injuries, sentence would be reduced by two degrees if they confessed before the interrogation.

This edict, however, was unacceptable to many court officials.

They even asked the court to remove Hsü from office. On advice from the censor-in-chief, the throne decided to convene a second review by officials from the *liang-chih*. This time Lü Kung-chu (1018–1089), Han Wei (1017–1098), and Ch'ien Kung-fu were charged with the task.[7] Their conclusion favored Wang's view and was accepted by the throne.

This development had serious implications for officials in the Supreme Court and the Board of Punishments who were previously against Wang An-shih's view: they were now regarded as having made an administrative mistake. They therefore protested the judicial ruling and persistently argued with Wang An-shih about the related points of law at the court.

Emperor Shen-tsung compromised and on the third day of the second month, 1069, issued another edict: "From now on, in cases of wounding in the course of [attempted] premeditated killing, if the criminal confesses before the beginning of the investigation, request the throne for decision [and sentence] by imperial edict." However, Liu Shu and Ting Feng, officers-in-charge of the Board of Punishments, returned the edict to the Grand Secretariat, arguing that the content of this edict was incomplete. Wang An-shih, now a deputy prime minister, also thought the edict unnecessary. After debating with T'ang Chieh, another deputy prime minister, Wang convinced the emperor to issue a new edict on the seventeenth day of the second month, which upheld the rules in the edict of the third day of the seventh month, 1068, and rescinded the edict of the third day of the second month, 1069.[8]

But the emperor could not silence the objections from Liu Shu and his colleagues.[9] Supported by the Censorate and at least one prime minister, they requested that the case be reviewed by the *liang-fu* (see below). Emperor Shen-tsung disliked their suggestion, but he nevertheless ordered the case passed to the Privy Council. There, opinions again split into two camps. The newly appointed Prime Minister Fu Pi (1004–1083) attempted to persuade Wang An-shih to change his mind. After his efforts failed, Fu withdrew completely from the debate, pretending that he was sick.⁴

By the middle of the eighth month, an imperial edict was issued: "For confession in cases of plotting to kill and for confession before inquisition, rules in the edict of the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069, should apply." [10]⁵ In the meantime, Liu Shu and his

colleagues were demoted.[11] Ssu-ma Kuang forwarded a memorial to the throne, disputing their demotions, but the emperor took no heed of his opinion.

STATUTORY AND PROCEDURAL BACKGROUND

This account of A Yün's case tells us that the case involves an attempted homicide and a voluntary confession by the culprit. It was handled according to the criminal procedures of the Sung legal system. Prior to the 1080s, Sung criminal procedures allowed the prefectural government to finalize a death sentence after trial and to carry out the sentence without prior approval from the central government, provided that the crime was punishable by death and occurred within its jurisdiction.⁶ As a safeguard, this prefectural judicial authority was subject to regular review by the central court, and officials who mistakenly sentenced innocent people to death were to be severely punished.⁷ In the meantime, if prefectural officials had doubts about any details concerning a particular case of capital punishment, or about the interpretation of the related law, they were requested to report and transfer the case in question to the central government for final judicial decision.⁸

Three offices were established at the central court specifically to handle such cases forwarded by prefectural authorities: the Supreme Court (*ta-li-ssu*), the Judicial Review Council (*shen-hsing-yüan*),⁹ and the Board of Punishments (*hsing-pu*).¹⁰ They performed a similar main function: to review documents of the case in question, to weigh all aspects of the related laws, and to recommend judicial solutions. For each individual case they would provide the emperor up to three alternative solutions to ensure that every aspect of the related laws had received thorough consideration. Should there be unsettled controversy over a case, the throne would set up an ad hoc committee to review the case. Such a committee usually consisted of Hanlin academicians, edict drafters (*chih-chih-kao*) of the Grand Secretariat (*chung-shu*),¹¹ or officials from the Censorate (*yü-shih t'ai*). If the committee failed to reach a solution, the emperor could ask top-ranking officials from the Grand Secretariat and the Privy Council (*shu-mi-yüan*), jointly called *liang-fu*, to submit their opinions on the case.¹² As the final arbitrator and adjudicator, the emper-

or, however, seldom made any decision without having acquired theoretical justification from certain officials who had participated in the review process.

The *Sung Code* stipulated that a criminal who had voluntarily surrendered to the authorities prior to interrogation (*an-wen yü-chü*) would earn a reduction of two degrees of punishment.¹³ The *Sung Code* also stipulated that the offense of plotting to kill a person and thereby causing any wounds was punishable by strangulation, which was an alternative and lighter form of the death penalty.¹⁴ However, up to the time when A Yün's case was tried in 1068–1069, the general practice and conventional interpretation of the code had been that the penalty reduction for offenders who had voluntarily confessed would not apply if the offender had inflicted bodily harm on or wounded the victim.¹⁵ Furthermore, if a wife plotted to kill her husband, she would be deemed as having committed "discord" (*pu-mu*), one of the ten abominations, even though the plot was never realized or the husband suffered no bodily harm. Her criminal liability would escalate if death or wounds resulted. In that case, the category of her offense would change to a more severe one called "contumacy" (*o-ni*).¹⁶ Both discord and contumacy were punishable by decapitation, the gravest form of death penalty listed in the *Sung Code*.¹⁷ An offender guilty of attempted homicide would be sentenced more harshly if the case involved husband and wife. It is therefore crucial that the marital status of A Yün be clarified beyond doubt.

This is so because in traditional Chinese law consideration of familial relationships played a salient role in the sentencing decision. Whether or not such a relationship existed between the culprit and the victim would often alter the degree of severity of the same criminal act. Therefore whether A Yün was a wife, a fiancée of the victim, or merely an ordinary person (*fan-jen*) unrelated to the victim, has significant legal implications.

A YÜN'S MARITAL STATUS

Shen Chia-pen and other modern scholars have uncritically accepted a record in the biography of Hsü Tsun in the *Sung shih*,¹⁸ and they all hold it a fact that A Yün was only betrothed to Wei A-ta and that the marriage

of the two had not been carried out at the time she committed the offense (*A Yün hsü chia wei hsing*). A Yün was therefore the victim's fiancée, not his wife. Here the legal issue is whether a fiancée should carry the same criminal liability as a wife.

Shen Chia-pen asserted that A Yün could have committed contumacy, because under Ch'ing law there was no status distinction between a fiancée and a wife. He nevertheless admitted that in accordance with ancient propriety a woman would not formally become a wife until all marriage procedures were completed. This included an introduction of the bride to the relatives in the ancestral hall three months after she had been received at the groom's home. Shen therefore found it acceptable not to treat A Yün as the wife of Wei A-ta.¹⁹ To elaborate this point further, Hsü Tao-lin cited a commentary to the *Sung Code*: offenses against a fiancée should be taken as the same as those against an ordinary person. This commentary leaves no doubt that during the Sung a fiancée would not carry the same criminal liability as a wife.²⁰

Their arguments, however, may well have missed the point, for as discussed below I would hold that A Yün had in fact become Wei A-ta's wife when she committed the offense. To clarify A Yün's marital status we need to examine carefully some related source materials.

The best evidence comes from Ssu-ma Kuang's collected works, *Ssu-ma wen-cheng kung ch'uan-chia-chi*.²¹ This collection was first engraved during the Chia-ting reign period (1208-1224). Under the title of the memorial detailing Kuang's argument when the case was first put under review by *liang-chih*, there is a note stating (see illustration 1):

The prefect of Teng-chou Hsü Tsun wrote a memorial that states: "A woman named A Yün had already become engaged (*ting-hun*) and married to Wei A-ta (*ch'eng-ch'in*) during the mourning period for her mother's death. Later she disliked A-ta and hacked him with a knife in the field at night. The district sheriff (*hsien-wei*) ordered the policeman (*kung-shou*) to arrest A Yün for questioning. He said: 'Were you the one who hacked and injured your husband (*pen-fu*)? Tell me the truth and I shall spare you from beating.' A Yün confessed at that point. The law of two-degrees reduction for confession before inquisition should be applied. However, the Supreme Court held that the law of

plotting to kill and causing wounds which demanded a penalty of strangulation should be applied instead. It was a wrong judgment." The Board of Punishments was assigned to review the case and came to the same conclusion as the Supreme Court. But [Hsü] Tsun still insisted that he was right. There was an imperial order requiring [Ssu-ma] Kuang and Wang An-shih to review the case again. [Wang] An-shih concurred with [Hsü] Tsun. Subsequently [Wang] An-shih's view was accepted by the imperial court.²²

The use of "*ch'eng-ch'in*" and "*pen-fu*" in this passage should suffice to establish beyond doubt that at the time A Yün committed the crime, Wei A-ta was her legal husband.

That Ssu-ma Kuang's collected works include the original text of his memorial has already been noted by Langlois.²³ But in the Sung edition more commonly used by modern scholars, including Langlois, which is entitled *Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma kung wen-chi* and was engraved during the early years of the Shao-hsing reign period (1131-1162),²⁴ the title note is omitted altogether (see illustration 2). Therefore, scholars who read only the Shao-hsing edition would miss this important piece of information in the *Ch'uan-chia-chi* and would be easily confused about A Yün's marital status.

As this title note is the only evidence that can confirm A Yün's marital status, its authenticity should be subjected to further textual scrutiny. First, not every work collected in the *Ch'uan-chia-chi* carries a title note, but some of the title notes that do appear were prepared personally by Ssu-ma Kuang.²⁵ This is seen in the fact that occasionally he used the term "Kuang" to refer to himself rather than the first-person pronoun.²⁶ The title note in question also contains this term and is therefore a note written by Ssu-ma Kuang himself. Second, reading the exchange between A Yün and the sheriff one gains the impression that the sheriff's words were quite rude and that what is recorded in the title note clearly represents the original conversation between the sheriff and A Yün, as it was recorded in the contemporary legal documents. This in fact shows that Ssu-ma Kuang's account of this conversation must have been based on the original documentation of the case, since he was one of the officials who had early access to the documents. Third, other Sung

司馬文正公傳家集卷第四十

後學桂林陳弘謀重訂

章奏二十三

議謀殺已傷案問欲舉而自首狀知登州許遵奏婦人阿云

於母服內與韋阿大定婚成親後嫌韋阿大夜閒就田中用刀斫傷縣尉令弓手勾到阿

云問是你斫傷木夫實道來不打你阿云遂具實招通合作案問欲舉減二等大理寺不

合作謀殺已傷絞罪斷遣下刑部定得大理寺允當遵不服詔下光與王安石定奪安石

以為遵議是後朝廷竟從安石議

右臣竊以為凡議法者當先原立法之意然後可以斷

獄竊詳律文其於人損傷不在自首之例注云因犯殺

傷而自首者得免所因之罪仍從故殺傷法所謂因犯

傳家集卷第四十章奏二十三

1. Title note to Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial to the throne after the first *liang-chih* review. From Ch'en Hung-mou, ed., *Ssu-ma Wen-cheng kung ch'uan-chia-chi* (rpt. by Pei-yüan t'ang, 1741). Eleven cols. of 21 chars., border 14 x 19 cm. Collection of the Feng Ping-shan Library, University of Hong Kong.

律意蓋以於人損傷既不得首恐有別因餘罪而殺傷人者有司執文并其餘罪亦不許首故特加申明云因犯殺傷而自首者得免所因之罪然殺傷之中自有兩等輕重不同其處心積慮巧詐百端掩人不備者則謂之謀直情徑行略無顧慮公然殺害者則謂之故謀者不重故者差輕今此人因犯他罪致殺傷人他罪雖得首原殺傷不在首例若從謀殺則太重若從鬪殺則太輕故酌中令從故殺傷法也其直犯殺傷更無他罪者惟未傷則可首但係已傷皆不可首也今許遵欲將謀之與殺分為兩事按謀殺故殺皆是殺人若將謀之與殺分為兩事則故之與殺亦非是兩事也且律稱得免所因之罪故劫囚略人皆

名犯北朝諱元不曾接伴亦不曾奉使兩朝事體正如牆面虜中情傷分毫不知加以稟性昏顛遇事漏直今若使之館伴恐語言之際必有遺忘差錯或漏泄機事或抵觸使人萬一如此以貽朝廷之憂雖加巨以重誅終無所益伏望聖慈矜察於兩制中別選差才敏之人館伴北使貴無闕誤取進止

臣竊以為凡議法者當先原立法之意然後可以斷獄竊詳律文其於人損傷不在自首之例注云因犯殺傷而自首者得免所因之罪仍從故殺傷法所謂因犯殺傷者言因犯他罪本無殺傷之意事不得已致有殺傷除為盜之外如劫囚略賣人之類皆是也

2. Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial to the throne after the first *liang-chih* review. From *Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma kung wen-chi* (first engraved during the Shao-hsing reign period, 1131-1162; reproduced in facsimile in the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien*). Twelve cols. of 20 chars.; border 9 x 14 cm.

and Yüan sources also contain records similar to the content of the title note in question.²⁷ The weight of these points should be sufficient to establish the reliability of the title note that reveals A Yün's true marital status. It also casts serious doubt on the passage in *Sung shih* that suggests A Yün was merely Wei A-ta's fiancée, an assertion that is not supported by other primary sources.

In fact, to the Sung scholar-officials involved in A Yün's case, the criminal liability of a fiancée against that of a wife seemed never to have been an issue in the first place. To them the real issue was whether the criminal liability of a wife would be affected and changed to that of an ordinary person if the marriage itself was invalidated on sufficient grounds.

In the *Sung Code* the marriage law stipulates that any marriage completed during the mourning period for the death of one's parents was an offense punishable by three years of penal servitude and mandatory

invalidation of the marriage (*li chih*).²⁸ But this article of the code has no clear provision indicating whether, when a marriage was officially invalidated in this manner, its legal effect prior to the invalidation would also be denied or not. On the basis of Ch'ing legal practice, Hsü Tao-lin suggested that if a marriage was found illegal, it was then invalidated from the very beginning of the relationship, and it would be deemed that no state of matrimony had ever existed. In that sense, the punishment of invalidation for illegal marriage was retrospective. A passage in the form of question and answer in the *Sung Code* reveals how Sung authorities dealt with this issue.

QUESTION: "If a husband marries another woman when he is already married, the second marriage is to be invalidated in accordance with the law. However, if members from the husband's and the second wife's family committed crimes against each other before their marriage is invalidated, should the law in relation to the legal wife [and its rules concerning affines] be applied?"

ANSWER: "One husband and one wife [in a legal marriage] is the norm of the society. To marry a second wife with the first one still alive will not give the second one the legal status of a wife. Considering the moral and legal principles, they [the husband, the second wife, and their affines] should be treated as unrelated people when crime among them occurs."²⁹

However, I suspect that invalidation of illegal marriage was not commonly practiced prior to the trial of A Yün, although the question and answer cited in the *Sung Code* imply that such a marriage would be nullified by Sung authorities. This was perhaps so because Hsü Tsun argued very hard to prove that A Yün had never injured her "husband." She never had one, for her marriage to Wei A-ta during the mourning period for her mother's death was illegal in the first place. This indicates that Hsü Tsun was seeking an appropriate interpretation of the law that was contrary to the prevailing legal practice during the Sung. Because Hsü Tsun's interpretation of A Yün's marital status was based on Sung legal principles, it was from the very beginning accepted by the Supreme

Court and the Judicial Review Council. The two judicial offices repeated Hsü Tsun's point in their reports to the throne. And it did not become an issue in further discussion and debate on A Yün's case.

TEXTUAL EXAMINATION OF OTHER IMPORTANT FACTS

Having clarified A Yün's marital status and the applicable punishment for her crime, we now need to subject some important points of fact in the commonly accepted account of A Yün's case to further textual study.

1. *To whom did A Yün confess?*

Who was the district official who conducted the interrogation and obtained A Yün's confession? Most sources, such as the *Sung shih*, only vaguely mention him as a certain "li" (literally, an official). Ssu-ma Kuang was no more specific in his memorial submitted to the throne after the first *liang-chih* review, saying that the "*kuan-ssu*" (literally the government) did the job.³⁰ Some modern scholars have also tried not to be specific, using such loose terms as "the authorities."³¹ Others assume that she was arrested by the police and interrogated by the magistrate at the court of the district (*hsien*) government.³² The title note to Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial makes it amply clear that it was the district sheriff who interrogated A Yün and obtained her confession. This leads to the next question.

2. *Was A Yün's confession too late to allow her a redemption?*

As discussed earlier, a culprit's voluntary confession to the authorities prior to interrogation (*an-wen yü-chü*) was a prerequisite for redemption of his sentence. Here a crucial issue is the exact meaning of the Chinese expression *an-wen*, and in particular who conducted the interrogation, a magistrate or a district sheriff? In order to ensure justice, Sung criminal procedures in principle prohibited a sheriff from conducting a law-court inquisition (*t'ui-chü*), not to mention a court interrogation of the accused.³³ A sheriff could only conduct a preliminary investigation, including questioning witnesses and suspects. But this was not meant to be part of a court trial. Therefore "*an-wen*" must have referred to the interrogation

held during an inquisition at the district government court, which was usually presided over by a magistrate or his legal staff. Since A Yün confessed to the sheriff, her confession should have occurred prior to any formal court inquisition, and she was therefore not too late for sentence redemption.³⁴

3. *Was Prefect Hsü Tsun incompetent in judicial matters?*

A key figure in A Yün's case, Prefect Hsü Tsun was himself a legal expert. Hsü's biographies in the *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* and *Sung shih* record that besides a *chin-shih* degree, Hsü also held the *ming-fa* degree, which was granted to those well versed in law and statutes.³⁵ The fact that Hsü was a legal expert makes his arguments important. Those arguments should not be brushed aside as nonsense arising out of ignorance.³⁶

4. *On what legal grounds did Hsü Tsun decide to transfer A Yün's case to the central court?*³⁷

Hsü Tsun believed that although A Yün was said to have been married to Wei A-ta, the marriage should have been invalidated since the two were engaged during the time A Yün was mourning for her deceased mother. A Yün therefore had committed an offense against a non-family person, not her husband, and she should be sentenced to strangulation, a punishment for those who had plotted to kill an unrelated ordinary person and caused only wounds. Hsü Tsun also believed that A Yün should be granted a two-degree reduction in punishment because of her confession prior to inquisition. This means that she should be spared the death penalty and sentenced to a lifetime exile 2,500 *li* from her hometown.³⁸

5. *What was the outcome of the initial views?*

First the Supreme Court and Judicial Review Council individually reviewed the case,³⁹ and both arrived at the conclusion that A Yün should not be treated as Wei A-ta's wife. But their conclusion was different from Hsü Tsun's view in that they also held that A Yün was not eligible for reduction of punishment. Their opinion was based on a provision in the law concerning voluntary confession which stated that no reduction should be granted to offenders whose crimes had resulted in actual grievous bodily harm or wounds.⁴⁰ They therefore recommended a sen-

tence of strangulation for A Yün. However, for some unknown reason the newly enthroned Emperor Shen-tsung pardoned her and reduced the punishment to penal registration (*pien-kuan*). Instead of being exiled, she would be beaten with a heavy rod, and serve as a convict laborer near her home.⁴¹ This was in fact close to the punishment that Hsü Tsun had suggested. It is also clear that A Yün was not sentenced to make a cash payment for redemption of punishment.⁴²

6. *When did Hsü Tsun appeal for a liang-chih review?*

Hsü Tsun appealed for a *liang-chih* review of A Yün's case when he was still the prefect of Teng-chou. Many sources attest to this fact.⁴³ It is also substantiated by a passage from Hsü's biography in the *Veritable Records for Emperor Shen-tsung* (*Shen-tsung shih-lu*):

[His legal arguments on the case of A Yün] had convinced the public opinion of the time. Soon he was appointed head of the Supreme Court (*p'an ta-li*)⁴⁴ and granted an imperial audience at which he was allowed to dress as a third-ranked official (*san-pin fu*). Although he politely refused to accept the appointment the emperor insisted and ordered an imperial commissioner (*chung-shih*) to guide him out of the palace, a highly unusual honorary measure.⁴⁵

The "Biography of Hsü Tsun" in *Sung shih*, however, gives a different account. It suggests that Hsü did not appeal until after his appointment to the Supreme Court.⁴⁶ Since other sources consistently indicate that Hsü received the new appointment at the Supreme Court after his opinion on A Yün's case had prevailed, it is evident that the relevant account in *Sung shih* is distorted.

7. *When was the second liang-chih review committee formed?*

According to the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, following advice from the vice censor-in-chief (*yü-shih chung-cheng*), the de facto head of the Censorate, Emperor Shen-tsung called up a second ad hoc committee of three other *liang-chih* members. The committee came up with a conclusion in favor of that of Hsü Tsun and Wang An-shih.⁴⁷ On the third day of the seventh month, 1068, the emperor accepted the committee's recommendation

and issued an edict that day.⁴⁸ Therefore the second *liang-chih* committee must have been formed before the third day of the seventh month, 1068.⁴⁹ In fact, it was because of its report that Shen-tsung issued this edict.

8. *What were the circumstances under which the edict of the third day of the second month, 1069, was issued?*

I believe that the edict was promulgated on the advice of some judicial officers.⁵⁰ The edict stipulated that cases in which the convict had plotted and killed a person but confessed before trial should be transferred to the imperial court for final decision.⁵¹ The justification for this edict was that if punishment for plotting to kill and causing wounds was redeemable in cases of confession, then there should be no difference in the punishment of those whose crimes had caused the death of the victim. But the deputy vice censor-in-chief (*chih-tsa yü-shih*), who was concurrently an officer-in-charge of the Board of Punishments (*p'an hsing-pu*), Liu Shu, returned the edict to the Grand Secretariat. This was done together with the other officer-in-charge of the Board of Punishments, Ting Feng.⁵² They also reported to the throne that the content of the edict needed further deliberation. Wang An-shih, who was appointed deputy prime minister on the same day the edict of the third day of the second month was issued, seemed to have first endorsed the edict,⁵³ but he later changed his position and advised the emperor that the issuance of the edict was unnecessary. A heated debate between Wang An-shih and T'ang Chieh, another deputy prime minister, followed. Wang eventually won the emperor's ear.⁵⁴ The debate was so emotionally charged that T'ang reportedly fell sick after the debate and soon passed away.⁵⁵ The exact content of this debate is unclear. Perhaps it was not about the edict of the third day of the second month because Wang had already advised the emperor to withdraw the edict. One possibility was that T'ang used the opportunity to challenge the edict of the third day of the seventh month, 1068.

9. *Why were there strong objections to the edict of the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069?*

On the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069, a new edict was issued.⁵⁶ It repealed the edict of the third day of the second month, 1069, and reconfirmed the principles in the edict of the third day of the seventh

month, 1068. This new edict, however, was not circulated to every circuit of the country as was the usual practice, but rather was issued to only three central government offices with judicial functions — the Censorate, the Supreme Court, and the Judicial Review Council — as well as to the K'ai-feng prefectural government.⁵⁷ Liu Shu, supported by other colleagues from the Censorate, opposed the issuance of the new edict and suggested that the *liang-fu* discuss the matter.⁵⁸ At first Emperor Shen-tsung thought it unnecessary to take such a drastic measure as ordering *liang-fu* officials to review the edict because the points of law and the relevant legislation in the new edict were clear enough to him. But one of the prime ministers reminded the emperor that he would not get the best advice unless more officials were allowed to express their views. The emperor gave in,⁵⁹ and the case was passed to the *liang-fu* for deliberation.

10. The final judgment

Deliberation in A Yün's case lingered on at the *liang-fu* for almost half a year. Officials there again split into two camps. The whole matter finally came to an end on the first day of the eighth month, 1069, when a new edict was issued. It formally invalidated the edict of the third day of the second month and reconfirmed the principles stated in the edict of the third day of the seventh month. And this time the new edict was probably issued to the entire country.⁶⁰ Now A Yün's case was finally settled, and the related laws became binding for subsequent cases.

Shortly afterward, on the fifth day of the eighth month, Ssu-ma Kuang submitted a long memorial entitled "On the Importance of Fundamentals" (*T'i-yao shu*).⁶¹ He reprimanded the emperor for neglecting the fundamentals (*t'i*) of governance by having unwittingly paid too much attention to specific matters of government, and he cited numerous examples to elaborate his point. At the end of the memorial he mentioned A Yün's case, saying that it should not have reached the central court in the first place and wasted so much of the emperor's and his ministers' time and energy. Ssu-ma Kuang argued further that the final decision on A Yün's case was bad law. Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial failed to change the emperor's mind, but Ssu-ma Kuang was luckier than many other officials involved in the case. He was not demoted and continued to be an influential adviser to Emperor Shen-tsung.⁶²

11. *Punishment for other judicial officials involved in A Yün's case*

Sometime between the first day and the ninth day of the eighth month, Liu Shu, together with two other censors, Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi, presented a memorial to the throne, criticizing Wang An-shih and his handling of A Yün's case. They further questioned Wang's new policies and his suitability for the post of deputy prime minister. But Emperor Shen-tsung rejected the memorial outright.⁶³ On the ninth day of the eighth month, Liu Shu, Ting Feng, and Wang Shih-yüan, a judicial officer of the Judicial Review Council who initially disputed Hsü Tsun's legal argument in A Yün's case, were put under judicial investigation for possible violations of administrative rules. On the same day, Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi were demoted to offices out of the capital for inappropriately criticizing imperial policies.⁶⁴ Ssu-ma Kuang promptly wrote a memorial on the eleventh day of the eighth month, recommending more lenient treatment toward them,⁶⁵ but his efforts were to no avail. On the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month, Liu Shu, Ting Feng, and Wang Shih-yüan were also demoted. Liu and Ting were accused of having inappropriately delayed the issue of the edict of the third day of the second month, Wang Shih-yuan of having wrongfully created a dispute over the case of A Yün.⁶⁶

A POLITICAL OR A LEGAL ISSUE?

Some scholars wonder if all the arguments involved in A Yün's case were merely legal rhetoric designed to cover the power struggle between the conservatives headed by Ssu-ma Kuang and the reformers headed by Wang An-shih. For instance, Shen Chia-pen, although he never used the term "faction," accused Wang An-shih of arbitrarily undermining the law. Knowing nothing about law, Wang used his powerful position in the court, not his jurisprudence, to win the debate over A Yün's case. The debate reflected an intrusion into the legal system by political forces ignorant of law.⁶⁷ Hsü Tao-lin followed and further developed this line of argument. He claimed that the arguments from both sides, although complicated, were more likely to have been part of a political struggle than a genuine legal debate.⁶⁸ He later revised his opinion to suggest that

there were certain elements of factional struggle in the case, but it was still a genuine legal issue. He regarded A Yün's case as an outstanding one in the legal history not only of China but of the rest of the world as well. This was so because the legal debate over the case, which involved merely a commoner woman, had such an enormous impact on the government and the impact lasted for so long.⁶⁹ Miyazaki Ichisada pointed out that the case was an unusual example in Chinese legal history.⁷⁰ But he also suggested: "Clearly more than legal principle was involved in this case, which obviously reflected the political struggle between Wang An-shih and his opponents. Nevertheless, it is significant that political conflict in China a millennium ago could have taken the form of a debate over the proper disposition of an appellate case."⁷¹ This is in fact a political-issue theory, which has also been echoed in McKnight's work.⁷²

Other scholars tend to view the debate more as a legal one than a reflection of politics. Relying heavily on the work of Shen Chia-pen, Borowitz tried to interpret the legal reasoning of both Wang An-shih and Ssu-ma Kuang in the light of "strict construction" doctrine. He came to the conclusion that Wang's argument was consistent with his jurisprudence.⁷³ Langlois also emphasizes the jurisprudential aspect of the case. Although he does not address this issue directly, his conclusion that the dispute between Wang and Ssu-ma may be interpreted as a clash of values (deterrence versus rehabilitation) and methodologies (precedence of imperial authority and the Tao over the code versus strict interpretation of the code) makes it clear that he thought the issue had more legal than political implications.⁷⁴

To determine the nature of the debate over A Yün's case, we need to examine carefully the related primary sources. The *Wen-hsien t'ung-kao* and the *Sung shih* are two standard sources in which there is no indication that the case was more a political than a legal struggle. But records in other sources imply that the opposite is the case.⁷⁵ It is, however, worth noting that these records, without exception, were written either by Northern Sung officials who strongly opposed the stand of Hsü Tsun and Wang An-shih, or by Southern Sung or later authors who also had a clear anti-Wang position. Their interpretation of the debate over A Yün's case is not necessarily fair and unbiased, and should be treated with great

caution. For instance, some historical records report that most of the bureaucrats in the central court ridiculed and opposed the argument by Hsü Tsun and Wang An-shih.⁷⁶ But there is evidence that the real situation might not have been so one-sided,⁷⁷ although it is difficult to determine the exact number of officials on each side.

Whether or not A Yün's case was merely a political issue can also be examined against the historical background of major events from 1067 to 1069, which is shown in the following table of events.⁷⁸

First month, 1067	Death of Ying-tsung; Shen-tsung enthroned
Twenty-fifth day of the intercalary third month, 1067	Wang An-shih appointed prefect of Chiang-ning-fu
Twenty-third day of the ninth month, 1067	Wang appointed Hanlin academician
Ninth day of the fourth month, 1068	Wang granted private imperial audience
Third day of the seventh month, 1068	Edict issued in favor of Wang An-shih's opinion in A Yün's case
Third day of the second month, 1069	Wang appointed deputy prime minister; edict issued
Seventeenth day of the second month, 1069	Edict issued
Twenty-seventh day of the second month, 1069	Finance Planning Commission (reforms) established
Sixth month, 1069	Lü Hui attacked Wang fiercely in a memorial
Seventeenth day of the seventh month, 1069	Tribute Transport and Distribution System enforced; first reform measure implemented
First day of the eighth month, 1069	Edict issued, reaffirming the principles in the edict of the third day of the seventh month, 1068

This table of events indicates, among other things, that the early months of 1069 witnessed the gradual emergence of Wang An-shih as a central figure leading a new reform movement, and the beginning of the development of an undercurrent of political conflict. This conflict led Lü Hui (1014–1071) to express his unreserved criticism of Wang An-shih in a memorial to the throne, accusing him of forming factions and manipulating power. Even at this stage, however, Ssu-ma Kuang still held Wang in high respect and tried unsuccessfully to stop Lü from submitting his memorial.⁷⁹ It was after the issuance of the edict dated the first day of the eighth month, 1069, that Ssu-ma Kuang expressed strong opposition to the opinions expressed in Wang An-shih's *T'i-yao shu*, dated the fifth day of the eighth month.

This table of events also suggests that the edict of the third day of the seventh month, 1068, could hardly have been the result of any political struggle related to Wang An-shih's reforms. At that time Wang had not yet consolidated Emperor Shen-tsung's trust in him to carry out reforms, and it was too early for other official-scholars to realize that a controversial reform was imminent. As most officials had voiced their opinions on A Yün's case before the edict of the third day of the seventh month, it seems safe to assume that their opinions were a genuine reflection of their legal reasoning, not part of any political scheming. Admittedly, later debate leading to the issuance of the edict on the first day of the eighth month may well have been politicized by disputes over Wang An-shih's reforms. In particular, the demotion of Liu Shu and others, who had attacked both Wang's reforms and his personal integrity, may well have been a politically oriented move. But at this time the legal issues in A Yün's case had already been settled. Therefore in terms of jurisprudence, the politicization of debates over A Yün's case was far less significant than were the jurisprudential debates that led to the issuance of the edict on the third day of the seventh month, 1068.

The debate over A Yün's case can also be examined in terms of the personal relationships among the officials involved in the case. Here the crucial question is whether Han Wei, Lü Kung-chu, and Ch'ien Kung-fu, members of the second *liang-chih* review committee, constituted a faction under Wang An-shih. Lü Hui's criticism of Wang prior to his demotion in the sixth month, 1069, gives the impression that this was the case.⁸⁰ But in fact this impression is misleading. Ch'ien Kung-fu had

voiced harsh criticism of Wang An-shih before as well as after the edict of the first day of the eighth month, and he was the first to be demoted in the fifth month of 1069.⁸¹ Lü Kung-chu was appointed vice censor-in-chief in the sixth month of 1069. He soon became opposed to Wang An-shih's reforms, and was demoted in the fourth month of the next year.⁸² As for Han Wei, he strongly opposed the edict of the third day of the second month, 1069, which had earlier been endorsed by Wang An-shih. In his memorial, Han Wei challenged the rationale of the legal measures specified in the edict and explicitly asked Wang An-shih for an explanation.⁸³ His opposition to some reform measures also made him an opponent of Wang An-shih in early 1071.⁸⁴ Obviously the three were not members of Wang's faction in terms of their political stands.

Admittedly Wang An-shih had a close friendship with both Han Wei and Lü Kung-chu in the early stages of his career in the central government. As a matter of fact, Wang An-shih managed to establish his reputation as a conscientious Confucian scholar-official of high political caliber through cultivating friendships with such eminent officials as Han Wei and Lü Kung-chu.⁸⁵ This was so particularly in 1068 when Wang An-shih was still very junior in the central administration and his position as a political leader was far from being established.⁸⁶ Therefore when A Yün's case was forwarded to the second *liang-chih* review committee in 1068, the opinion of Han Wei and Lü Kung-chu on A Yün's case was more likely to have influenced that of Wang An-shih, not the other way around. This is seen in their arguments for the case, which went much deeper into the philosophy of law than the points of technicality that Wang An-shih put forth in his own argument. Therefore the fact that the opinion of Han Wei and Lü Kung-chu concurred to a certain extent with that of Wang An-shih should not be regarded as merely a factional chorus, but the outcome of their own independent legal reasoning.

THE CASE OF A YÜN RECONSTRUCTED

What follows is my reconstruction of A Yün's case, incorporating the textual investigation discussed above. The case took place in Teng-chou Prefecture before 1068. A Yün, the wife of Wei A-ta, attempted to murder her husband because of his ugliness. While he was sleeping in a farm hut,

she hacked him with a knife over ten times, but was able only to sever one of his fingers. The district sheriff, unable to find any attacker, began to suspect A Yün and arrested her for questioning. She confessed under the threat of torture.

Prefect Hsü Tsun referred the case to the central government for two reasons: First, A Yün's marriage with A-ta should be considered invalid from the very beginning because the engagement occurred when A Yün was mourning for her deceased mother. She had thus committed only an offense against an ordinary person, not her husband. And the offense was punishable by strangulation. Second, A Yün confessed before a court inquisition and should therefore have been granted a two-degree reduction in punishment and sent into exile.

The case was first reviewed by the Supreme Court and the Judicial Review Council, then by the Board of Punishments. They all held that A Yün should be sentenced to strangulation according to the statutory provision that confession redemption would not apply if bodily harm had actually occurred. The throne eventually decided to exempt A Yün from death and sentenced her to penal registration.

Undismayed, Hsü Tsun appealed for a *liang-chih* review of A Yün's case. Emperor Shen-tsung ordered two Hanlin academicians, Ssu-ma Kuang and Wang An-shih, to review the case. They came to opposite conclusions, Ssu-ma Kuang supporting the board and Wang An-shih backing Hsü Tsun. On the advice of the censor-in-chief, the throne decided to convene a second *liang-chih* review. This time Lü Kung-chu, Han Wei, and Ch'ien Kung-fu were appointed to review the case. Their conclusion favored Wang's view and was accepted by the throne. An edict was issued on the third day of the seventh month, 1068, establishing a legal principle that for those who had plotted to kill but caused only wounds, punishment would be reduced by two degrees if they confessed before a court inquiry was conducted.

The issuance of this edict meant that officials in the Supreme Court, the Judicial Review Council, and the Board of Punishments who had held the opposite view on A Yün's case were now considered to have made an administrative mistake. They protested against the judicial ruling and persistently argued with Wang An-shih about the related points of law at the imperial court.

On their advice, Emperor Shen-tsung issued another edict on the third day of the second month, 1069, stating that all cases of premeditated killing where the criminal confessed prior to the court inquisition should be submitted to the throne for final decision.

But Liu Shu and Ting Feng, officers-in-charge of the Board of Punishments, returned the edict to the Grand Secretariat. They held that the content of this edict needed further deliberation. Wang An-shih, now deputy prime minister, also thought the recommended procedures unnecessary. After debating with T'ang Chieh, another deputy prime minister, Wang An-shih convinced the emperor to issue a new edict on the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069. This new edict reconfirmed the principles in the edicts issued on the third day of the seventh month, 1068, and rescinded the edict of the third day of the second month. But this edict of the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069, was circulated among the judicial offices only in the capital, not in the entire country.

Liu Shu and his colleagues strongly objected to this new edict and asked to have it reviewed by the *liang-fu*, a suggestion supported by the Censorate and at least one prime minister. Emperor Shen-tsung disliked their suggestion, but he nevertheless ordered the case passed to the Privy Council and the Grand Secretariat. There opinions again split into two camps.

An imperial decision was finally handed down on the first day of the eighth month, 1069. It formally rescinded the edict of the third day of the second month and reconfirmed the rulings in the edict of the third day of the seventh month, 1068. Ssu-ma Kuang submitted a memorial on the fifth day of the eighth month as a last attempt to counter this decision. Meanwhile, Liu Shu, together with censors Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi, also submitted a memorial to the throne, criticizing Wang An-shih's stand on A Yün's case and his reform policies. But Emperor Shen-tsung rejected their memorial outright. Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi were demoted on the ninth day of the eighth month, 1069; Liu Shu and two others who had previously been involved in the debate on A Yün's case were subject to investigation for violation of administrative rules. Ssu-ma Kuang forwarded another memorial on the eleventh day of the eighth month to defend their cases. But the emperor took no heed of his

opinion. The three were all demoted on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month. The debate over A Yün's case came to an end.

NOTES

1. Shen Chia-pen, *Chi-i wen-ts'un*, collected in *Li-tai hsing-fa k'ao* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1985), vol. 4, pp. 2161-2169. Other legal historians who have studied the case include Hellmut Wilhelm; see his "Der Prozess der A Yün," *Monumenta Serica* 1 (1935-1936), pp. 338-351; Albert Borowitz, "Strict Construction in Sung China: The Case of A Yün," *American Bar Association Journal* 63 (April 1977), pp. 522-528; Hsü Tao-lin, *Chung-kuo fa-chih-shih lun-lüeh* (Taipei: Chung-cheng shu-chü, 1953), pp. 73-79; John Langlois, Jr., "'Living Law' in Sung and Yüan Jurisprudence," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.1 (1981), pp. 165-217; Miyazaki Ichisada, "The Administration of Justice during the Sung Dynasty," in *Essays on China's Legal Tradition*, ed. Jerome Cohen, Randle Edwards, and Fu-mei Chang Chen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 56-75, esp. pp. 67-69 (this is an abridged translation of Miyazaki's "Sō-gen jidai no hōsei to saiban kikō," *Tōyō gakuho* 24 [1954], pp. 115-226); Brian McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 501-503.
2. The most detailed account comes from Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1963; hereafter abbreviated as *WHTK*) 170, pp. 1475-1476. Also widely cited is T'o T'o, *Sung shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977) 201, pp. 5006-5007; 330, pp. 10627-10628. Other sources used in previous scholarship include Li T'ao, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1961) 411, p. 13a; Huang I-chou, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien shih-pu* 3, pp. 15b-17b, collected in Li T'ao, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, book 7, pp. 2149-2150; Wang Ch'eng, *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1967) 112, pp. 7a-b; Ssu-ma Kuang, *Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma kung wen-chi* (Ssu-pu tsung-k'an ch'u-pien edn.) 38, pp. 11b-13b; Han Wei, *Nan-yang chi* (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edn.) 26, pp. 1a-8a. Shen Chia-pen provided the first serious research into this case. But he did not attempt to reconstruct an account of A Yün's case, merely citing the two passages from the *Sung shih* and the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*. See his *Chi-i wen-ts'un* 4, pp. 2161-2166. Three later studies have attempted to give a full narrative of the case. See Wilhelm, "Der Prozess der A Yün," pp. 338-349; Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, pp. 74-75; Langlois, "'Living Law,'" pp. 201-207.
3. Although Langlois' interpretation of A Yün's case differed from that of Hsü, his account of the case was basically a translation of Hsü's reconstruction.
4. "Fu Pi was so put out that he simply resigned"; Langlois, "'Living Law,'" p. 207. In fact, Fu did not resign. He just claimed to be sick.
5. "To honor the original edict from the summer of 1068"; *ibid.* It should be the edict of the seventeenth day of the second month, 1069, though the latter actually reconfirmed the ruling of the former.

6. Previous scholarship usually suggests that all capital sentences passed at the prefectural level should be referred to the central government for final review and approval before execution. See Hsü Tao-lin, "Sung-ch'ao hsing-shih shen-p'an chung ti fu-ho-chih," in his *Chung-kuo fa-chih-shih lun-chi* (Taipei: Chih-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1975), pp. 230-248; esp. p. 240. Miyazaki Ichisada, on the other hand, believes that a capital penalty sentenced at the prefectural court must be reviewed and approved by the circuit government before execution. See his "Administration of Justice," p. 65. Both views are modified by Tai Chien-kuo in his "Sung-tai hsing-shih shen-p'an chih-tu yen-ch'iu," *Wen-shih* 31 (1988), pp. 116-143, esp. pp. 131-133. According to Tai, prior to the 1080s, cases of capital punishment with no doubtful points of fact or law would be settled by the prefectural government. This included the execution of the sentence. It was only after the 1080s that such cases were carefully reviewed by the central judicial offices. They also needed to be reviewed and endorsed by the circuit government prior to execution.
7. *Sung hsing-t'ung* (Peking: Chung-kuo shu-tien, 1990; hereafter abbreviated as *SHT*) 30, pp. 5b-10a. See also Tai, "Hsing-shih shen-p'an," p. 132.
8. Tai, "Hsing-shih shen-p'an," pp. 133-135; Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," p. 65.
9. This term has also been translated as the "Counsellor's Committee."
10. Miyazaki, "The Administration of Justice," pp. 66-69; Tai, "Hsing-shih shen-p'an," pp. 133-135. It should be noted that the Sung Supreme Court, unlike its counterparts in the Han and the T'ang, was not a real trial court but part of the judicial review apparatus. Its function was similar to that of the Judicial Review Council.
11. Charles Hucker explains the term "*liang-chih*" as "Two drafting groups on duty in the Administration Chamber (cheng-shih t'ang), where Grand Councilors (tsai-hsiang) presided over the central government; one group consisted of Hanlin Academicians (han-lin hsüeh-shih) of the Institute of Academicians (hsüeh-shih yüan), collectively called Inner Drafters (nei-chih); the other consisted of nominal members of the Secretariat (chung-shu sheng), collectively called Outer Drafters (wai-chih). The collective designation of both groups was Drafters (chih-chih-kao). As such, chih-chih-kao was equivalent to liang-chih." See Charles Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 309. But this was not the case during the Sung because "*chih-chih-kao*" was clearly a more minor position in the "*chung-shu-sheng*," which also had an edict-drafting function but usually dealt with less important affairs. This group was called Outer Drafters. In contrast, Hanlin academicians were usually more prestigious and in charge of drafting important edicts at the "*han-lin yüan*," which was located inside the palace city, and they were thus called Inner Drafters. "*Liang-chih*" therefore referred to Hanlin academicians and "*chih-chih-kao*." See *WHTK* 54, pp. 490-491. Langlois translated "*liang-chih*" as the "two counsellors," which does not reflect the function of the title either. See his "Living Law," p. 205.

12. Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," pp. 66-69; Tai, "Hsing-shih shen-p'an," pp. 133-135.
13. *SHT* 5, p. 4b.
14. *Ibid.* 17, pp. 9a-b.
15. *Ibid.* 5, pp. 1a-2a and 5a. The interpretation of this article was in fact the crux of the legal debate concerning the case of A Yün. It is, however, clear that up to the trial of A Yün's case, the conventional interpretation had been a strict construction of the wording: no voluntary confession was to be accepted in cases of "plotting to kill" whereby the victim had suffered bodily harm or wounds.
16. *SHT* 1, pp. 7b-8a, 11b. See also Wallace Johnson, *The T'ang Code* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 65-68, 78-80.
17. *SHT* 17, pp. 7a-b. For Sung death penalties, including irregular cases apart from the two types of cases mentioned here, see McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, pp. 446-471.
18. *Sung shih* 330, p. 10627. For uncritical acceptance of this account in the *Sung shih* by later scholars, see Shen, *Chi-i wen-ts'un* 4, pp. 2161-2162; Wilhelm, "Der Prozess der A Yün," p. 338; Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, pp. 73-76; Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," pp. 67-68; Borowitz, "Strict Construction," p. 523; Langlois, "Living Law," pp. 202-204; McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, p. 502.
19. Shen, *Chi-i wen-ts'un* 4, pp. 2161-2162. Wilhelm does not appreciate the legal implication of the betrothal issue and holds that it is legally irrelevant. See Wilhelm, "Der Prozess der A Yün," p. 341 and n. 1.
20. Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, p. 76. *SHT* 1, p. 8a. See also Johnson, *T'ang Code*, p. 68.
21. Ssu-ma Kuang, *Ssu-ma wen-chung kung ch'uan-chia-chi* (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edn.; hereafter abbreviated as *CCC*). This work has many editions. The Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edition was reproduced on the basis of a Ming edition printed in the mid-fifteenth century. There is a very good edition printed by Pei-yüan T'ang and edited by Ch'en Hung-mou in 1741. Since the edition that I am using contains epilogues indicating that its earlier version was reprinted at least twice in 1183 and 1224 respectively, its content may be traced back to the Sung editions. See Wang Chung-min, *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 517; Ch'ü Liang-shih, *T'ieh-ch'in t'ung-chien lou tsang-shu t'i-pa chi-lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1985), pp. 257-258. For extant editions of the *CCC*, a useful reference can be found in Szechuan ta-hsüeh ku-chi cheng-li yen-chiu-so, ed., *Hsien-ts'un Sung jen pieh-chi pan-pen mu-lu* (Chengtu: Pa-shu shu-she, 1989), pp. 54-56.
22. *CCC* 40, 1a.
23. See Langlois, "Living Law," p. 201, n. 126. The full text of the memorial was also quoted in a note in the *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien shih-pu* 3, pp. 15b-16b.
24. Ssu-ma Kuang, *Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma kung wen-chi* 38, p. 11b. This edition is the facsimile of a Sung version with a preface dated 1132 in the T'ieh-ch'in

- t'ung-chien lou collection. However, it should be noted that the same work is mistakenly marked as a "shao-hsi" reign period edition (1190-1194) in the Ssu-pu tsung-k'an edition. For information on this Sung edition, see Chü Yung, *T'ieh-ch'in t'ung-chien lou shu-mu* (1898 edn.) 20, pp. 9b-14a.
25. For instance, in the title note to a memorial which was written in 1082 but was never submitted to the throne, there is a usage of the first person, "wu" (literally "me"). See CCC 17, p. 20a. For Ssu-ma Kuang's compilation of his own works, see Ch'ao Kung-wu, *Chün-chai tu-shu-chih chiao-cheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1990) 19, p. 1001.
 26. For instance, in the title note to a memorial dated 1056, we find the Ssu-ma self-identification "Kuang." See CCC 19, p. 1a. Later Ssu-ma Kuang's descendants added some notes to his work. We can easily identify these notes because Ssu-ma Kuang's descendants would not impolitely address him simply as "Kuang." For instance, a title note to an undated memorial on the policy of establishing the "kung-shou" system in Che-chiang reads: "My late father (*hsien-kung*) [i.e., Ssu-ma Kuang] was a prefect of Hang-chou when he wrote this memorial [on behalf of another official]." See *ibid.* 18, p. 1a.
 27. For example, Wang ch'eng, *Tung-tu shih-lüeh*; Yang Chung-liang, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien chi-shih pen-mo*; Yang Chung-liang, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien chi-shih pen-mo* (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1967; hereafter abbreviated as *CPCSPM*).
 28. *SHT* 13, pp. 16a-17b.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 15a.
 30. *Sung shih* 330, p. 10627; CCC 40, p. 3b.
 31. Langlois, "Living Law," p. 202.
 32. Wilhelm, "Der Prozess der A Yün," p. 338; Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," p. 67; Borowitz, "Strict Construction," p. 523.
 33. Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," p. 61; Hsü Tao-lin, "Sung-ch'ao ti hsien-chi ssu-fa," in his *Chung-kuo fa-chih-shih lun-chi*, pp. 129-154, pp. 148-149; Wang Yün-hai, ed., *Sung-tai ssu-fa chih-tu* (K'ai-feng: Ho-nan ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1992), pp. 265-269.
 34. Shen Chia-pen argued that A Yün did not confess until she was interrogated, and her confession should therefore not be accepted as a voluntary confession. See his *Chi-i wen-ts'un*, p. 2162. See also Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," p. 68. Shen's argument would have been sound if that interrogation was part of a formal court inquisition. But as we have seen, that was not the case. Wang Yün-hai also touches on this matter. He is more sympathetic toward A Yün but still holds that she confessed during a formal trial. See Shen's *Sung-tai ssu-fa chih-tu*, pp. 129-130.
 35. See *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* 112, p. 7a; *Sung shih* 330, p. 10627.
 36. Shen, *Chi-i wen-ts'un*, p. 2162. Wilhelm noticed that Hsü Tsun had a notable legal career but incorrectly took him as a legal official in Teng-chou. See his "Der Prozess der A Yün," p. 339, n. 1.
 37. Hsü Tao-lin did not touch on Hsü Tsun's justification for referring the case to the central court at all. See his *Lun-lüeh*, p. 73.

38. *WHTK* 170, p. 1475. Records in the *Sung shih* are unclear as to whether Hsü Tsun had already put forth his argument about voluntary confession. See *Sung shih* 330, pp. 10627–10628. My reconstruction here is based primarily on *WHTK*. It is consistent with another account in an important but seldom cited Sung source: *CPCSPM* 75, pp. 13a–b.
39. *WHTK* 170, p. 1475. Miyazaki, Hsü Tao-lin, and Langlois hold that the Supreme Court was the only judicial body that reviewed the case at this time. See Miyazaki, “Administration of Justice,” p. 67; Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, pp. 73–74; and Langlois, “Living Law,” p. 204.
40. *SHT* 5, p. 1b, pp. 5a–b. According to the law of voluntary confession, there are six exceptions where the law will not apply. One of them is that the crime has resulted in bodily harm or wounds (*yü jen sun-shang*). The term “*sun*” is defined as any damage to the body and “*shang*” as wounds with bleeding. But the degrees of severity of these “bodily harm or wounds” are not clearly defined.
41. *WHTK* 170, p. 1475. This record only says that A Yün was pardoned from death. However, Ssu-ma Kuang’s memorial *T’i-yao shu* is more specific, indicating that she was pardoned from death but sentenced to penal registration. For penal registration, see McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, pp. 385–445, esp. pp. 401–402 on penal registration of women. See also Kuo Tung-hsü, “Sung-tai pien-kuan-fa,” *Ho-pei ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao*, no. 3 (1992), pp. 12–16.
42. Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, p. 74; Langlois, “Living Law,” p. 205.
43. For instance, *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* 112, pp. 7a–b; *CPCSPM* 75, p. 13b; *WHTK* 170, p. 1475.
44. Langlois and Hsü Tao-lin uncritically used the account in the *Sung shih* and incorrectly interpreted “*p’an ta-li*” as “a judge in the High Court of Justice.” See Langlois, “Living Law,” p. 205; Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, p. 74. This position in fact signified the head of the Supreme Court. For the function of “*p’an ta-li*,” see *WHTK* 56, pp. 506–507.
45. This passage was quoted in a commentary to the *Hsü tzu-chih t’ung-chien ch’ang-pien* 411, p. 12a.
46. *Sung shih* 201, p. 5006; 330, p. 10628.
47. Members of this committee included Han Wei, Lü Kung-chu, and Ch’ien Kung-fu. But Wilhelm omitted Han from this list; see “Der Prozess der A Yün,” p. 339. The full text of the report prepared by this committee is in *Nan-yang chi* 26, pp. 1a–8a. See also McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, p. 502, n. 99.
48. The exact date is given in *CPCSPM* 75, p. 13a. See also *WHTK* 170, pp. 1475–1476.
49. Hsü Tao-lin mistakenly placed the forming of the committee after the issuance of the edict on the third day of the seventh month, 1068. See his *Lun-lüeh*, p. 74. See also Langlois, “Living Law,” pp. 206–207.
50. The circumstances under which the edict of the third day of the second month was issued are vital but highly obscure in primary sources. However, another memorial submitted by Han Wei in response to this edict reads: “[We submitted our report on the debate between Wang An-shih and Ssu-ma Kuang]. . . . Later, the judicial officers (*fa-kuan*) held that if those who had plotted to kill

- but merely injured the victim were allowed to confess [and enjoy a reduction of punishment], the same interpretation should also be applied to those who had actually killed." See Han Wei, *Nan-yang chi* 26, pp. 6a–b. Without documentary support, Hsü Tao-lin assumed that the edict of the third day of the second month was a compromise out of the debate. See his *Lun-lüeh*, p. 74. Langlois also followed Hsü's argument. See Langlois, "Living Law," p. 207.
51. Hsü Tao-lin and Langlois misinterpreted the text. Langlois translated the edict as: "From now on, in cases of wounding in the course of [attempted] premeditated killing"; see his "Living Law," p. 207. See also Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, p. 75.
 52. Before 1080, the Board of Punishments was headed by two officers-in-charge who were usually the concurrent "*chih-tsa yü-shih*." Its nominal heads, the vice minister of the Board of Punishments (*hsing-pu shih-lang*) and director (*lang-chung*), were usually assigned to other duties. See *WHTK* 52, p. 481.
 53. *Nan-yang chi* 26, pp. 6b–7a.
 54. *WHTK* 170, pp. 1475–1476.
 55. This was reported in a memorial by Lü Hui who harshly criticized Wang An-shih. See Lü Tsu-hsien, ed., *Huang-ch'ao wen-chien* (Ssu-pu tsung-k'an ch'u-pien edn.) 50, pp. 597b–598a. See also Ch'en Chün, *Sung-pen huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1966) 18, p. 7b.
 56. *WHTK* 170, p. 1476. There is a textual problem here. According to *WHTK*, the date of this edict was the seventeenth day (*keng-yin*) of the second month. But this date was recorded in numerical form as the twenty-seventh day of the same month in *CPCSPM* 75, p. 13b. As the twenty-seventh day of this month would be "*keng-tzu*," Yang probably mixed up "*keng-yin*" and "*keng-tzu*," and incorrectly put down the latter as the date on which the edict was issued.
 57. This is revealed in the words of Liu Shu. See *WHTK* 170, p. 1476.
 58. Langlois holds that the edict of the seventeenth day of the second month was returned because of a vehement storm of protest by the officials, and that it was only sent to the Privy Council. This is inaccurate. See Langlois, "Living Law," p. 207. Miyazaki, on the other hand, states that Liu's objection to the edict was meant to argue "against the issuance of such executive directives to judges presiding in pending cases"; see "Administration of Justice," p. 68. But Miyazaki's opinion is not supported by the relevant records in the *WHTK*.
 59. *WHTK* 170, p. 1476.
 60. The date for the issuance of this edict, the first day of the eighth month, is indicated by a record in the *CPCSPM* 75, p. 13b. See also *WHTK* 170, p. 1476.
 61. In *CPCSPM* 81, pp. 9a–b, the date is given as the second day of the eighth month; but in Ssu-ma Kuang's *wen-chi* it became the fifth day of the same month. See *CPCSPM* 5, p. 8a. Since it took time to write a long, articulate, and critical memorial to the throne, it would be more sensible to have the memorial dated the fifth day of the eighth month than the second day of the eighth month.
 62. For the full text of the *T'i-yao shu*, see *CCC* 43, pp. 1a–12b. The event itself was recorded in *WHTK* 170, p. 1476, and *CPCSPM* 81, pp. 9a–b. The narrative

in the *WHTK* gives the impression that the *T'i-yao shu* was submitted to the throne after the demotion of some judicial officials. This is incorrect because the first order for those demotions was issued on the ninth day of the eighth month, whereupon Ssu-ma Kuang responded promptly with another memorial, dated the eleventh day of the eighth month, specifically protesting the act. It is therefore clear that demotions of those officials had not yet happened when Ssu-ma Kuang submitted his *T'i-yao shu*.

63. *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien shih-pu* 5, pp. 8a-9b; *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* 78, p. 7a. For the main portion of the memorial see *Sung-pen huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* 18, pp. 9a-10a. The account given in the *Sung shih* 321, p. 10432, says that Liu Shu submitted the memorial together with Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi when he was under investigation. This is incorrect because Liu Shu was put under investigation on the ninth day of the eighth month, the same day on which the other two were demoted.
64. Primary sources are inconsistent about these events. A record in *WHTK* 170, p. 1476, confuses the dates and events. A record in *CPCSPM* 75, p. 14a, confuses the date on which Liu and others were put under investigation (the ninth day of the eighth month) and the date of Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial (the eleventh day of the eighth month). Neither of the two works mentions the demotion of two censors, Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi. The most reliable source concerning these events is Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial. See *CCC* 42, pp. 11b-12b.
65. *CCC* 42, pp. 11b-12b.
66. *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien shih-pu* 5, pp. 9a-b. *Sung shih* 14, p. 271.
67. Shen, *Chi-i wen-ts'un*, pp. 2162, 2167, 2169.
68. Hsü Tao-lin, *Lun-lüeh*, p. 79.
69. Hsü Tao-lin, *Chung-kuo fa-chih-shih lun-chi*, p. 105.
70. His view is similar to that of Hsü's. See Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," pp. 68-69. Although Miyazaki's article is an abridged translation of its Japanese version published as early as 1954, the original text does not include such a view. See Miyazaki, "Sō-gen jidai no hōsei," p. 144.
71. Miyazaki, "Administration of Justice," p. 69.
72. McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, p. 502.
73. Borowitz, "Strict Construction," pp. 525, 528.
74. Langlois, "'Living Law,'" pp. 216-217.
75. For instance, *CPCSPM* 75, pp. 13a-14a; Li T'ao's commentary note to his *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* 411, p. 13a; the memorial written jointly by Liu Ch'i and Ch'ien Yi, and another memorial by Fan Shun-jen, partially quoted in the *Sung-pen huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* 18, pp. 9a-11a; Lü Hui's memorial in the *Huang-ch'ao wen-chien* 50, pp. 597b-598a; Shao Po, *Shao shih wen-chien hou-lu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983) 21, pp. 165-166.
76. See Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial of the eleventh day of the eighth month in *CCC* 42, pp. 11b-12b. *Shao shih wen-chien hou-lu* 21, p. 165. Indirectly, it is echoed in the *Sung shih* 331, p. 10628.
77. See, for example, the passage from *Shen-tsung shih-lu* identified in n. 45 above. See also *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* 112, p. 7b.

78. *Sung shih* 14, pp. 264-271. There are too many works on Wang An-shih to cite them all. The best English account comes from James Liu, *Reform in Sung China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1959).
79. *Sung shih* 321, p. 10430. See also Shao Po-wen, *Shao shih wen-chien-lu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983) 10, pp. 106-108.
80. *Huang-ch'ao wen-chien* 50, p. 597b.
81. *Sung shih* 321, p. 10422; 14, p. 271.
82. *Ibid.* 14, p. 271; 15, pp. 275-276; 336, pp. 10773-10774.
83. *Nan-yan chi* 26, p. 7a.
84. *Sung shih* 315, p. 10307.
85. *Ibid.* 327, p. 10543; *Shao shi wen-chien lu* 3, pp. 24-25; 9, p. 92. For the political influence that eminent families had during the Northern Sung, see Kinugawa Tsuyoshi, "Sōdai no meizoku-Kōnan Rōshi no baai," *Kōbe shōka daigaku jinbunronshō*, 9.1-2 (1973), pp. 134-166. Wang Chang-wei, "Sung-tai shih-tsu hun-yin yen-chiu," *Hsin shih-hsüeh* 43 (1993), pp. 19-58.
86. Wang explicitly wanted Lü to be promoted to prime minister in the hope that under Lü's leadership he could serve the government better. See *Shao shih wen-chien lu* 12, p. 125.

GLOSSARY

A Yün 阿云	hsing-pu 刑部
A Yün hsü chia wei hsing 阿云許嫁未行	Hsü Tao-lin 徐道鄰
an-wen yü-chü 案問欲舉	Hsü Tsun 許遵
ch'eng-ch'in 成親	K'ai-feng 開封
Chiang-ning-fu 江寧府	Kuang 光
Ch'ien Kung-fu 錢公輔	kuan-ssu 官司
Ch'ien Yi 錢顓	kung-shou 弓手
chih-chih-kao 知制誥	li 吏
chih-tsa yü-shih 知雜御史	li chih 離之
chin-shih 進士	liang-chih 兩制
chung-shih 中使	liang-fu 兩府
chung-shu 中書	Liu Ch'i 劉崎
fan-jen 凡人	Liu Shu 劉述
Fu Pi 富弼	Lü Hui 呂誨
Han Wei 韓維	Lü Kung-chu 呂公著
hsien 縣	ming-fa 明法
hsien-wei 縣尉	Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定

- o-ni 惡逆
 p'an hsing-pu 判刑部
 p'an ta-li 判大理
 pen-fu 本夫
 pien-kuan 編管
 pu-mu 不睦
 san-p'in fu 三品服
 Shao-hsing 紹興
 Shen Chia-pen 沈家本
 shen-hsing-yüan 審刑院
 Shen-tsung 神宗
Shen-tsung shih-lu 神宗實錄
 shu-mi-yüan 樞密院
 Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光
Ssu-ma wen-cheng kung ch'uan-chia-chi
 司馬文正公傳家集
Sung shih 宋史
 ta-li-ssu 大理寺
- T'ang Chieh 唐介
 Teng-chou 登州
 t'i 體
 Ting Feng 丁諷
 ting-hun 訂婚
 T'i-yao shu 體要疏
 t'ui-chü 推鞠
Tung-tu shih-lüeh 東都事略
 Wang An-shih 王安石
 Wang Shih-yüan 王師元
 Wei A-ta 韋阿大
Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 文獻通考
Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma kung wen-chi
 溫國文正司馬公文集
 Ying-tsung 英宗
 yü-shih chung-cheng 御史中丞
 yü-shih t'ai 御史台



瓶廬老人七十一歲像

1. Portrait of Weng Tonghe at age seventy-one *sui* (1900), from his literary collection *Pinglu shichao*, compiled by Weng Yongsun (Changshu: Kaiwen She, n.d.). All other illustrations in this article are courtesy of Mr. Wan-go Weng.

The Weng Family Rare Book Collection

SÖREN EDGREN

The purpose of this essay is to introduce what is, to the best of my knowledge, the most important collection of Chinese rare books in private hands. In particular, I feel it is safe to say that there is no comparable collection of Song editions outside of China or Japan. That being said, we may ask ourselves how this group of rare editions was formed and how it found its way to the United States.

My acquaintance with the Weng family collection of Chinese rare books began in 1983, when I was invited by the China Institute in America in New York to be guest curator for an exhibition entitled "Chinese Rare Books in American Collections." At the time, Mr. Wango Weng (Weng Wange) was president of the China Institute.¹ Hitherto I had known of only a few rare books, albeit very important ones, belonging to Mr. Weng.² Without knowing the full extent of the collection, I inquired about borrowing some titles for the exhibition. After seeing a list of the early printed books, I insisted that it would be unfortunate, indeed, not to be able to present several of them in the exhibition, and in the end no less than thirteen items from the Weng collection were exhibited. The collection as a whole comes from Wango Weng's illustrious ancestor Weng Tonghe (1830–1904), and some of the books can even be traced back to Weng Tonghe's father, Weng Xincun

(1791–1862). It is a remarkable event anywhere to have preserved rare books in one family for over six generations.

The China Institute exhibition was the first of its kind, and the exhibition and catalogue received considerable attention, not least from China itself. I was not surprised, therefore, to hear from Mr. Weng of interest in China in publishing, in facsimile, several important editions from the collection. Different means of carrying out the enterprise were explored, and in 1993 an agreement was reached with Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, the publishing house affiliated with Beijing Tushuguan (Beijing National Library), to publish a collection entitled *Changshu Wengshi shicang guji shanben congshu* (Collectanea of rare editions from the collection of the Weng family of Changshu). The format will be consistent with recently published facsimile collections such as *Guyi congshu sanbian* (Collectanea of long lost editions, third series). Publication is expected in 1994 and will comprise the complete contents of seven Song editions: *Jiyun* (no. 13), *Shaozi guanwupian, fu Shaozi yuqiao wendui* (no. 35), *Changduan jing* (no. 43), *Jianjie lu* (no. 47), *Huichang yipin zhiji* (no. 56), *Dingmao ji* (no. 57), and *Songshan jushi wen quanji* (no. 60).

Mr. Weng himself has written a “concise account” in Chinese of the history of the formation of the collection and some of the circumstances surrounding it, to appear as a preface to the *Changshu Wengshi shicang guji shanben congshu*, and he has generously allowed me to translate and incorporate it into this article. I can think of no better or more appropriate introduction to the collection. The catalogue that follows it may be regarded as a preliminary effort to identify, classify, and describe the entire contents of the collection as presently constituted.

A Concise Account of the Library of the Weng Family of Changshu

BY WAN-GO WENG

Although Changshu, in Jiangsu Province, is a rather small place in China, it occupies a great place in the history of Chinese libraries. The case is well made by Mr. Qu Fengqi in his 1957 preface to *Yushan Qian Zunwang cangshu mulu huibian* (Combined catalogues of the library of Qian Zunwang of Yushan, that is, Changshu), compiled by Qian Zeng (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe, 1958):

There have been many book collectors in my home district of Yu [that is, Changshu], and the tradition has been handed down continuously for generations from the Yuan dynasty through the Qing. Under the “eminent personages” section of the local gazetteer, they are even grouped together in a special section, where the most distinguished collectors and their libraries number as many as thirty — for example, Yang Yi (*jinshi* 1526) and his Qikuai Shanfang and Wanjuan Lou; Sun Lou (1515–1584) and his Boya Tang; Zhao Yongxian (1535–1596) and his son Zhao Qimei (1563–1624) and their Mowang Guan; Qin Sanlin (*gongsheng* 1580) and his brother Qin Silin and their Youxuan Ting; Mao Jin (1599–1659) and his son Mao Yi (1640–1713) and their Jigu Ge; Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) and his Jiangyun Lou; Qian Zeng (1629–1701) and his Shugu Tang and Yeshi Yuan, et al.

All of the above were important collectors during the period from mid-Ming to early Qing. Up to the middle period of the Qing dynasty there also were Zhang Haipeng (1755–1816) and his nephew Zhang Jinwu (1787–1829) and their Jieyue Shanfang and Airi Jinglu; Chen Kui (1780–1825) and his Jirui Lou; and the Tieqin Tongjian Lou of the Qu family which had the distinction of having been kept for four generations from the late Qianlong period down to the Republican period.³ Although the Weng family has been involved with books for successive generations, compared to the above-mentioned collectors, the Weng collection is very small, and therefore the Wengs have not been celebrated as [major] book collectors. Nevertheless, as *Changshu Wengshi shicang guji shanben congshu* is about to be published, I would like to take the opportunity to explain briefly how the collection came into being.

The Weng family collection can be traced back to the time of Weng Xincun, a *jinshi* of 1822, the second year of the Daoguang reign, who was appointed tutor to the young Tongzhi emperor, albeit in the last year of his life; served as grand secretary of the Tiren Pavilion; and held such positions as minister of personnel, director-general of the Institute of Historiography, minister of revenue, and chief compiler of the Veritable Records. The books he collected were mostly for reading and personal use. He had three sons: Weng Tongshu (1810–1865), Weng Tongjue

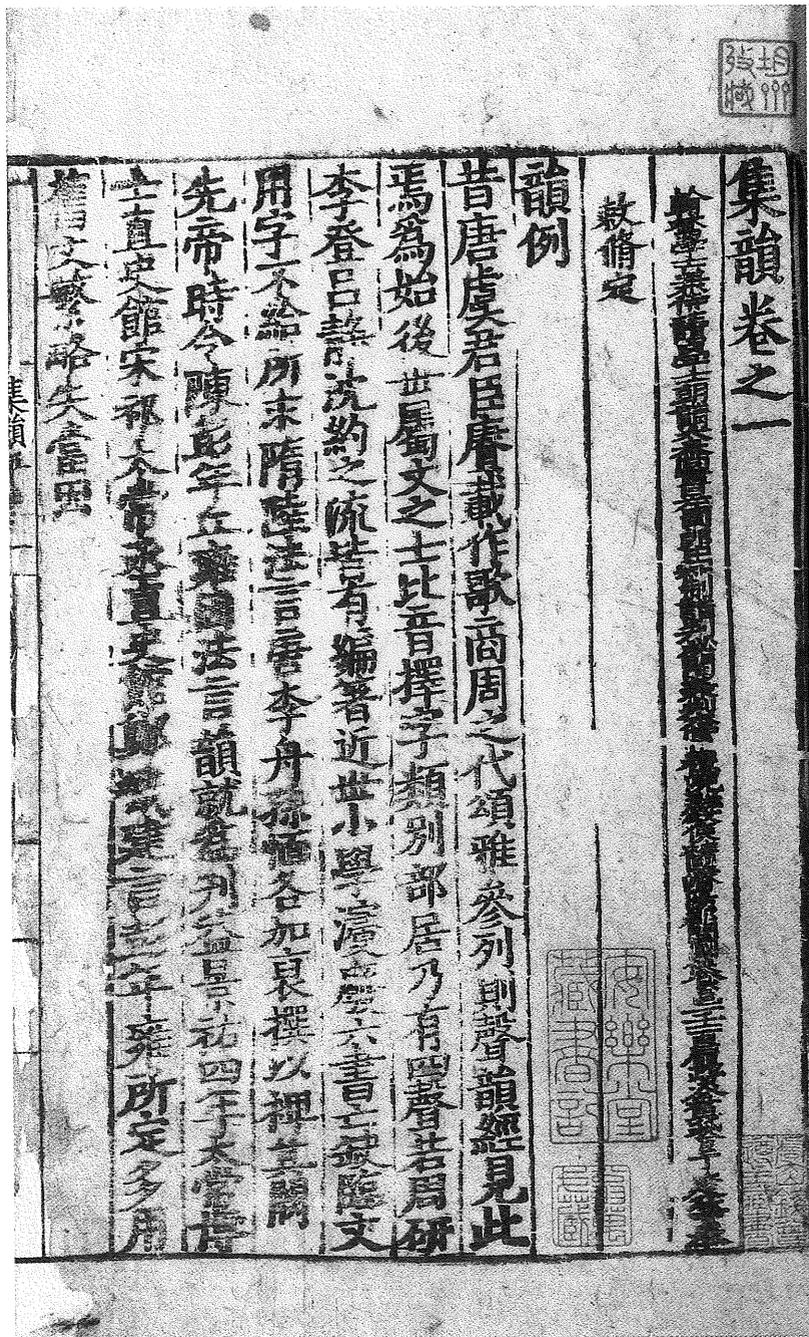
(1814–1877), and Weng Tonghe. All three sons attained rather high official positions, especially Weng Tonghe, who was the *zhuangyuan* of 1856 [that is, *optimus* in the *jinshi* examination of that year] and who became the tutor of both the Tongzhi and Guangxu emperors. He also served as minister of justice, minister of works, and minister of revenue, as well as grand minister of state and grand minister of the Foreign Office.⁴ Most of Weng Xincun's books were inherited by Weng Tongshu, who was twenty years older than the youngest, Weng Tonghe. "An elder brother is like a father," as it is said, and the two brothers were very close; therefore, some calligraphy, painting, and books were passed down to Weng Tonghe from Weng Xincun (posthumous title: Wenduan Gong) and Weng Tongshu (posthumous title: Wenqin Gong). That is why one of Weng Tonghe's collector's seals reads "Wenduan Wenqin liangshi shouze" (Bequeathed by two generations: Wenduan and Wenqin). Nevertheless, Wengong Gong [Weng Tonghe] himself must be regarded as the most important collector of rare books in the family.

From July 31, 1858, when Weng Tonghe was appointed deputy director of the provincial examination in Shaanxi, until June 27, 1904, just before he passed away, Weng Tonghe kept a diary.⁵ The main part of this historical document, which spans forty-seven years, is a record of his daily official and social life. In addition, there is a large portion that records his appreciation and collecting of calligraphy, painting, rubbings, and rare books. Take the book *Jiyun* (no. 13) as an example:

March 7, 1865. I saw a Song edition of *Jiyun* formerly belonging to Qian Zunwang [that is, Qian Zeng]; it is an amazingly rare book. I offered thirty [taels of] silver, but [the owner] would not sell it to me. The facsimile manuscript copy of a Song edition [of *Jiyun*] belonging to Zhu Xiubo [that is, Zhu Xueqin (1823–1875)], which has long been at my place, was copied from this exemplar.

March 8. I went to Liulichang⁶ in pursuit of the *Jiyun* and offered forty [taels of] silver, for which the bookseller agreed to send it over to me, but later he changed his mind and wanted to keep it for a higher price. How irritating!

March 10. I went to the bookshop and inquired about the *Jiyun*.



集韻卷之一

此書之纂集也韻與音聲並列則韻與音聲相輔而音聲之理亦明矣

敕脩定

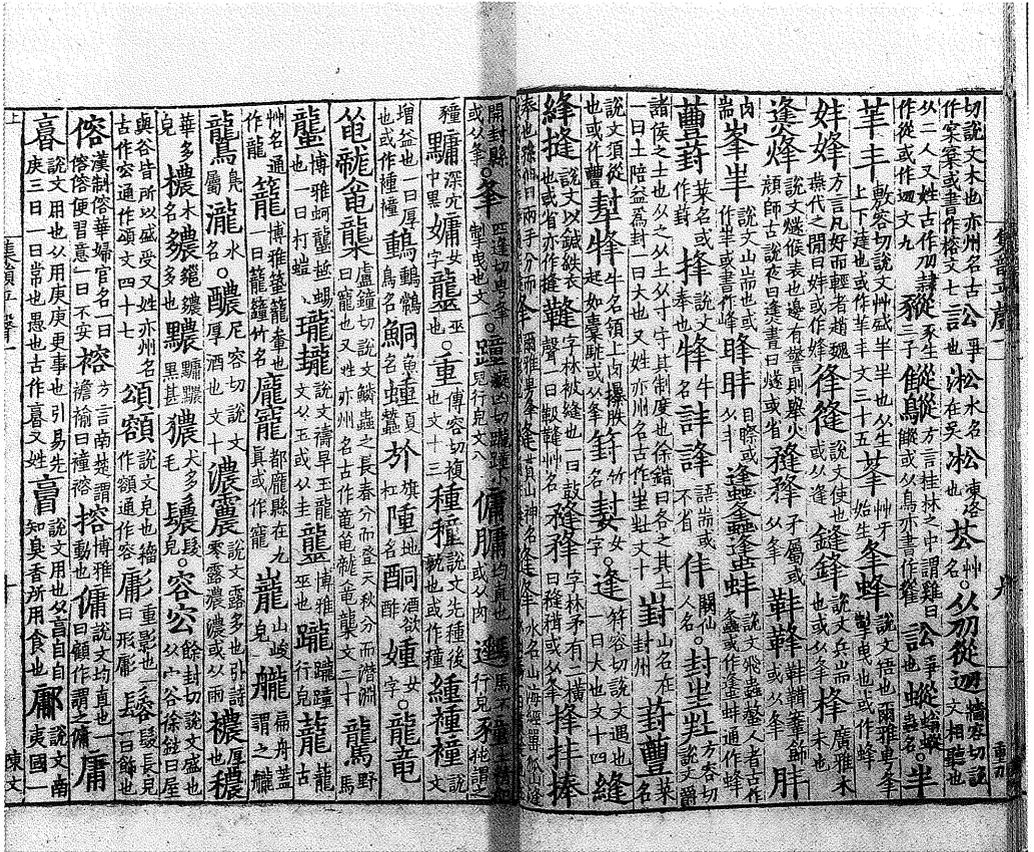
韻例

昔唐虞君臣賡載作歌商周之代頌雅參列則聲韻經見此
 焉為始後世屬文之士比音擇字類別部居乃有聲韻若周研
 李登呂靜沈約之流皆有編著近世小學廣聲六書亡缺隱文
 用字不給所未隋陸法言音李舟孫愐各加哀撰以裨其闕
 先帝時令陳彭年丘雍國法言韻就各列益景祐四年太常寺
 主直史館宋祁大常寺直史館鄭戡建言七年雍所定多用
 舊文繁略失當因

集韻

藏書
 官印
 官印

2. First page of text of the *Jiyun* (no. 13), slightly blurred from worn wood blocks, as mentioned in Weng Tonghe's diary entry of March 11, 1865.



3. Typical opening (*juan* 1, pp. 9b and 10a) of the *Jiyun* (no. 13), in this unique twelfth-century edition.

March 11. Although the Song edition of *Jiyun* [see illustrations 2 and 3] is blurred in many places [from worn wood blocks], it is truly from the collection of Yeshi Yuan [that is, Qian Zeng], filled with the fragrance of antiquity. As [Qian] Zunwang has said “How extraordinary! Like the sole surviving Lingguang [Palace] of Lu.”⁷ The manuscript copy possessed by [Zhu] Xiubo contains a line reading “Yushan Qian Zunwang Shugu tang collection” on each page, which shows that it was copied from this Song edition. After two hundred years, that I should have the opportunity to acquire this book, and that it can now be collated

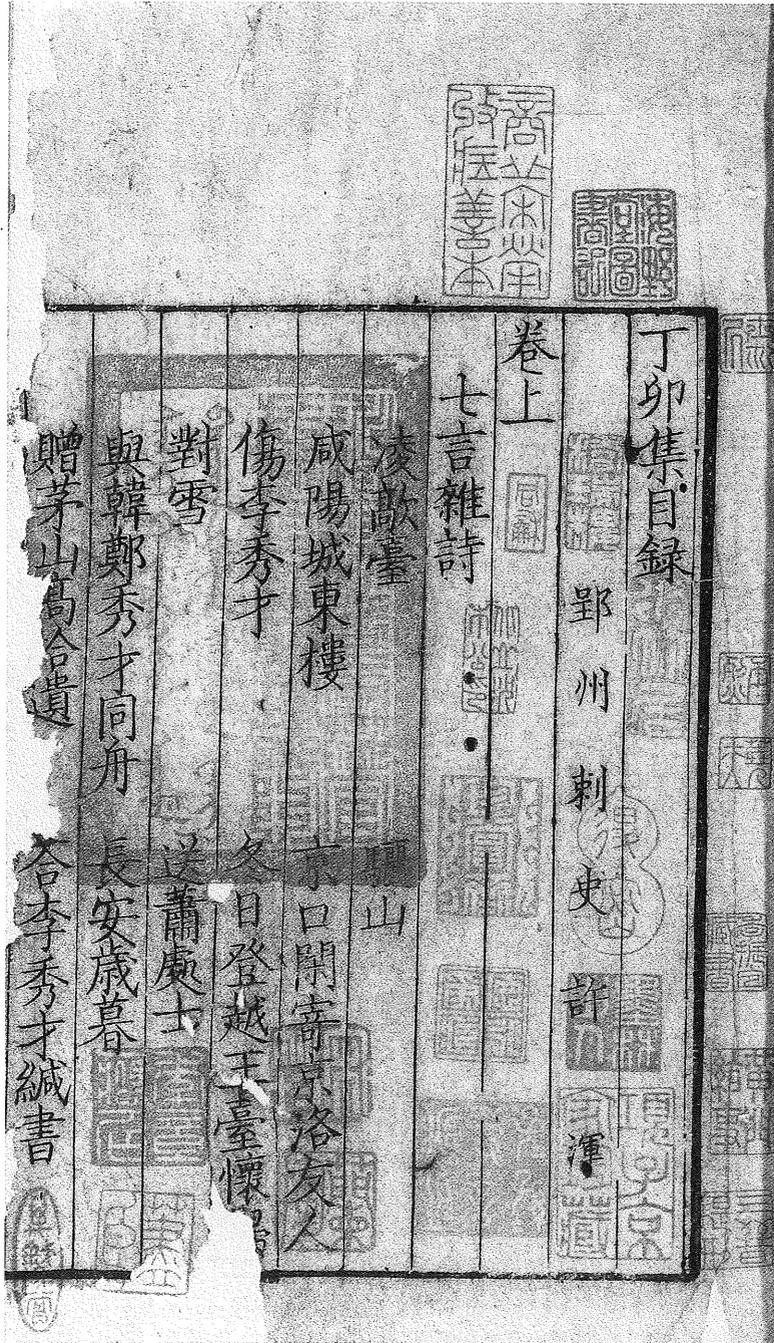
in this room of a later student from the same district, is truly a wonderful coincidence.

March 12. Now it is decided that I can buy the *Jiyun* for thirty-four [taels of] silver. It is from the dispersed collection of Prince Yi. Third brother [Weng Tongshu] and I previously had tried very hard to buy this book, but without success. Today it finally falls into my hands. On some future day, [at home] together with intimates, it will be discussed with even greater appreciation.

Within six days Weng Tonghe recorded five times how, after several years of searching, he had almost lost and ultimately got the book, vividly describing the decision-making process of acquiring the book and his feelings of good fortune.

From the colophons written by Weng Tonghe in the books he collected one also can see traces of how the collection was made. *Dingmao ji* [no. 57] is a good example. Although the book [see illustration 4] was handed down from Weng Xincun, when Weng Xincun wrote an inscription in the front of the book in 1849 it still belonged to the descendants of Chen Kui. It is in the inscription written by Weng Tonghe in 1881 that we come to know that after Chen Kui had passed away and his Jirui Lou collection had been scattered, “my father (Weng Xincun) couldn’t bear to see this particular book fall into the hands of vulgarians, so he bought it at the original price [paid by Chen to Huang Pilie (1763–1825)].” After this one, there is another inscription in which he recorded, “In the twelfth month of *gengyin* [that is, January–February 1891] I saw the Song edition of *Jianjie lu* [no. 47] from the collection of Shili Ju [that is, Huang Pilie]. . . . I wanted to buy it but couldn’t.” Immediately after this he continued: “In the third month of the next year [that is, April–May 1891] I bought the *Jianjie lu* at a price of three hundred [taels of] silver from an old family in Wumen [that is, Suzhou].” These activities are not recorded in the diary for those two months.

Sometimes it is necessary to look at both the diary and the colophons to find out what really happened. For instance, consider the *Shizhu Sushi* [no. 59]. The diary entry of August 7, 1869, records:



4. First page of the table of contents of *Dingmao ji* (no. 57), bearing numerous collectors' ex libris seal marks.

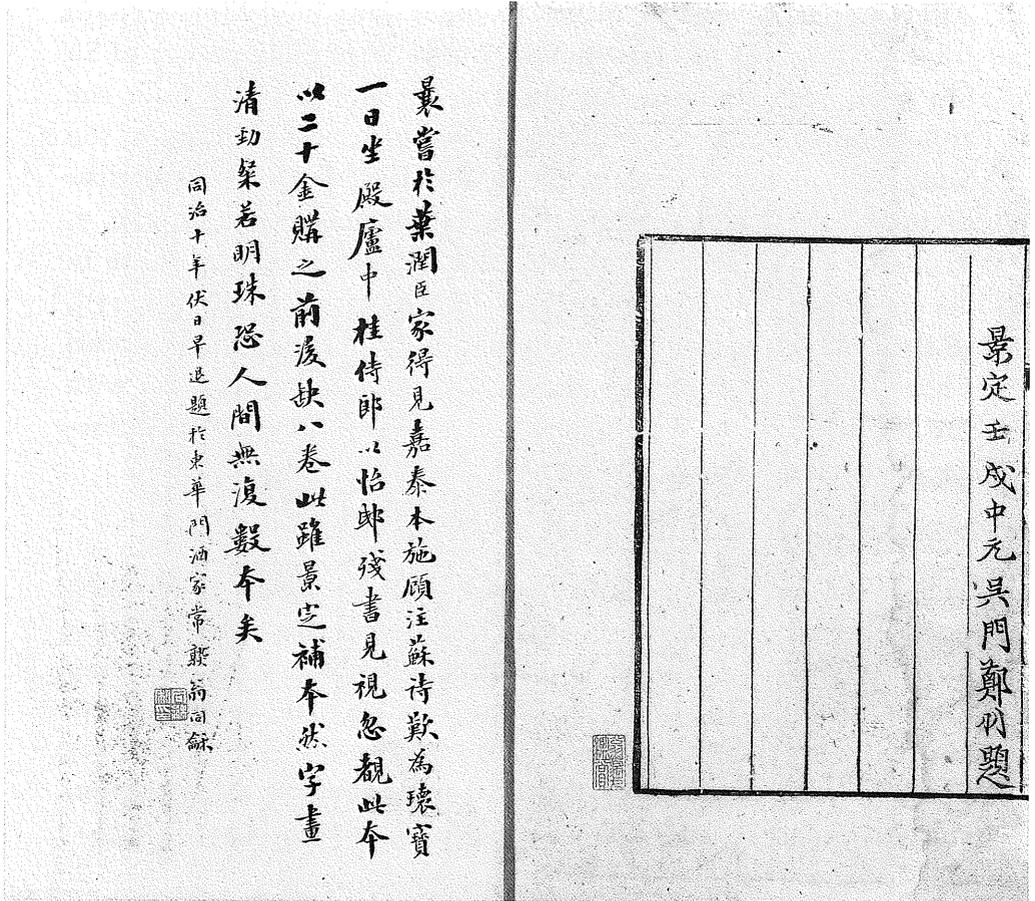
After supper, I went to an inn to meet with Vice Minister Gui [that is, Guiqing] and was shown *Shizhu Sushi* [The poetry of Su Shi with commentaries by Shi Yuanzhi and Gu Xi] from the collection of Prince Yi. It is truly a Song-period printing of the Song edition, but unfortunately it lacks ten *juan* [the chapterlike division of traditional Chinese books], namely *juan* 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, and 20. The missing *juan* are different from those in the copy obtained by Song Muzhong [that is, Song Luo (1634–1713)], so the matter awaits closer examination. [On August 8 he notes] I have examined the Song edition of *Sushi*, and comparison with the commentary of Wang Wengao (b. 1764) shows textual differences in many places. 23 *juan*.”⁸

In the entry for January 28, 1870, we observe the following:

In the afternoon I invited Xu Yinxuan [that is, Xu Tong (1819–1900)], Song Xuefan [that is, Song Jin (1802–1874)], Bao Huatan [that is, Bao Yuanshen (1812–1884)], and Pang Baosheng [that is, Pang Zhonglu] to drink [tea]; Gui Lianfang [that is, Guiqing] and Guang Shaopeng were expected but didn't come. I produced my Song editions of *Jiyun* and *Sushi* for our collective appreciation, and the guests let out sighs of surprise and admiration.

However, in Weng Tonghe's colophon [see illustration 5] at the end of *juan* 42 of *Sushi* there is a comparatively generalized record of events:

Previously I had seen the Jiatai [*sic*] edition of *Shi Gu zhu Sushi*⁹ at the home of Ye Runchen [that is, Ye Mingfeng (1811–1859)] and exclaimed it to be an extraordinary treasure. One day when I was staying in one of the palace pavilions, Vice Minister Gui brought an incomplete book from the collection of Prince Yi for me to see, and suddenly I recognized it to be the same edition and bought it for twenty [taels of] silver. It lacks about eight *juan*, and although it is the reprint edition [that is, reprinted fifty years later from original wood blocks with about 10 percent replacement blocks] of the Jingding period, the printing is clear and forceful, and bright as a pearl. There cannot be many copies like



5. From *Zhu Dongpo xiansheng shi* (no. 59). Weng Tonghe's colophon is written on the back flyleaf after the last line of Zheng Yu's printer's colophon.

this around! [Inscribed by] Weng Tonghe of Changshu at an inn by Donghua Gate, after leaving work early, summer 1871.

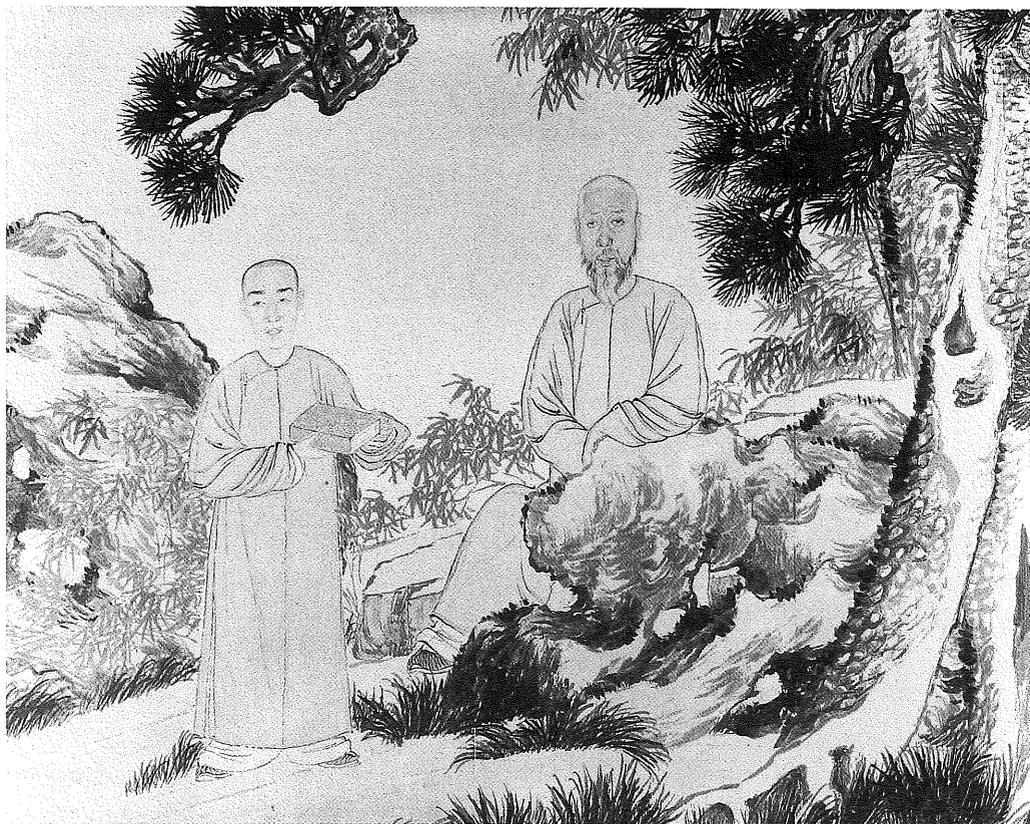
If we compare the two accounts, it seems that the diary entry of August 7, 1869, is correct: that he first saw the book at an inn and not in a palace hostel, and that it lacked ten *juan* and not eight *juan*. It is altogether possible that he bought the book in August for twenty [taels of] silver and no later than the following January showed it to his friends and fellow connoisseurs.

After Weng Tonghe's death in 1904, his collection was inherited by

his great-grandson Weng Zhilian (1882–1919), without much change in its contents. Weng Zhilian was adopted from Weng Tongshu's lineage. Weng Zhilian died in Tianjin, and since he had not had a son, he had adopted a son from his younger brother Weng Zhixi (1896–1972). This son's name is Weng Xingqing (now known as Weng Wange). At that time, the most important rare books in the collection were kept in the north because the weather was dry there and the region was relatively safe. Still, quite a large part of the collection was being kept at Caiyi Tang, our home in Changshu. (The Caiyi Tang property has been donated to the Changshu municipal government and has been made into the Weng Tonghe Memorial Hall.) Because of years of war and turmoil, everything in our home there was lost, including the books. Probably some of the books were not destroyed but dispersed into various public or private collections. The part in the north was kept intact because of the great care taken to protect it by Weng Zhilian's wife, Madame Qiang. After I grew up, the books were turned over to me, by which time the books had been kept for five generations, or six generations if one counts the small number of books from my great-great-great grandfather Weng Xincun.

To paint a complete picture of the Weng family collection, I should also talk about circumstances concerning the Weng Tongshu side of the family. The collection of Weng Tongshu also can be traced to Weng Xincun; later it was handed down to Weng Tongshu's grandson [see illustration 6] Weng Binsun (*jinsi* 1877) and then to Weng Binsun's son Weng Zhixi, who was my biological father. Forty-three years ago, my father donated all the rare books in the collection to Beijing Tushuguan. My elder brother, Weng Kaiqing, has described what transpired in his unpublished article "Postscript to the Catalogue of the Weng Family Donation in the Beijing Tushuguan Catalogue of Rare Books." Here I quote a major portion:

In the summer of 1950, less than six months after Tianjin was liberated, Messrs. Zhao Wanli and Gao Xizeng from Beijing Tushuguan called on us. They stayed at our house for more than two weeks, working night and day, selecting books from our family collection. All the rare books they chose were donated to the state by my father.¹⁰ Later, when Zhao Wanli compiled *Beijing Tushuguan shanben shumu* (Beijing Tushuguan catalogue of



6. Weng Tonghe at age fifty-four *sui* (1883), attended by Weng Binsun. Painted by Zhang Changhe.

rare books), the books donated by my father were identified as “Weng *juan*” (Weng’s donation). That is how I started to compile “Postscript to the Catalogue of the Weng Family Donation.” The catalogue itself is divided into four sections: *jing* (classics), *shi* (history), *zi* (philosophy), and *ji* (belles-lettres). According to bibliographical principles it includes Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing woodblock printed books as well as Ming and Qing manuscripts — altogether 2,413 volumes (*ce*). These rare books have been preserved by five generations of our family and include the collation notes, colophons, commentaries, and annotations of our ancestors. For more than two hundred years they have gone through wars and upheaval; they have survived natural disasters,

human calamities, and attacks by vermin. That they can, at last, be treasured by the nation and preserved for future generations, one cannot but feel a deep sense of good fortune.

In the *Beijing Tushuguan shanben shumu* some of the books that are not marked “Weng *juan*,” can, nevertheless, be seen to contain the collation notes and colophons of our ancestors. Included are Weng Xincun’s holographic manuscript of *Zhizhi Zhai yiji* (Collectanea of twenty-two works by Weng Xincun) in III volumes (*ce*) and Weng Tonghe’s holograph of *Pinglu conggao* (Collectanea of twenty-six works by Weng Tonghe) in 30 volumes (*ce*). It seems very likely that these books were collected from the Caiyi Tang at our old home in Changshu by Zhao Wanli in 1950, or that they came from old bookshops in Changshu, because we had told Zhao Wanli that there were still some books from the collection in the double walls of our old residence at Changshu. Because of the disturbances caused by the war, we were not sure about the fate of these books, but once he learned about them, Mr. Zhao went immediately to Changshu in search of the books. If that is the case, and it means that the books have been reunited with the original collection which my father had already given to the state to be preserved together in Beijing Tushuguan, then if books have feelings, they too will feel very fortunate.

A few years ago Beijing Tushuguan presented me with “A list of the books donated by Mr. Weng Zhixi” (a photocopy of a handwritten list). I browsed through it and found that there were very few Song, Jin, and Yuan printed editions, but many Ming and Qing printed editions, with Ming and Qing manuscripts constituting the largest portion. There were fewer than ten books containing Weng Xincun’s handwriting; over twenty with Weng Tongshu’s critical commentaries, colophons, or collation notes; and more than forty with Weng Tonghe’s, plus over ten works that he copied by hand. I did not count the holographs and manuscripts by all of our ancestors, but it is safe to say, in terms of quantity, that the main part of the Weng family rare book collection is already in Beijing Tushuguan.

Now I shall return to the books that had been passed down to me from Weng Tonghe, namely the part that had been kept in Tianjin with my adoptive father Weng Zhilian and later taken to the United States by me. There are over twenty manuscript editions and around sixty Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing woodblock editions, at the core of which are thirteen Song editions.¹¹ In 1987, Mr. Fu Xinian, who is the grandson of the famous rare book collector Fu Zengxiang (1872–1950), came to the United States to make a survey of Chinese painting and calligraphy in the major museums and of Chinese rare books in the main libraries. During the Christmas holidays of that year, he came to visit my home to look at my collections and was especially interested in the Song and Yuan woodblock editions. After returning to China Mr. Fu published an article entitled “Notes on the Chinese Rare Books Seen on My Visit to the United States” in the journal *Shupin* (1989, vol. 3, pp. 59–62). In the article he says of some ten Song and Yuan editions that “most of these are *unicum* editions, the whereabouts of which have been unknown for over a century.” He made rather detailed notes on nine of them, two of which had been seen at my ancestor’s home by his grandfather. For instance, in *Cang Yuan qunshu tiji* (Colophons and notes on rare books by Fu Zengxiang), edited by Fu Xinian (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989), *juan* 13, there is an entry entitled “Songkan *Shi Gu zhu Sushi* ba” (Colophon to the Song edition of *Shi Gu zhu Sushi*), a few lines of which I quote:

I recall that during 1913 and 1914, while residing in Tianjin, I was a neighbor of Commissioner Weng Jingzhi (that is, Weng Zhilian) from Changshu. We saw each other every day and spent much pleasant time dining and talking together. Since at least half of the book collection of master Songchan (that is, Weng Tonghe) was in his custody, one day I requested the privilege of viewing them. He showed me more than ten manuscripts and woodblock editions, the most treasured of which were the Song edition of *Jianjie lu* and this book [that is, the *Shi Gu zhu Sushi* as mentioned in the title of the entry by Fu Zengxiang].

In 1969, the latter was published as “Song Edition of *Shi Gu zhu Sushi*” in its original size and style of binding by Mr. Yan Yiping (Yiwen

Yinshuguan, Taipei), through the recommendation of Professors Zheng Qian and Tai Jingnong. (All three gentlemen have since passed away.) Presently, as advocated by Mr. Fu Xinian, Mr. Feng Huimin of Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe has proposed publishing a facsimile edition under the title *Changshu Wengshi shicang guji shanben congshu*, comprising eight titles (seven, if *Shaozi guanwu neiwaipian* and *Shaozi yuqiao wendui* are treated as a single title [no. 35]) of masterpieces from the Weng collection not previously republished. I very gladly agreed to cooperate. For the convenience of readers, Mme. Ji Shuying was asked to contribute [bibliographical] explanations, and I was asked to write about the origins of the collection. Although I had a traditional education at home when I was young, I have never studied Chinese bibliography. I came to study in the United States when I was around twenty, and my major was engineering. In the leisure time left over from business, photography, and documentary film making, I have studied Chinese painting and calligraphy by myself. Now as I get older, residing in a far corner of a foreign country, I truly feel unaccomplished. Since I was born into a family of book collectors and have the responsibility to preserve a small part of this cultural heritage, I have always thought that dissemination [through publication] is an essential step in preservation. I recall that my old home town witnessed a time when Mao Jin's family [father and son] and Zhang Haipeng's family [uncle and nephew] copied manuscripts and printed books by hand. Not shirking any hardship, they made great contributions to the publication and preservation of rare books, before which I feel embarrassed. Mao Jin, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and developed the *yingchao* method of producing manuscript facsimiles of early printed books, would be delighted beyond imagination if he could witness modern technologies such as photography, xerography, and offset printing, which can produce copies only a step below the quality of the original. And what Zhang Haipeng said two hundred years ago still holds true today: "Collecting books is not as good as reading books, and reading books is not as good as publishing them, because reading only benefits oneself, while publishing can enrich others. It can extend and advance the spirit of writers; it can benefit the coming generations." See *Chaoyi daifu Zhangjun xingzhuang* (Biography

of Zhang Haipeng), by Huang Tingjian (b. 1762), in Huang's collected prose writings, *Diliu xianxi wenchao*, *juan* 4.

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Mr. Fu Xinian and Mme. Ji Shuying, and to Mr. Qi Gong, who has written the calligraphy for the title of the publication. My thanks also go to all those at Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe involved with this project. Because I left China more than fifty years ago, errors and omissions in my account of the history of the collection are unavoidable; therefore, I sincerely request the instruction of specialists in China.

Lyme, New Hampshire, July 1993
Weng Wange (Wan-go H. C. Weng)

The following catalogue is based on my opportunity to view parts of the Weng collection on two occasions, first in 1983 in New York City in preparation for the China Institute exhibition, and, more recently, in 1990 in Lyme. Although I have not been able to study carefully every individual title in the collection, Mr. Weng has kindly provided me with copies of his own notes and copies of photographs of some specimen pages, all of which has contributed to my being able to make accurate descriptions of the books. Nevertheless, some tentative determinations remain, and in cases where doubts remain or further investigation is needed to solve a particular problem, mention usually is made in the relevant entry. The exceptional quality and circumstances of the collection call for a thorough bibliographical study, including analyses of annotations and colophons, of which this survey is merely a first step. A typical entry consists of title; author; place, date of publication, or description of edition; number of columns of text per page (half-folio); number of characters per column (if regular enough to be calculated); and the number of volumes. The descriptions are as brief as possible and often do not consist of complete grammatical sentences. The authors of handwritten annotations, colophons, and brief inscriptions are listed when identified, but doubtless there are omissions. The names of former well known collectors (excluding any members of the Weng family) are given at the end of each entry. The titles have been classified according to the traditional fourfold system with the following distribution: classics, fourteen titles; history, nineteen titles; philosophy, eighteen titles; belles-lettres, thirty-two titles.

CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF THE WENG FAMILY OF CHANGSHU

Classics

1. *Yugong gujin hezhu*. By Xia Yunyi (1596–1645). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of nineteen characters. Two volumes.

Geographical study of the *Shangshu* (or *Shujing*), the classic *Book of Documents*, with forty-four topographical illustrations in volume one. This manuscript probably is based on the late Ming printed edition (see *Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, ca. 1989, p. 40; hereafter *BTGSS*). Ex libris Chen Tingqing (1754–1829) and He Yuanxi (1766–1829).

2. *Shizhuan daquan*. By Hu Guang (1370–1418) et al. Early Ming printed edition. Eleven columns of twenty-one characters. Twenty volumes.

Imperially sponsored compilation of commentaries to the *Shijing*, the classic *Book of Odes*. Apparently a fifteenth-century edition published after the original Ming Palace edition.

3. *Sheli jijie*. By Li Liangneng et al. Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty characters. One volume.

Explicated passages from various sources relating to ceremonial archery, with special reference to sections of the *Yili*, the classic *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*. A sixteenth-century compilation, according to the preface dated 1538 by Zhu Jin. Ex libris Peng Yuanrui (1731–1803), with the usual triad of collection seals (reproduced in *Shanben cangshu yinzhang xuancui*, Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1988, pp. 200–201). The library of Peng Yuanrui was known for its large number of manuscript editions, many commissioned by Peng. The Weng collection contains six manuscripts from the Peng library (nos. 3, 22, 45, 61, 63, and 65); however, only one of them (no. 45) is written on Peng's own stationery and can safely be considered to have been commissioned by him.

4. *Sishu zhangju jizhu*. By Zhu Xi (1130–1200). Qing printed edition. Nine columns of seventeen characters. Six volumes.

This is the Zhu Xi recension of *Sishu*, the classic *Four Books* with

commentaries, and one of the many popular “reading editions” of this work published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Lunyu* (Analects), ten *juan*, two volumes; *Mengzi* (Mencius), seven *juan*, three volumes; *Daxue* (Great learning), and *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the mean), each one *juan*, one volume.

5. *Mengzi*. By Su Xun (1009–1066). Wuxing, 1617. Published by Min Qiji (1580–after 1661). Eight columns of eighteen characters. Two volumes.

The text of *Mengzi*, the classic *Mencius*, with commentaries by Su Xun printed in red and blue. The Min family of Wuxing was renowned for polychrome woodblock printing at the end of the Ming. According to an inscription dated 1868 by Weng Tonghe, he has added the annotations of Liu Dakui (1698–1779) to the text in yellow ink.

6. *Erya*. By Guo Pu (276–324). 1801. Published by Yixue Xuan. Twelve columns of twenty characters. Three volumes.

An illustrated edition of the classic *Erya*, the early Chinese lexicographical work, in a very large format, and presumably based on a Song illustrated edition. The Guo Pu commentary to the *Erya* is the earliest one extant. This edition, also known as *Erya yintu*, was published in 1801 by Zeng Yu (1759–1830) under the imprint of Yixue Xuan. The wood blocks were later acquired by Zhang Dunren (1754–1834), and again in 1840 by Delin (*jinshi* 1820), and once more by Song Qi in 1875. When Delin reprinted the work in 1849 he added his studio name, Ershiliuqin Shuwu, to the imprint area of the *neifengmian* (a sort of printed title page bound inside the front cover). The *neifengmian* of the Weng copy bears the dual imprint, indicating that it was printed after 1849, perhaps as late as 1877, when it was reissued by Song Qi.

7. *Shuowen jiezi*. By Xu Shen (ca. 55–ca. 149). Changshu, early Qing printed edition. Published by Jigu Ge. Seven columns of text. Three volumes.

This seventeenth-century edition of the *Shuowen*, the earliest extant Chinese dictionary, is based on the recension of Xu Xuan (916–991) and others in the early Song. The Weng copy is a particularly early impression of the Jigu Ge edition, published at Changshu by Mao Jin

(1599–1659) and his son Mao Yi (1640–1713). A note indicates that comments by Hui Dong (1697–1758) have been copied onto the upper margins.

8. *Hanjian*. By Guo Zhongshu. 1703. Published by Yiyu Caotang. Eight columns of text. Two volumes.

A Song dictionary of early script published by Wang Liming. Volume two contains a colophon by Weng Tonghe.

9. *Ban Ma zilei*. By Lou Ji (1133–1211). Late Ming printed edition. Six columns of twelve characters. Five volumes.

This is a lexical study and comparison of the *Hanshu* and *Shiji*, first published in 1184 in a two-juan edition. This five-juan version is believed to be a woodblock facsimile of the 1264 edition, and it is surely among the finest examples of late Ming printing. See Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute, 1984; hereafter *CRB*), pls. 17a and 17b. Ex libris Ji Zhenyi (b. 1630) and Zhu Yizun (1629–1709).

10. *Lipian*. By Zhai Yunsheng (1776–1860). 1838–1844 printed edition. Ten volumes.

Dictionary of clerical script (*lishu*) compiled by a Qing scholar and calligrapher. The main work in fifteen juan (vols. 1–8) was completed and the blocks were carved for printing in 1838; the two sequels (vols. 9–10) were added and the entire work completed in 1844.

11. *Zixue qizhong*. By Li Shuyun. Ca. 1826 printed edition. Nine columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

Seven studies of Chinese script, with a preface dated 1826 by Zhou Zuoji. The work must have gained immediate favor, for it was reprinted in Japan in 1836 on the basis of a Chinese edition of 1833.

12. *Guwen shuo*. By Gong Cheng (b. 1817). Ca. 1867 holograph manuscript edition. Ten columns of sixteen characters. One volume.

Study of ancient Chinese script in an unpublished holograph. The author was the son of Gong Zizhen (1792–1841), and according to Fang Chao-ying in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, p. 433, "Thirteen

volumes of his [Gong Cheng's] manuscripts, about etymology, phonetics, and epigraphy" were in a private collection in Hangzhou. Although a native of Hangzhou, Gong lived his early years in Beijing and later years in Shanghai. At the end of the volume is a brief colophon by Weng Tonghe referring to Gong's experience with the British expedition of 1860, as well as Weng's transcription of a letter dated 1865 from He Shaoji (1799–1873) to Gong.

13. *Jiyun*. By Ding Du (990–1053) et al. Ningbo(?), twelfth-century printed edition. Eleven columns of nineteen to twenty-three characters. Sixteen volumes.

The *Jiyun*, compiled by imperial order of 1034 and completed between 1037 and 1039, is the most comprehensive early Chinese rhyming dictionary of over 50,000 characters. One of its features, resulting in the large character count, is the inclusion of variant forms of the same character (cf. illustration 3). This *unicum* edition is the oldest extant edition of the work, antedating two other Song editions in Tokyo (Kunaichō) and Beijing (Beijing Tushuguan). Of more than sixty blockcarvers' names recorded in the volumes, most of the principal blockcarvers were active during the Shaoxing era (1131–1162), so the original publication clearly took place around the middle of the twelfth century, whereas the carvers of supplemental and restored blocks were active into the beginning of the thirteenth century. Place of publication is usually attributed to Ningbo, because many of the blockcarvers participated in the carving of the Shaoxing-period edition of the Mingzhou (that is, Ningbo) *Wenxuan*, but Hangzhou is another possibility, since many of them were also active there. Chen Wen (see lower left-hand corner of illustration 3) is an example of just such an itinerant craftsman who plied his trade in the capital (Hangzhou) as well as at several other locations in the vicinity and beyond. Ex libris Qian Zeng, who incidentally had a manuscript facsimile made of this Song edition which is now in the Shanghai Tushuguan (Shanghai Municipal Library), and Yinxiang, the first Prince Yi (studio name: Anle Tang). Both of their collection seals are stamped on the first page of text (see illustration 2) together with one of Weng Wange. The seal mark of Weng Tonghe (on the upper margin) includes the studio name Yun Zhai, which he presumably took to commemorate

his acquisition of this book. Several brief inscriptions by Pan Zuyin (1830–1890) and others indicate when and by whom the book has been seen.

14. *Peiwen shiyun*. Anonymous. Qing printed edition. Eight columns of text. One volume.

A handy (small format) rhyming dictionary of the sort used in writing poetry. Its name probably derives from the *Peiwen yunfu*, a famous dictionary of literary phrases published in the early eighteenth century.

History

15. *Shiji*. By Sima Qian (ca. 145–ca. 86 BC). 1834. Published by Sanyuan Tang. Nine columns of twenty characters. Twenty-four volumes.

This is actually a reprint of *Shiji ceyi*, compiled by Chen Zilong (1608–1647) and Xu Fuyuan (1599–1665) and originally published in 1640. All the volumes contain Weng Tonghe's marginal notes and punctuation marks, as well as a brief biography of Chen Zilong written by Weng in volume one.

16. *Hanshu*. By Ban Gu (32–92). Nanjing(?), twelfth-century printed edition. Nine columns of sixteen characters. Fifty-seven volumes.

This edition of the *History of the Western Han* has been tentatively identified as having been published by the Board of Transport (Zhuanyun Si) in Nanjing during the Shaoxing period (1131–1162). Later in the twelfth century the wood blocks were removed to the National Academy (Guozi Jian) at Hangzhou, and reprinting continued there from the original blocks together with supplemental and restored blocks throughout the Song and Yuan periods. The Southern Song government was committed to keeping “in print” the texts of the orthodox classics and the standard histories, of which this edition of the *Hanshu* is a good example. Although lacking twenty-two *juan*, this is the most complete (78 percent) of all existing copies of this edition. According to Weng Tonghe's colophon, the missing volumes were lost as a result of the military disturbances of 1860 (presumably referring to the Taiping army's occupation of Suzhou and vicinity at the time). Ex libris Mao Jin and

Mao Yi (a portrait of the latter, probably in volume one, is now lost), and since some covers are lined with scrap sheets of Lüjun Ting (another studio name used by Mao Jin) imprints, the current binding may represent the seventeenth-century binding of the Mao family.

17. *Suishu*. By Wei Zheng (580–643) et al. Ruizhou, 1332. Nine columns of twenty to twenty-two characters. Forty volumes.

This *History of the Sui Dynasty* has been described as a Song edition, and although there may be some leaves from an unidentified Song or early Yuan nine-column edition bound in this copy, I feel confident that the bulk of the work is represented by the Ruizhou lu (modern Jiangxi) edition of 1332 (including parts printed from Ming replacement blocks). This copy was viewed at one time by Hu Shi (1891–1962), who left his handwritten notes on many strips of paper in the volumes. Ex libris Xiang Dushou (1521–1586), elder brother of the famous Ming collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590).

18. *Nanshi*. By Li Yanshou (7th century) et al. 1306 printed edition. Ten columns of twenty-two characters. Eight volumes.

The Yuan-edition attribution for this work is tentative, although the edition clearly belongs to the Guangde lu (modern Anhui) recension of 1306. Like the *Suishu*, this work is a composite of parts from different printings and requires a thorough analysis to determine which parts belong to the original Yuan edition, which belong to parts printed from replacement blocks after the wood blocks were transferred to the Nanjing Guozi Jian in the Ming period (some blocks are dated as late as 1531), and which may be from an early Ming facsimile edition of the original Yuan edition. Volume one contains a colophon by Weng Tonghe.

19. *Songshi quanwen xu Zizhi tongjian*. Anonymous. Fifteenth-century printed edition. Sixteen columns of twenty-five characters. Twenty-eight volumes.

Recent evidence has suggested that this edition is, in fact, a fifteenth-century facsimile (of the original fourteenth-century edition) published by You Ming (*jinshi* 1451). You Ming's name originally appeared on the lower part of the second column of the first page of text

(cf. *CRB*, pl. 20b), but it probably was cut away by an unscrupulous bookseller who later obtained these wood blocks. See Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1983), p. 105, for a description of a Yuan-period printing of the Yuan edition held by the Library of Congress. Ex libris Mao Jin and Qian Zeng. Coincidentally, Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (National Central Library) has a copy of the identical edition which also has Qian Zeng's collection seals.

20. *Jizhong Zhou*shu. By Kong Chao (3rd century). Jiaxing, 1354. Ten columns of twenty characters. Four volumes.

A rather rare Yuan edition of the *Zhou*shu as annotated by Kong Chao. Jiaxing lu corresponds to Jiaxing in modern Zhejiang Province.

21. *Guoyu*. By Wei Zhao (d. 273). 1578. Ten columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

Wei Zhao is the author of the commentary to the text. *Juan* 7-16 have been collated by Weng Feng (1696-1712), a gifted ancestor of Weng Xincun and Weng Tonghe, who both added colophons to the work. It seems that Weng Feng, before his early death, had been married to a granddaughter of Qian Zeng. Some comments also were added in the late nineteenth century by Weng Jionsun, a cousin of Weng Binsun.

22. *Wudaishi bu*. By Tao Yue (*jinshi* 980). Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of eighteen characters. One volume.

Supplement to the *History of the Five Dynasties* by Tao Yue. Ex libris Peng Yuanrui (see no. 3), who also added a note dated 1787 about his collation of this manuscript volume. A colophon by Mao Jin is recorded at the end of the volume.

23. *Jiuguo*zhi. By Lu Zhen (957-1014). Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of twenty-one characters. Two volumes.

Lu Zhen's biographical treatise on the various principalities during the Five Dynasties period. Ex libris Yao Yuanzhi.

24. *Cui Sheren zouyi*. By Cui Dunshi (1139-1182). Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of twenty-five characters. One volume.

Appears to consist of memorials and miscellaneous writings by Cui Dunshi derived from various sources (possibly from the collections *Cui Sheren yutang leigao* or *Xiyuan leigao* as restored in the early nineteenth century). The copyist is the same as for no. 64.

25. *Changshu xian shuili quanshu*. By Geng Ju (*jinshi* 1601). Qing manuscript edition. Eleven columns of twenty-three characters. Fifteen volumes.

A treatise on water utilization and irrigation in Changshu County, originally published in 1606, this manuscript is probably based on that printed edition. The author was county magistrate at the time and also active in the local academy, Yushan Shuyuan.

26. *Shuidao tigang*. By Qi Shaonan (1706–1768). Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of twenty-two characters. Ten volumes.

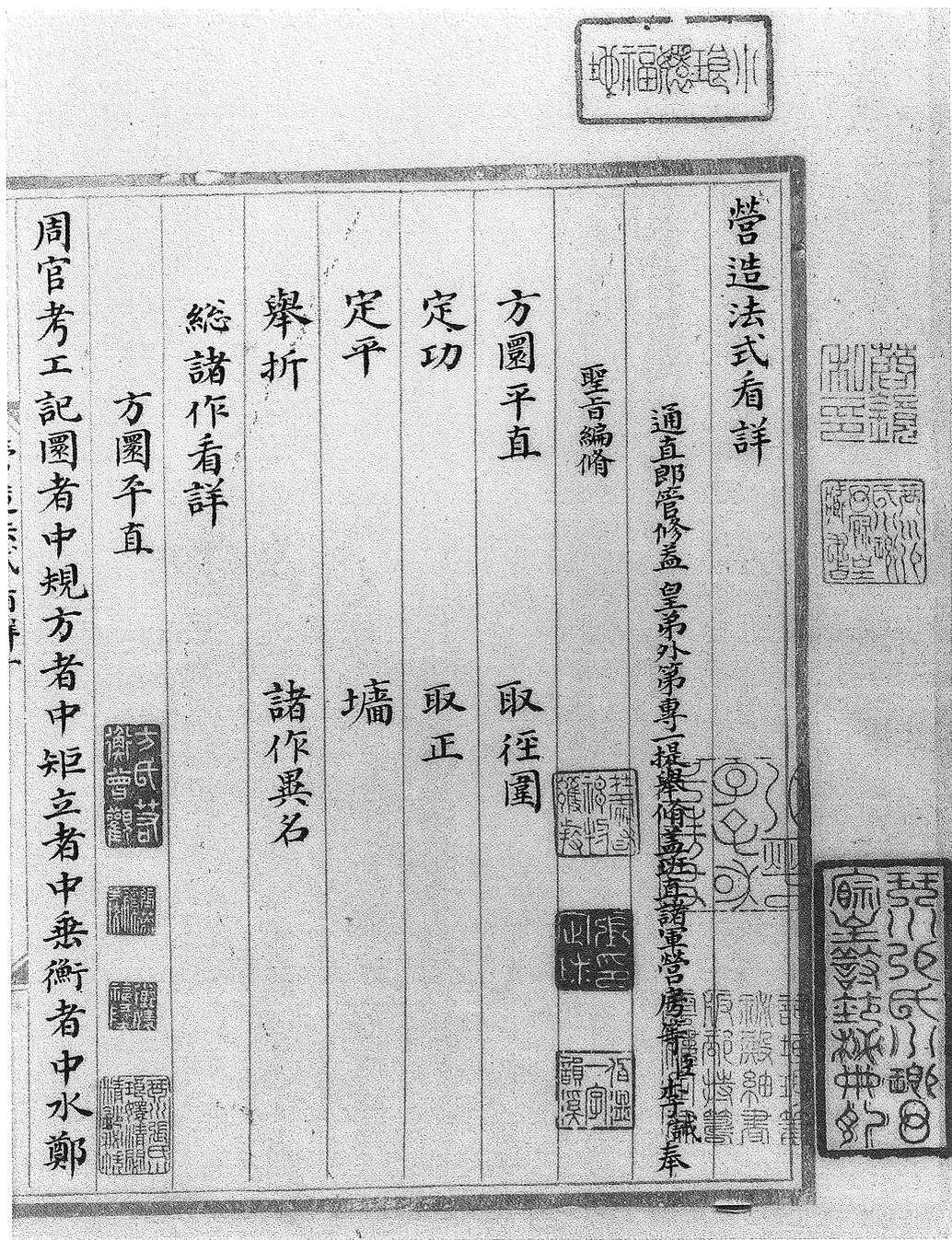
This comprehensive work on the waterways of China was first published in 1776.

27. *Wenxian tongkao xiangjie*. By Ma Duanlin (1254–1325). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-four characters. Twelve volumes.

Extracted from the *Wenxian tongkao* (originally 348 *juan*) as recorded by Yan Yudun (1650–1713) of Changshu and copied by Weng Sixian in 1732. According to an additional note, Weng added comments and punctuation marks in 1735.

28. *Yingzao fashi*. By Li Jie (d. 1110). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-two characters. Four volumes.

A fine manuscript version of the most important treatise on early Chinese architecture, presumably based on the Suzhou printed edition of 1145, which is only fragmentarily extant (see *BTGSS*, p. 1069, for three *juan* only). The manuscript (see illustration 7) was commissioned by Zhang Rongjing (b. 1802) at the Xiaolanghuan Fudi in honor of his grandfather Zhang Xie (1753–1808), who had sought after this book for more than twenty years. The source copy was the manuscript in the collection of Zhang Jinwu, a distant relation (it is described in *Airi Jinglu cangshuzhi*, 19, pp. 17b–19a). Volume four contains all the excellent line



7. First page of the “kanxiang” prefatory chapter of *Yingzao fashi* (no. 28).



8. An example of the fine line illustrations in *Yingzao fashi* (no. 28).

illustrations (see illustration 8) as well as colophons by Sun Yuanxiang (1760–1829), Huang Pilie, Zhang Jinwu, Chu Dachun, et al. Zhang seems to have commissioned another copy of this work, in which the original colophons have been recorded, which is now in the Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan. Another manuscript from the collection of Ding Bing (1832–1899), which also records these colophons, is in the Nanjing Tushuguan (Nanjing Library).

29. *Qinding siku quanshu jianming mulu*. By Ji Yun (1724–1805) et al. Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-six characters. Ten volumes.

Manuscript edition of the abbreviated version of the *Siku quanshu* catalogue. Annotated in the upper margins by Wang Songwei (1848–1895), who is acknowledged in the preface to *Siku jianming mulu biao* for his contributions to it. Colophons in the final volume by Wang (1890) and Weng Jionsun (1891).

30. *Qinding siku quanshu jianming mulu*. By Ji Yun et al. Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-six characters. Ten volumes.

Another manuscript edition of the abbreviated version of the *Siku quanshu* catalogue. Wang Songwei's annotations apparently have been copied by Weng Jionsun. Colophon by Weng dated 1891 in volume one.

31. *Bai Song yichan fu*. By Gu Guangqi (1776–1835). Suzhou, 1805. Annotated and published by Huang Pilie. Nine columns of eighteen characters. One volume.

A long composition (*fu*) written by Gu describing Huang's collection of over one hundred Song editions, including three presently in the Weng collection (nos. 47, 56, and 57). This is one of the finest private publications of the Qing period: the blockcarver was Xia Tianpei, who imitated Huang's own handwritten draft. There is an inscription at the beginning by Weng Zengyuan dated 1858.

32. *Jinshitu*. Copied by Chu Jun and described by Niu Yunzhen. Ca. 1745 printed edition. Eight columns of text. One volume.

Volume one only (of four) of an unusual publication of the

Qianlong period with individually mounted woodcut facsimiles of rubbings from metal and stone. Contains handwritten notes by Weng Tonghe.

33. *Mingshi duanlüe*. Attributed to Qian Qianyi (1582–1664). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-one characters. One volume.

Ming historical accounts from Hongwu (1368–1398) to Jiajing (1522–1566). Most likely compiled by someone other than Qian, but of the same period. Colophon (1902) and annotations by Weng Tonghe.

Philosophy

34. *Zuantu huzhu Xunzi*. By Yang Liang. Late Yuan–early Ming printed edition. Twelve columns of twenty-six characters. Six volumes.

This edition of *Xunzi*, with preface and commentary by Yang Liang, contains some illustrations. Precise edition determination awaits further study. Ex libris Chu Pengling (*jinshi* 1780).

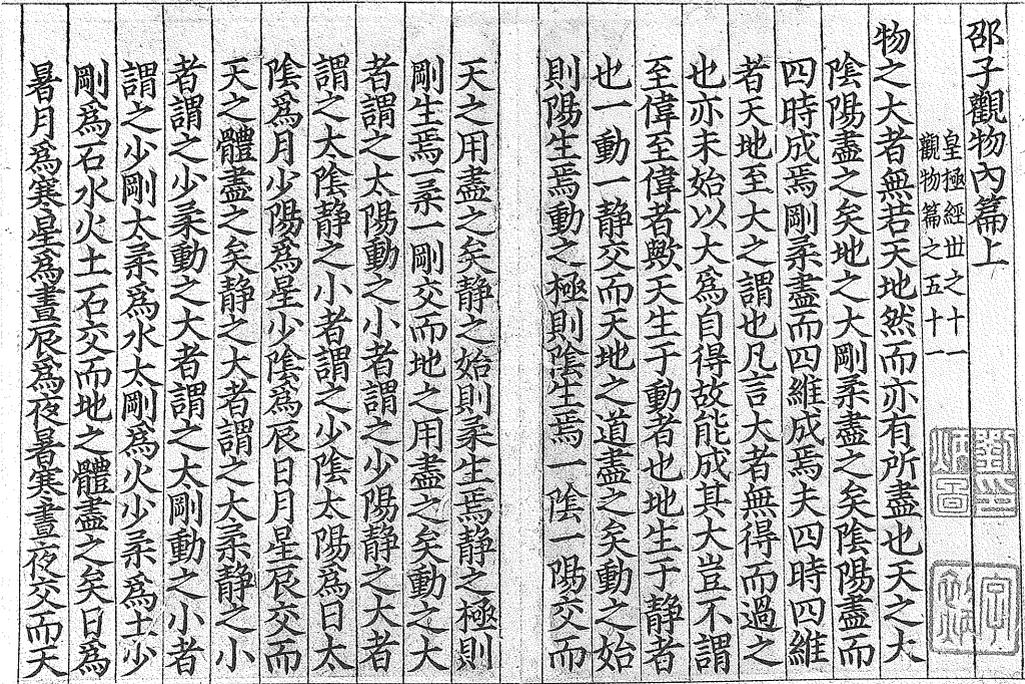
35. *Shaozi guanwu neipian, waipian, houlu; Shaozi yuqiao wendui*. By Shao Yong (1011–1077). Jian'ou, ca. 1270. Published by Wu Jian (*jinshi* 1244). Ten columns of eighteen characters. Eight volumes.

This work (see illustrations 9 and 10) contains the Neo-Confucianist philosophy of Shao Yong, also known as Shao Kangjie. The first three treatises, *neipian* (two *juan*), *waipian* (three *juan*), and *houlu* (two *juan*), have not been reprinted since the late Song; only the appended work, *Shaozi yuqiao wendui* (one *juan*), has been transmitted through Ming reprint editions. Wu Jian was a prefectural official at Jianning, Fujian, and he published a related work at about the same time entitled *Zhangzi yulu* (see *BTGSS*, p. 1195). Ex libris Liu Bingtu and Yinxiang (Prince Yi).

36. *Bingfa xinshu*. Anonymous. Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of twenty characters. One volume.

Also known as *Xinshu*, this treatise on military theory is sometimes attributed to Zhuge Liang (181–234).

37. *Tuhui baojian*. By Xia Wenyan. Qing printed edition. Published by Jielü Caotang. Nine columns of twenty characters. Four volumes.

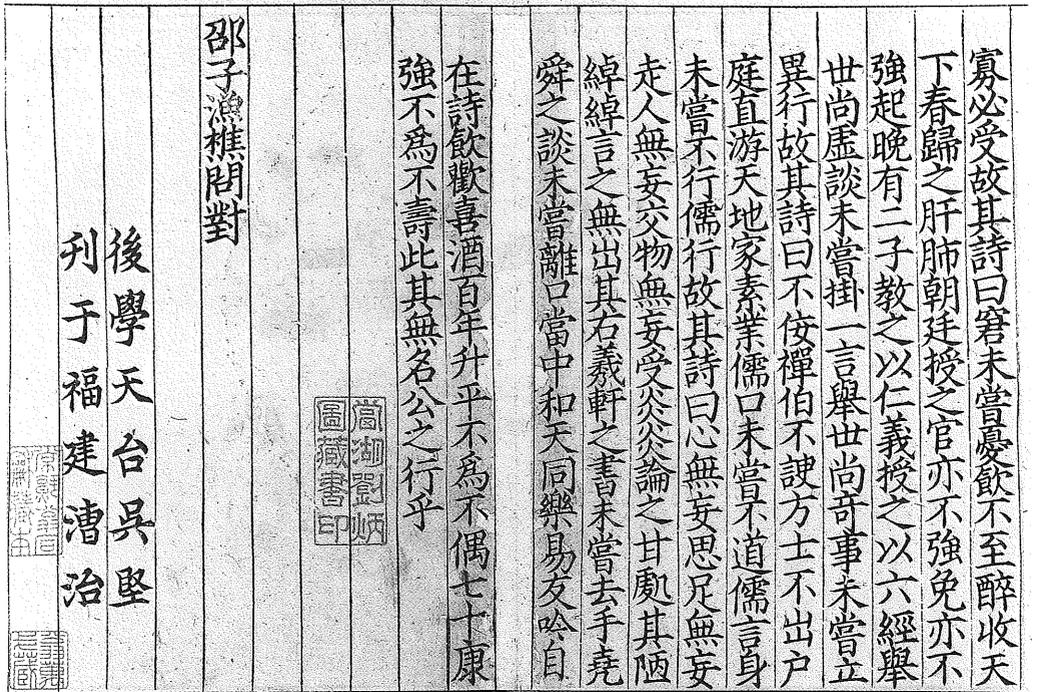


9. First two pages of text from *Shaozi guanwu neipian* (no. 35).

Juan 1–5, biographies of painters from the earliest times to the Yuan dynasty, originally were compiled and published in the fourteenth century by Xia Wenyan; *juan* 6 was added in the Ming and contains biographies of Ming painters. This edition adds biographies through the seventeenth century in *juan* 7 and 8, the authorship of which is attributed to the painters Lan Ying (1585–ca. 1664) and Xie Bin (1568–1650).

38. *Qinghe shuhua fang*. By Zhang Chou (1577–1643). 1763. Published by Chibei Caotang. Nine columns of twenty-two characters. Twelve volumes.

A detailed catalogue of examples of painting and calligraphy known to the author. At the end of the final volume is a supplement



10. The final two pages of volume eight of *Shaozi yuqiao wendui* (no. 35), showing the two-line colophon of the publisher, Wu Jian.

entitled *Jiangu baiyi shi*, which is a collection of 101 poems by Zhang dealing with poets and artists.

39. *Bogu yezi*. By Chen Hongshou (1599–1652). Hangzhou, 1653. One volume.

A set of forty-eight portrait playing cards (see *CRB*, pls. 36a and 36b) for drinking games, designed by the painter Chen Hongshou in 1651 and published posthumously in 1653. The wood blocks were carved by the eminent Anhui blockcarver Huang Jianzhong (b. 1611), also known as Huang Zili, who, like Chen, resided in Hangzhou. *Bogu yezi* is often compared with Chen's earlier and similar effort, a set of forty cards entitled *Shuihu yezi*, both of which have survived in very few examples. Ex libris Huang Yi (1744–1802), and with several colophons by Weng Tonghe.

40. *Huachan Shi suibi*. By Dong Qichang (1555–1636). Ca. 1720. Published by Dakui Tang. Eight columns of eighteen characters. One volume.

This collection of writings on Chinese painting was not compiled by Dong himself, but by his followers, and portions are considered to be spurious. This volume contains annotations by Weng Binsun. Another copy of what may be the same edition, with annotations by Weng Tonghe, is held by Beijing Tushuguan (see *BTGSS*, p. 1350).

41. *Gengzi xiaoxia ji*. By Sun Chengze (1593–1675). 1761. Published by Bao Tingbo (1728–1814). Ten columns of twenty characters. Four volumes.

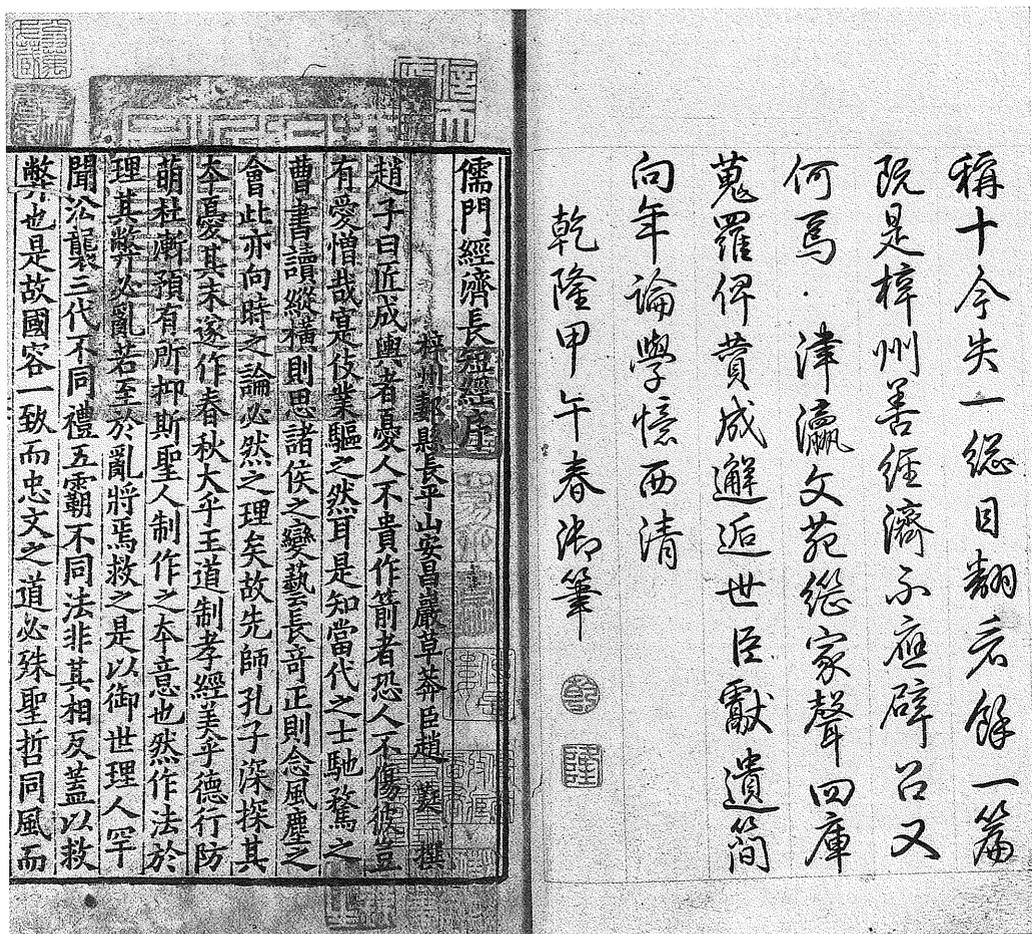
Notes written by Sun in the summer of 1660 describing works of painting and calligraphy known to him. While the work was still in manuscript (ca. 1713), He Zhuo (1661–1722) issued a series of critical notes which have been copied into this exemplar and are found together with notes and inscriptions by other eighteenth-century scholars (presumably transcribed by Weng Binsun). There is an inscription by Weng Tonghe.

42. *Yangzhou huafang lu*. By Li Dou. 1795, reprinted from recut blocks, 1872. Published by Ziran An. Ten columns of twenty-four characters. Four volumes.

An illustrated history of the city of Yangzhou, with broad coverage and special emphasis on local customs, the arts, and culture. Li Dou's work is also noted for preserving a list of 1,030 titles of dramatic literature from a contemporary bibliography that has not survived.

43. *Changduan jing*. By Zhao Rui. Ca. 1130. Published by Jingjie Yuan. Eleven columns of nineteen to twenty-two characters. Eight volumes.

This *unicum* edition of a Tang work of political philosophy, divided into nine *juan* and sixty-four sections, may have coexisted with and probably was preceded by a contemporary edition of ten *juan* and sixty-three sections, as described in *Jun Zhai dushuzhi* (see *Sibu congkan sanbian*, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935, 3 shang, p. 22a). At the end of *juan* 1, 8, and 9 is a line of seven characters reading “Hangzhou Jingjie Yuan xinyin” or “newly printed by the Jingjie Yuan, Hangzhou” (see *CRB*, pl. 9b). The Jingjie Yuan is the name of a Buddhist temple in the northwestern part of Hangzhou, and, indeed, the name Hangzhou was changed to



11. First page of the preface of *Changduan jing* (no. 43). The facing poems were composed and inscribed by the Qianlong emperor in 1774.

Lin'anfu after 1129, which helps us to date this imprint. The Weng copy of this work probably is the source of all existing manuscript copies and reprint editions. Most important, it served as the source for the imperially sponsored manuscript edition of the *Siku quanshu*, and the Qianlong emperor honored the occasion in 1774 by composing and inscribing four seven-character quatrains (*qiyan jueju*) on the blank leaf preceding the printed text (see illustration 11, where the second half of the emperor's inscription can be seen on the verso of the opening, facing the first page of the preface). Ex libris Xu Qianxue (1631–1694) and Li Shouqian (*jinshi* 1745), who submitted the book to the *Siku quanshu* committee. A

colophon by Shen Xinmin indicates that the book was rebound in 1378, but the current binding probably derives from the Qing palace workshop after the book was submitted and before the emperor's inscription of 1774 (see *CRB*, p. 25, fig. 9, for a photograph of one of two brocade cases).

44. *Chaoshi keyu*. By Chao Yuezhi (1059–1129). Ming printed edition. Twelve columns of twenty characters. One volume.

A philosophical miscellany by a Song writer. The present edition is probably a separate volume from the collectanea *Baichuan xuehai*, published in 1501.

45. *Chunming tuichao lu*. By Song Minqiu (1019–1079). Qing manuscript edition (by Peng Yuanrui). Eight columns of twenty-one characters. One volume.

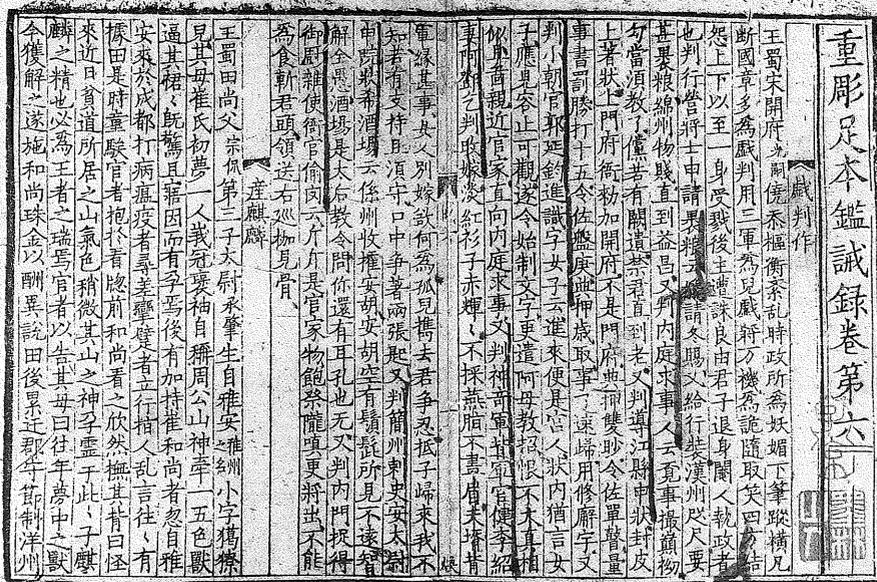
Essays on political philosophy and historical issues. Ex libris Peng Yuanrui and probably commissioned by him (see no. 3). The lower portion of the center column of each folio of the printed stationary used bears the text “Zhishengdao Zhai chaojiao shuji,” indicating a collated manuscript from Peng Yuanrui's own studio.

46. *Yunzao*. By Yang Shen (1488–1559). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty-one characters. One volume.

According to the large Sino-Manchu seal of the Hanlin Academy stamped in the volume, this is one of the books submitted by Ma Yu, son of Ma Yuelu (1697–after 1766), to the *Siku quanshu* committee for transcription. There are two inscriptions by Weng Tonghe.

47. *Chongdiao zuben jianjie lu*. By He Guangyuan. Song printed edition. Fifteen columns of twenty-four characters. Two volumes.

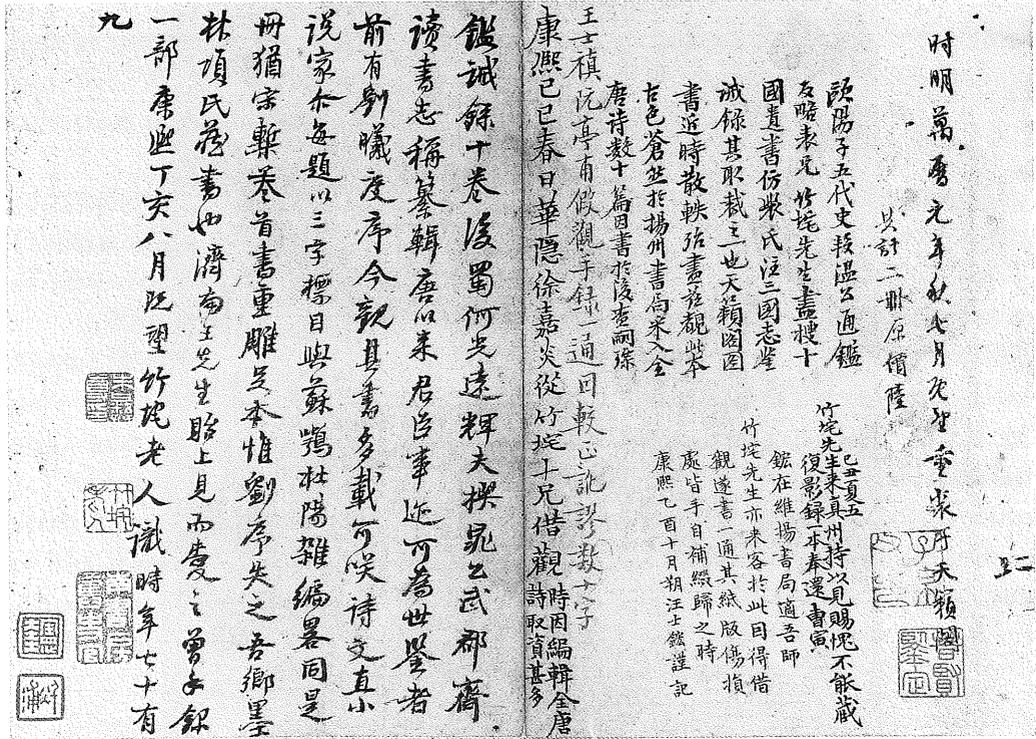
A collection of anecdotes and tales usually known as *Jianjie lu* by the tenth-century writer He Guangyuan. This small-format edition (*jinxiangben*) is one of the truly legendary Song editions (see illustration 12) in the Weng collection, bearing over a dozen inscriptions and colophons (see illustration 13 for seven of them) by notable scholars and collectors such as Xiang Yuanbian, Wang Shizhen (1643–1711), Zhu Yizun (1629–1709),



12. Facing pages from the beginning of juan 6 of Jianjie lu (no. 47), showing clearly the butterfly binding (hudiezhuang) of this small-format (jinxiangben) Song edition.

Cao Yin (1658–1712), Huang Pilie, and Gu Guangqi. Cao Yin describes the circumstances under which he made a manuscript copy of the book before returning it to Zhu Yizun (see no. 48). Gu Guangqi included this *unicum* edition in his long eulogistic poem *Bai Song yichan fu* (see no. 31), and his colophon explains that it was to be reprinted by Bao Tingbo in the collectanea *Zhibuzu Zhai congshu*; in fact the reprint edition incorporated the emendations made by Wang Shizhen in these volumes. We can gather from Huang Pilie’s inscriptions that this was one of his most cherished possessions and one of the most costly. In fact, we know from the colophon cited above by Wan-go Weng that Weng Tonghe himself paid three hundred taels of silver for the book in 1891.

48. *Chongdiao zuben jianjie lu*. By He Guangyuan. 1709 manuscript edition (by Cao Yin). Fifteen columns of twenty-four characters. Two volumes.

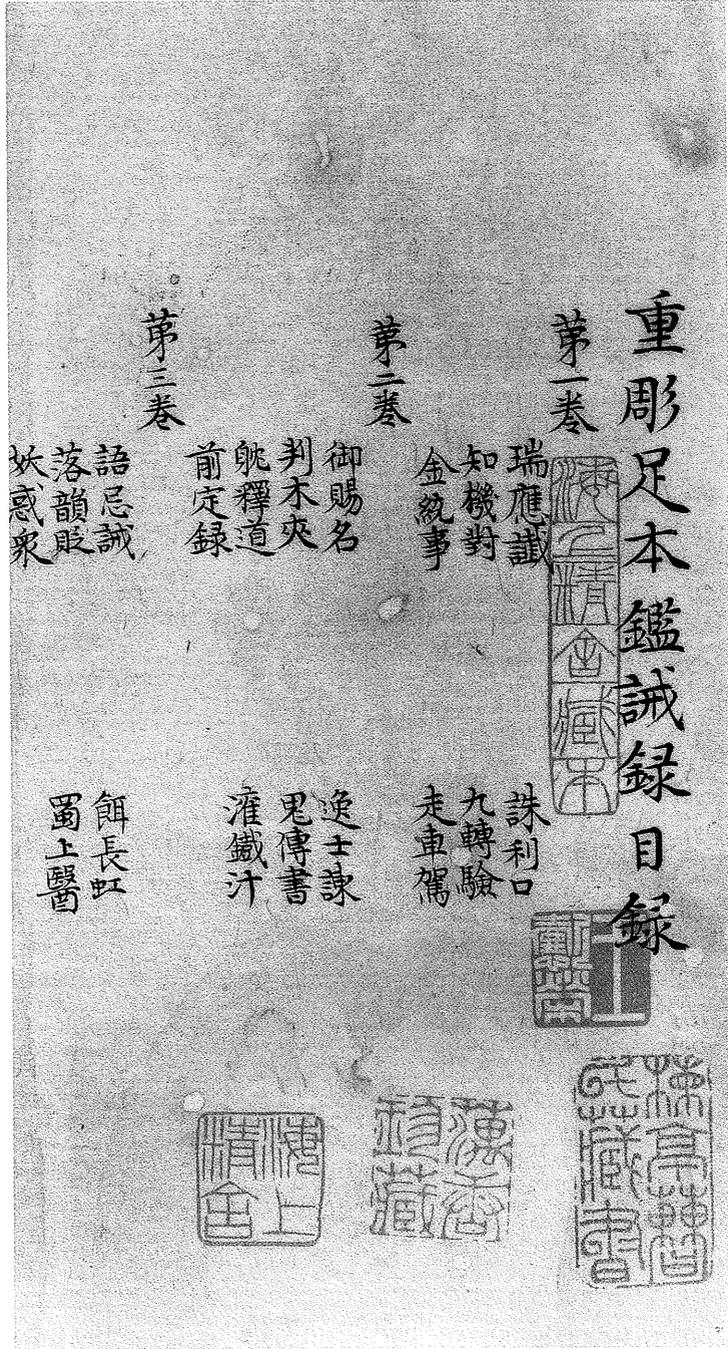


13. Facing pages from *Jianjie lu* (no. 47), containing seven handwritten colophons dating from 1573 (Xiang Yuanbian) to 1709 (Cao Yin).

This is the manuscript copy (see illustration 14) of the Song edition of *Jianjie lu* in the Weng collection (see no. 47), described above as having been ordered copied by Cao Yin. The colophons from the Song edition (see illustration 13) have been copied into this manuscript, and a new inscription by Cao Yin has been added. An inscription in the manuscript indicates that it had been in the family of Wang Yirong (1845–1900) for many years. There are colophons by Wang Yirong and Weng Tonghe dated 1891, and apparently Wang presented the manuscript to Weng after Weng’s acquisition of the Song edition of *Jianjie lu*. Two letters by Wang Yirong are inserted in the first volume.

49. *Tingshi*. By Yue Ke (1183–1240). 1525. Published by Qian Rujing. Ten columns of twenty characters. Four volumes.

Miscellaneous anecdotal writings on social and historical events



14. Page from the table of contents of *Jianjie lu* (no. 48). This was the manuscript Cao Yin ordered copied in 1709.

by a grandson of the Southern Song patriot Yue Fei. Ex libris Ye Guohua and Yao Wentian (1758–1827). At the end of volume four there is a collation note dated 1830, signed by Yao Yan and Yao Heng.

50. *Dafoding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusawanxing shoulengyan jing*. Translated by Paramiti and Mikasakya. Song printed edition. Six columns of seventeen characters. Ten volumes.

This Buddhist text is usually known merely as *Shoulengyan jing* or *Surangama-sutra*. It is an elegantly printed Song edition bearing neither date nor place of publication. There is a colophon by Weng Tonghe dated 1902 and one by Dong Qichang (1555–1636) dated 1614 (see *CRB*, pl. 5c), according to which the volumes once belonged to the Yuan scholar-artist Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) and had been the personal reading copy of his friend the Buddhist priest Mingben (1263–1323), also known as Zhongfeng heshang. In the last volume there is an imprint of Zhao's seal reading Songxue Zhai.

51. *Nanhua fafu*. By Xingtong. Ming printed edition. Nine columns of twenty-one characters. Two volumes.

The Daoist text Zhuangzi with the commentary of a Buddhist priest named Xingtong. Apparently an edition of the Wanli period (1573–1620) or later. According to an inscription by Weng Tonghe, he got the book at the age of twelve, and it contains his juvenile annotations in red ink.

Belles-lettres

52. *Li Taibai wenji*. By Li Bai (699–762). 1717. Published by Miao Yueqi. Eleven columns of twenty characters. Six volumes.

Described as a woodblock facsimile of a Song edition of the collected writings of the Tang poet Li Bai, according to the *neifengmian*, which also gives the publisher as Miao Wuzi (that is, Yueqi) of Wumen (Suzhou). Miao apparently is the brother of the bibliophile and connoisseur Miao Yuezao (1682–1761).

53. *Fenmen jizhu Du Gongbu shi*. By Du Fu (712–770). Jianyang, ca. 1220. Eleven columns of twenty characters. Ten volumes.

Collected writings of the Tang poet Du Fu, classified and with collected commentaries, including various biographical essays by others as well as prefaces from earlier editions. The same Song edition from Fujian was reproduced as part of the *Sibu congkan* series.

54. *Du Du xin jie*. By Pu Qilong (1679–ca. 1762). 1725. Published by Ningwo Zhai. Ten columns of twenty-two characters. Four volumes.

An interpretation of the poetry of Du Fu, published by the author, whose studio name was Ningwo Zhai. There is a brief inscription by Weng Tonghe in volume one.

55. *Changli xiansheng ji, waiji, fulu*. By Han Yu (768–824). 1174 printed edition. Eleven columns of twenty characters. Six volumes.

Although incomplete (containing only *juan* 1–10 and the *fulu*, or appendix, volume), this is a significant Song printing of an important Song edition of Han Yu's collected writings. This exemplar has the only extant printed colophon in a cartouche (the Pangxi Zhai copy has the colophon added in manuscript), reading "Chunxi gaiyuan Jinxi Zhang Jianshui Zhai shanben" and indicating that it had been printed in 1174 by a local official named Zhang, probably in the Liangzhe region near Hangzhou. The volumes contain the copious handwritten annotations of an unidentified Southern Song scholar (see illustration 15). Other extant examples of this edition (originally containing fifty-one *juan*) are: the former Pangxi Zhai copy (six entire *juan* and several additional leaves have been replaced in manuscript) recently donated to the Palace Museum (Taipei) by Shen Zhongtao; another copy in the same Palace Museum containing only ten *juan*; and two *juan* (39 and 40) in Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan. The Weng copy is from the collection of Chen Kui.

56. *Huichang yipin zhiji*. Li Deyu (787–849). Song printed edition. Thirteen columns of twenty-one to twenty-three characters. Two volumes.

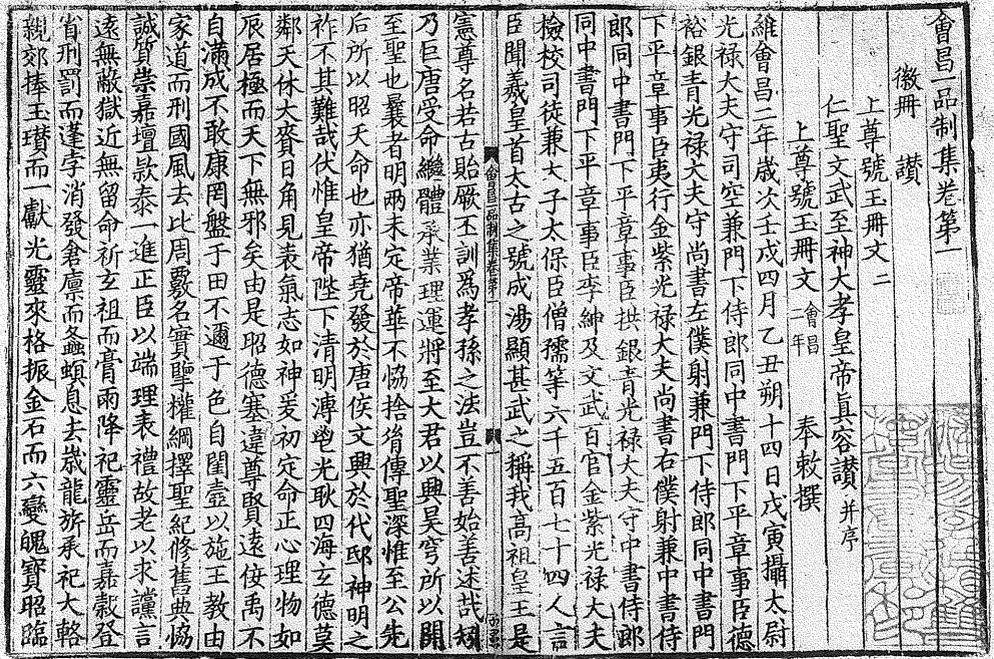
The collected writings of Li Deyu, an official and scholar of the Tang period. Although preserving only the first portion of the collection (containing memorials and other official writings), this *unicum* edition (see illustration 16) is the earliest extant edition of Li Deyu's collected works and was used by Huang Pilie to collate later printed and manu-

杜相元款之李即
 言大清宮亥元皇年
 唐制以海威甲時及臘
 節酬之以此長慶二
 月初之為雅十月次
 元款以三年十月定
 矣四無清宮元年
 字云多列于庚季子內
 列傳左右二聖並元
 則宗以五字信云云

鎖不因丞相幾人知
奏和
 杜相公音標太清宮十六韻紀事陳誠上李相公因和
 耒耜興姬國輔標建夏家在功誠可尚於道詎為華
 象帝威容大仙宗寶歷賒衛門羅戟朔圖壁雜龍蛇
 禮樂追尊盛乾坤降福遐四真昔齒列二聖亦有差
 陽月時之首陰泉氣未牙殿筵鋪水碧庭炬坵金葩
 紫極觀忘倦青詞奏不譁嘈吟官夜關嘈嘯鼓晨擗
一作藝味服陳奚取名香薦孔嘉垂祥紛可錄俾壽浩
 無涯貴相山瞻峻清文玉絕瑕代工聲問遠攝事敬恭
 加絃絜當天月歲鞋捧日霞唱妍酬匪麗俛仰但稱嗟
 昌黎先生集卷第十

十二韻
標聲連
生國曰
車舟車
車法車
山東標
風主
而何
人必
三嘈

15. Last page of juan 10 of Changli xiansheng ji (no. 55). Anonymous Song annotations are found on the margins, and the ex libris seal of Chen Kui is stamped in the lower left-hand corner.



16. Facing pages from the beginning of *juan 1* of *Huichang yipin zhiji* (no. 56). The ex libris seal of Li Tingxiang is stamped in the lower right-hand corner.

script versions of the text (see *CRB*, pp. 64–65). Blockcarvers' names place the publication in the second half of the twelfth century and also in the Liangzhe region; according to Fu Xinian (*Shupin*, 1989, vol. 3, p. 61), the particular use of taboo characters (*huizi*) determines that the book was published before the death of Zhao Gou (1107–1187), Emperor Gaozong, in 1187. There are two colophons by Huang Pilie dated 1799 and 1818. Ex libris Li Tingxiang (1481–1544), Yan Wei, Huang Pilie (described in *Bai Song yichan fu*), and Chen Kui.

57. *Dingmao ji*. By Xu Hun. Hangzhou(?), Song printed edition. Ten columns of eighteen characters. Two volumes.

Collected poems of the Tang poet Xu Hun, who lived in the ninth century. Although lacking a printer's colophon or other concrete iden-

tification, this *unicum* Song edition (see illustration 4) clearly appears to be the product of the Chen family bookshop in Hangzhou, which specialized in publishing literary works like this during the thirteenth century. As indicated above, this book was highly prized by Huang Pilie, who supplied a colophon, as did Weng Xincun and Weng Tonghe. This is a fine example of the so-called *shupengben* (bookstall editions) of the Chen family. Ex libris Xiang Yuanbian, Ji Zhenyi, Song Luo and his son Song Yun (1681–1760), Shen Song, Huang Pilie, and Chen Kui. There is a brief inscription by the sixteenth-century artist Qiu Ying, as well as some by a few of the collectors.

58. *Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji*. By Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072). Ming printed edition. Ten columns of twenty characters. One volume.

This single volume is incomplete, comprising only *juan* 3–12 of the voluminous collected writings of the Song official and scholar Ouyang Xiu. This particular Ming edition has not been identified, but it may be related to the 1462 edition published by Cheng Zong (1426–1491).

59. *Zhu Dongpo xiansheng shi, mulu*. By Su Shi. Taizhou, [1213], 1262. Published by Zheng Yu. Nine columns of sixteen characters. Thirty-four volumes.

The collected poems of Su Shi, also known as Su Dongpo, with the commentaries of his contemporaries Shi Yuanzhi (together with his son Shi Su) and Gu Xi. This edition was originally published by a government bureau in Taizhou, Jiangsu Province, in 1213, and, thanks to the printer's colophon in the reprint edition (see *CRB*, pl. 15b), we know that the reprint was published (that is, reissued) by Zheng Yu in 1262, also at Taizhou, using the original wood blocks with the replacement of 179 blocks (that is, about 10 percent of the total). The elegant calligraphy used for the text was provided by Fu Zhi of Huzhou in neighboring Zhejiang Province (see *CRB*, pl. 15a), in the then popular style of Ouyang Xun (557–641). This is by far the most important early edition of Su Shi's poetry as well as being the rarest, and the Weng copy is the most complete in existence. Beijing Tushuguan has only six *juan* of this edition, and all are duplicated in the Weng copy. Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan possesses the most famous exemplar of the edition, contain-

ing more than seventy colophons written by owners and admirers, but it presently consists of twenty *juan*, four of which are not present in the Weng copy. In 1699 the Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan copy contained as many as thirty-one *juan* (still fewer than the Weng copy, which probably was in Beijing, already in the collection of Prince Yin at the time), when it served as the basis for a new edition of the text sponsored by Song Luo and his friends. After the famous scholar Weng Fanggang (1733–1818) acquired the thirty-one-*juan* exemplar he wrote a book about it, and he even renamed his studio Su Zhai to commemorate the fact. Unfortunately, at the turn of this century the book, then in the possession of Yuan Siliang, was damaged by fire, and eleven volumes were lost. The Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan copy is the original edition of 1213, and, together with the Weng copy, 86 percent of the original text is represented. A colophon by Weng Tonghe is dated 1871, and there are shorter inscriptions by Pan Zuyin and Wang Mingluan (1839–1907). Ex libris Yinxiang (Prince Yi).

60. *Xinkan Songshan jushi wen quanji, mulu*. By Chao Gongsu. Jiazhou, 1168. Eleven columns of twenty-two characters. Thirteen volumes.

Collected writings of Chao Gongsu, a twelfth-century official and scholar. According to the preface, this *unicum* Song edition (see illustration 17) was published in Jiazhou (modern Leshan xian), which makes a significant addition to the limited number of extant Song imprints from Sichuan Province. The Weng copy lacks three volumes: *juan* 1–4, 26–29, and 33–36. Ex libris Chao Li (*jinshi* 1541), Ye Guohua, and Liu Xihai (d. 1853).

61. *Shihu jushi wenji*. By Fan Chengda (1126–1193). Ming manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

An incomplete Ming manuscript of the collected works of Fan Chengda. Beijing Tushuguan holds the remaining four volumes (*juan* 14–34) that make up this work (see *BTGSS*, p. 2199), and it is certain that the two parts became separated in China sometime before Wan-go Weng came to the United States. A collation inscription in volume one, by Peng Yuanrui, is dated 1796. Annotated by Weng Tongshu. Ex libris Li Yingzhen (1431–1493) and Peng Yuanrui (see no. 3).

新刊嵩山居士文集目錄

第一卷

古賦五首

登賦樓賦

神女廟賦

憫孤賦

第二卷

古詩三十首

送范道卿赴省試

中岳

清晨坐堂上

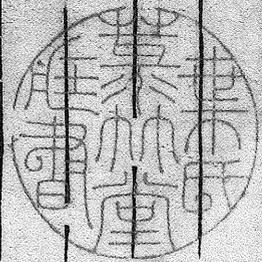
屈原宅賦

暑賦

凌雲寺

自過驪為山水益佳

池上



17. First page of the table of contents of *Xinkan Songshan jushi wen quanji* (no. 60). The seal of Ye Guohua is stamped below.

62. *Xiechuan shiji*. By Liu Guo (1154–1206). Qing printed edition. Eleven columns of twenty-two characters. Four volumes.

This is a wooden movable-type edition of the early Qing period which erroneously attributes authorship of this poetry collection to Su Guo (1072–1123), the youngest son of Su Shi. The misunderstanding seems to have been cleared up in connection with compilation of the *Siku quanshu*. Given the dating of the edition, the ex libris seal marks of Xiang Yuanbian must be considered not genuine. There is a colophon by Weng Xincun in volume one.

63. *Jie Wenan gong shichao*. By Jie Xisi (1274–1344). Qing manuscript edition. Eleven columns of twenty-four characters. One volume.

A collection of poetry by a Yuan author. According to an inscription dated 1790 by Peng Yuanrui, he collated this manuscript with several printed editions. Ex libris Peng Yuanrui (see no. 3).

64. *Dachi daoren yiji*. By Huang Gongwang (1269–1354). Qing manuscript edition. Nine columns of twenty-five characters. One volume.

A compilation of writings attributed to the Yuan-dynasty painter Huang Gongwang. From diverse sources and apparently not from any single recension of Huang's writings. The copyist is the same as for no. 24.

65. *Baxi Deng xiansheng wenji*. By Deng Wenyuan (1259–1328). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty characters. One volume.

A collection of writings by a Yuan author, which has mainly circulated in manuscript. Collated by Weng Tonghe and with his colophon dated 1861. Ex libris Peng Yuanrui (see no. 3).

66. *Youshi xiansheng shiji*. By Wang Fu (1362–1416). Qing manuscript edition (by Jingui Shi). Eight columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

Collection of poetry by Wang Fu, the early Ming painter and calligrapher. The upper portion of the center column of each sheet is inscribed with the name Jingui Shi.

67. *Liaoye ji*. By Weng Changyong (1616–1683). Qing printed edition.

Published by Hanxiang Ting. Nine columns of twenty characters. One volume.

A rare, early-Qing printed edition of a collection of poetry by a fellow townsman (and ancestor?) of the Weng family.

68. *Lianjie zhengao*. By Weng Changyong. Qing printed edition. Published by Tianxiang Ge. Ten columns of twenty-seven characters. One volume.

This is another rare printed edition of a literary collection by Weng Changyong.

69. *Dongxin xiansheng xuji zixu*. By Jin Nong (1687–1764). Hangzhou(?), 1753. Four columns of twelve characters. One volume.

One of the most elegant private publications of the Qing period, probably published by Jin Nong himself. The Song-style characters for the text (printed on antique paper) were written by the famous Hangzhou seal carver Ding Jing (1695–1765). The small format (the height of the volume is less than twenty centimeters) in “butterfly” binding (*hudiezhuang*) displays a mere four columns per half-folio and only twelve characters per column. Of the twenty-one folios of text, three-fourths are taken up by Jin’s *xu*, a particular prose genre, and the remainder consists of a brief text by Ding Jing. Other writings by Jin Nong were finely printed and published about the same time in Yangzhou and Nanjing. In one of the inscriptions by Weng Tonghe it is mentioned that the book was presented to him by Pan Zuyin in 1868.

70. *Qipiao ji*. By Xu Shan. Qing manuscript edition. Eight columns of twenty-one characters. Two volumes.

A collection of poetry by one of the Ming *yimin* (that is, one of the remnants of the former Ming regime who remained aloof under the new Qing rule), who was a native of Changshu. Another version of the collection is listed as being in eight *juan*, but its relationship to this manuscript is not known. The second volume contains a colophon by Wu Weiguang (1743–1803) and inscriptions by Xu Tinggao (a descendant of Xu Shan) and others.

71. *Su Yuangong xiansheng wengao*. By Su Quji (1728–1805). Qing manuscript edition (by Wumu Shanfang). Ten columns of text. One volume.

A well-written manuscript in semicursive script (*xingshu*) with “Wumu Shanfang” printed in the lower center column of each sheet of manuscript paper. On the first page of text the title is given merely as “Wengao.” The author was a native of Changshu.

72. *Ikchae chip, Yŏgong p’aesŏl*. By Yi Che-hyŏn (1288–1367). 1693 Korean printed edition. Nine columns of sixteen characters. Four volumes.

The collected writings (in two parts) of Yi Che-hyŏn, a Korean who spent several years in China and was acquainted with Zhao Mengfu among others, and the only Korean edition in the collection. The same edition of the first part is described by Chaoying Fang in *The Asami Library* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p. 286), where *Ikchae chip* is given as *Ikchae nan’go*, and the author’s name is mistakenly read as Yi Chae-hyŏn. Ex libris Liu Xihai.

73. *Wenxuan*. Compiled by Xiao Tong (501–531). Ming printed edition. Ten columns of twenty-two characters. Sixteen volumes.

This is the sixty-*juan* recension of the famous early literary anthology with commentary by Li Shan (ca. 630–689) in an edition of the mid-Ming period. The Weng copy contains the handwritten annotations of the Qing scholar He Zhuo.

74. *Yutai xinyong*. By Xu Ling (507–583). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of nineteen characters. Two volumes.

A manuscript version of the literary anthology *Yutai xinyong* containing the transcribed text-critical annotations of Ji Yun. Ji’s original manuscript is in Beijing Tushuguan (see *BTGSS*, p. 2755). There is an inscription by Weng Tonghe in the first volume.

75. *Tangshi sanbaishou zhushi, xuxuan*. By Sun Zhu, Yu Qingyuan. 1890. Published by Shiqu Shanfang. Nine columns of twenty characters. Eight volumes.

The standard anthology of three hundred Tang poems, annotated

and explained by Sun Zhu, and supplemented by a sequel compiled by Yu Qingyuan.

76. *San Su wenji*. By Su Xun (1009–1066), Su Shi, and Su Che (1039–1112). Ming printed edition. Ten columns of twenty-one characters. Forty volumes.

The collected works of Su Shi (*juan* 12–43 and 71), his father Su Xun (*juan* 1–11), and his younger brother Su Che (*juan* 44–70). This Ming edition most closely resembles the physical description of a Meizhou (that is, Sichuan, Meishan) edition of 1533 held by Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (see *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu*, Taipei, 1967, p. 1334), but it awaits further study for verification.

77. *Xixiang ji*. By Wang Dexin. Qing printed edition. Published by Daye Tang. Ten columns of nine characters (above) and sixteen characters (below). Six volumes.

This is a complex edition (ca. Kangxi period) of the famous Yuan drama *Romance of the Western Chamber*. The so-called segmented format (*liangjieban*) divides the page in two and allows for various commentaries to run parallel with the text, although that of Jin Renrui (d. 1661), better known as Jin Shengtan, is the primary one. There are twenty-one illustrations in volume one. Although the *neifengmian* page gives Daye Tang as the publisher, some places in the book indicate Yuyu Tang.

78. *Xinke yuanben Wang zhuangyuan jingchai ji*. By Zhu Quan (1378–1448). Suzhou, early Ming printed edition. Nine columns of eighteen characters. Two volumes.

The *Jingchai ji* is an important *chuanqi* (southern-style) drama which became very popular in the early Ming period. The real authorship is tentatively ascribed to Zhu Quan, a son of the first Ming emperor, who is known for his numerous literary accomplishments. Beijing Tushuguan has a manuscript copy (see *BTGSS*, p. 3054) based on this very rare early edition (see illustration 18). There are two colophons each by Huang Pilie and Weng Tonghe. Ex libris Huang Pilie, Wang Shizhong, et al.



18. First page of the text of the popular Ming drama *Jingchai ji* (no. 78).

79. *Yuming Tang Huanhun ji*. By Tang Xianzu (1550–1616). 1785. Published by Bingsi Guan. Nine columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

Yuming Tang was the studio name of the author, Tang Xianzu, and *Huanhun ji*, the actual name of this *chuanqi* drama, is better known as *Mudan Ting* or Peony Pavilion. This edition contains fine woodcut illustrations, twenty in volume one and eighteen in volume two.

80. *Shanzhong baiyun ci*. By Zhang Yan (1245–after 1315). Qing manuscript edition. Ten columns of twenty characters. One volume.

This manuscript version of a collection of *ci* (lyric) poems by the late Song patriot and poet Zhang Yan contains unidentified annotations and punctuation throughout, which may be by Weng Zhilian, whose seal imprint is found at the end of the volume.

81. *Juemiao haoci*. Compiled by Zhou Mi (1232–1298). Qing printed edition. Published by Qingyin Tang. Nine columns of twenty characters. Two volumes.

This anthology of Song *ci* poetry was compiled by an important cultural personage who was born under the Southern Song, but who lived his mature years as one of the loyalist *yimin* under Yuan rule. Ex libris Huang Guojin (1849–1891).

82. *Cixuan, Xu cixuan*. Compiled by Zhang Huiyan (1761–1802) and Zhang Qi (1765–1833). 1830. Published by Wanlin Shuwu. Eleven columns of twenty-two characters. Two volumes.

Two brothers compiled this admirable anthology of *ci* poetry and the younger, Zhang Qi, published it under his studio name, Wanlin Shuwu.

83. *Song sijia cixuan*. Compiled by Zhou Ji. Qing manuscript edition (by Songzhu Zhai). Nine columns of 22–23 characters. One volume.

The compiler of this anthology of four Song *ci* poets was active in the early nineteenth century. According to Weng Tonghe's colophon dated 1899, this manuscript was copied by Weng Zenghan (1837–1879) in 1852. The lower center column of the manuscript paper used bears the

three characters Songzhu Zhai, which may be a studio name of Weng Zenghan. There is an inscription by Weng Zenghan dated 1870 at the end of the volume.

NOTES

1. Wan-go H. C. Weng is an altogether remarkable person who has spent fifty-five years in the United States without ever relinquishing his sense of the great Chinese cultural tradition, in which he plays a key role. After studying engineering for two years at Jiaotong University in Shanghai, he came to this country in 1938 at the age of twenty and enrolled at Purdue University, where two years later he had completed both B.S. and M.S. degrees in electrical engineering. Together with his wife Virginia (née Cheng Huabao), Mr. Weng has enjoyed a distinguished career as a producer of educational and documentary films, as a freelance writer, and as a scholar and connoisseur of Chinese painting and calligraphy.
2. For example, the Song edition of *Dingmao ji* (Collected poems of Xu Hun) had been included in an exhibition in New York entitled "The Art of Southern Sung China" and illustrated in the catalogue of the same name (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1962). *Shi Gu zhu Sushi* (Collected poetry of Su Shi) and *Bogu yezi* (Woodcut portrait playing cards) had both been reprinted on Taiwan in facsimile (Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1969 and 1976).
3. The Tieqin Tongjian Lou collection of Changshu had the distinction of being known as one of the "four great private libraries" of the late Qing period. The others were the Haiyuan Ge library of the Yang family of Liaocheng, Shangdong; the Bisong Lou collection of Lu Xinyuan (1834-1894) from Wuxing, Zhejiang; and the Baqianjuan Lou library of the Ding brothers of Hangzhou, Zhejiang. The collection of Lu Xinyuan was involved in considerable controversy, because his son sold it to the Japanese financier Iwasaki Yanosuke (1851-1908), who greatly enhanced his Seikadō Bunko library in Tokyo with its acquisition. In response to the Japanese purchase, authorities in Jiangsu Province quickly acquired the Baqianjuan Lou library for incorporation into a provincial library called Jiangnan Tushuguan in Nanjing. It now forms the nucleus of the rare book collection of the Nanjing Tushuguan. Only the rarest books from the Haiyuan Ge library escaped destruction and dispersal during the turmoil in Shandong in the early part of the Republican period, and many of these eventually found their way into Beijing Tushuguan. The Tieqin Tongjian Lou collection was fortunate in having been kept together for the most part right up to the time it entered the Beijing National Library after 1949, partly by gift and partly by purchase.
4. Brief but excellent biographies of Weng Xincun and Weng Tonghe by Fang Chao-ying are found in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur Hummel (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office,

1943–1944), pp. 858–861. Throughout this translation birth and death dates, or other relevant dates, have been supplied for persons whenever known, and titles and names of official positions have been translated as consistently as possible. I wish to thank Mr. Wan-go Weng and Professor F. W. Mote for making valuable suggestions to improve the translation.

5. All dates given in the text according to the traditional Chinese lunar calendar have been converted to the universal Gregorian calendar. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to convert the prices paid for some of the books as accurately. Prices in the original documents are given as so many *jin* (i.e., gold, or metals in general, but usually meaning silver in this context), and I have interpreted the unit of value as taels, or *liang*. Taels usually referred to silver (measured by weight), which was the common circulating medium at the time, but there was a growing demand for gold, and tael exchange rates of gold to silver were quoted in the nineteenth century. A cursory look at contemporary new book prices leads me to believe that the prices given as silver taels for the rare Song editions may be too low, but they must stand, awaiting further data on book prices in the Qing. See “Currency and Measures in China,” *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., vol. 24 (Shanghai, 1890), pp. 46–135.
6. The Liulichang district of Beijing has been the most important center for the book and curio trade in China for the past few centuries. It was especially frequented by the many scholars and officials in service in the capital as well as by the large numbers of hopeful students who regularly came to sit the examinations held there.
7. Qian Zeng praised the rarity of the Song edition of the *Jiyun* in his catalogue, *Dushu minqiuji*, by likening it to the Lingguang Palace, erected in the state of Lu together with many others in the early Western Han and which, after the others had all perished, stood alone in its glory.
8. Here “Song edition” appears to refer to the one from the collection of Prince Yi that Weng is considering acquiring, thereby implying that it may not have been available to Wang Wengao, who produced a thorough annotated edition of the poetry of Su Shi (1037–1101) in the early nineteenth century. By the final two words, it is not clear whether Weng means that he examined and compared *juan* 23 only, or altogether twenty-three *juan* in the work. It was well known that Song Luo had acquired and used an incomplete copy of the same Song edition as the basis of his new edition of *Shizhu Sushi*, published in 1699. Song’s celebrated copy, less complete than the one Weng would acquire, is now in the National Central Library (Taipei). Books from the collection of Prince Yi were already on the book market, as noted in the entry on the Song edition of the *Jiyun* that Weng purchased in 1865, resulting from the political misfortune that led to the death of Zaiyuan (d. 1861), the sixth Prince Yi, and the dispersal of his property. Yinxiang (1686–1730), the first Prince Yi, was known to have already accumulated a large collection of rare books in the early eighteenth century, and they had been passed on to following generations.
9. This title as well as *Shizhu Sushi* and *Sushi* all refer to the same work (no. 59),

“The Poetry of Su Shi with Commentaries by Shi Yuanzhi and Gu Xi,” and they specifically refer to the edition of the Jiading period (1208–1224), previously considered of the Jiatai period (1201–1204) — hence the mistaken reference by Weng.

10. According to additional information discovered by Mr. Weng Kaiqing, the elder brother of Wan-go Weng, a group of 301 titles in nearly 1,000 volumes (*ce*) also was sold by Weng Zhixi to Beijing Tushuguan.
11. The original list of eighty-five titles was reduced to eighty-three by reuniting three parts of the common edition of *Sishu zhangju jizhu* (no. 4) that had been separated into three titles, and by considering *Shaozi guanwu neiwaipian* (no. 35) and the appended *Shaozi yuqiao wendui* as a single Song edition, rather than two. On the revised list there are twenty-seven manuscript editions and fifty-six printed editions. The latter consist of twelve Song, four Yuan, twelve Ming, and twenty-seven Qing editions, as well as one Korean edition.

GLOSSARY

Chinese names and expressions that appear as part of the catalogue entries in the appendix are not repeated in the glossary.

Airi Jinglu 愛日精廬

Airi Jinglu cangshuzhi 愛日精廬藏書志

Anhui 安徽

Anle Tang 安樂堂

Bai Song yichan fu 百宋一廬賦

Baichuan xuehai 百川學海

Bao Huatan 鮑花潭

Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博

Bao Yuanshen 鮑源深

Beijing Tushuguan 北京圖書館

Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu

北京圖書館古籍善本書目

Beijing Tushuguan shanben shumu

北京圖書館善本書目

Boya Tang 博雅堂

Caiyi Tang 綵衣堂

Cang Yuan qunshu tiji 藏園群書題記

Cao Yin 曹寅

Changshu 常熟

Changshu Wengshi shicang guji shanben congshu 常熟翁氏世藏古籍善本叢書

Chao Li 晁堞

Chaoyi daifu Zhangjun xingzhuang

朝議大夫張君行狀

Chen Kui 陳揆

Chen Tingqing 陳廷慶

Chen Wen 陳文

Chen Zilong 陳子龍

Cheng Zong 程宗

Chu Dachun 褚達椿

Chu Pengling 初彭齡

chuanqi 傳奇

Chunxi gaiyuan Jinxi Zhang Jianshui Zhai

shanben 淳熙改元錦谿張監稅宅善本

ci 詞

Cui Sheren yutang leigao 崔舍人玉堂類稿

Daoguang 道光

Daxue 大學

Delin 德林

Diliu xianxi wenchao 第六弦溪文抄

Ding Bing 丁丙

Ding Jing 丁敬

Donghua Gate 東華門

Ershiliuqin Shuwu 二十六琴書屋

Erya yintu 爾雅音圖

Fang Chao-ying 房兆楹

Feng Huimin 馮惠民

Fu Xinian 傅熹年

Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘

Fu Zhi 傅穉

Fujian 福建

Gao Xizeng 高熙曾

Gaozong 高宗

gengyin 庚寅

Gong Zizhen 龔自珍

Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻

Gu Xi 顧禧

Guang Shaopeng 廣少彭

Guangde lu 廣德路

Guangxu 光緒

Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe

古典文學出版社

Gui Lianfang 桂蓮舫

Guiqing 桂清

Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan

國立中央圖書館

Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu

國立中央圖書館善本書目

Guozi Jian 國子監

Guyi congshu sanbian 古逸叢書三編

Hangzhou 杭州

Hanlin 翰林

Hanshu 漢書

He Shaoji 何紹基

He Yuanxi 何元錫

He Zhuo 何焯

Hongwu 洪武

Hu Shi 胡適

Huang Guojin 黃國瑾

Huang Jianzhong 黃建中

Huang Pilie 黃丕烈

Huang Tingjian 黃廷鑑

Huang Yi 黃易

Huang Zili 黃子立

hudiehuang 蝴蝶裝

Hui Dong 惠棟

huizi 諱字

Huzhou 湖州

Ji Shuying 冀淑英

Ji Yun 紀昀

Ji Zhenyi 季振宜

Jiajing 嘉靖

Jiangu baiyi shi 鑒古百一詩

Jiangxi 江西

Jiangyun Lou 絳雲樓

Jianning 建寧

Jian'ou 建甌

Jiatai 嘉泰

Jiaxing 嘉興

Jieyue Shanfang 借月山房

Jigu Ge 汲古閣

Jin Renrui 金人瑞

Jin Shengtan 金聖歎

Jingding 景定

jinshi 進士

jinxiangben 巾箱本

Jirui Lou 稽瑞樓

Jun Zhai dushuzhi 郡齋讀書志

Kangxi 康熙

Kunaichō 宮內廳

Lan Ying 藍瑛

Leshan xian 樂山縣

Li Shouqian 勵守謙

Li Tingxiang 李廷相

Li Yingzhen 李應楨

liangjieban 兩節版

Liangzhe 兩浙

Lin'anfu 臨安府

Lingguang 靈光

lishu 隸書

Liu Bingtu 劉炳圖

Liu Dakui 劉大櫨

Liu Xihai 劉熹海

Liulichang 琉璃廠

Lüjun Ting 綠君亭

Lunyu 論語

Ma Yu 馬裕

Ma Yuelu 馬曰璐

Mao Jin 毛晉

Mao Yi 毛扆

Meishan 眉山

Meizhou 眉州

Mengzi 孟子

Miao Wuzi 繆武子

Miao Yuezao 繆曰藻

Mingben 明本

Mingzhou 明州

Mowang Guan 脈望館

Mudan Ting 牡丹亭

Nanjing Guozijian 南京國子監

Nanjing Tushuguan 南京圖書館

neifengmian 內封面

Ningbo 寧波

Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢

Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭

Pang Baosheng 龐寶生

Pang Zhonglu 龐鍾璐

Pangxi Zhai 滂喜齋

Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府

Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞

Pinglu congkao 瓶廬叢稿

Qi Gong 啓功

Qian Qianyi 錢謙益

Qian Zeng 錢曾

Qian Zunwang 錢遵王

Qianlong 乾隆

Qikuai Shanfang 七檜山房

Qin Sanlin 秦三麟

Qin Silin 秦四麟

Qiu Ying 仇英

qiyán jueju 七言絕句

Qu Fengqi 瞿鳳起

Shaanxi 陝西

Shanben cangshu yinzhāng xuāncuī

善本藏書印章選粹

Shanghai Guji Chubanshe

上海古籍出版社

Shanghai Tushuguan 上海圖書館

Shangshu 尙書

Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館

- Shao Kangjie 邵康節
 Shaoxing 紹興
 Shen Song 沈松
 Shen Xinmin 沈新民
 Shen Zhongtao 沈仲濤
 Shi Su 施宿
 Shi Yuanzhi 施元之
Shiji 史記
Shiji ceyi 史記測義
Shijing 詩經
 Shili Ju 士禮居
Shizhu Sushi 施注蘇詩
 Shugu Tang 述古堂
 Shuihu yezi 水滸葉子
Shujing 書經
 Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe
 書目文獻出版社
Shupin 書品
Sibu congkan sanbian 四部叢刊三編
Siku jianming mulu biao
 四庫簡明目錄標注
Siku quanshu 四庫全書
Sishu 四書
 Song Jin 宋晉
 Song Luo 宋肇
 Song Muzhong 宋牧仲
 Song Qi 宋琪
 Song Xuefan 宋雪帆
 Song Yun 宋筠
 Songchan 松禪
 Songkan Shi Gu zhu Sushi ba
 宋刊施顧注蘇詩跋
 Songxue Zhai 松雪齋
 Su Guo 蘇過
 Su Zhai 蘇齋
 Sun Lou 孫樓
 Sun Yuanxiang 孫源湘
 Suzhou 蘇州
 Tai Jingnong 臺靜農
 Taibei 台北
 Taizhou 泰州
 Tianjin 天津
 Tiejin Tongjian Lou 鐵琴銅劍樓
 Tiren Pavilion 體仁閣
 Tongzhi 同治
 Wang Liming 汪立名
 Wang Mingluan 汪鳴鑾
 Wang Shizhen 王士禛
 Wang Shizhong 汪士鍾
 Wang Wengao 王文誥
 Wang Yirong 王懿榮
 Wang Zhongmin 王重民
 Wanjuan Lou 萬卷樓
 Wenduan Gong 文端公
 Wenduan Wenqin liangshi shouze
 文端文勤兩世手澤
 Weng Binsun 翁斌孫
 Weng Fanggang 翁方綱
 Weng Jingzhi 翁敬之
 Weng Jionsun 翁炯孫
 Weng juan 翁捐
 Weng Kaiqing 翁開慶
 Weng Tonghe 翁同龢
 Weng Tongjue 翁同爵
 Weng Tongshu 翁同書
 Weng Wange 翁萬戈
 Weng Xincun 翁心存
 Weng Xingqing 翁興慶

- Weng Zhilian 翁之廉
 Weng Zhixi 翁之憲
 Wengong Gong 文恭公
 Wenqin Gong 文勤公
 Wenxuan 文選
 Wu Jian 吳堅
 Wumen 吳門
 Wuxing 吳興
 Xia Tianpei 夏天培
 Xiang Dushou 項篤壽
 Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴
 Xie Bin 謝彬
 xingshu 行書
 Xiyuan leigao 西垣類稿
 Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠
 Xu Qianxue 徐乾學
 Xu Tong 徐桐
 Xu Xuan 徐鉉
 Xu Yinxuan 徐蔭軒
 Yan Wei 嚴蔚
 Yan Yiping 嚴一萍
 Yan Yudun 嚴虞惇
 Yang Yi 楊儀
 Yao Heng 姚衡
 Yao Wentian 姚文田
 Yao Yan 姚晏
 Yao Yuanzhi 姚元之
 Ye Guohua 葉國華
 Ye Mingfeng 葉名澧
 Ye Runchen 葉潤臣
 Yeshi Yuan 也是園
 Yili 儀禮
 yimin 遺民
 yingchao 影抄
 Yinxiang (Prince Yi) 胤祥
 Yiwen Yinshuguan 藝文印書館
 Youxuan Ting 又玄亭
 Yu 虞
 Yue Fei 岳飛
 Yun Zhai 均齋
 Yushan Qian Zunwang cangshu mulu huibian
 虞山錢遵王藏書目錄彙編
 Yushan Qian Zunwang Shugu tang
 虞山錢遵王述古堂
 Yushan Shuyuan 虞山書院
 Yuyu Tang 郁郁堂
 Zeng Yu 曾燠
 Zhang Dunren 張敦仁
 Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬
 Zhang Jinwu 張金吾
 Zhang Rongjing 張蓉鏡
 Zhang Xie 張燮
 Zhangzi yulu 張子語錄
 Zhao Gou 趙構
 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
 Zhao Qimei 趙琦美
 Zhao Wanli 趙萬里
 Zhao Yongxian 趙用賢
 Zhejiang 浙江
 Zheng Qian 鄭騫
 Zheng Yu 鄭羽
 Zhibuzu Zhai congshu 知不足齋叢書
 Zhishengdao Zhai chaojiao shuji
 知聖道齋鈔校書籍
 Zhizhi Zhai yiji 知止齋遺集
 Zhongfeng heshang 中峰和尚

Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao

中國善本書提要

Zhongyong 中庸

Zhou Zuoji 周作楫

Zhu Jin 朱縉

Zhu Xiubo 朱修伯

Zhu Xueqin 朱學勤

Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊

zhuangyuan 狀元

Zhuangzi 莊子

Zhuanyun Si 轉運司

Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮

APPENDIX

Classics 經部

1. 禹貢古今合註五卷圖一卷 明夏允彝撰 清抄本
2. 詩傳大全二十卷 明胡廣等撰 明初刻本
3. 射禮集解一卷 明李良能等輯 清抄本
4. 四書章句集註十九卷 宋朱熹章句 清刻本
5. 孟子二卷 宋蘇洵批點 明萬曆四十五年閔齊伋刻三色套印本 翁同龢題記
6. 爾雅三卷 晉郭璞註 清本慶六年曾燠藝學軒刻道光二十九年修補本
7. 說文解字十五卷 漢許慎撰 清初汲古閣刻本
8. 汗簡七卷 宋郭忠恕撰 清康熙四十二年一隅草堂刻本 翁同龢跋
9. 班馬字類五卷 宋婁機撰 明末仿宋刻本
10. 隸篇十五卷續十五卷再續十五卷 清翟雲升撰 清道光十八至二十四年翟氏刻本
11. 字學七種二卷 清李書雲輯 清道光刻本
12. 古文說不分卷 清龔橙撰 稿本 翁同龢跋
13. 集韻十卷 宋丁度等奉敕撰 南宋初期刻本 潘祖蔭等題記
14. 佩文詩韻五卷 清無名氏編 清刻本

History 史部

15. 史記一百三十卷 漢司馬遷撰 清道光十四年三元堂刻本 翁同龢批註並圈點
16. 漢書一百卷(存七十八卷) 漢班固撰 宋紹興江南東路轉運司刻宋元遞修本 翁同龢跋
17. 隋書八十五卷 唐魏徵等撰 元至順三年瑞州路儒學刻明修本
18. 南史八十卷 唐李延壽撰 元大德十年刻明嘉靖十年重修本 翁同龢跋
19. 宋史全文續資治通鑑三十六卷 元無名氏撰 明游明覆元刻本

20. 汲冢周書十卷 晉孔晁注 元至正十四年嘉興路儒學刻本
21. 國語二十一卷 吳韋昭注 明萬曆六年思泉童氏刻本 翁俸手校翁心存翁同龢跋翁炯孫題識
22. 五代史補五卷 宋陶岳撰 清抄本 彭元瑞題記
23. 九國志十二卷 宋路振撰 清抄本
24. 崔舍人奏議不分卷 宋崔敦詩撰 清抄本
25. 常熟縣水利全書十卷附錄不分卷 明耿橘撰 清抄本
26. 水道提綱二十八卷 清齊召南編 清抄本
27. 文獻通考詳節二十四卷 元馬端臨撰 清嚴虞惇錄 清雍正十年翁嗣賢抄本
28. 營造法式三十四卷目錄一卷看詳一卷 宋李誠撰 清嘉慶張氏小琅嬛福地精抄本 黃丕烈等跋
29. 欽定四庫全書簡明目錄二十卷 清紀昀等撰 清抄本 王頌蔚批註並跋
30. 十四庫全書簡明目錄二十卷 清紀昀等撰 清抄本 翁炯孫跋
31. 百宋一廬賦一卷 清顧廣圻撰黃丕烈注 清嘉慶十年黃氏士禮居刻本 翁曾源題記
32. 金石圖不分卷(存一冊) 清褚峻摹牛運震說 清乾隆刻本 翁同龢題記
33. 明史斷略不分卷 題清錢謙益撰 清抄本 翁同龢校定並跋

Philosophy 子部

34. 纂圖互註荀子二十卷 唐楊倞註 元末明初刻本
35. 邵子觀物內篇二卷外篇三卷後錄二卷附邵子漁樵問對一卷 宋邵雍撰 宋福建漕治刻本
36. 兵法新書不分卷 漢末時人著 清抄本
37. 圖繪寶鑑八卷 元夏文彥纂 清借綠草堂刻本
38. 清河書畫舫十二卷 明張丑撰 清乾隆二十八年池北草堂刻本
39. 博古葉子不分卷 明陳洪綬編 清順治十年刻本 翁同龢跋
40. 畫禪室隨筆四卷 明董其昌撰 清大魁堂刻本 翁斌孫批註
41. 庚子銷夏記八卷 清孫承澤撰 清乾隆二十六年鮑廷博刻本 翁同龢題記
42. 揚州畫舫錄十八卷 清李斗撰 清乾隆六十年自然齋刻同治十一年修補本
43. 長短經九卷 唐趙蕤撰 南宋初杭州淨戒院刻本 沈新民跋 清高宗題詩
44. 晁氏客語不分卷 宋晁說之撰 明刻本
45. 春明退朝錄三卷 宋宋敏求撰 清彭元瑞知聖道齋抄本
46. 均藻四卷 明楊慎著 清抄本 翁同龢題記

47. 重彫足本鑑誠錄十卷 後蜀何光遠撰 宋刻巾箱本 黃丕烈等跋
 48. 重彫足本鑑誠錄十卷 後蜀何光遠撰 清曹寅棟亭據宋本影錄抄本 王懿榮
 翁同龢跋
 49. 程史十五卷附錄一卷 宋岳珂撰 明嘉靖四年錢如京刻本
 50. 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經十卷 唐般刺密帝彌伽釋迦合譯
 宋刻本 董其昌翁同龢跋
 51. 南華發覆八卷 釋性涵注 明刻本 翁同龢題記

Belles-lettres 集部

52. 李太白文集三十卷 唐李白撰 清康熙五十六年繆曰芑影宋刻本
 53. 分門集註杜工部詩二十五卷 唐杜甫撰 宋建陽刻本
 54. 讀杜心解六卷首一卷 清浦起龍撰 清雍正三年浦氏寧我齋刻本 翁同龢題記
 55. 昌黎先生集四十卷外集十卷附錄一卷(存本集十卷附錄一卷) 唐韓愈撰李漢編
 宋淳熙元年張氏監稅宅刻本
 56. 會昌一品制集(存十卷) 唐李德裕撰 宋刻本 黃丕烈跋
 57. 丁卯集二卷 唐許渾撰 宋刻臨安書棚本 黃丕烈翁心存翁同龢跋
 58. 歐陽文忠公集(存十卷) 宋歐陽修撰 明刻本
 59. 註東坡先生詩四十二卷目錄二卷(存三十二卷目錄二卷) 宋蘇軾撰施元之顧禧
 註 宋嘉定六年淮東倉司刻景定三年修補本 翁同龢跋
 60. 新刊嵩山居士文全集五十四卷目錄一卷(存四十二卷目錄一卷) 宋晁公邁撰
 宋乾道四年嘉州刻本
 61. 石湖居士文集三十四卷(存十三卷) 宋范成大撰 明抄本 彭元瑞校翁同龢書批
 62. 斜川詩集十卷 宋劉過撰 清木活字印本 翁心存跋
 63. 揭文安公詩鈔一卷 元揭傒斯撰 清抄本 彭元瑞校並題記
 64. 大癡道人遺集一卷 元黃公望撰 清抄本
 65. 巴西鄧先生文集一卷 元鄧文原撰 清抄本 翁同龢校並跋
 66. 友石先生詩集五卷 明王紱撰 清金櫃室抄本
 67. 蓼野集不分卷 清翁長庸撰 清寒香亭刻本
 68. 聯捷真稿不分卷 清翁長庸撰 清天香閣刻本
 69. 冬心先生續集自序一卷 清金農撰 清乾隆十八年刻本 翁同龢題記
 70. 棄瓢集不分卷 明許山著 清抄本 吳蔚光跋許廷誥等題記
 71. 蘇園公先生文稿不分卷 清蘇去疾著 清烏目山房抄本
 72. 益齋集十卷附櫟翁稗說四卷 高麗李齊賢撰 朝鮮康熙三十二年刻本

73. 文選六十卷 梁蕭統輯 唐李善註 明覆元池州路張伯顏刻本 何焯批校
74. 玉臺新詠十卷 陳徐陵輯 清抄本 翁同龢題記
75. 唐詩三百首註釋六卷續選一卷 清孫洙撰于慶元輯 清光緒十六年石渠山房刻本
76. 三蘇文集七十一卷卷首一卷 宋蘇洵蘇軾蘇轍撰 明刻本
77. 西廂記八卷 元王德信撰 清大業堂刻本
78. 新刻原本王狀元荆釵記二卷 明朱權撰 明初姑蘇葉氏刻本 黃丕烈翁同龢跋
79. 玉茗堂還魂記二卷 明湯顯祖撰 清乾隆五十年冰絲館刻本
80. 山中白雲詞八卷 宋張炎撰 清抄本
81. 絕妙好詞七卷 宋周密輯 清清吟堂刻本
82. 詞選二卷續詞選二卷 清張惠言張琦輯 清道光十年張氏宛鄰書屋刻本
83. 宋四家詞選不分卷 清周濟輯 清松竹齋抄本 翁曾翰題記翁同龢跋

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