

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館
East Asian Library
and the *Gest Collection*

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*The East Asian Library Journal 11, no. 2 (2004), accessed January 14, 2017,
<https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/ealj.v11.n02.pdf>*

THE
EAST ASIAN
LIBRARY JOURNAL

秋

AUTUMN 2004

VOLUME XI • NUMBER 2

The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection
of Princeton University

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The East Asian Library Journal

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Published by the Trustees of Princeton University

Issued two times a year: Spring, Autumn

Subscription: Forty dollars in North America, fifty dollars elsewhere

Orders and remittances (U.S. funds only) payable to the

Trustees of Princeton University may be sent to the:

East Asian Library Journal

211 Jones Hall, Princeton University

Princeton, NJ 08544 U.S.A.

US ISSN 1079-8021

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Contents

THE EAST ASIAN LIBRARY JOURNAL

VOLUME XI . NUMBER 2 . AUTUMN 2004

- | | |
|--|-----|
| <i>From the Editor</i> | IX |
| <i>News and Notes</i> | XV |
| Research on the Gest Library "Cribbing Garment":
A Very Belated Update
BY ANDREW H. PLAKS | I |
| The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University,
1926-1936
BY SU CHEN AND JUMING ZHAO | 41 |
| The Development of Modern Typography in East Asia,
1850-2000
BY MARTIN J. HEIJDRRA | 100 |
| <i>About Our Contributors</i> | 169 |

FREDERICK W. MOTE

2 June 1922–10 February 2005

Professor • Scholar • Friend

Chairman, *East Asian Library Journal* Editorial Advisory Board
Princeton University

Illustrations

Art from cover of Tobita Tokio's sketchbook, 1948-1949	xvii
"Cribbing garment," Gest Collection	2
"Flyhead" script	4
Red-ink swabbed names: Ming and Qing literati	7
Robe detail: external seam and inside midseam	13
Robe detail: red thread	13
Robe detail: finished edge	14
Robe detail: plain weave	14
Three schematic diagrams of the robe	16-17
Red-ink swabbed names: Qing literati	23
Red-ink swabbed names: studio names	25
Red-ink swabbed names: descriptive notes	27
Guion Moore Gest, undated photograph	40
Hu Shih and James Shih-kang T'ung, February 1952	44
Commander I. V. Gillis with three of his assistants, May 1930	45
Nancy Lee Swann, 1933	52
News clipping, opening of the Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill, 1926	54
Three views of the Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, 1929	57-59
Invitation Card for New Year's Tea at McGill, 1932	60

VI ILLUSTRATIONS

Robert de Résillac-Roese with P. Turner and Sidney D. Quong, <i>ca.</i> 1931–1933	61
Distinguished visitors to the Gest Chinese Research Library in 1930	64
Arthur Currie, <i>ca.</i> 1930	66
William Edward Beatty, <i>ca.</i> 1933–1935	67
Kang-hu Kiang, 1934	69
Arthur Eustace Morgan, <i>ca.</i> 1935–1937	83
Abraham Flexner, 1926	85
Matrix made using electrotype method	101
Early-nineteenth-century text printed in movable metal type	103
Artisan-style type, Late-Ming period	105
<i>Uroko</i>	105
Differences in counters in artisans'-style and regular-style typefaces	106
Corrections to regular-style typeface	107
Poster for the Third Commercial Art Exhibition, Japan, 1928	108
Front cover of <i>Shidai funü</i> (Modern Woman), 1934	109
ShuTongti typeface, 1980s	111
Early type cut by P. P. Thoms for Robert Morrison, 1817	113
“Hong Kong type” of Samuel Dyer and Richard Cole, 1850	114
Mei-Hua typeface, 1860–1864	116–117
Minchōtai and other typefaces of Motoki Shōzō, 1872	118
Marcellin Legrand, divisible type, <i>ca.</i> 1834	120
Early type produced in Serampore, India, 1814	121

VII ILLUSTRATIONS

Specimen sheet of Tsukiji Minchōtai typeface, 1903	124
Specimen sheet of Shueisha Minchōtai typeface, 1914	125
Specimen sheet of Tsukiji Gothic typeface, 1913	126
<i>Han'gŭl</i> typeface, ca. 1880, designed by Ch'oe Chi-hyŏk	127
Myŏngjo-ch'e <i>han'gŭl</i> typeface. ca. 1930, designed by Yi Wŏn-mo	129
Juzhen FangSongti typeface, 1921, designed by Ding Shanzhi and Ding Fuzhi	131
Huafeng ZhenSongti typeface, 1927–1934, designed and cut on type by Zhu Yibao	132
Hanwen Zhengkaiti typeface, 1930, designed by Gao Yuncheng	132
Benton machine produced by the Tsugami Seisakujo, 1953	135
Myŏngjo-ch'e <i>han'gŭl</i> typeface, 1954, designed by Yi Im-p'ung and Ch'oe Chŏng-sun	136
Two different Songti typefaces	138
Xin Weiti typeface, 1969–1974	138
ChangMouti typeface, 1961, designed by Mou Zidong	139
Morisawa Nobuo and Ishii Mokichi photo-typesetting machine, 1929	139
Two versions of Ishii Mokichi's Minchōtai typeface, 1933	140
Ishii Sai-Minchōtai typeface, 1952–1960, for the <i>Dai Kan-Wa jiten</i>	142
Yamashiro Ryuichi, poster for a planting campaign, 1955	144
Taiposu typeface, Family One, 1968	145
Nāru typeface, 1970–1972, designed by Nakamura Katsuhiko	146
Sūbo typeface, 1972–1974, designed by Suzuki Tsutomu	147

VIII ILLUSTRATIONS

Shaken Myōngjo-ch'e <i>han'gŭl</i> typeface, 1960–, designed by Ch'oe Chōng-ho	148
Shaken Sōranreishotai typeface, 1972, designed by Zeng Qingren	149
Hong Kong advertising fonts from the 1980s	152
“Grunge” fonts for <i>han'gŭl</i> , 1997	154
The Ajioka Shintarō <i>kana</i> series, 1984–1990	155

From the Editor

In the lead article in this number of the *East Asian Library Journal*, Professor Andrew Plaks writes about his more than two-decade-long interest in one of the unusual non-book objects in the Gest Collection, the so-called “cribbing garment,” more than once on public display in earlier years of the Gest Library at Princeton. His inventive research methods invite readers to participate in his investigation into the origins, utility, contents, and significance of this elusively sublime and curious object, about which there remains much to be deciphered. Su Chen, head of the East Asian Library at the University of Minnesota and previously librarian of the East Asian Library at McGill University in Montreal, has written about the ten-year period during which Guion M. Gest’s collection of books resided at McGill and was known as the Gest Chinese Research Library. Her writing of the history of this eminent collection of Chinese books at its inception and in its first incarnation as a research library in the context of a university and the development of a Chinese studies program hints at the intriguing, and potentially treacherous, complexities of this process.

These two articles, one about a single item in Guion Gest’s eclectic collection and the other about the early history of the development and the management of this collection as a whole, have impelled this editor to spend days reading through the Gest Library Papers, anxious to inform herself at least minimally about the extent of the resources available there. It is now clear that the threads of the story behind and surrounding Guion Gest’s passionate commitment to his unusual collection—written in a language that he could not read—may

yet weave themselves into a garment inscribed with a text as complex and arcane as that on the elegant “cribbing garment.”

As I pointed out in the editor’s preface to volume 11, no. 1, the majority of the materials submitted for publication in the *East Asian Library Journal* is on topics related to Chinese books and documents. This is not by design, but rather by default. Further, this journal is not interested in publishing articles solely about the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection at Princeton, though we are here presenting two articles related specifically to this collection. Thus, it is my pleasure to have had the opportunity to work with Dr. Martin Heijdra, Chinese Bibliographer and Head of Public Services at the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton, to bring to the journal’s readers his research on the development of modern typography in China, Japan, and Korea. It is largely texts in Dr. Heijdra’s own collection that make his research possible. The kinds of promotional literature and corporate histories written by the companies that produce type and of ephemeral materials from the publishing and graphic-design industries—especially those related to type produced for East Asian languages—seldom find their way into library collections and thus hardly enter into the scholarly discussion of printing and publishing in East Asia. You will enjoy this collector and historian’s passionate and informed exposition of technical subtleties in the intertwined solutions to challenges in the development of modern typography for the languages of East Asia.

The opening of Professor Plaks’ article reminds us how change in an institution often stimulates a reconsideration of and a renewed appreciation of what preceded the change. Change again is reshaping the buildings that house the East Asian Library at Princeton. In May 2004, at the end of the academic year, contractors began a thorough renovation of Jones Hall, the location of the Near Eastern Studies Department (first floor), the East Asian Studies Department (second floor), the Chinese Rare Books Project and a substantial section of the stacks of the East Asian Library (third floor). For the East Asian Library, completion of this work in September 2005 promises a new easy-to-access Reference Room and restoration of stack space in the warm wood-paneled environment of Jones Hall.

This second phase of the renovation of the facility housing the

East Asian Library and the Gest Collection is tangible evidence of the high regard for and the generous support that Princeton University has continuously provided for this collection of research and teaching resources. This support has allowed the East Asian Library to grow to nearly five times the size of the original Gest Collection. The challenges that Princeton faces in administering this or any of its other large special collections has much in common with similar challenges facing other institutions and libraries. Housing, managing, building, and keeping collections available to readers call for creativity and a profound understanding of the nature of the materials and how the disciplines of the scholars using these resources necessitate they be used. The temptation—and to a large degree the inevitability—of increasing reliance on electronic access to resources has perhaps become a kind of panacea for a range of space and overhead restrictions that libraries face. Sometimes blanket policies for sending older materials with no record of circulation activity to off-site storage are implemented without regard for the fact that many of these materials, because of their age, unusual content or size, or non-Western bindings, had never been allowed to circulate. In the East Asian scholarly context, older texts and earlier editions do not grow less valuable as research and reference tools. Contrariwise, earlier works, in keeping with the precedents of scholarly traditions in all of the intellectual cultures of East Asia, must be consulted as a foil for any argument. To classify these older materials as irrelevant to the work of the modern scholar of East Asian disciplines, and therefore to put them into storage and out of easy reach, is to reshape that scholar's research methods unnecessarily and most unwisely.

The Jones Hall renovation has meant the temporary relocation of collections housed in that space. The reshuffling this spring of books and bound periodicals to temporary locations in the East Asian Library and to off-site storage represented a monumental management challenge for the administrators of the East Asian Library and of the larger Princeton-library system. Inconveniences to users of the collection have been minimal, a tribute to the careful planning and the smooth execution of the move. This vital collection grows steadily by about twenty thousand volumes annually, and rather difficult decisions must be made to determine which works will be placed on the shelves in the finite space

available in the Jones Hall and Frist Campus Center stacks. The collection is continuously culled and volumes sent to off-site storage (ReCap) as part of a new university-library system for the relocation of library materials so that they can be easily and quickly recalled.

The ease of access to off-site holdings provided by this new system, unfortunately, was not available for the very large number of books dislocated during the reconstruction of Palmer Hall completed in 2000. Proposals for that earlier renovation as they affected the Gest Library were first presented to the readers of this journal in volume 3, nos. 1-2 (Spring 1989). These tentative plans projected a significant, much needed expansion of the space in Palmer Hall available for the library—reading and reference rooms, administration offices, cataloguing and work rooms, and, in particular, stack space. What the East Asian collection got in this transformation of Palmer Hall into Frist Campus Center was a handsome new appearance with a new entrance on the third-floor level of the central staircase of Frist under the banner of its new name, East Asian Library. Sunlight fills the large periodical reading room, the open circulation-services area, and also, unfortunately, the glass and wood display cases that stretch ceiling high along the entry corridor. The card catalogue, much beloved by many long-time library users, confidently shares a space with computer terminals used for online searches of Princeton holdings and of collections and data bases worldwide. Despite the best efforts of all involved, the change from Palmer into Frist significantly reduced the amount of shelf space in the stacks of the East Asian Library. Retrofitting an older structure for modern equipment and legally mandated systems requires insight and foresight that often enough are available, regretfully, only in hindsight.

Some users of the library in the last half of the previous century have noted the unfortunate disassembling of the great collection that makes up the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection at Princeton, which has deleteriously affected the usability that collection. The rare books—including both the core group in the Gest Collection and those rare materials added in the years since—formerly were housed entirely in a Rare Book Room in Palmer Hall but now are housed in Mudd Library, the Princeton University Archives. The Gest Library Papers are also now on the shelves of the archives. Older string-bound books from the

original Gest Collection and the vast majority of the works catalogued using the Harvard-Yenching numbering system have been relegated to one of two sites known as the University Library Annexes. Recalling items from these storage sites is often a frustrating experience that discourages some users from even attempting to place a request for a title held there. This situation effectively places these older works out of circulation. One troubling aspect of the current look of the East Asian Library at Princeton is that the books in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean in the stacks—which gratefully are completely open to the public—give no hint of the depth of the resources in old and rare materials, no hint that there is any “age” or any history to this collection. Because the volumes in old-style bindings are not shelved alongside or adjacent to the recent imprints, while the rarest and most valuable holdings also are stored elsewhere, one hears the complaint that the East Asian Library, while growing steadily and now being given improved physical surroundings, in some essential ways no longer supports research and advanced teaching as well as it could and should.

After the Gest Collection was purchased from Guion Gest in 1936 by the Institute for Advanced Study and renamed the Gest Oriental Research Library, its first home in Princeton was in basement accommodations at 20 Nassau Street. In the past nearly seven decades of its being housed at and administered and expanded by Princeton University for the joint use of the institute and the university, the utility of this eminent collection must be counted as undisputed. Would it be a wild notion (as one Princeton scholar has asked) to suggest that in order to maintain the quality and the usability of Princeton’s unique and unparalleled East Asian resources, we should strive for the development of a dedicated facility, designed for the particular needs of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, the East Asian Studies Department, and the East Asian Studies Program here? One could argue that this fine collection of materials written about or in the languages of the major countries in East Asia and the academic department and the associated programs deserve nothing less. That is because those now virtually inaccessible older editions, which incidentally include many rare books that were not previously so designated, should be constantly turned to for reference, close comparison of editions, and verification of content. Such use of

them, along with all the other materials in the entire East Asian collection, is essential both to scholarship and to the training of advanced students. It is for such reasons that the "wild notion" of eventually reassembling the now widely scattered constituent elements of our research library insistently comes to mind. Granted, realizing this notion of placing all the elements of the study of East Asia at Princeton under one elegant roof will take time and patience and money and discussion and commitment and far-sighted planning, and more. This is an issue that is surely not unique to the study of East Asia at Princeton. The access to and availability of major East Asian research collections is a topic of relevance to the scholarly community in general, and to the institutions blessed with such collections in particular. The editor would be pleased to entertain comments on this topic and hopes that a thoughtful and productive dialogue in the larger scholarly community will result.

NANCY NORTON TOMASKO
10 October 2004

News and Notes

PUBLISHING-CALENDAR REFORM FOR THE *EAST ASIAN LIBRARY JOURNAL*

For several years, the cover date of the *East Asian Library Journal* and the actual date of publication have not coincided. Having the cover date far out of sync with the actual date of publication is disconcerting, misleading, and, for the editor, a little demoralizing. The previous number Volume 11, no. 1 was published in May 2004 but bore the cover date of Spring 2002. Starting with this issue, the cover date will be the approximate date of publication. The current number, volume 11, no. 2 bears the date (Autumn 2004). This realignment reflects the journal's return to publication of two numbers each year and "catches us up" with the reality of the calendar. Subscribers will receive each of the volumes for which they have paid, and renewals, as before, will be made by the volume, not by the calendar year.

PROFESSOR EARL MINER (1927-2004)

News of the passing on 17 April 2004 of Professor Earl R. Miner reached the journal's office after our previous number had been printed. Thus, most of our readers perhaps will already be aware of this loss to the Princeton scholarly community. Professor Miner came to Princeton in 1972, having previously taught for two years at Williams College and for seventeen years at the University of California, Los Angeles. He retired in 2000 as Townsend Martin, Class of 1917, Professor of English and Comparative Literature.

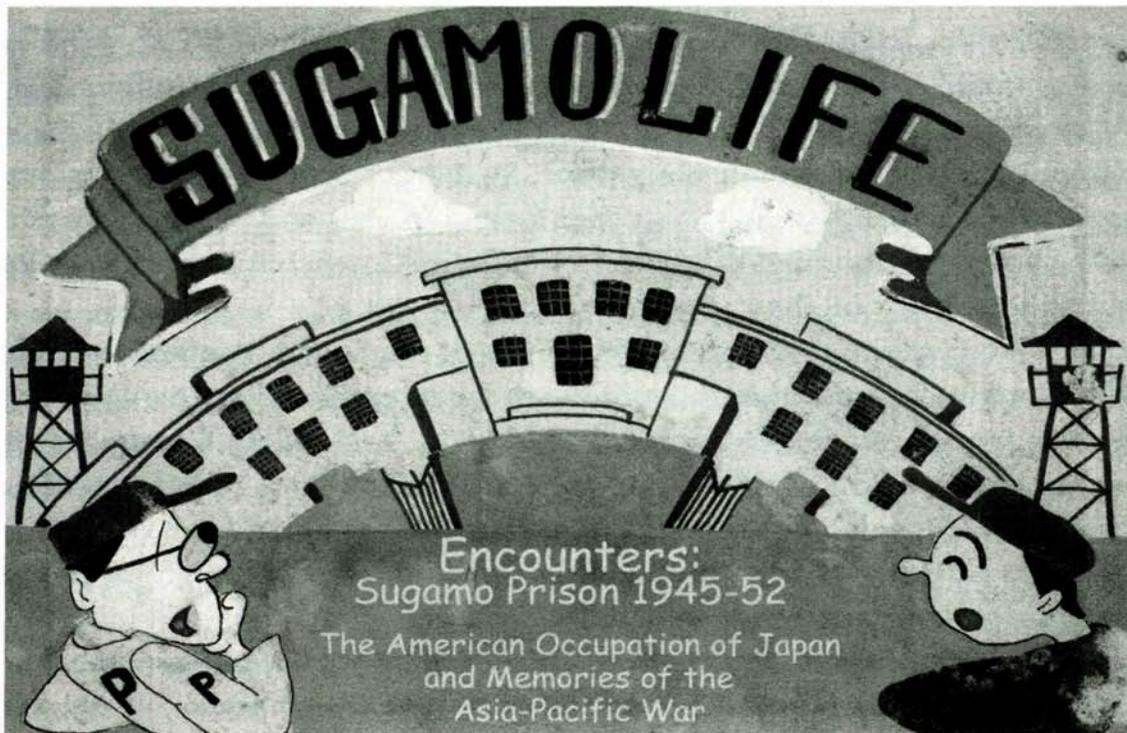
Warm and gentle, with an infectious sense of humor and a love of outrageous puns, Miner was always accessible to students as well as colleagues. His presence at Princeton drew graduate students in English,

comparative literature, and Japanese studies. Once they were here, he was unstinting in his encouragement of their work. His delight in teaching was recognized by Princeton University in the grant of a Behrman Award in 1993. In his study of Japanese literature he had a particular affection for Japanese poetry, from the earliest court poetry to the *haiku* of Bashō (1644–1694) and more recent avant-garde expression. He was an international figure, known in Japan as he was in the United States and Europe. His lifetime commitment to Japanese literature was recognized in the award of the Order of the Rising Sun from the Japanese government in 1994. His last publication, co-edited with William Moeck and Steven Jablonski, entitled *Paradise Lost, 1668–1968: Three Centuries of Commentary* was published by Bucknell University Press in the summer of 2004. Professor Miner is survived by his wife Jinny, their children Erik and Lisa, a grandson Bryan, and by four brothers.

SUGAMO PRISON EXHIBIT

In the spring of 2003, the East Asian Studies Program and the East Asian Library at Princeton University sponsored a series of events that explored contact between Japanese and Americans at one spot on the map of Occupied Japan, Sugamo Prison in Tokyo. From 6 April to 4 June 2003, an exhibit “Encounters: Sugamo Prison, 1945–52, The American Occupation of Japan and Memories of the Asia-Pacific War” was on view in the East Asian Library. Curated by New York artist Bill Barrette in collaboration with textile conservator and translator Midori Sato, the exhibition featured visual and material remnants of the place of incarceration in Japan for those Japanese accused of war crimes in the Asia-Pacific theater of World War II. Bill Barrette’s research into the prison environment has turned up photographs of the prison, its Japanese prisoners, and its American-military guards, enough to fill shelf after shelf of the Princeton exhibit. His contact, often by word of mouth, has led him to veterans on both sides who have loaned him sketches and drawings, hand-crafted art, and daily-use artifacts produced by the captives and their captors. (For an example of art created by a Japanese prisoner-of-war, see figure 1.)

At this same time, a second Sugamo exhibit by Bill Barrette and



1. Postcard announcement of the Sugamo exhibit and related programs at Princeton, spring 2003. Drawing is the illustration on the cover of a sketch book by Tobita Tokio, a prisoner at Sugamo. The sketch book contains seventy pages of the original drawings for four-block *manga* (comic strips) depicting prison life that Tobita drew from 1948 to 1949 for a prisoner-produced, mimeograph-printed newspaper. Note that prison uniforms actually were marked with a "P" for prisoner, and Tobita named himself with the diminutive "P-ko."

Midori Sato was on display at St. Joseph's Seminary in Plainsboro, New Jersey. Entitled "Encounter at Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, April 5, 1948—The Murder of Chaplain John A. Ryan: A New Look at the Court-Martial of Pfc. William C. Manis." This display explored the explosive and long-term tragic consequences of the murder of a chaplain at Sugamo and the subsequent trial and conviction of a young guard in the United States occupying force. William Manis, who was paroled after serving eight and one-half years in federal penitentiaries, claimed his innocence throughout his life. He died at his home in Tennessee in February 2003. Chaplain Ryan's remains are buried at St. Joseph's Seminary.

On 23 April 2003, Lindsey Powell, who teaches anthropology and East Asian Studies at Temple University and at Drexel University in Philadelphia, and Narumi Toyota, co-producer for the project, pre-

sented a video record of reunions, both here in the United States and in Japan, of old soldiers and their former prisoners. This was followed by a symposium on the United States' occupation of Japan held in Frist Campus Center, Princeton University, 8–10 May 2003. The symposium, open to the public, brought together former guards and prisoners, artists and scholars to consider the personal and artistic encounters of Sugamo and the memory of these events.

Word of the trove of vital evidence of the Sugamo experience that Bill Barrette continues to uncover drew the attention of writer Daniel J. Wakin, whose article "Occupied by the U. S., and by Art" appeared on pages A1, B1, and B4 of the 28 July 2004 issue of the *New York Times*. One result of this article in the *Times* is that Barrette has heard from the family members of other guards, thus adding to the depth of the record of the Sugamo prison experience that he is building.

In the autumn of 2004, the Japan Policy Research Institute will publish Bill Barrette's most recent exposition of the unfolding history of Sugamo Prison as the latest in its series of occasional papers. For this on-line publication, see <http://www.JPRI.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op33.html>. In planning for the spring of 2005 is a symposium and workshop devoted to modern Japanese art and literature produced under prison and other restrained conditions. Martin Collcutt, Professor of Japanese Literature and Director of the East Asian Studies Program at Princeton, and Bill Barrette are working to include, in addition, specialists in prison art and literature in the context of war outside East Asia.

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EAST ASIAN LIBRARY AT COLUMBIA

On the evening of Friday, 2 May 2003, the C. V. Starr East Asian Library at Columbia convened a symposium in honor of its first one hundred years of collecting East Asian resources. James Neal, Vice President for Information Services and University Librarian, opened the event with a brief history of the building of the East Asian collection beginning with an initial grant in 1901 from General Horace Walpole Carpentier, a trustee of the university. Amy Heinrich, Director of the C. V. Starr East Asian Library, then introduced three professors emeriti whose teaching

and scholarship shaped the East Asian Studies Department at Columbia during the latter half of the twentieth century: William Theodore de Bary, John Mitchell Mason Professor Emeritus of Chinese Studies; Donald Keene, Shincho and University Professor Emeritus; and Gari Keith Ledyard, King Sejong Professor of Korean Studies. Each of these scholars in turn gave informative and amusing recollections of highlights of his own interactions with the books in Columbia's East Asian collection in his discipline. A reception in the elegant reading room of the C. V. Starr East Asian Library on the third floor of Kent Hall concluded this enjoyable event that marked of the beginning of the second century of collecting East Asian books at Columbia.

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HARVARD-YENCHING LIBRARY

The symposium "Books in Numbers," held at the Harvard-Yenching Library on 17-18 October 2003 in honor of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of that library, was an exuberant celebration of the book in East Asia. Scholars from around the world presented papers in five categories: bronze inscriptions and writings on bamboo and paper; traditional print culture; the industrialization of print culture in East Asia; book illustration; and digitalization of East Asian collections. On display at the Houghton Library at Harvard from 16 October to 31 December 2003 was "An Exhibition to Highlight the Special Collections of the Harvard-Yenching Library." Three related exhibitions were held at this same time at other venues on the Harvard campus: "Photographs on China" at the Peabody Museum; "Ephemeral Materials on East Asia" at the Pusey Library, Main Gallery; and "Rare and Unique Legal Documents on China and Japan" at the Harvard Law School Library. The 350-page, generously illustrated exhibition catalogue *Treasures of the Yenching*, edited by Patrick Hanan and published by Harvard-Yenching Library in 2003, was presented to each person in attendance. This publication is the first number in a newly initiated Harvard-Yenching Library Studies series which promises to broaden the works in print on the history of the book and publishing in East Asia. James Cheng, Librarian of the Harvard-Yenching Library, announced the establishment of a new postdoctoral fellowship in print culture and library studies at the Fairbank Center for

East Asian Research. The first recipient of this award, for the 2004–2005 academic year, is Hilde De Weerd, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Tennessee.

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE SECTION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

On 31 October 2003, the Chinese Section of the Library of Congress convened a one-day symposium to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of its Chinese collection. This symposium for a select number of East Asian librarians, scholars, and representatives of US-China policy institutes from Mainland China, Taiwan, and the United States considered the development of the Chinese Collection at the Library of Congress, its relation to academia and other East Asian collections in the United States, special projects related to unusual collections of Asian materials, and the future importance of the Chinese Collection in government and public-service sectors. Dr. Ma Tai-loi, Director of the East Asian Library at Princeton, participated as a speaker and a discussant.

BRITISH LIBRARY EXHIBITION OF CHINESE PRINTMAKING

“Chinese Printmaking Today, Woodblock Printing in China, 1980–2000,” an exhibition on view at the British Library, 7 November 2003–7 March 2004, featured woodblock prints by contemporary Chinese artists in the collection of the Muban Foundation, formed in London in 1997 by Christer von der Burg and the late Verena Bolinder-Müller. The strikingly beautiful and spectacularly printed full-color exhibition catalogue is edited by Anne Farrer, Senior Lecturer at Sotheby’s Institute of Art, London and curator of the exhibit. It provides a strong and intimate visual record of the expressive power of this traditional printing method in the hands of Chinese artists working at the end of the twentieth century. The introductory essays by David Barker, Reader in Printmaking in University of Ulster, School of Art and Design, Belfast, and others are particularly informed and informative. Generously written captions in-

roduce the artists and the special block cutting and printing techniques each employs.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FUTURE OF THE BOOK

The second annual conference for publishers, bookstore managers, printers, information technology professionals, librarians, educators and authors interested in electronic publishing met in Beijing from 29–31 August 2004. The meeting was organized by professionals in these fields, primarily from Australia. The success of the first conference on new media held in 2003 in Cairns, Australia generated enthusiastic expectations for the second gathering. One of the keynote speakers at this year's conference has promised to write a report of the highlights of the proceedings for the next issue of this journal. More information on this event may be found at <http://book-conference.com>.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON CHINESE PUBLISHING AND PRINT CULTURE

Christopher Reed, Associate Professor of History at Ohio State University has organized a conference entitled "From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition" to be held from 3–7 November 2004. This is a working conference for a core group of scholars in the steadily expanding field of the history of the book in China.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL BOOK DESIGNER FORUM, BEIJING

"Beauty of the Book" is the theme of the First International Book Designer Forum to be held in Beijing, 3–6 December 2004. The Book Arts Design Research Center of the Academy of Arts and Design, Tsinghua University and the Beijing Zhidasifang Advertising Company are among the organizers of this forum to be held in conjunction with the Sixth Chinese Exhibition of Book Design, a competition and exhibition of the best books published in China held every four years.

Developments in the technology of book publishing and design today are very much a part of the history of the book in East Asia. A report of the proceedings will appear in an upcoming number of this journal. For additional information, you may consult the website of the forum, <http://www.cadob.com>, currently available only in Chinese.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANT FOR THE *EAST ASIAN LIBRARY JOURNAL*

Heather Larkin, an undergraduate student at Princeton, majoring in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology with a certificate in Japanese language, has been providing excellent and much-needed technical and artistic support for the operation of the journal. Evidence of her interests and talents in drawing can be seen in the schematic drawings of the "cribbing garment" for Professor Andrew Plaks' article in this number of the journal.

Research on the Gest Library

“Cribbing Garment”

A Very Belated Update

ANDREW H. PLAKS

The inauguration of the new East Asian Library of Princeton University during the 2000–2001 academic year brought to the minds of old-timers like myself nostalgic thoughts of halcyon days spent wandering the aisles of the old Gest Library, decades earlier, under the benevolent yet critical eye of some of the giants of twentieth-century Sinology. It was a different era in the world of learning, one in which research was still conducted with such primitive instruments as card catalogues, pencils, and three-by-five note cards. Browsing was done with the feet, not the fingers. Whether in the wire-mesh cages of the second floor enclave in Firestone, the gracious wood-paneled passageways of Jones, or the lofty towers of Palmer, one literally breathed in the heady aroma of old Chinese books, redolent with the pungent tang of camphor and the musty smell of mouldering paper. The only Annex to which one needed resort was situated just across Nassau Street, and it provided sustenance of a more material nature.

In those years, every day spent exploring the hidden recesses of the library brought us into intoxicating proximity to the celebrated Gest Rare Book Collection, with its untold wonders cloaked in legends of mad bibliophiles and Manchu princesses. On certain occasions we were allowed

to cross the threshold of the inner sanctum to marvel at its great yellow-bound repositories of palace records, its strange wood-encased Tibetan and Mongolian sutras, the oddly oblong green volumes of the "Hishi copies." Among these treasures one of the most exotic and mysterious was the famous Gest "cribbing garment" or as the tunic-length silk jacket was more commonly known to us, with considerable exaggeration of its actual length, the "cheating robe." (See figure 1.) At regular intervals the robe (or "gown") was brought out for inspirational talks on the glories of old Chinese literary civilization, and for some extended periods of time it was left on public display in its own glass case conspicuously placed at the entry to the Jones Hall stacks. There we could gaze with fascination at the densely-packed essays inscribed on virtually every inch of its surface area, in characters so tiny and compact that, from a distance, they seemed to merge into the



1. "Cribbing garment." Approximate measurements: back length, 72.5 cm.; width at underarm, 69 cm.; width at hem, 76 cm.; width across the back from sleeve opening to sleeve opening, 205 cm. Photograph of the object in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University by Bruce White, courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

optical illusion of a plain gray cloth. (See figure 2.) Though we were aware that pieces of a similar nature had turned up in a few other collections of Chinese artifacts around the world, we believed at the time that the Gest Library specimen was perhaps unique, if not as the sole exemplar of this type of object, then at least for the fineness of its execution and, even more, for the highly polished examples of imperial examination essays that it contained.¹

In the spring and fall of 1978, a project was launched with the aim of learning as much as possible about this rare possession and using it as a special resource for the study of the classical prose of the late-imperial period and the examination-essay form in particular. The curator of the Gest Library in those years, Dr. James Shih-kang T'ung, had published a detailed description of the physical specifications and the contents of the "cribbing garment" in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* nearly twenty years earlier, but we wanted to know more about this strange piece: where did it come from, when was it produced, and what could it tell us about the historical and intellectual significance of the so-called "eight-legged" (*bagu*) essay form?² With the support and encouragement of Professor Frederick W. Mote and a generous grant from Princeton's Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, we commissioned the Photographic Services section of Firestone Library to prepare a set of enlarged photographic reproductions of the robe and its inscribed texts using the very best of 1970's technology. These forty-nine oversize sheets (approximately 36 x 52 cm) were then photocopied and used as basic reading material in a graduate seminar conducted in the first semester of that year. In the course of our weekly sessions, the students and their young teacher struggled to become accustomed to the personal writing style of the scribe—a style somewhere between the practiced hand of the professional copyist and the less elegant scrawl of abbreviated "popular characters" (*suzi*). Gradually we trained ourselves to wrestle with the syntactic and rhetorical complexities of eight-legged essay composition at its best, a reading exercise that requires one to wrap one's mind around dauntingly long chains of parallel constructions in order to follow the author's argument on great issues of Confucian morality or statecraft—all this woven around the core of a fragmentary canonic quotation set as the topic of a given examination.

此世學遠於之有本方之不與材... 天下之爭昂其爭固不致... 民可後存虛願乎此際之推... 一推之擊之而道生矣是在... 公之心而加四海其期以事... 射人以此一試志再以此在... 夫不由下而區推之場至干... 三耳乃至心然骨寄之而路... 其全矣而未也又性而致之... 此惡以時惡也何不極其後... 兩有以畏亦危于身之元几... 百後而欲前急不致待前而... 之抑也 今下十六卦 傳... 而庫既武備惟命不于... 其能與此而于其不蓋知... 之強以彼道之計際其有... 音故就其以甲之且其以... 朝夕與道其而毛重之... 其何身大捕人其于不... 則作好作惡而民之敵... 其可以知之元有到民... 投而有以當天下要與... 多信治也則西... 既所器以見情... 而山有... 不于... 矣...

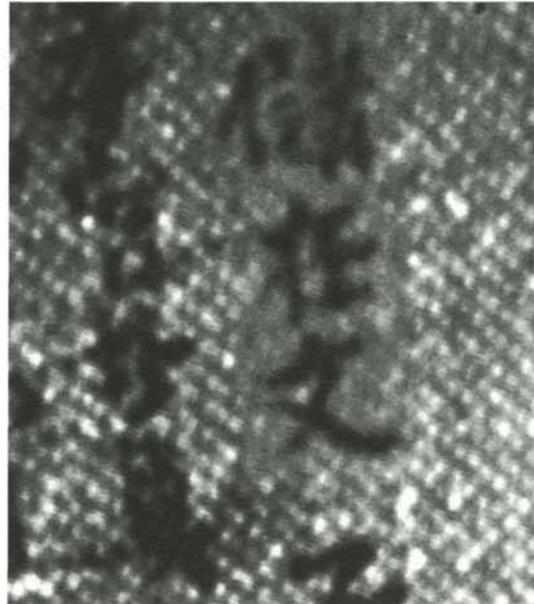
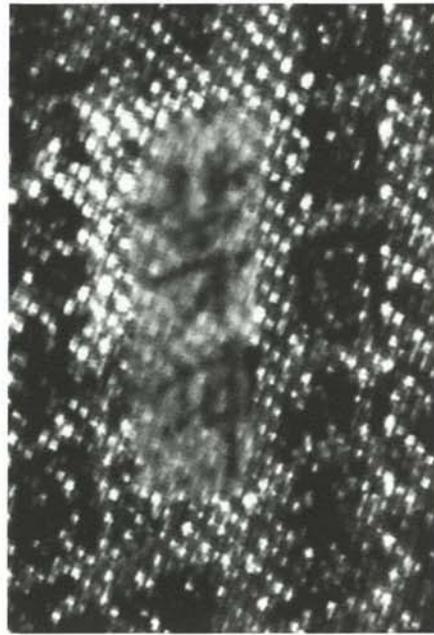
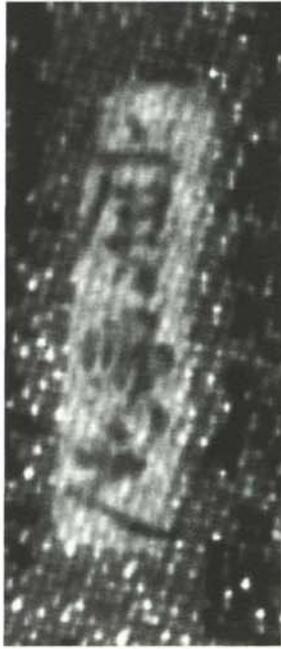
2. "Flyhead script" used to write essays on the "cribbing garment." Section shown (front outside of gown just below the left underarm) contains essays on the Daxue (Great Learning). Photograph of the object in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University by Bruce White, courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

Around the same time, we began to treat the artifact as an object of study in its own right. Poring over the 722 essays inscribed on almost the entire surface of the cloth, we gradually observed and recorded details that might have a bearing on the outstanding questions regarding its original provenance and purpose.³ We noted that the headings inserted to separate the essays from one another took a variety of forms: many reduced the examination topic from the full or partial citation of a line or phrase from the relevant canonic text [the topics appearing on the robe are drawn only from the *Daxue* (Great Learning) and the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean)] to a variety of shorthand notations. Some of these referred to the entire chapter (*yizhang*), the entire paragraph (*yiduan*) or the entire section (*yijie*) surrounding the topic-quote, or specified a certain number of sentences (*ju*) in the canonic passage. Some entries had no "topic-tab" at all; others simply made a ditto reference to the topic of the previous essay (*qianti*) or identified additional exemplars as "the second" or the "third" on a given topic. As we focused our attention on these notations, we saw that for almost every essay a thick ink-line—sometimes red and sometimes black—had been brushed in before the first line of the piece. It did not take long to figure out that the red markers were used only in the first portion of the robe inscriptions, the section devoted to examination topics taken from the *Great Learning*, with the black ones reserved for the essays explicating citations from the *Doctrine of the Mean*. At first these seemed to serve no function other than to make a visual separation between the individual pieces. But upon closer examination with the aid of a strong magnifying glass and a high-intensity light, we discovered a few instances in which the thinner ink swabs (those in red) did not completely hide the presence of additional characters written underneath. In ten or fifteen of these cases one could manage with some difficulty to actually read the characters, and we made the startling discovery that the copyist of this supposedly illicit item of cheating paraphernalia had taken the curious step of disclosing the names of the authors of all the model essays he had selected for inclusion. A bit of checking in the relevant historical sources soon revealed that these were not the random names of obscure individuals. They included in their ranks some of the most illustrious literati and prose stylists of the Ming (1368–1644) period, among them such names as Tang Shunzhi (1507–1560), Gui Youguang (1507–1571), and Mao

Kun (1512–1601), as well as the leading Qing (1644–1911) scholars Li Guangdi (1642–1718) and Fang Bao (1668–1749), and acknowledged Qing masters of eight-legged essay composition such as Xiong Bolong (1649 *jinshi*), Chu Zaiwen (1709 *jinshi*), Han Tan (1637–1704) and Zhang Yushu (1642–1711) (For images of the names of some of these literati as they appear on the “cribbing garment,” see figure 3.) Collating the names that we were able to read on the robe with those appearing in extant printed collections of examination essays, I was elated to find that the list was nearly identical to the roster of eminent essayists whose works were selected and presented as models of excellence in the highly influential early-Qing compendium *Qinding sishuwen* (Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized Edition) submitted to the throne by Fang Bao in 1737.⁴

These initial findings provided tantalizing new insight into the historical and cultural significance of the selection of eight-legged essays assembled on the robe, but they left the most puzzling questions regarding its dating and purpose unanswered. Back in the late 1970s I began to pursue several different lines of inquiry with the aim of shedding light on some of these mysteries. From the very outset, my attempt to determine a date of origin for this set of texts presented formidable obstacles. To begin with, we did not even have any clear idea at what point the object had been acquired and incorporated into the Gest Collection, as no record of its purchase or shipping could be located at that time in the known archival materials related to the old Gest/Gillis enterprise. Lacking this, I turned my sights back to the artifact itself, trying to zero in on its original date of fabrication by applying various methods of technical investigation to the ink and the weave of the cloth. Several experts of the time in such fields as ink and dye analysis, fiber chemistry, and the history of textiles were consulted.⁵ An array of cutting-edge techniques of the day was proposed, from thermoluminescence to carbon dating, but I was soon informed that fibers and dyes could not be accurately identified with any particular time and place until the advent of the keeping of industrial records in comparatively recent times, and the use of radioactive carbon to date the ink was dismissed as useless within a narrow time frame of just one or two hundred years.

This avenue of research having come to a dead-end, I then shifted to a more traditional mode of philological detective work, going through



3. Images (visible under red-ink swabs) of names of Ming literati: top row, left to right, Tang Shunzhi #309 and Mao Kun #037, and of Qing literati: second row, left to right, Xiong Bolong #106 and Chu Zaiwen #001. Infrared reflectography by Norman Muller and digital framing by Paula Hulick. Photographs courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

the inscribed texts word-by-word in search of taboo characters (*huizi*) and checking suspicious written forms against the basic lists of standard substitutions.⁶ The fact that I found no smoking gun of altered transcriptions that could peg the copying of the robe-texts to a specific period came as no great surprise: after all, the accepted characterization of the robe as an item of contraband should by all reason have made the observance of dynastic name-taboo pointless—unless practiced by the scribe out of sheer force of habit. Through this period I also continued to collect information on other “cheating robes” then known to exist in the hope of shedding comparative light on the Princeton exemplar. However, in those years only a handful of similar objects had been described in the scholarly literature, and, as I have noted above, none of these were close enough to the Gest cribbing garment in contents and workmanship to support any speculative conclusions about the general phenomenon.

This brought my primary focus of study back to the relation between the actual essay texts inscribed on the robe and the surrounding literary context of Ming and Qing classical-prose writing in general and the eight-legged examination essay in particular. The field of eight-legged essay studies in those days was, to say the least, rather marginal. When I first began to pursue this topic as a research objective, and when I compiled reading lists on these materials for Princeton graduate seminars on the examination essay and its relation to the classical-prose genres (*guwen*), the entire bibliography of major and secondary scholarly works barely filled a single page. The situation was not significantly improved when I undertook to write the entry on the “eight-legged essay” (*baguwen*) form for the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, and when I prepared a paper on the literary significance in late-Ming culture of the examination essay, the so-called *shuwen* (“contemporary prose”), for a conference on Chinese cultural history held in honor of the retirement of Professor Mote and Professor Ta-tuan Chen from Princeton in 1987.⁷

The only breakthrough of sorts in this initial phase of research arose from the discovery referred to earlier that a significant portion of the essays copied onto the robe exactly matched pieces collected in Fang Bao’s anthology *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized*. Around the same time I also discovered a few additional examples of identical texts in the early-Qing collection entitled *Keyitang yibaiershi mingjia zhiyi*

(Examination Essays by One Hundred Twenty Famous Writers, Keyitang Selection) edited by Yu Changcheng (1685 *jinshi*; preface 1669.)⁸ Presumably these examples of matching texts could have been multiplied by checking the robe essays against a much larger number of printed examination essay collections of the Qing period, but this search proved to be prohibitively time-consuming, inasmuch as the bulk of such materials are not compiled—as is the *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized*—according to the sequence of their topic-citations in the received canonic texts of the Four Books, thus making the cross-checking of essays by key lines a rather hit-and-miss affair.

The discovery of essays in the collections *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized* and the *Examination Essays by One Hundred Twenty Famous Writers, Keyitang Selection* identical to those on the robe, taken together with the birth and *jinshi* dates of the major writers whose names could be deciphered at this initial stage, seemed to set a tentative *terminus a quo* for the robe inscriptions around the early-eighteenth century. At this point, however, my investigation exhausted its momentum, and the competition of other long-term research pushed this project aside for what I thought would be just a year or so, but turned out to be more than two decades. During these years the great riddle of the original intent in inscribing seven hundred-odd essays of fine quality on a thin silk garment remained unsolved. At the very least, though, I already harbored serious doubts about whether, with so many of the model examination essays appearing on the robe widely disseminated in the premier collection of the realm, it could actually have served the presumed purpose of cheating in a real examination situation.

Through the twenty-five years that have sped by since the initiation and discontinuation of this project, the robe has lain peacefully in its plastic and cardboard crypt, oblivious to the events swirling around it in the world outside Jones Hall. In the interim, however, certain developments in the field of Sinological scholarship have emerged that now allow a more informed assessment of some of my earlier observations, and these have led to new findings that, though still far from conclusive, seem sufficient to warrant an updated report. This I offer as my own small contribution to an issue of the *East Asian Library Journal* tacitly—but for obvious reasons not explicitly—dedicated to the honor of the scholar and teacher whose contributions have been paramount in turning the Gest

Library into the preeminent institution of Chinese learning that it has become.

First, our general understanding of the workings of the imperial examination system in both theory and in practice has been sufficiently deepened, thanks to a wealth of new studies that go significantly beyond the "classic" works of earlier generations on the subject, to give a fuller picture of the ideological and administrative details of the institution, as well as the real-life experiences of those masses of men who underwent its rigors. These include comprehensive volumes such as Benjamin Elman's *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* and specialized studies such as Kai-wing Chow's "Writing for Success."⁹ Many of these accounts have focused particular attention on the phenomenon of cheating on various rungs of the examination ladder of success, a situation we now recognize to have been more widespread than one might have believed possible given the dense network of control and supervisory agencies surrounding the conduct of the examinations. The relevant sources documenting abuses of this sort include, in addition to a very large corpus of anecdotes in personal memoirs and the collections of jottings known as *biji*, compendia of legal cases and administrative manuals intended for the use of examining magistrates and other functionaries. Some of the most important among these include *Zhiyike suoji* (Miscellaneous Notes on the Examination System), *Qinding kechang tiaoli* (Imperially Authorized Regulations for Examination Grounds), and *Huang Ming gongju kao* (A Study of the Imperial Ming Examination System).¹⁰ In these works we read of a full array of cheating methods of varying degrees of ingenuity, from out-and-out bribery of examiners to obtain essay topics in advance, to more clever tricks for switching papers, employing stand-ins, using servants to hand papers in and out while attending to the candidates' daily needs (presumably bribing guards to look the other way), using secret codes to identify one's paper to a corrupt examiner, and many more.¹¹ One of the most comprehensive catalogues of these practices can be found in an introductory diatribe against debased mores that is delivered at the head of chapter forty-six of the seventeenth-century novel *Xu Jin Ping Mei* (A Sequel to Jin Ping Mei).¹²

In those sources that review actual cases of cheating and prescribe administrative measures to counter them, we are told of penalties for

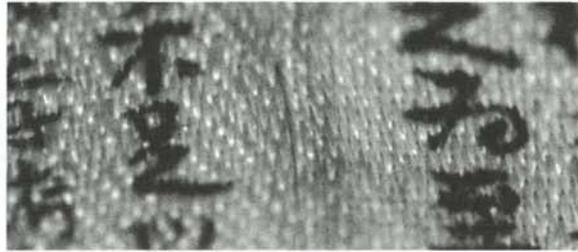
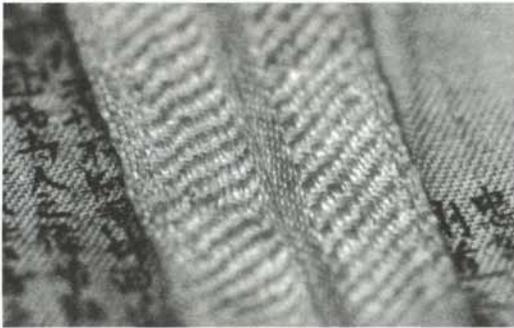
offenses that seem more lenient than one might otherwise assume: sometimes no worse than being barred from sitting for the exams for one or more subsequent rounds—punishment far less severe than my earlier imaginings of dire retribution, even death, for those caught flouting the system. On the other side of the bar, we also read of the arsenal of methods employed by the authorities to detect infractions and to attempt to root out the abuse. In administrative manuals such as *Imperially Authorized Regulations for Examination Grounds*, examiners are warned, among other things, to be on the lookout for different kinds of cloth or paper crib-sheets that could be stuffed into the soles of cloth shoes, hidden in the false bottoms of writing-brush cases or other admissible paraphernalia, or, precisely as is commonly envisioned for the Gest robe, sewn into the lining of clothing worn into the precincts of the examination grounds. The practice is described in a wide range of sources, where it is usually referred to only loosely as the “abuse of carrying in . . . [forbidden materials]” (*huaidai/jiadao . . . zhi bi*). One is tempted to conclude that our silk garment, and quite a few similar specimens that have come to light in recent years, are nothing more or less than material evidence of this ploy. We know that the examination authorities were acutely aware of this practice and were often quite vigilant in catching offenders, because a host of official and personal accounts describe the imposition of strip-searches on candidates, who were sometimes forced to stand naked in the hot summer sun or the biting winter cold while their clothing was checked for forbidden aids. Still, the siren allure of all the social and political advantages of elite status must have proven irresistible to men of weaker character, or to those whose desire to succeed was stronger than their fear of punishment, as we read in a wide variety of literary descriptions.¹³

A second aspect of the history of the Gest cribbing garment that continues to be wrapped in obscurity is the mystery of how and when it came into the possession of Irvin Van Gorder Gillis, the man who acted as book purchasing agent in Beijing for Guion M. Gest, or the hands of whatever dealer from whom he may have acquired it. Shortly after I had returned to the study of the robe in earnest during the summer of 2002, I managed to badger our indefatigable and erudite bibliographer Martin Heijdra into taking the time to rummage through dozens of cartons of archival materials related to the Gest Collection that had come to light

in the process of rebuilding the library facilities in Palmer/Frist Hall. A few days spent in the Princeton University Archives repository in Mudd Library (where the Gest Collection of rare books and the Gest Library Papers are now housed) sifting through piles of old correspondence, invoices, purchase orders, and packing slips produced no concrete evidence about the acquisition of this object—though some of the letters exchanged between I. V. Gillis and Nancy Lee Swann, or between the collectors and an assortment of booksellers and agents, provided some moments of amusement with their occasionally peevish outbursts of impatience. Several weeks later, by sheer coincidence, a visiting scholar named Dr. Su Chen, head of the East Asian Library of the University of Minnesota, made a brief visit to the campus in pursuit of materials related to her own interest in the sojourn of the Gest Collection at McGill University from 1926 to 1936. Having been alerted to our own searches in the same archives, she recognized the significance of a 1932 letter she just happened to come across—in a remarkable instance of serendipity—from Commander Gillis to a J. A. Doyle in the San Francisco office of Mr. Gest's company, mentioning the delivery of a "silk gown covered with Chinese characters."¹⁴ There seems to be little doubt that this notice refers to our renowned cheating garment, but unfortunately no further information on the circumstances of its acquisition is provided.

The only avenue of investigation that remained to be explored was to go directly to the robe itself in an attempt to unlock some of its stubbornly held secrets. After all those years of neglect, I dusted off the old photographic sheets and began, once again, to pore over the eight-legged essay texts. In the process of plowing steadily through the essays, I observed certain features that had apparently not been noticed before, some of which I wish to report in the following pages.

Let us begin with the physical shape and texture of the garment. When I first disturbed the robe from its long repose and subjected it to an initial reexamination with the naked eye—my own eyes supported by those of certain interested colleagues in the Department of East Asian Studies—small details of its weaving and sewing attracted my attention, such things as: the way in which the separate panels of fabric are joined at the seams, the presence of something like basting stitches in a few places, the pulling of a red thread through the cloth in one spot.¹⁵ (See figures 4 and 5.) Of particular interest to me were the finished edges of

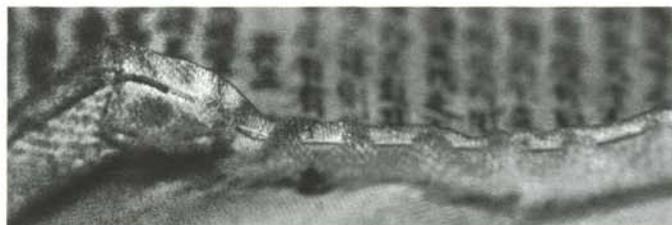


4. Robe detail: external seam and inside midseam of the "cribbing garment. Photograph by Paula Hulick. Courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.



5. Robe detail: red thread.
 Photograph by Paula Hulick. Courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

the cloth, showing a very regular pattern of parallel diagonal lines that seemed to my untrained eye to possibly bear the marks of a machine loom. (See figure 6.) This would, if verified, put the fabrication of the material of the robe in the age of industrial weaving. In order to obtain a professional assessment of these and other features, we needed to prepare photographic images of sufficiently high quality to be submitted to technical experts in textile analysis. After a first attempt at amateur digital photography with a hand-held camera belonging to Susan Naquin, the chair of East Asian Studies Department, we sought professional assistance from Paula Hulick, an applications specialist at the Educational Technologies Center on the Princeton campus, who used her more advanced equipment to produce close-up shots of the weave of the cloth



6. Robe detail: finished edges.

Photograph by Paula Hulick. Courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

with extremely high resolution. (See figure 7.) These images were then transmitted to some of the leading scholarly authorities on the history of Chinese textiles: Verity Wilson of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and Joyce Denney of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both concurred, however, in the disappointing conclusion that neither the basic plain-weave of the silk nor the configurations of the seams and edges could afford any datable information sufficient to fix the time of fabrication of the object.

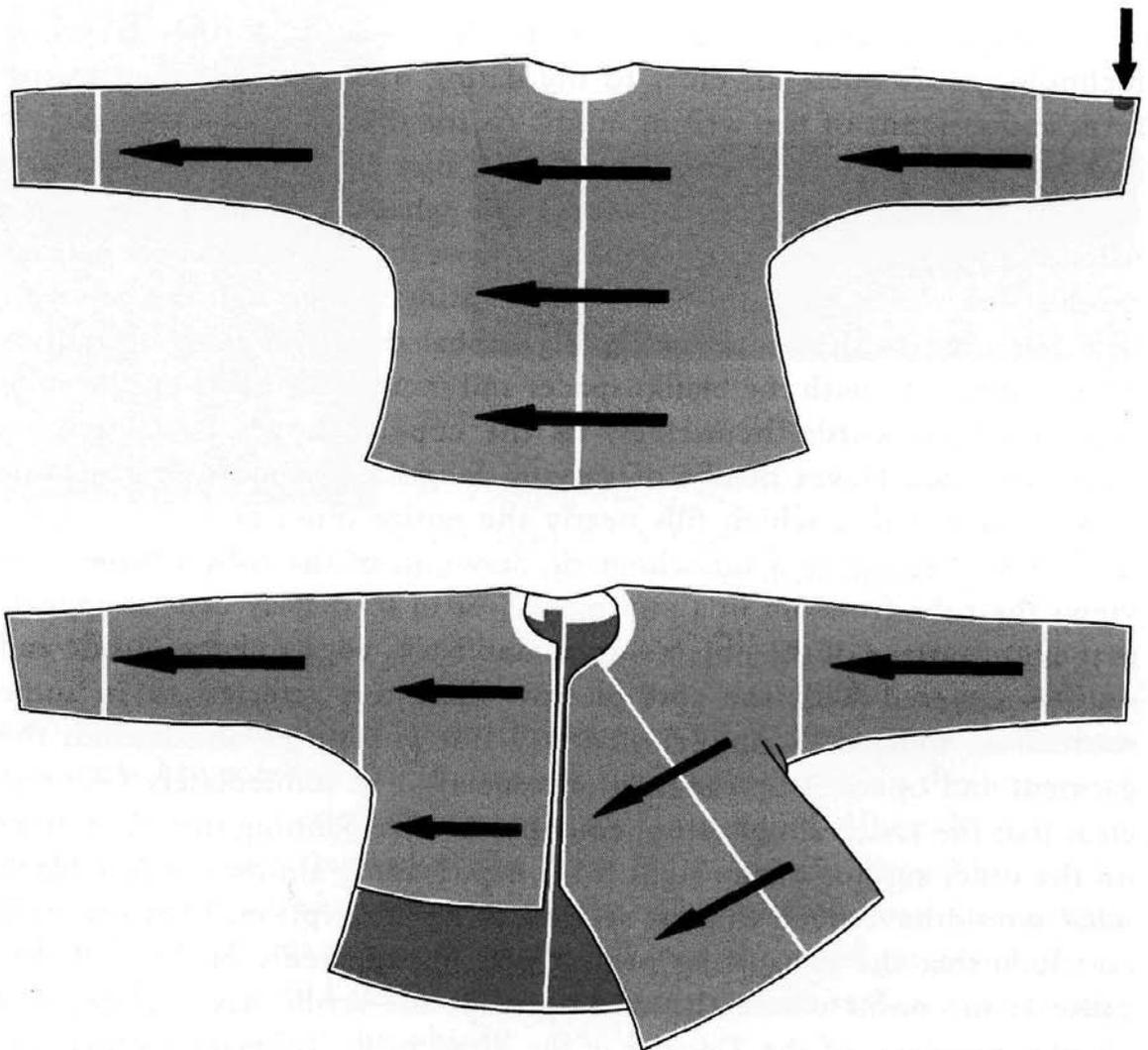


7. Robe detail: plain weave.

Photograph by Paula Hulick. Courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

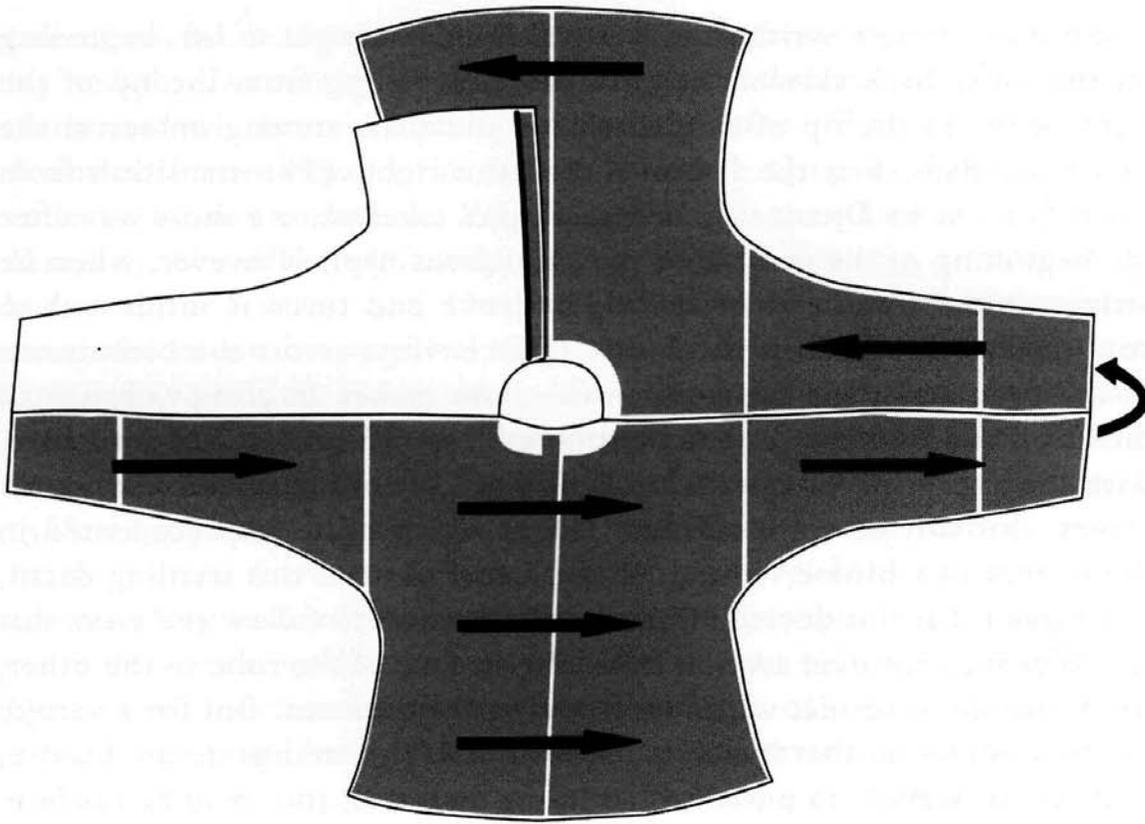
With this line of inquiry effectively closed at current levels of technology, my quest for clues to the dating of the robe turned to the form and content of the writing itself. As for the quality of the scribe's calligraphy, though a cursory glance at the tiny characters may give one the initial impression that they represent what Dr. T'ung dubbed "a marvel of penmanship," a closer inspection of the enlarged reproductions reveals that this is fairly ordinary handwriting.¹⁶ (See figure 2, above.) Instead, some of the more interesting scribal details of the inscriptions have more to do with the blank spaces and incidental marks on the robe than with the words themselves. As the copyist moves from essay to essay, he often leaves blanks of varying length. The most conspicuous empty space is that which fills nearly the entire inner face of the right front flap. (See figure 8 for schematic drawings of the robe.) When one views the robe frontally in a photograph or in its display case, it appears as if every surface of the object—front and back, edge to edge, inside and out—is covered with the sort of tiny characters referred to in some sources as "flyhead" script (*yingtouzi*).¹⁷ But as soon as one unfolds the garment and opens it up for further inspection, it immediately becomes clear that the scribe simply stopped copying after penning just a few lines on the inner surface of the right front flap, leaving almost entirely blank what would have been the last section of his inscription. One can only conclude that the exhausting project was unexpectedly broken off, because at the point where the writing stops the scribe has only reached chapter nineteen of the *Doctrine of the Mean* in his otherwise systematic progression through a sequence of model essays keyed to the order of passages in the two canonic texts.

A similar oddity is seen at the spot where the scribe comes to the center seam of the inner face of the back of the garment. Here he inserts a marginal note composed of the last few characters of an earlier essay, and then a brief comment directing the user—as far as we can decipher the uncertain words—to look for the end of the section somewhere at the "back seam" (*beifeng*).¹⁸ This makes no sense in terms of the actual sequence of texts on the garment, as the six character essay fragment inserted here clearly relates to a topic taken from chapter ten of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and essays on that subject appear just a short space away on the right side of the inner back panel, nowhere near the "back



8A. Schematic diagrams of the “cribbing garment.” Text reads vertically in columns from right to left, (Figure 8A, top) and moving next to the front outside, again reading vertically from right to left. (Figure 8A, bottom). Drawings by Heather Larkin.

seam” on the other side of the cloth. To compound the mystery, in the area where the essays on the tenth chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean* do appear the scribe has left a blank line running the entire length of the robe, something he does nowhere else in his huge copying exercise. Could these puzzling details indicate that the robe may have been composed according to a section-by-section layout, perhaps designed by someone else? My own suspicion is that this line may be an instruction not *by* the copyist, but *to* the copyist, directing him to insert the extra



8B. The text continues on the inside back, reading vertically in columns, unconventionally, from left to right and then finally moving to the front inside, again reading in columns, unconventionally, from left to right. Drawing by Heather Larkin.

six characters at this point. In any event, this strange detail, together with a few places where the scribe apparently strikes out an unsatisfactory line here and there—that is, by drawing a black stroke through the unwanted characters (one of course cannot simply erase an ink-on-silk inscription and rewrite in the same spot)—seems to reveal a certain ad hoc manner of execution that may or may not have a bearing on our speculations about the intended use of the garment.

The most curious of these anomalies, however, has to do with a more basic element of the robe inscriptions that has hitherto largely escaped our attention. (To follow the layout of the texts on the robe, see figure 8.) In transcribing the essay texts onto the silk cloth of the robe, the copyist works his way across the surface, just as is required in normal

traditional Chinese writing, in vertical lines *from right to left*, beginning on the outer back side of the garment, proceeding from the tip of the right sleeve to the tip of the left sleeve and then moving on across the two front flaps, first the left one then the right. (The transition from *Great Learning* to *Doctrine of the Mean* topics takes place a short way after the beginning of the outside of the right front flap.) However, when he arrives at the front end of the right sleeve and turns it inside out to continue working across the inside surface—first across the back inside of the robe and then the front inside—he makes an abrupt change of direction and runs his vertical lines *from left to right*. As far as I am aware, with the exception of certain kinds of Chan, i.e. Zen, poems and word-games, this sort of compositional layout seems quite unprecedented in the history of Chinese writing. When I first noticed this startling detail, I imagined that this device might enable the user to follow the essay that straddles the crossover section from one surface of the robe to the other, from outside to inside, without removing the garment. But for a variety of obvious reasons that is clearly impossible. If this strange design feature, as it seems, served no practical function, then this, too, may be taken as support for the speculative view that our famous “cribbing garment” may have been intended for some purpose other than cribbing.

More substantive discoveries remained to be made with respect to the identification of the authors and the analysis of the contents of the essays. Building upon my earlier observation that a significant number of the pieces inscribed on the robe precisely replicated selections in Fang Bao’s *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized*, I now went back and carefully collated every text in the relevant sections of this compendium—it is divided into *juan* according to the chronology of Ming and Qing reigns and the canonic order of the topics in a given section—against the essays found on the robe. In doing so, I uncovered quite a few additional instances of exact equivalence between the authorized imperial collection and our own—very unauthorized—set of copies. When I first became aware of these correspondences back in the 1970s, I had speculated that the *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized* itself might have served as the primary master-text from which our scribe worked. However, this conclusion is clearly unwarranted given the fact that only about ten per cent of the robe-essays are duplicated in this

collection, while, conversely, many of the selections on the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* in *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized* selections are not found on the robe. The next step would doubtless be to expand the search to other Qing examination essay collections, works such as Yu Changcheng's compilation *Examination Essays by One Hundred Twenty Famous Writers, Keyitang Selection* that I had examined years ago. One additional work that I have recently examined is another imperial collection held in the Gest Collection of rare books entitled *Huang Ming like sishu mojuan pingxuan* (Annotated Selection of Black-Ink Essay Transcriptions by Successful Candidates in Successive Examinations in the Ming) and annotated by Tang Binyin (b. 1568; 1595 *jinshi*), Zhang Nai (1604 *jinshi*), and Huang Ruheng (1558–1626), preface dated 1622.¹⁹ This work has also yielded a few pieces by famous Ming authors that appear in the robe inscriptions—though obviously this seventeenth-century collection cannot help us to identify any Qing examples closer in time to the fabrication of the object. In theory it should be possible to conduct an exhaustive review of all such collections of examination essays to uncover as many examples of texts replicated on the robe as possible with the hope of perhaps nailing down the direct source or sources used by our copyist. But this objective remains beyond practical reach, given the huge number of printed collections of *shuwen* prose extant in libraries around the world, and the inconvenient fact, already noted, that most of these collections are arranged by author, by locale or by examination year, not by the canonic sequence of topics, thus making it prohibitively difficult to check the robe essays that do follow such a sequence.²⁰ Even when one is successful in identifying equivalent essays, moreover, that gives no proof of direct copying from one particular text to robe, inasmuch as the most successful essays, once published, entered the "public domain" and could then be reproduced from printed collection to printed collection. Were one to be intimately attuned to the changing nuances of examination topic selection through the Ming and Qing periods, this information could conceivably provide useful clues for the dating of unidentified pieces, but for the most part the topics appearing on the robe are just the standard partial quotations and phrases characteristic of the system in general. Thus, we can only speculate about the process by which our scribe transferred this large

body of model essays to his silk medium: did he pick and choose from several different sources on his shelf, or did he have a master copy compiled by someone else, perhaps even a complete printed collection, which he simply transcribed onto the cloth of the robe?

In the summer of 2003, a productive new line of inquiry emerged focusing attention on the names entered before each essay and subsequently “blacked out” with a swab or streak of ink. Let us recall, by the way, the manner in which the copyist—or perhaps a subsequent owner—has used red ink to cover up the names prefaced to the entries on *Great Learning* topics, reserving black ink for the *Doctrine of the Mean* selections. Whatever the original purpose of the garment may have been this step makes little sense: if it were intended for cheating, then the little ink-swabs would make the bearer no less culpable, and if not, there would be no reason to hide the names of the famous authors represented—nor would there be any point in using a color-coding device to graphically distinguish the *Great Learning* from the *Doctrine of the Mean* entries, as this could have no practical value for any but the most ignorant of potential users. As I have mentioned earlier, of the dozen or so names I was able to make out with minimal optical aids in 1978, many could be readily identified as well-known scholar-officials who flourished in the Kangxi (1662–1722) and Yongzheng (1723–1735) periods (with the sole exception of a man named Liu Huizu who apparently earned his military *jinshi* degree in 1761).²¹ That seemed to place the left-hand bracket of the time-frame of my search in the Yongzheng reign, to be conservative, or in the early Qianlong (1736–1795) era, if one gives full weight to the lone exception. All of this conveniently matches the year (1737) in which the anthology *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized*, in which so many of these same names figure prominently, was presented to the throne.

In the latest phase of my investigations, I have been able to push this *terminus a quo* significantly forward with the kind assistance of experts in certain new technologies of textual forensics. First, Paula Hulick helped to capture some of the names hidden beneath the red swabs with the same photographic equipment she had used to such effect in preparing digital images for attempting to date the weave of the cloth. Reaching the limits of this technology, she then suggested that her colleague

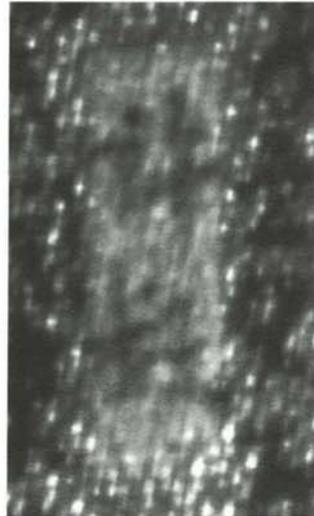
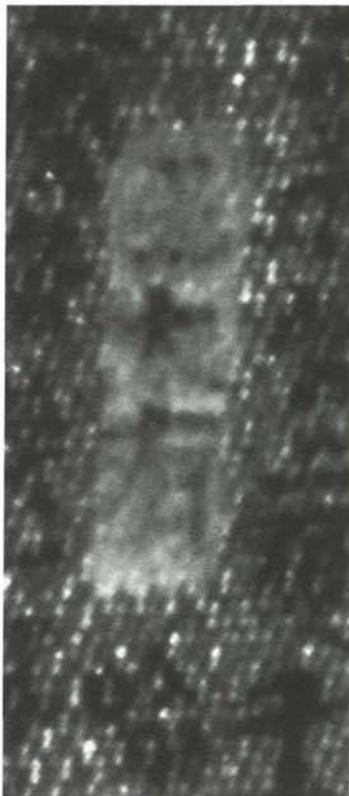
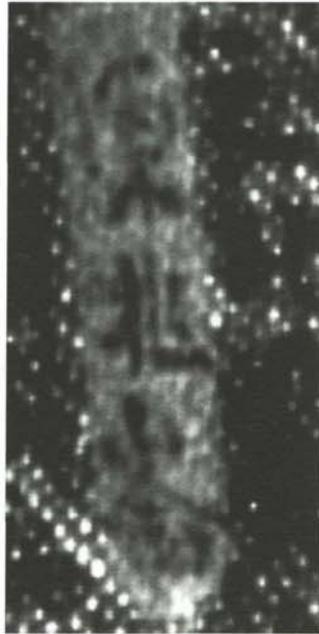
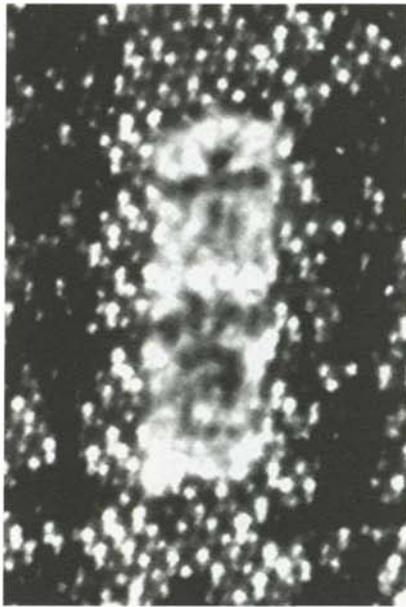
Normal Muller, conservator of the Princeton Art Museum, might have more success applying the technique of infrared reflectography—of the sort used to peel away virtually layers of palimpsest paintings and the like—to the robe inscriptions. Ma Tai-loi and Martin Heijdra graciously consented to the experiment, and Mr. Muller generously gave his time to go over the entire section of the robe containing the red ink-swabs with his infrared camera, recording all the information continuously on a digital video tape. The results were immediately striking, and many of the previously invisible characters miraculously emerged into view as legible, or nearly legible names.

In the following weeks, I painstakingly reviewed the tape frame-by-frame to capture, rotate, and crop the images of the name-tabs, and then applied the wonders of Adobe Photoshop software to enhance the images and assemble a master list of all the red-swabbed names—that is, the authors of many of the four hundred-odd essays on *Great Learning* topics—numerically keyed to their occurrence on the robe. (At this point in the development of the relevant technology, the black ink remains impermeable to “reading” by this process.) The next step was to scrutinize these images one by one on a computer screen. Fiddling with adjustment functions of the Adobe Photoshop software, I was able to come up with a significant number of additional identifications. After exhausting my own powers, I enlisted the help of one of the greatest living decipherers of standard and non-standard Chinese writing: Hai-tao Tang Emeritus Professor of Princeton’s East Asian Studies Department. Sitting together at the computer screen for many hours, we managed to arrive at around one hundred and thirty reasonable guesses, of which seventy-eight could be read with confidence. Our confidence was soon confirmed by the fact that every single one of the names in this latter group could be identified in the standard reference sources for Qing biographical materials. I am appending a list of those writers already identified, plus a separate list of the individuals whose names seem clear enough in the computer-enhanced images but have not yet turned up in the sources consulted in the hope that some readers of this report may recognize them and provide information about their dates and backgrounds. (See appendices 1 and 2, respectively.) In addition, all 405 images of the red-tab names, including even those that are com-

pletely illegible to all of us, have been published on the website of the *East Asian Library Journal* for readers to view and to help us decipher and identify additional names. See <http://www.princeton.edu/~ealj/robe.htm>.

The significance of determining the dates of these authors for our understanding of the origins of the Gest cheating garment should by now be obvious, as the essay collection or collections from which the robe-texts were copied could not have predated the latest of the writers represented. The biographical information derived from this new batch of names has already pushed the earliest date for the robe (or, at least, for its source-collection) significantly forward in time. The list in Appendix One now includes an additional fourteen men who passed their *jinshi* (or otherwise flourished) in the Qianlong period and seven who made the grade during the Jiaqing (1796–1820) reign. Within the roster of Kangxi through Qianlong authors, moreover, there appear certain names of considerable importance for the critical selection and theoretical discussion of examination essays in the Qing period: scholars such as Fang Bao, Chen Zhaolun (1701–1771, 1730 *jinshi*), and Ruan Kuisheng (1727–1789).²² In a handful of tantalizing cases we have evidence that seems to point to scholar-official careers as late as the Daoguang (1821–1850) reign. These include one Zheng Dunyun (if properly identified—the last character in the name looks more like “*yuan*” in the photographic image) who passed his *jinshi* in 1814; a scholar of some renown named Wang Dayou (fl. Daoguang era) who passed the provincial examination in 1816 and later became a pupil of the celebrated mathematician Dai Xu (1806–1860), brother of the famed painter Dai Xi (1801–1860); and a man named Xu Yu (dates unknown) recorded in the historical sources primarily as the husband of an important woman poet named Chen Chai, who seems to have flourished in the Daoguang era.²³ (For a sampling of the red-tab images of the names of Qing-dynasty authors, see figure 9.)

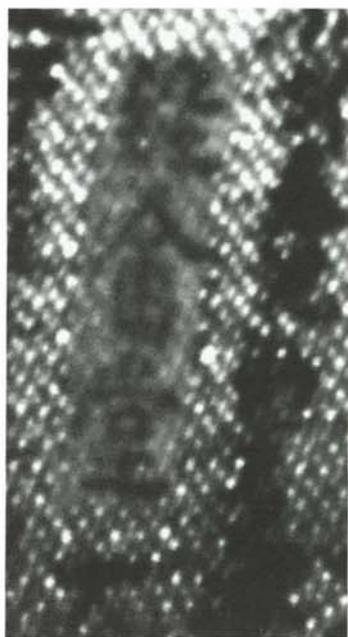
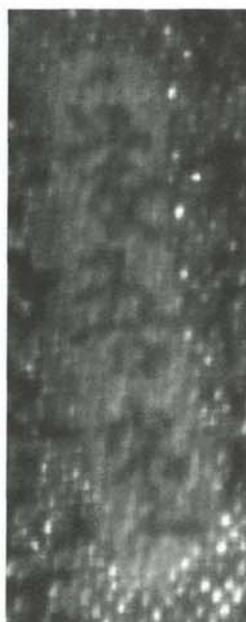
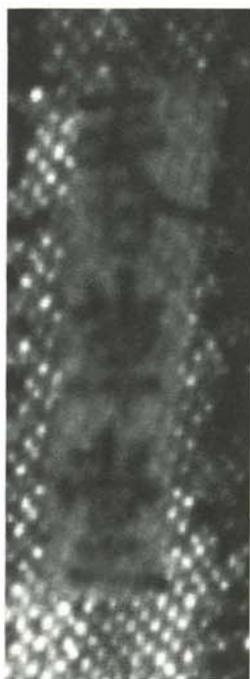
What the identification of these additional names means is that we can now shift the earliest possible date for the making of the Gest robe from around the 1720s or the 1730s—the latest of the first batch enumerated above were Chu Zaiwen and Huang Yue, both 1709 *jinshi* graduates, and Wang Ruxiang, who flourished during the Yongzheng period—up to at least the Jiaqing reign and quite possibly the Daoguang reign, a leap of as much as one hundred years. This, of course, is no great revelation,



9. Images (visible under red-ink swabs) of names of Qing-dynasty literati: top row, left to right, Fang Bao #026 and Chen Zhaolun #142; second row, left to right, Wang Dayou #245, and Xu Yu #269. Infrared reflectography by Norman Muller and digital framing by Paula Hulick. Photographs courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

since it had been assumed all along that the object probably dates from some point late in the nineteenth century or early in the twentieth century. In the final days of composing this report, it seemed for a moment that this gap could be compressed still further to a very narrow band in the late Qing, when I found the name of a hitherto unidentified member of the robe-author confraternity, a certain Shi Jin, mentioned in a biographical entry as compiler of a family genealogy bearing his own preface dated 1892. The bubble of euphoria was soon burst, however, when I recalled that this name had not been deciphered directly from the images captured on the robe, but had been determined by collating the robe texts against the essays printed in the *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized* (since the essay in question was on a *Doctrine of the Mean* topic, its name-tab, in black ink, was not susceptible to infrared reading), so obviously this Shi Jin must have been another person who lived prior to the assembling of Fang Bao's collection early in the eighteenth century. At the other end of our hypothetical brackets, one can with some confidence set a *terminus ad quem* at 1905, when the abolition of the examination system would presumably have rendered the object useless—at least as far as the cheating theory goes. But even then, there is no reason it could not have continued to exercise a great fascination for cultural conservatives, diehard Qing loyalists, or pedants and antiquarians of various stripes.

The process of deciphering the name-tabs on the robe also brought to light another set of unexpected items of special interest. It turns out that not all of the identifying tabs hidden under the red ink swabs are in fact the personal names of the authors whose essays follow. A few seem to be studio names: Zaichuncaotang (occasionally given as Chuncaotang), Moxiangtang, Aiwutang, Jingyutang, and Zailucaotang. (See Figure 10 for a sampling of the images of the studio names.) With the exception of the last mentioned, all of these studio names are common enough to have been adopted by more than one individual, so they cannot be positively identified. Only the Zailucaotang seems to refer unequivocally to one Chu Xin (1631–1706), a Kangxi-era essayist whose works gained considerable recognition and appear in a number of collections. One's first impulse is to also take these other examples as the literary "styles" of the prose writers in question, but since the vast majority of the red tabs

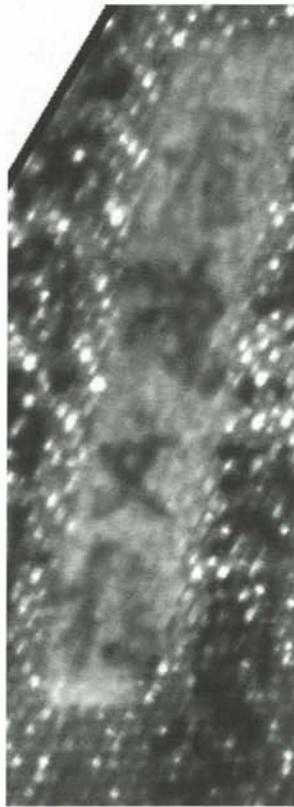
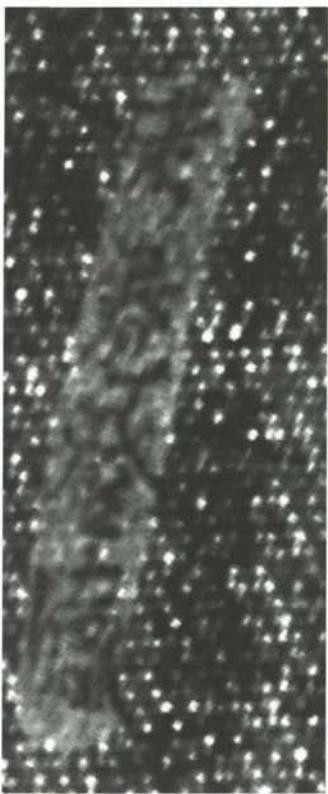
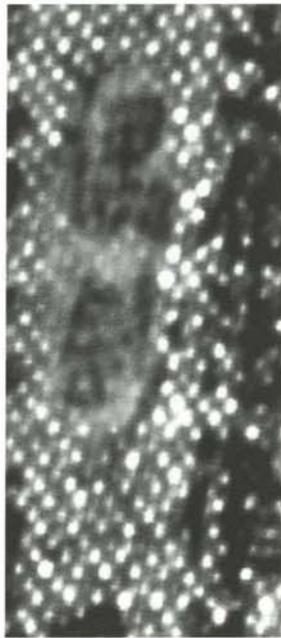
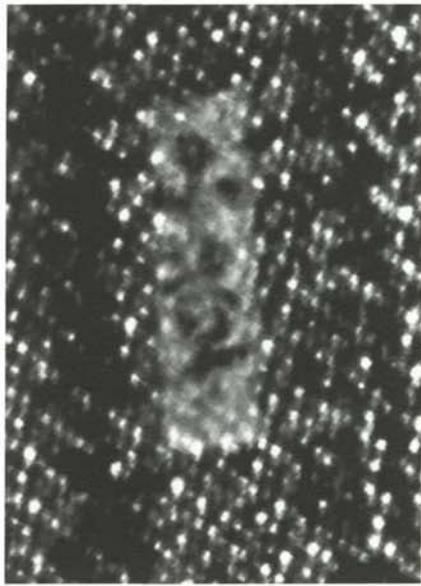


10. Images (visible under red-ink swabs) of studio names of literati: top row, left to right, Chuncaotang #149 and Aiwutang #328; second row, left to right Jingyutang #033 and Zailucaotang #099. Infrared reflectography by Norman Muller and digital framing by Paula Hulick. Photographs courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

inscribed on the robe contain the official surname and personal name (*xingming*) of a writer as found in the historical records—not his literary cognomen (*hao*) or other personal style—I believe these should be construed as the titles of essay collections from which the scribe copied certain unidentified pieces.

One final oddity occurs in a few spots where the identifying tag under the red ink is not a name at all but simply a descriptive notation. Four or five of the essays are introduced by the label *xiaocao*, presumably referring to the sort of preliminary draft sheets examination candidates would prepare in their cubicles to be corrected and recopied before final submission. How these would have gotten into the hands of the scribe and why he would have selected them for inclusion remains a mystery. In another place his introductory tag is a laconic *ouchao* indicating that the piece that follows was “copied at random.” Two additional examples of name-tabs that depart from the scribe’s usual practice are especially intriguing. Here the essays are prefaced by a pair of very similar expressions referring to an “examination paper” (*kaojuan*) or “essay draft” (*wengao*), plus an additional phrase—as yet undeciphered—that looks something like *denglu* (literally, “presentation copy”), possibly indicating that the piece was recorded in some official format.²⁴ (See figure 11 for images of descriptive notations.) Whatever the correct reading of these terms, they clearly refer to the type of essay drafts produced at different stages of the recopying process. In all of these instances, it appears that the scribe was unaware of the identity of the authors of the pieces in question; otherwise one can assume he would have entered them on the robe along with all the other well-known names he gives us. This seems to me to open the possibility that, in at least part of his exercise, he was not necessarily working from a single master-copy of selected essays.

The above findings based on the deciphering of the “blacked-out” name-tabs has helped us to significantly narrow the time-frame of the fabrication of the Gest cribbing garment (cutting the span of years by as much as one half), but they by no means resolve the issue of its dating. We can now establish that the essays were copied onto the robe at some point between 1820 to 1830 and 1920 to 1930, quite probably between about 1840 and 1905. To say that this prized object was most likely a product of the late-nineteenth century, however, simply reaffirms our



11. Images (visible under red-ink swabs) of descriptive notes: top row, left to right, *xiaocao* #018 and *ouchao* #153; second row, left to right, *kaojuan denglu* #206 and *denglu wengao* #252. Infrared reflectography by Norman Muller and digital framing by Paula Hulick. Photographs courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

earlier assumptions—only now with a bit more confidence in the basis for this dating.

But what about the purpose of the robe? We have all heard (and retold with great gusto) the piquant stories, well corroborated by contemporary anecdotal and administrative literature, picturing the hopeful, but not overly qualified examination candidate who sews our “cribbing garment” into the lining of his robe, and once safely ensconced in his cubicle—having somehow managed to avoid detection through a series of harrowing inspections—then takes it out and either seeks some last-minute inspiration on the assigned topic, or simply copies a choice selection and claims it for his own. To my own mind and the minds of most of my colleagues in the East Asian Studies Department, however, this scenario is no longer convincing for the following reasons. The first point is something as basic as the size of the garment, which is much broader in the shoulders than an average person should be. True, the soft silk of the robe would naturally drape down over a narrower pair of shoulders, but this same feature would make it that much harder to conceal, without telltale lumps and wrinkles, inside the lining of one’s outer robe. The soft and floppy cloth also presents a special problem in reading, much less accurately copying, any individual essay, since the vertical lines of the text get very long where they trace the full length of the garment (they are shorter on the sleeves, near the shoulders, and at the corners of the front flaps). When one tries to direct one’s line of sight from the bottom of one line to the top of the next, it is no mean trick to find one’s place on the wavy cloth. One can only imagine how much more difficult it would have been to stretch the garment flat and smooth in the cramped quarters of an examination cell, on the same two wooden planks that served as writing desk, eating table, and bed—by the poor light of a flickering candle or the open doorway.

A second, more damaging weak point in the cheating scenario is the glaring fact that most of the selections copied onto the robe seem to be well-known essays, many of sufficient celebrity to be included in the major imperially sponsored collections of the dynasty. Could one simply copy one of these pieces onto one’s examination paper without fear of detection? One might perhaps count on local corruption or examiners’ incompetence to get one through a lower level examination session, but

what if the essay were then recorded in the official bulletins or printed in a commercial essay manual? As noted, the prescribed punishments for such infractions do not appear to have been as severe as I once believed, but even if this were little more than an administrative slap on the wrist, the shame of exposure could not have been without deterrent effect. Another "price" of using the robe concerns the actual cost of producing it. I had originally assumed that the toil of inscribing hundreds of thousands of miniscule characters on the cloth of the robe would have required years of work by a professional scribe or an accomplished household servant.²⁵ Recently, however, I conducted an experiment with the assistance of Hai-tao Tang to time the transcription of a sample piece of text, and we arrived at a revised estimate of about two or three months of copying work—making the robe a bit more affordable but still an object of considerable monetary value. Would it have been worth it? Could an enterprising cheater not have used the same amount of wealth needed to put a skilled scribe to work for a few months to more effective use in bribing examiners or buying his way directly into office? This would of course depend upon the ethical and practical conditions prevailing in a given time and place. For, though we know from a wide variety of historical and literary sources that abuses of all sorts were rampant in the system, we also know that, over the long run, the institution of the imperial examinations, for all its local failings, continued to function and, at its best, to embody one of the greatest achievements of Confucian civilization.

But if the robe was not designed for cheating, then what was it intended to be? Among the answers to this question that have been suggested, the more persuasive include: an elaborate gift by a wealthy individual to curry favor with a gentry patriarch or an official superior, an impressive offering to sweeten a proposed marriage alliance with an upwardly mobile clan, or similar *guanxi* connections. On a more positive note, the garment may have been conceived as an inspirational incentive to a wealthy patron's young son on the eve of his entry into the "examination hell." I myself would prefer to view it as a kind of *jeu d'esprit*—on the order of a Rubáiyát on the head of a pin, or the sort of nested carved ivory balls we marvel at in many collections of Ming and Qing artifacts. Perhaps further digging into the historical and literary

repositories of Qing examination lore will unearth clues that will make possible a more definitive explanation of this unique object. Until then, the “cribbing garment” remains an emblem of the rare combination of the sublime and the curious that marks the great world of learning housed within the Gest Collection.

APPENDIX ONE:

NAMES OF ESSAY AUTHORS ALREADY IDENTIFIED AS OF OCTOBER 2003

The names of these persons are presented in a loose chronological arrangement.

Ming Dynasty

Ding Jue 丁玨	fl. Yongle era
Xue Xuan 薛瑄	1389-1464
He Jingming 何景明	1483-1521
Zhang Bin 張賓	fl. Chenghua era
Huang Lian 黃璉	fl. Chenghua era
He Dongxu 何東序	1553 <i>jinshi</i>
Gu Dingchen 顧鼎臣	fl. Jiajing era
Zhou Nan 周南	fl. Jiajing era
Tang Shunzhi 唐順之	1507-1560
Gui Youguang 歸有光	1507-1571
Mao Kun 茅坤	1512-1601
Huang Hongxian 黃洪憲	1541-1600
Hu Youxin 胡友信	1568 <i>jinshi</i>
Gu Yuncheng 顧允成	fl. Wanli era
Ai Nanying 艾南英	1583-1646
Jin Sheng 金聲	1628 <i>jinshi</i>
Chen Jitai 陳際泰	1642 <i>jinshi</i>
Huang Chunyao 黃淳耀	1643 <i>jinshi</i>

Qing Dynasty

Xiong Bolong 熊伯龍	1649 <i>jinshi</i>
Liu Zizhuang 劉子壯	1649 <i>jinshi</i>
Zuo Jingzu 左敬祖	1649 <i>jinshi</i>
Li Laitai 李來泰	1652 <i>jinshi</i>
Duan Yansheng 段獻生	Kangxi-era <i>jinshi</i>
Li Fu 李紱	Kangxi-era <i>jinshi</i>
Jin Dejia 金德嘉	1630-1707, 1682 <i>jinshi</i>
Chu Xin 儲欣	1631-1706
Shi Jin 史晉	fl. Kangxi era
Lu Can 陸燦	1657 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhu Sheng 朱昇	1659 <i>jinshi</i>
Han Tan 韓菼	1637-1704, 1670 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhang Yushu 張玉書	1642-1711, 1670 <i>jinshi</i>
Li Guangdi 李光地	1642-1718, 1670 <i>jinshi</i>
Tao Yuanchun 陶元醇 (淳)	1646-1718, 1688 <i>jinshi</i>
Yan Yudun 嚴虞惇	1650-1713
Fang Zhou 方舟	1665-1701
He Zhuo 何焯	1661-1722, 1703 <i>jinshi</i>
Fang Bao 方苞	1668-1749, 1706 <i>jinshi</i>
Shen Jinsi 沈近思	1671-1728
Cao Yishi 曹一士	1678-1735
Chen Kaitai 陳開泰	1691 <i>jinshi</i>
Gong Duo 功鐸	1694 <i>jinshi</i>
Fang Muru 方燦如	1706 <i>jinshi</i>
Chu Zaiwen 儲在文	1709 <i>jinshi</i>
Huang Yue 黃越	1709 <i>jinshi</i>
Xu Baoguang 徐葆光	1712 <i>jinshi</i>
Tao Zhenyi 陶貞一	1712 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhang Jiang 張江	1723 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhou Dazhang 周大璋	1724 <i>jinshi</i>
Ren Qiyun 任啓運	1733 <i>jinshi</i>
Wang Ruxiang 王汝驤	fl. Yongzheng era

Zhang Yuan (1) 張瑗	1691 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhang Yuan (2) 張瑗	1737 <i>jinshi</i>
Chen Zhaolun 陳兆崙	1730 <i>jinshi</i>
Luo Qiongzhang 羅瓊章	1735 <i>jinshi</i>
Ye You 葉酉	1740 <i>jinshi</i>
Lin Renkui 林人樾	1747 <i>jinshi</i>
Wu Hong 吳鴻	1751 <i>jinshi</i>
Qin Dashi 秦大士	1752 <i>jinshi</i>
Li Zuhui 李祖惠	1752 <i>jinshi</i>
Yin (also Wang) Zhaoyan 殷(王)兆燕	1754 <i>jinshi</i>
Liu Huizu 劉輝祖	1761 <i>military jinshi</i>
Qin Dacheng 秦大成	1763 <i>jinshi</i>
Wu Xingqin 吳省欽	1763 <i>jinshi</i>
Zhou Zhencai 周振采	fl. Qianlong era
Cai Yindou 蔡寅斗	fl. Qianlong era
Ruan Kuisheng 阮葵生	1727-1789
Shen Hongling 沈鴻齡	fl. 1784
Zhu Wenhan 朱文翰	1790 <i>jinshi</i>
Shi Yunyu 史韞玉	1790 <i>jinshi</i>
Zheng Shichao 鄭士超	1795 <i>jinshi</i>
Zheng Jiancai 鄭兼才	1798 <i>juren</i>
Bao Guixing 鮑桂星	1799 <i>jinshi</i>
Ding Gonglu 丁公路	1801 <i>jinshi</i>
Chen Songqing 陳嵩慶	1801 <i>jinshi</i>
Yue Zhenchuan 岳震川	1805 <i>jinshi</i>
Zheng Dunyuan (yun?) 鄭敦元(允?)	1814 <i>jinshi</i>
Wang Dayou 王大有	fl. Daoguang era
Xu Yu 許鈺	wife Chen Chai, fl. Daoguang era

APPENDIX TWO:

NAMES OF ESSAY AUTHORS NOT YET IDENTIFIED AS OF OCTOBER 2003

The author would be grateful for leads on the identification of any of these figures.

Chen Shangrong 陳尙榮	Ni Rusong 倪如松
Chen Zhenghou 陳徵侯	Quan (Yu?) Kui 全(余?)魁
Chu Tongren 儲同人	Qu Chunwen 屈椿文
Chu Wende 褚文德	Sheng Chaosheng 盛超升
Chu Zhengde 儲正德	Song Tingxuan 宋廷選
Cui Fengji 崔鳳集	Wang Bangfan 王邦藩
Cui Yijie 崔以介	Wang Kaiyuan 王開元
Ding Jiuguang 丁九光	Wang Shiren 王師仁
Duan Kezhi 段可植	Wang Zengyu 汪曾鈺
Fang Renjie 方仁捷	Wan Mingjian 完明健
Gong Biao 龔蓀	Wan Zhu 萬翥
Guan Ying 管英	Wu Baoqing 吳寶卿
Gu Dingxin 顧鼎新	Wu Shiyong 吳世英
Hu Juyi (mu?) 胡菊衣(木?)	Xu Qingsheng 徐慶升
Huo Zhongdai 霍鍾岱	Yan Mei 晏梅
Jing Ji 荊棘	Ye Nan 葉南
Jin Jian 金鑑	Yu Fangruo 余方若
Jin Shao 金紹	Yu Guorong (hao?) 於國榮(毫?)
Li Liankui 李聯奎	Yu (Jin? Quan?) Shun 余(金? 全?)順
Liu Kuanhai 劉寬海	Zhan Dashan 詹大山
Liu Qiong 劉瓊	Zhang Yiliang 張義良
Liu Wuguang 劉悟光	Zhao Pilie 趙丕烈
Lu Wanyan 盧萬彥	Zhao Zongheng 趙宗恆
Nie Liangguang 聶亮光	Zhou Xianbang 周先榜
Ning Xiaoyan 寧小炎	

NOTES

1. Exemplars of similar objects known at the time were described in Miyazaki Ichisada, *Kakyo: Chūgoku no shiken jigoku* (The Civil Service Examination: China's Examination Hell) (Tokyo: Chūō kōron, 1963), p. 67ff, and Xue Ying, "Kechang jiadai chaoben" (Copy Sheets Carried into the Examination Grounds), *Wenxian* 1 (1985), p. 102ff. In the past few years, a steady stream of cribbing sheets and garments of various sizes and shapes have been advertised in booksellers' catalogues in China and Hong Kong.
2. James Shih-kang T'ung, "A Chinese Cribbing Garment," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 20.4 (Summer, 1959), pp. 175-181.
3. This is the figure for the total number of essays given in Dr. T'ung's 1959 article. Other counts may differ, as the division between separate pieces is not always clearly marked on the robe.
4. On the political and intellectual background of the *Qinding sishuwen* (Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized Edition), see R. Kent Guy, "Fang Pao and the *Ch'in-ting ssu-shu-wen*," in ed. Benjamin Elman and Alexander Woodside, *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, Studies on China, no. 19 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 150-182. The primary extant text of the *Essays on the Four Books, Imperially Authorized Edition*, 41 *juan*, is the Siku quanshu zhenben edition, available in the Wenyuange reprint, vol. 1451 ([Taipei]: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).
5. I would like to offer a much belated expression of thanks for the generous assistance of the textile experts Nunome Junrō of the Kōgei ken'i daigaku in Kyoto and Dr. May H. Beattie of the Embroiderer's Guild, Sheffield, England.
6. These reference aids include Chen Yuan, *Shihui juli* (Examples of Taboo Names in History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963) and Qu Wanli and Chang Bide, *Tushu banbenxue yaolüe* (A Summary of Bibliographical and Textual Studies) (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua chubanshiye weiyuanhui, 1953).
7. See Andrew H. Plaks, "Pa-ku wen," in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 641-643; and Plaks, "The Prose of Our Time," in *The Power of Culture*, ed. Willard J. Peterson, Andrew H. Plaks, and Ying-shi Yü (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994), pp. 206-217.
8. Despite my recollections of having gone through a Gest Library copy of this work, no complete copy of the work is currently found in the Gest holdings. Apparently I had examined this collection at the Naikaku Bunko in Tokyo. With the kind assistance of Ihor Pidhainy, I have recently collated my notes on this work with a copy held in the University of Toronto's East Asian Library (rare book number PL 2615 .K6 1699).
9. See Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); and Kai-wing Chow, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (June 1996), pp. 120-157. See

- also Sano Kōji, *Shisho gakushi no kenkyū* (A Study on the History of Studies of the Four Books) (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988).
10. See Li Tiaoyuan (1734–1803), comp., *Zhiyike suoji* (Miscellaneous Notes on the Examination System), 4 *juan*, (ca. 1881), in various collectanea, such as *Congshu jicheng jianbian*, vol. 291 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1965), *juan* 1–2, esp. p. 72ff.; and Zhan Hongmou (fl. nineteenth century) et al., comps., *Qinding kechang tiaoli* (Imperially Authorized Regulations for Examination Grounds) (Beijing: Neifu, preface dated 1887), esp. *juan* 30, "Soujian shizi" (Inspecting the Scholars); and Zhang Chaorui (1536–1603), comp., *Huang Ming gongju kao* (A Study of the Imperial Ming Examination System) [Wanli (1573–1620) era], *juan* 1.
 11. Further information and anecdotes on cheating methods practiced during the Qing period can be found, among many other sources, in Xu Ke (1869–1928), "Kaoshi lei," in *Qing bai leichao* (Notes in Categories from Qing Anecdotal History) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1917), ch. 21; Murakami Tetsumi, *Kakyo no hanashi: shiken seido to bunjin kanryō* (Tales of the Civil Service Examination: The Examination System and Scholar Officials) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), pp. 181–189; Etienne Zi (Siu), S. J., *Pratique des examens littéraires en Chine, Variétés sinologiques*, no. 5 (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1894), p. 37, no. 1.
 12. See Ding Yaokang (1599–1669), *Xu Jin Ping Mei* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993), chap. 46. My thanks to Dr. Yang Yu-chun for drawing my attention to this passage.
 13. Scenes portraying the experience of fictional characters enduring the "examination hell"—or cheating their way through it—are especially common in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century fiction, with many examples in works as varied as Pu Songling's (1640–1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* (Records of the Strange from Desultory Studio), Li Lüyuan's (1707–1790) *Qiludeng* (The Lantern at the Crossroads), and, of course, Wu Jingzi's (1701–1754) *Rulin waishi* (Unofficial History of the Confucian Scholars), not to mention the huge corpus of *caizi jiaren* (scholar-beauty) fiction.
 14. See I. V. Gillis to J. A. Doyle, 13 July 1932 and Doyle to Nancy Lee Swann, 22 August 1923, box 232, Gest Library Papers, Mudd Library, Princeton University. J. A. Doyle was Guion Gest's agent in the San Francisco office of the Gest Engineering Company. William B. Pettus, head of the North China Language School in Beijing and a mutual friend of Gillis and Gest, carried the robe wrapped in a length of hose and packed in his trunk on his visit to the United States late in the summer of 1932. A very recent search by Nancy Tomasko in the Gest archives has turned up tantalizing references to additional documents possibly mentioning the garment. Hence, the case is not yet closed.
 15. In addition to East Asian Library director Ma Tai-loi and Chinese bibliographer Martin Heijdra, the East Asian Studies colleagues who have given much help in examining the robe and speculating on its significance include, Hai-tao

- Tang, Susan Naquin, Benjamin Elman, Willard Peterson, Soren Edgren, Michael Reeve, and Nancy Tomasko.
16. T'ung, "Cribbing Garment," p. 180.
 17. The so-called "fly-head characters" are mentioned, among other places, in Xu Ke, *Qing bai leichao*, p. 4, and in Zhang Chaorui, *Huang Ming gongju kao*, *juan* 1, pp. 38a-b. Martin Heijdra recently found in the Gest Collection an uncatalogued example of texts also written in "fly-head characters." This is a selection of manuscript essays written on Chinese paper that have been cut out and tipped onto sheets of slightly heavier Chinese paper. These pages were then rebound in a Western-style, all-leather binding and given the title *Yingtou xiaokai hanyuan wenzhang* (Literary Essays in Small-Standard Fly-Head Script).
 18. The Chinese text reads "Bei/Ci(?) nanfang zhi qiang yu yijie wei zai er tong(?) shang xie guo beifeng." For passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean* referred to in this direction, see "Zilu wen qiang" (Zilu Inquires About the Meaning of Strength), *Doctrine of the Mean*, chapter 10.
 19. Wu Zhi (dates unknown), comp., *Huang Ming like sishu mojuan pingxuan*, 48 ce [preface dated 1622], Gest rarebook number TD95/650.
 20. For an extensive list of Qing-dynasty examination-essay collections and related materials, see Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations*, Appendices, pp. 633ff. Professor Elman reports that similar materials occupy an entire wall of shelves in the National Central Library, Taipei.
 21. In pursuing this information, I have relied on the most obvious reference aids, including Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943); Du Lianzhe and Fang Zhaoying, eds., *Sanshisanzhong Qingdai zhuanji zonghe yinde* (Index to Thirty-three Collections of Ch'ing Dynasty Biographies) (Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan yinde bianzhuanchu, 1932); Zhu Baojiong and Zie Peilin, eds., *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin* (Index to Stele Records of the Names of Metropolitan Examination Laureates in the Ming and Qing) (1980; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1963); Zhou Junfu, ed., *Mingdai zhuanji congkan suoyin* (Index to Biographical Collections of the Ming Dynasty), *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, nos. 161-163 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1991); and idem., *Qingdai zhuanji congkan suoyin* (Index to Biographical Collections of the Qing Dynasty), *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, nos. 203-205 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986). A particularly useful list of major Ming and Qing *bagu* essayists with their degree dates is appended to Liang Zhangju (1775-1849), *Zhiyi conghua* (Collected Discussions on Examination Essays), 24 *juan* (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1976), vol. 2, following *juan* 24.
 22. See Chen Zhaolun, comp., *Zhiyi tiyao* (Important Points on the Examination Essay Form), 19 *juan*, ed. Sun Yiyuan (1814-1894) (Wuchang: Hubei lunwen shuju, preface dated 1877), and Ruan Kuisheng's discussion of the *bagu* form in his *Chayu kehua* (Conversations with a Guest After Sharing Tea), *Ming Qing biji congkan*, no. 4 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) *juan* 16.
 23. Chen Chai is listed in Shi Shuyi (b. 1878), *Qingdai guige shiren zhenglüe* (Qing-

Dynasty Poets of the Inner Chamber, Condensed Edition) (Taipei: Tailian guofeng chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 9, p. 11b.

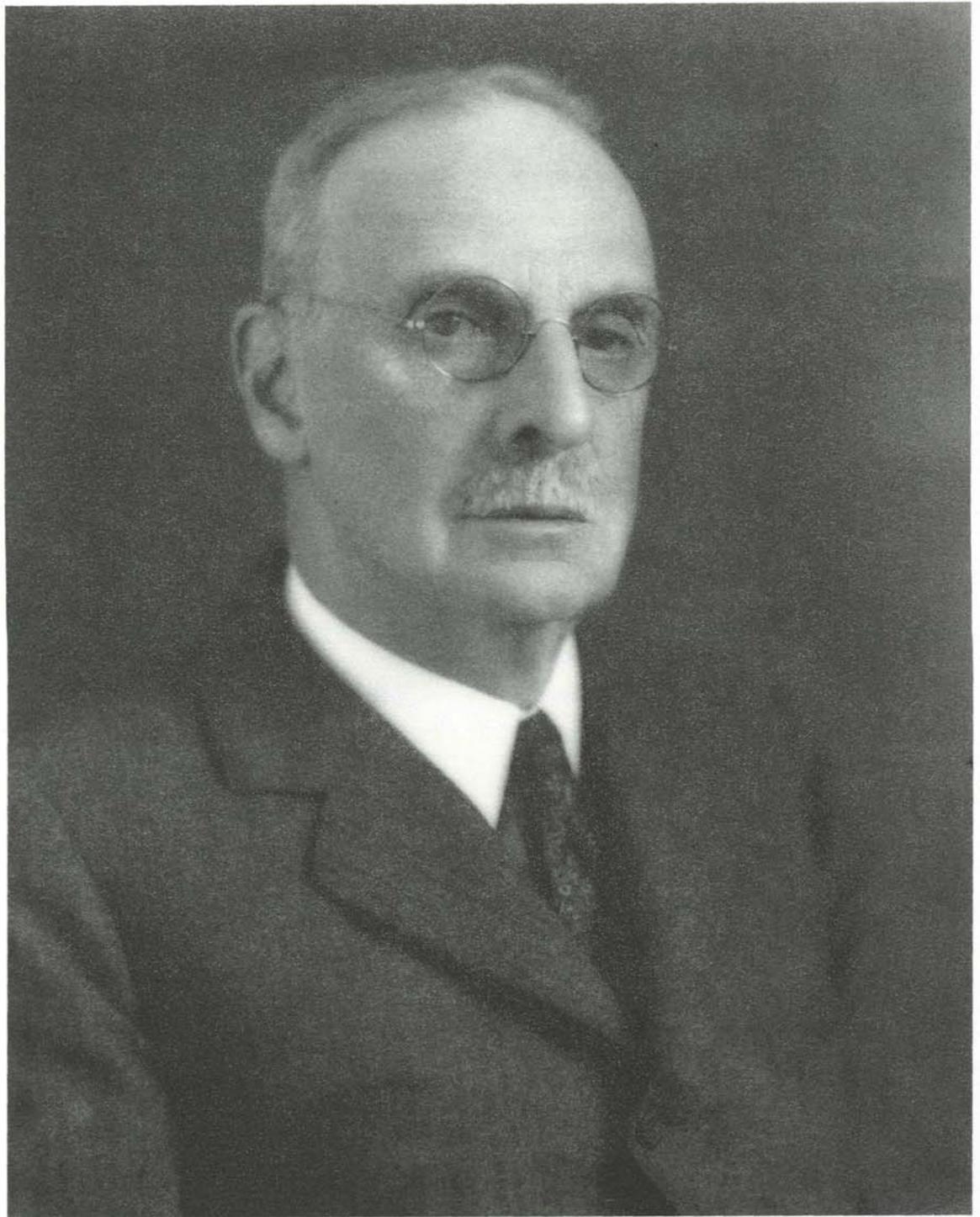
24. In searching for a possible reading of this uncertain expression, Soren Edgren came across a notice of a Qing essay-collection entitled (*Zhisheng*) *kaojuan chengjingji*—for which we can venture the tentative translation *The Cleansed Mirror of Examination Essays, A Collection from Zhili Province*—which would nicely fit the hypothesis that what is referred to here may be the title of a book from which the scribe copied the piece. See *Naikaku Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Catalogue by Category of Chinese Books in the Naikaku Bunko) (Tokyo: Naikaku Bunko, 1956), p. 405. However, the characters in question do not look enough like *chengjing* to support this reading. Most recently, Hai-tao Tang has noticed the compound *dengying* (meaning "ascending to the isles of the immortals") in a specialized usage referring to a Qing ritual celebrating examination success and official appointment. If this identification is correct, this would provide a meaningful explanation of at least one of these notations.
25. Dr. T'ung estimated the total number of characters inscribed on the robe at five hundred twenty thousand. See James Shih-kang T'ung, "A Chinese Cribbing Garment," p. 180.

GLOSSARY

Aiwutang 愛吾堂	Chuncaotang 春草堂
bagu 八股	Chu Xin 儲欣
baguwen 八股文	Chu Zaiwen 儲在文
Bei/Ci(?) nanfang zhi qiang yu yijie wei zai er tong(?) shang xie guo beifeng 北/ 此(?)南方之強與一節尾在二筒(?)上 寫過背縫	Dai Xi 戴熙
beifeng 背縫	Dai Xu 戴煦
biji 筆記	Daxue 大學
caizi jiaren 才子佳人	denglu 登錄
Chan (Zen) 禪	denglu wengao 登錄文稿
Chayu kehua 茶餘客話	dengying 登瀛
Chen Chai 陳萑	Ding Yaokang 丁耀亢
chengjing 澄鏡	Fang Bao 方苞
Chen Zhaolun 陳兆崙	guanxi 關係
	Gui Youguang 歸有光
	guwen 古文
	Han Tan 韓菼

- hao 號
 huaidai/jiandai ... zhi bi 懷帶/夾帶 ...
 之弊
 Huang Ming gongju kao 皇明貢舉考
 Huang Ming like sishu mojuan pingxuan
 皇明歷科四書墨卷評選
 Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨
 Huang Yue 黃越
 huizi 諱字
 Jingyutang 經畚堂
 jinshi 進士
 ju 句
 juan 卷
 juren 舉人
 kaojuan 考卷
 kaojuan denglu 考卷登錄
 Kaoshi lei 考試類
 Keyitang yibaishu mingjia zhiyi 可儀堂一
 百二十名家制藝[義]
 Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅
 Liaozhai zhiyi 聊齋志異
 Li Guangdi 李光地
 Li Huizu 李輝祖
 Li Lüyuan 李綠園
 Li Tiaoyuan 李調元
 Mao Kun 茅坤
 Moxiangtang 墨香堂
 Nunome Junrō 布目順郎
 ouchao 偶鈔
 Pu Songling 蒲松齡
 qianti 前題
 Qiludeng 歧路燈
 Qinding kechang tiaoli 欽定科場條例
 Qinding sishuwen 欽定四書文
 Qing bai leichao 清稗類鈔
 Qingdai guige shiren zhenglue 清代閨閣詩
 人徵略
 Ruan Kuisheng 阮葵生
 Rulin waishi 儒林外史
 Shi Jin 史晉
 Shi Shuyi 施淑儀
 shiwen 時文
 Soujian shizi 搜檢士子
 Sun Yiyan 孫衣言
 suzi 俗字
 Tang Binyin 湯賓尹
 Tang Shunzhi 唐順之
 Wang Dayou 王大有
 Wang Ruxiang 王汝驥
 wengao 文稿
 Wenyuange 文淵閣
 Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓
 Wu Zhi 吳芝
 xiaocao 小草
 xingming 姓名
 Xiong Bolong 熊伯龍
 Xu Jin Ping Mei 續金瓶梅
 Xu Ke 徐珂
 Xu Yu 許鈺
 yiduan 一段
 yijie 一節
 Yingtou xiaokai hanyuan wenzhang 蠅頭小
 楷韓苑文章
 yingtouzi 蠅頭字
 yizhang 一章
 yuan 元

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Yu Changcheng 俞長城 | (Zhisheng) kaojuan chengjingji (直省)考卷 |
| Zaichuncaotang 在春草堂 | 澄鏡集 |
| Zailucaotang 在陸草堂 | Zhiyi conghua 制藝叢話 |
| Zhang Chaorui 張朝瑞 | Zhiyi tiyao 制藝提要 |
| Zhang Nai 張鼐 | Zhiyike suoji 制藝科瑣記 |
| Zhang Yushu 張玉書 | Zhongyong 中庸 |
| Zhan Hongmou 詹鴻謀 | Zilu wen qiang 子路問強 |
| Zheng Dunyun 鄭敦允 | |



1. Guion Moore Gest. This undated photograph hangs on a wall of the periodicals reading room of the East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, 1926–1936

SU CHEN AND JUMING ZHAO

The Gest Collection at Princeton University is famous as a major collection of old and rare Chinese materials in North America.¹ The library has attracted much attention since its beginning.² Few, however, know that this collection was initially hosted at McGill University in Montreal from 1926 to 1936. Why did McGill host this library, what happened to the library during those years, why was the library moved to Princeton, New Jersey, and what was the impact on McGill? This article is written to address these questions. It will discuss this unique collection during its years at McGill, the evolution of the Department of Chinese Studies at McGill from 1930 to 1934, and the move to Princeton in 1936–1937. Most of the information presented in this article comes from the McGill University Archives in McLennan Library, McGill University and from the archives of the Gest Collection currently housed in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.³

A UNIQUE COLLECTION

In 1925 when Guion Moore Gest (1864–1948) deposited his collection at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, McGill named it the Gest Chinese Research Library (Geside huawen cangshuku). (See figure 1.)

By 1937, when it was moved to Princeton, the library had grown to more than one hundred thousand volumes and had become one of the largest collections of old and rare Chinese books in the West.⁴ The Gest Library was famous for its size and even more for its uniqueness. Guion Gest's timely initiative, the exceptional knowledge of ancient rare Chinese books and excellent book-hunting skills of Commander Irvin Van Gorder Gillis (1875-1948), Gest's purchasing agent in China, and the diligence and passion of Nancy Lee Swann (1881-1966), curator of this collection from 1928-1948, all contributed to its uniqueness.⁵

Gest started his collection at just the right time. In 1911, revolution ended China's last imperial dynasty after its 267-year duration, and thereafter followed several decades of civil wars among warlords. In 1928, the Republican leadership changed the seat of its government from Beijing to Nanjing, diminishing the significance of that great city in the north which had served as the capital for over six hundred years during the better part of the Yuan (1271-1368), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties.⁶ This upheaval and the shift in location of the political and economic bases of power caused many noble families and imperial institutes to sell their treasures accumulated over generations in order to survive. One of those treasures was books. The first batch of books that I. V. Gillis bought for Guion Gest was a group of eight thousand volumes selected by Chen Baochen (1848-1935), the tutor of Pu Yi (1906-1967), the last Chinese emperor.⁷ During the first several decades of the twentieth century, Chinese traditional learning was progressively replaced by Western learning, and the significance of Chinese traditional learning decreased. In addition, during this tumultuous era, revolutions, rebels, and wars spread throughout China, throwing the nation into chaos. This circumstance created a golden opportunity for book collectors like Gest, as evidenced by this comment in a letter he wrote in 1926, "The unfortunate war situation in China has made many of these purchases possible . . ."⁸

Guion Moore Gest was a construction contractor and engineer who started his own company, Gest Engineering Company, in New York in 1914. He suffered from glaucoma and though he consulted several Western ophthalmologists, none could cure his condition. On a business trip to China in the 1920s, Gest met Gillis, a U.S. naval attaché

in Peking, who suggested that he try traditional Chinese eye medications.⁹ The Chinese medicine did not cure his problem but did give him some relief, which surprised Gest. He decided to leave some money with Gillis for the purchase rare books on Chinese medicine, particularly those about eye diseases and treatments. This unlikely beginning was the start of what became one of the finest groups of Chinese old and rare books outside of China, the Gest collection.

Of the published information and documents about the origin of and the treasures in the Gest collection, the authors have found one of the most reliable sources to be articles by Hu Shih, a well-known Chinese philosopher and historian, who served as the curator of the Gest Oriental Library from 1950 to 1952. The story of Hu Shih's appointment was unusual. In 1950, he was in New York attempting to obtain a professorial position but was unsuccessful. He was, however, informed that Princeton University intended to give him a one-year post-doctoral position. Soon, the president of the university learned of Hu Shih's status and offered him a two-year appointment as curator of the Gest Library with rank of full professor.¹⁰ His task was to "find out what was in the collection and what treasures were among them."¹¹ During those two years, Dr. Hu thoroughly researched the collection and wrote four articles about the Gest Library.¹² (See figure 2 for a photograph of Hu Shih with Shih-kang T'ung, his successor as curator of the Gest Library at Princeton.)

Hu Shih found the tale of Gest's eye troubles quite credible. He further suggested that this story helps explain the rather large number of works on Chinese medicine in the Gest collection, which includes some five hundred titles in two thousand volumes, the largest collection of rare Chinese medical books outside of China and Japan.¹³ Gillis, an avid book collector with wide-ranging tastes, encouraged Gest to extend the range of his collection beyond Chinese medicine to include other subjects such as engineering, Chinese classics and traditional learning, as well as modern studies. This expanded, more comprehensive collection eventually became the Gest Library.

The legacy of I. V. Gillis makes this story especially interesting. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis was born in 1875 in New England. He had been an intelligence expert, specializing in the microscopic analysis of fingerprints



2. Hu Shih (curator 1950–1952), on the right, and James Shih-kang T'ung (curator 1952–1977) examining a volume from the Gest Library, inscribed by Hu Shih on March 1952. Taken at the opening of an exhibit entitled “Eleven Centuries of Chinese Printing,” held at the Princeton University Library from 20 February to 20 April, 1952.

Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection,
Princeton University.



3. Commander I. V. Gillis, with three of his assistants, supervising the repair of Ming-dynasty Buddhist texts purchased for the Gest Collection, Peiping, May 1930. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

and typewriting, and later was able to apply his skills successfully to the analysis of the printing of rare books. In the 1910s and 1920s, he served as a naval attaché at the United States legation in Peking. After resigning his commission, he established his home in Peking with his wife, a Manchu princess, and became a professional book dealer searching for old Chinese books. Gillis used his home as his office and for book storage and hired several people to help run his business.¹⁴ (See figure 3.) Gillis had studied Chinese and could speak Peking dialect. Through many years of hard work, he had gained an exceptional knowledge of Chinese old and rare books. In 1946, Wang Zhongmin (1903–1975), a leading expert on Chinese rare books and an advisor to both China's National Library as well as the United States Library of Congress, commented when he visited the Gest Library at Princeton University, "I . . . feel that his [Gillis'] knowledge of Chinese bibliography is exceptionally good. He made almost no mistakes in his *Notes*, . . ." ¹⁵

Into the 1930s, Gillis primarily purchased books for the Gest Library, but also obtained books for several other institutions as well, including the Library of Congress, the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard University, and the New York Public Library.¹⁶ When Japan invaded Peking in 1937, the Japanese military authorities suspected that Gillis was a spy for the United States and arrested him. But at that time, since he was physically too weak to be detained, he was allowed to stay at home. Gillis died there in 1948.¹⁷

Gillis developed a keen sense in hunting for Chinese books. He knew clearly that he was in the right place at the right moment and had caught a never-to-be-repeated opportunity for purchasing highly unusual books. In 1932, he wrote to Gest,

[T]he opportunity that we now have for buying good and old Chinese books will never be repeated,—that's certain—and many of them will never be reprinted in modern editions, either. Also, it is but a question of a short time when prices will begin to go up, for as you must be aware, more and more Chinese libraries are being set up by universities and other such institutions in foreign lands, and the demand for Chinese books of all kinds is becoming greater and greater everyday.¹⁸

This proved to be a very accurate prediction. Gillis was able to increase the size of the Gest collection to more than one hundred thousand volumes by 1932 from the initial eight thousand volumes in 1925.¹⁹ After 1930, when China's political situation was again stabilized, the Chinese government enacted a rare-book embargo policy, which stated that any non-replaceable work should be retained in China. The Chinese Customs confiscated some titles that Gillis had purchased for the Gest Library.²⁰ After 1932, acquisitions for the Gest Library for the most part ceased. Then, after the establishment of the Communist government in 1949, such purchases became completely impossible.

Hu Shih used the following example to demonstrate how Gillis used his skills of microscopic analysis in his book hunting. An important collection in the Gest Library is the Wuyingdian juzhenben congshu (Imperial-Palace Movable-Type Reprint Series). In 1773, the Qianlong

emperor (r. 1736–1795) ordered the reconstruction and publication of rare and long lost works from the *Yongle dadian* (Yongle Encyclopedia), which was first produced in manuscript form between 1403 and 1407.²¹ With the exception of four titles printed using woodblocks in 1773, the Qianlong emperor's eighteenth-century printed series utilized moveable wood-type printing technology.²² Two hundred fifty thousand individual wood type were cut, and 138 titles in 812 volumes were printed. The printing took twenty-one years, from 1773 to 1794, and a total of 320 sets were produced, of which the emperor kept twenty sets for his own use. The remaining three hundred sets were sold over a period of some twenty years. Because the printing extended over such a long period of time and the volumes were sold separately, it was very difficult to compile a complete set of the edition printed in the palace. Beginning in 1776, the emperor requested that local governments reprint this series from newly cut woodblocks modeled on the movable-type palace edition, and eventually nearly all of the 138 original titles were reproduced. These editions were called "local editions" (*difangben*). In the collectors' eyes, however, volumes of the original printed edition were considered much more valuable than the local editions.

In the 1920s, Gillis started to gather sets of the imperial edition of the Imperial-Palace Movable-Type Reprint Series. First he purchased a set of the palace edition from a Chinese bibliophile. He then systematically analyzed all of the printing errors of that edition. He discovered that when an incorrect character had been found in the final post-printing proofreading, the incorrect character had been cut out of each volume and a slip of paper printed with the correct character very carefully pasted into place. However, the local reprinted editions, which in general had been carved from corrected volumes of the palace printed edition, did not have the same pasted in corrections as found in the volumes of the palace. He examined a total of 37,600 pages of the palace edition, detected 2,082 pasted-in corrections, and noted the position of each by line, page, chapter, and volume. With this reference, Gillis used the presence or absence of hand repairs to the pages as indicators by which to distinguish exemplars of the palace edition from exemplars of the local editions. Using this approach, Gillis assembled three complete sets of the original palace edition—one for the Gest Library, one for Harvard

University, and one for the Library of Congress.²³ Only one other complete set was known at that time, and that was the one in China's National Library.²⁴ In other words, Gillis assembled three of the four remaining sets of the palace printed edition known at the time.

To ensure the success of his business, Gillis was very disciplined in keeping his sources secret. The story of his purchase of the *Qisha zangjing* (Qisha Buddhist Tripitaka) well illustrates his mania for secrecy. The Gest Library has a set of the *Qisha Buddhist Tripitaka*, whose printing in approximately five thousand nine hundred volumes spanned nearly one hundred years (1231–1322) and a dynastic change.²⁵ The Gest Collection exemplar of this Buddhist canon consists of a total of 5,348 volumes—697½ volumes printed in the Song dynasty (960–1279), 1632½ in the Yuan, 868 in the Ming, and the rest, replacement manuscript copies made after 1600. It is the most valuable set of books held by the Gest Library.²⁶ Remarkably, only two very large sets of this Buddhist canon are now known to exist, one in China and the one in the Gest Library. Gest Library's set was shipped to Vancouver in 1929, while the other in China was not located until 1931. Thus, at the time Gillis shipped that set to the Gest Library, it was the only set known in the world. Gillis reported that he got the copy from “a remote part of China,” while Hu Shih is reported to have suggested that this copy was from a monastery called Dabei Monastery (Dabeisi) in Peking.²⁷ Hu wrote, “I have not found any document of his [Gillis] describing the location and history of this monastery, but judging from the colophons at the end of a number of the manuscript volumes, I have no doubt that this must be one of the monasteries in the city of Peking,” and “[t]his purchase was probably made in 1926 or 1927.”²⁸ In order to purchase such items, Gillis obviously needed to avoid any exposure whatsoever of information that would damage his book business. In 1931, when Gillis learned that Arthur Currie, the principal of McGill University, was to visit China, he sent a confidential telegram to Gest:

There is one very important matter in connection with Sir Arthur Currie's visit to China. . . . I earnestly urge you to advise and request Sir Arthur to absolutely put a seal upon his lips and refrain from talking about the Library with anybody

whatsoever—whether Chinese or foreigner. He should avoid the subject as he would a dangerous disease. The slightest mention of it may direct the conversation into channels that would prove fatal to all of your plans for the future of your Library. . . . I am extremely worried²⁹

This telegram was immediately transferred to Currie who was in India. Currie, by his own account, carefully “sealed his lips” during his visit in China.³⁰

With his unparalleled skills, Gillis achieved exceptional success in purchasing books. After examining the Gest collection in 1946, Wang Zhongmin commented:

Among all the [Chinese] collections which I have ever examined, I think that the Gest collection is a very important one. I have examined 1,500 items at the Library of Congress and also the 2,700 items which have been on deposit [during the war] in this country by the National Library of Peiping, yet I have found that of Gest's A section (Classics) seventy per cent are not duplicated either in the Library of Congress “Orientalia” section, or in the National Library of Peiping's rare book section. Of the D section (literary writings) I found that fifty per cent are not duplicated. This suffices to prove the value of the Gest collection.³¹

Hu Shih conducted a survey of the rare books in the Gest Library during his time at Princeton University. He suggested that about forty-one thousand one hundred ninety-five volumes (*ce*) in the Gest collection should be considered rare books. (See table 1 for the summary of his findings.)³²

Gillis' contributions to the Gest Library comprised more than the books themselves. In order to retrieve books from this large collection properly, Gillis specially designed an index system for the Gest collection and then assigned accession numbers according to this system. He considered his system to be the best one for ancient Chinese materials, since when he applied his system to 6,738 different titles, he found only 185 duplicate, 9 triplicate, and 1 quadruplicate numbers. The Gillis classification

TABLE I: SUMMARY OF HU SHIH'S TABULATION OF
RARE BOOKS IN THE GEST COLLECTION

CATEGORY OF BOOK	NUMBER OF VOLUMES (CE)
Books printed from wood blocks cut in the years 1232-1272 (Song-dynasty editions)	700
Books printed from wood blocks cut in the years 1297-1322 (Yuan-dynasty editions)	1,700
Books printed in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644)	24,500
Manuscripts (pre-1602: 2,150; others: 850)	3,000
Complete set of the 1726 [1728] edition of the <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i> (Imperial Encyclopedia, a.k.a. The Chinese Encyclopaedia)	5,020
<i>Wuyingdian juzhenben congshu</i> [Imperial-Palace (wood) Movable- Type Reprint Series, a.k.a. Imperial Collectanea], two sets	1,412
Complete set of the palace wood-block edition of the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories (printed between 1739 and 1784)	754
First editions, rare Palace editions, and rare reprints of Sung, Yuan, and Ming editions, printed from 1644 to 1920	2,000
Mongol translation of the Tibetan Kanjur (1772-1790)	109
Books on medicine and materia medica	2,000
Total	41,195

SOURCE: Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 15.3 (Spring 1954), pp. 120-121.

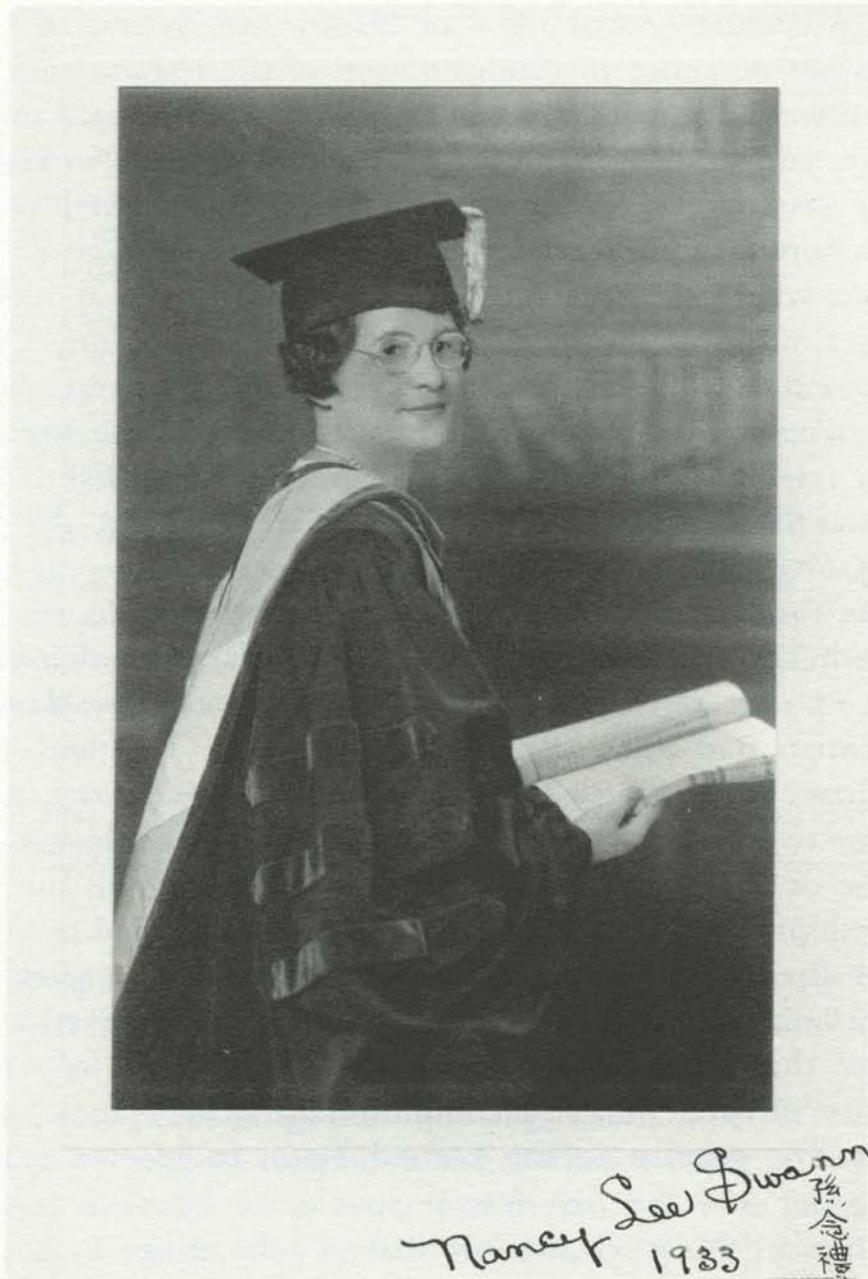
system, first published in 1941, was applied to the Gest collection beginning in 1928 and "has been employed with efficiency and facility ever since."³³

Beyond purchasing and indexing, Gillis and his assistants also examined each page of each book and marked missing or damaged pages with signed slips that today remain in these books. He had many books interleaved, rebound, and boxed. He cataloged and labeled the books and even had the catalogue cards printed, cards which are still preserved in the Gest Collection in the East Asian Library at Princeton. He wrote extensive bibliographic notes for each title. He was so committed to building the Gest collection that he even used ten thousand dollars of his own money to purchase additions to the Gest Library when Gest could not pay him for his work and purchases during the 1930s. The last

shipment Gillis made to the Gest Library was in 1937.³⁴ Gillis died in China a little over a decade later at seventy-three years of age.

The particular contribution of Nancy Lee Swann to the Gest Library was her diligence in administration of the library from 1928 to 1948. Swann was born in 1881 in Tyler, Texas, was educated in a public school there, and studied at the State Teacher's College in Huntsville, Texas from 1898 to 1899.³⁵ After graduation, she taught primary and secondary school for four years and then spent three years at the University of Texas where she received her bachelor's degree in 1906. From 1906 to 1912, she was the local and state secretary of the YWCA in Texas. She went to China in 1912 and stayed until 1919 to do educational work in Kaifeng and Jinan, returning in 1919 to the University of Texas for a master's degree. After earning the degree, she returned to China in 1920 and stayed there for another three years. In 1924, she went to Columbia University in New York City to meet its one-year residence requirement for her doctoral degree in the Department of Chinese, studying with Thomas F. Carter. In 1925, she returned to China for the third time to start research for her dissertation on the Han-dynasty female historian Ban Zhao (Pan Chao) (*ca.* 49–*ca.* 120) and to attend cultural courses at the North China Union Language School in Peking. During those two years, she lived with Chinese girls in a hostel and then in the home of a Chinese family. At the language school, she received two scholarships from the school and, in addition, assisted in the school library and gave some lectures, doing "both very acceptably." She returned to Columbia University in 1927 where she received a doctoral degree. Her thesis *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China* was published first in 1932.³⁶ These accomplishments made Nancy Lee Swann perhaps the first woman in the United States to receive a Ph.D. in Chinese history and the first female scholar to conduct research on Chinese women.³⁷ Nancy L. Swann died in 1966 at age 85.

In 1928 Nancy Lee Swann joined the Gest Library, by that time housed at McGill University, as a librarian assistant. (See figure 4.) Four years later she was promoted to the curatorship of the library and held this position until she retired in 1948. Her colleagues recognized her loyalty and diligence. After visiting the Gest Library in 1931, Charles S. Gardner, member of a subcommittee of the Committee on the Promotion



4. Photograph of Nancy Lee Swann, curator of Gest Library, bearing her signature in English and Chinese and an impression of her seal, 1933. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

of Chinese Studies, a part of the American Council of Learned Societies, wrote the following to Arthur Currie, then principal of McGill, about his impression of Swann:

Closer contact with the staffs of other Chinese libraries in this country has led to the belief that you are fortunate in having retained the services of Miss Swann who is a capable, reliable, and conscientious worker, and who is, moreover, genuinely interested in the library, in the contents of its books and in their accessibility, instead of regarding her position merely as a means to the furtherance of personal research or other extraneous ends. Her knowledge and painstaking work have already done much for the collection, more perhaps, than some of those about her realize. With the ultimate demise of the remarkably faithful, efficient, and energetic—but nonetheless irritating—present curator, I believe that Miss Swann would be in many ways an ideal custodian of the collection.³⁸

THE GEST LIBRARY AT MCGILL, 1926–1936

At the very beginning, Guion M. Gest collected Chinese books as a hobby. As the collection grew, however, storage became a problem. The situation became urgent when Gillis informed Gest that a major shipment of eight thousand volumes would arrive on 17 October 1925. Gest had to find a place to store these books and felt that a university library obviously was a good place. He approached Gerhard R. Lomer, the university librarian at McGill University, for help. Lomer came up with a proposal that Gest would loan his collection to McGill for ten years.³⁹ In addition, Gest was responsible for providing a cataloguer and supervising the administration, while McGill would provide space and adequate facilities for this collection. This collection would be used as a reference library at McGill. Principal Arthur Currie agreed to this arrangement, and the McGill Board of Governors approved it on 4 January 1926.⁴⁰ (See figure 5 for a news article on the opening of the Chinese library at McGill.)

Why did Gest select a Canadian university, rather than an American

McGill Daily, Feb. 13th 1926

Open Chinese Library Here

迎 歡

本校圖書館添設
中國圖書部保藏
中國歷代書籍古今
文苑一萬二千餘卷
並有華文報章雜誌
多種謹於二月十三日舉
行開幕典禮今後對
於華人到此參觀圖書
本館無任歡迎此佈

The two words on the top line read "WELCOME". The remainder of the message states that the McGill University Library has a large collection of Chinese works covering every phase of Chinese History; that the formal opening of the Library takes place to-day, Saturday, February 13th, and that any Chinese who may happen to be in the city are welcome to visit this collection.

The message was prepared by Mr. Fan, a graduate student in the Department of Economics.

5. News article on the opening of the Geste Chinese Research Library at McGill. *McGill Daily*, 13 February 1926, Geste Library Papers, box 238, Newspaper Cuttings, Mudd Library, Princeton University. Photocopy courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Geste Collection, Princeton University.

university, to house his collection, and what did he foresee the future of his library to be? Gest visited Montreal regularly, as he had two pieces of property in that city, and in addition, he was acquainted with a member of McGill's Board of Governors. Perhaps, it was thus convenient for Gest to approach McGill University. On March 1, 1926, he wrote:

I have found but little interest in these books at the various institutions in America, . . . The placing of these books at McGill for the present at least, was after a somewhat careful study of the tendencies of the various Universities. McGill at present seems receptive and I am watching their attitude rather carefully. . . . The University at Williamstown, Mass., appealed to me very strongly, as well as Yale, but my acquaintance at either of the above was very limited. Harvard has not and does not, to my mind, meet the ideals of the average man, possibly as myself. . . . My Library at McGill is properly housed and used by them can do real good in deep research work. . . . I am not sure that the Authorities at McGill will follow my wishes, but I am certainly watching with both eyes wide open.⁴¹

Clearly, Gest considered that McGill was the best place to house his collection at the very beginning. Because his collection was, at that time, small and not well known, he actively sought publicity for the library. However, he was very suspicious of the McGill University administration, possibly an early indication of the sad ending of the Gest Library at McGill.

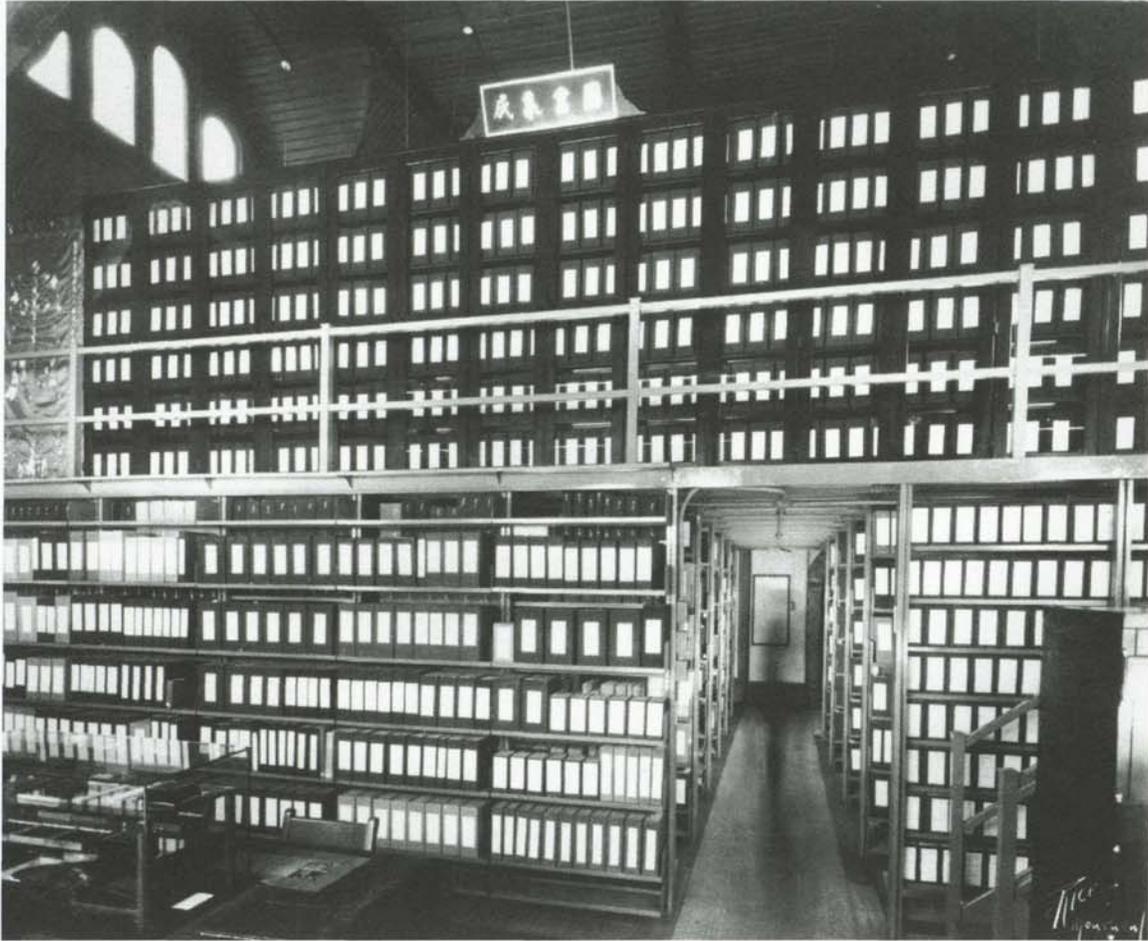
In the autumn of 1925, a shipment of eighteen cases of books arrived in Vancouver. Edward W. Beatty, chancellor of McGill and chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway, made a special arrangement to ship them from Vancouver to McGill for a flat fee. This arrangement later became the routine for shipping the Gest Library books from China. The newly arrived books were first stored in the basement of the Redpath Library of McGill University, but Gest was not satisfied with their placement there. McGill then moved the library to the second floor of the building, greatly improving the surroundings for Gest's collection. Berthold Laufer, an anthropology professor and the curator of the Field

Museum of Natural History, Chicago, described the library this way when he visited it in 1929:

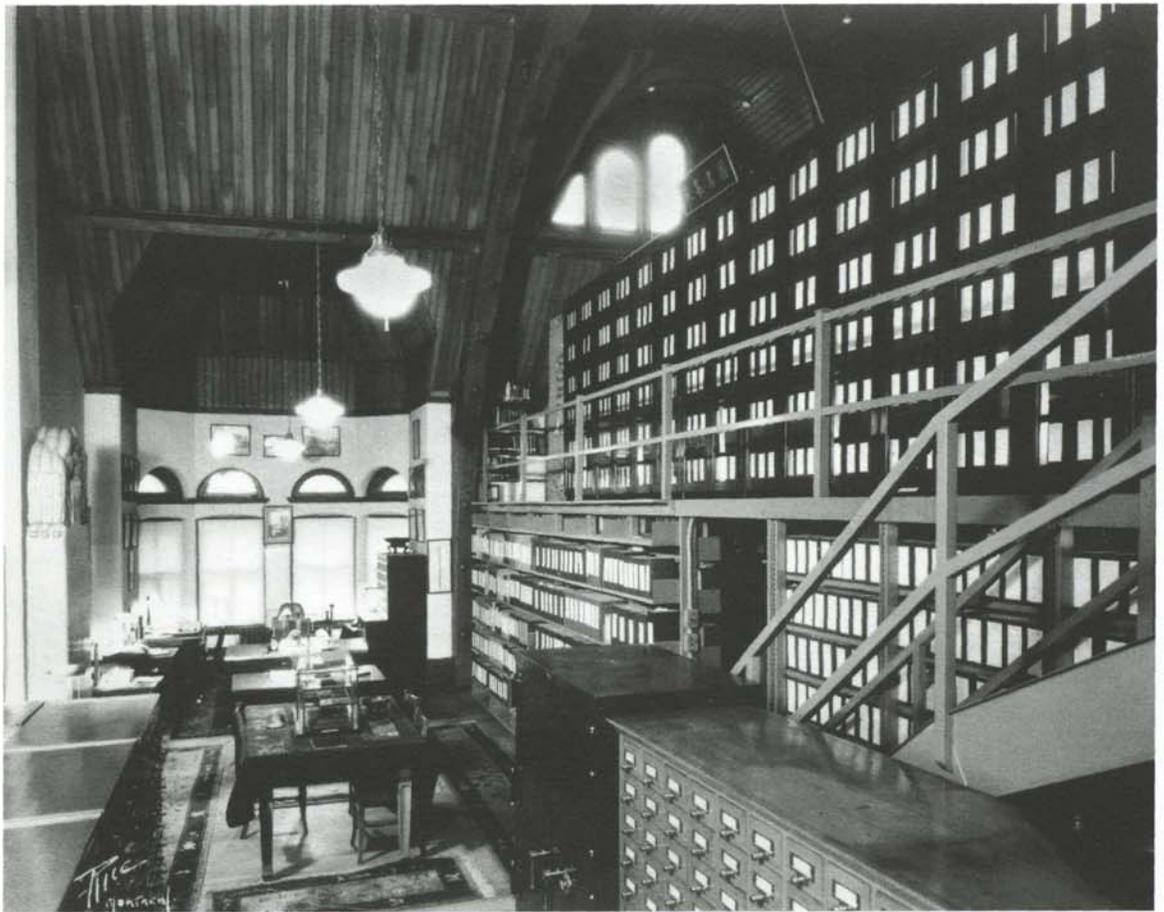
The Gest collection is housed in the attractive library building of McGill University, where it occupies a large room on the second floor. The stacks are of steel, arranged in two stories, the upper one being entirely devoted to the great cyclopedia *Tu shu tsi ch'eng* [*Gujin tushu jicheng*]. The arrangement of the books is so systematic and splendid that any book can be traced at a moment's notice. The reading room is airy and spacious and well equipped. Excellent photographs taken by Mr. Gest himself in the Orient adorn the walls. The floor is laid with Chinese rugs, and Chinese antiquities in a glass cabinet, as well as a reproduction in stone of the famous Nestorian tablet lend the room an intimate atmosphere. The library has a special exhibition room where at the time of my visit a most interesting exhibit of Japanese color-prints and Chinese paintings and manuscripts was shown, including a number of very beautiful Tibetan manuscripts in gold and silver writing from Mr. Gest's collection.⁴² (For views of the setting for Gest's collection at McGill, see figures 6a-c.)

The library was given the name Gest Chinese Research Library and officially opened on 13 February 1926, Chinese New Year's Day. Many guests were invited to a tea in honor of the opening of the library, initiating what later became a tradition for the library. (See figure 7.) For example, in 1928, the library invited more than one hundred scholars, students, university administrators, government officials, and social celebrities to a tea on Chinese New Year's day. This tradition was only broken once, in 1934, out of respect for Arthur Currie, the principal of McGill University and the most enthusiastic supporter of the library, who had died in November 1933.

Cataloging was problematic at the beginning. Although the first curator Robert de Résillac-Roese was regarded as a Sinologist, his Chinese was not adequate to the task. (See figure 8.) He relied on McGill students who knew Chinese to do the cataloging. When Gillis received de Résillac-Roese's catalogue, he was shocked. He wrote:



6A. Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, 1929, showing the shelving specially built for the collection, including the *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Imperial Encyclopedia). PR042313, Photographic Collection, McGill University Archives. Photograph courtesy of McGill University Archives.



6B. The Geste Chinese Research Library at McGill showing the vaulted ceiling and card catalogue drawers. PR042313, Photographic Collection, McGill University Archives. Photograph courtesy of McGill University Archives. This photograph is also in the holdings of the East Asian Library and the Geste Collection, Princeton University.



6c. Office and Reading Room of the Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill showing the Nestorian tablet, photographs of China, Chinese rugs, and other objects collected by Guion Gest. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

恭賀新禧

McGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

requests the pleasure of the company of

in the

GEST CHINESE RESEARCH LIBRARY,

on the occasion of

The Chinese New Year (O.S.)

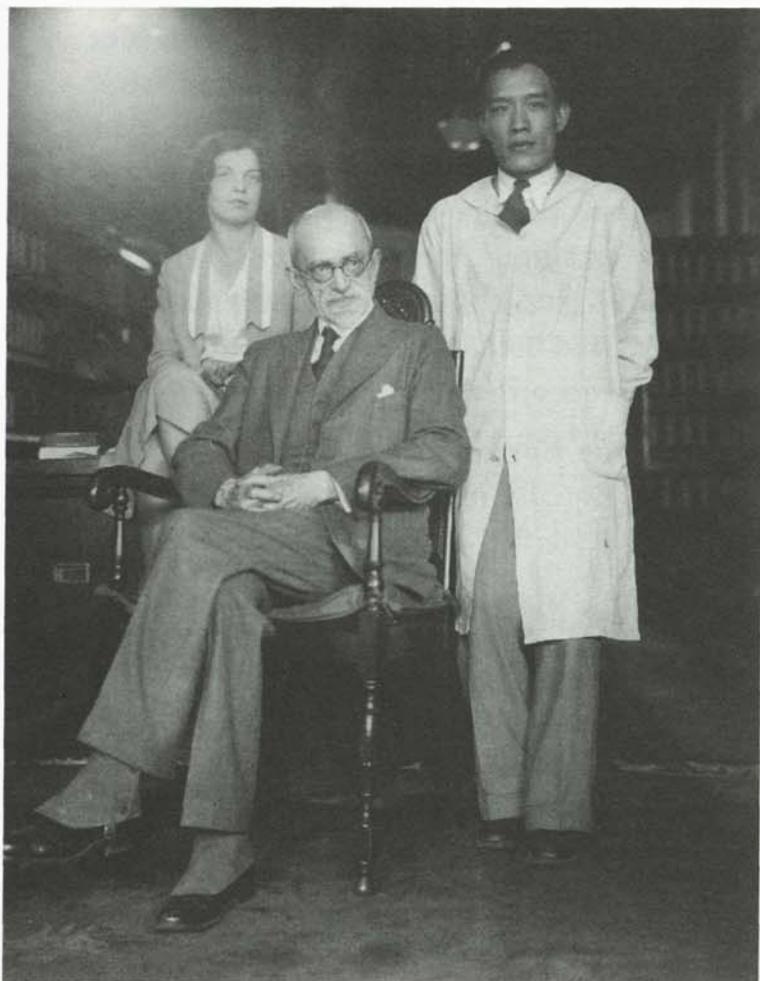
Saturday, February Sixth

at half past four.

R.S.V.P.

TEA

7. Invitation Card for New Year's Tea at McGill, 1932. Gest Library Papers, box 237, Chinese New Year Tea, Mudd Library, Princeton University. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.



8. The first curator of Gest Chinese Research Library, Robert de Résillac-Roese with two assistants, P. Turner, secretary and Sidney D. Quong, research assistant, *ca.* 1931–1933. Gest Library Papers, box 237, Large Photographs from Small, Mudd Library, Princeton University. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

When THE GEST CHINESE RESEARCH LIBRARY was established and opened at McGill University in the spring of 1926, the then Curator was unacquainted with the Chinese language and therefore entirely dependent upon outsiders and certain Chinese students at McGill University, and the less said of the knowledge of these young gentlemen of their own national literature the better, for it can only be described as “truly pathetic.” It was in such circumstances that the catalogues for the early accessions were prepared. When I received copies of these catalogues I immediately went over them and was aghast at what I found therein, and therefore took upon myself the task of doing what I could to eliminate the worst

of the glaring mistakes, but as the books themselves were not available for check [*sic*], I was of necessity forced to fall back upon information obtained from Chinese catalogues and other sources, unsatisfactory as such a method was and also open to error. Later on I understood to do the entire work of preparing the detailed notes for a catalogue raisonné for all works that passed through my hands, and there are two typescript copies of this catalogues at THE LIBRARY and one in my possession.⁴³

Nancy Lee Swann, who joined the library in 1928, knew Chinese well and was a well trained sinologist. Equally important, she carefully applied the Gillis index system and redid all the cataloging, thus resolving the cataloging crisis.

From 1926 to 1932, the Gest collection grew very quickly, increasing from 10,750 volumes in 1926 to about one hundred thousand in 1932. Of these, twenty-seven thousand had been purchased and stored in Peking because of China's book embargo in 1930 and Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931. These books were held in storage and shipped directly to Princeton, New Jersey in 1937. According to Swann, in 1934, the Gest Library had a total of one hundred thousand volumes in Chinese, three thousand five hundred volumes in Western languages and thirty-five titles of periodicals and newspapers. The library became the second largest Chinese library in North America. Only the one hundred forty thousand volumes in the Library of Congress was greater. Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University was the third largest with seventy-nine thousand five hundred volumes.⁴⁴

To promote the library, Arthur Currie invited Berthold Laufer, professor of anthropology and curator of the Field Museum in Chicago to visit the library. Laufer wrote a short pamphlet entitled *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, which McGill published in 1929 with a foreword by Currie, in which Currie expressed his enthusiastic expectations for the Gest Library:

The institution of this remarkable collection coincided with the awakening in Canada of a new interest in China and things Chinese. . . . It is recognized that the influence of

education tends to create mutual understanding between nations. . . . The man who knows something of the history, the environment and the philosophy of another people tends to look upon that people from a friendly point of view, and in the minds of University students, national barriers are breaking down.

It was with these thoughts in mind that we at McGill undertook to develop studies bearing on China; when at the same time we were given the opportunity of adding to our library a collection of Chinese classics, we accepted with enthusiasm, and so in McGill University the books of China have taken their place beside the literature of the western world. We look forward to a time when Chinese as well as western students will make full use of the Gest collection, and we believe that it will prove a real factor in the drawing together of East and West.⁴⁵

The collection soon attracted much attention from the world outside McGill. In the Annual Report of 1929, the curator wrote:

Many inquiries in reference to many subjects were made during the past year from all kinds of sources, not alone from universities, private persons, large business concerns, etc. in Canada and the United States, but also from Europe. To instance, information was requested re Chinese tunnels, the history of spectacles, history of paper, history of paper money, about certain plants, diseases of the eye, prescriptions for sclerosis, etc., etc.⁴⁶

The 1930 Annual Report stated:

Among the visitors to the Library were Prince Tokugawa Iyesato [1863-1940] of Japan, accompanied by his son, the Japanese Minister at Ottawa; Their Royal Highnesses, Prince and Princess Takamatsu of Japan; Mr. Lin Yutang, Chinese Technical Delegate to the League of Nations; Lady [Dorthea Soothill] Hosie, who has written many works on China; Mr. Charles S. Gardner, Director for the Survey of Materials and



9. Distinguished visitors to the Gest Chinese Research Library in 1930. Left to right: McGill University Librarian Gerhard Lomer; Principal Arthur N. Currie; Prince Tokugawa Iyesato; Tokugawa's son Tokugawa Jyemasa (also spelled Iyemasa), the Japanese Minister to Canada; Guion M. Gest, mid-November 1930. Gest Library Papers, box 241, Japanese Legation, Ottawa, Mudd Library, Princeton University.

Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection,
Princeton University.

Facilities for Chinese Studies; Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak of Leiden University.⁴⁷ (For a photograph of some of the prominent guests visiting the Gest Chinese Research Library in 1930, see figure 9.)

The 1933 Annual Report included this roster of visitors.

Among the visitors to the Library were Professor Seiko Kubota, M.D., a pharmacologist from Mukden, Manchuria; Professor Jean Escarra, Chargé de Cours à l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Paris, France; Dr. Bernard E. Read, formerly of Peiping Union Medical College; Mr. Langdon

Warner, Curator of Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass; Dr. Esson M. Gale, of the University of California; Upton Close (Mr. Josep Washington Hall) of New York City; Lord Irwin, of London, England; Dr. C. Walter Young of Peiping, China.⁴⁸

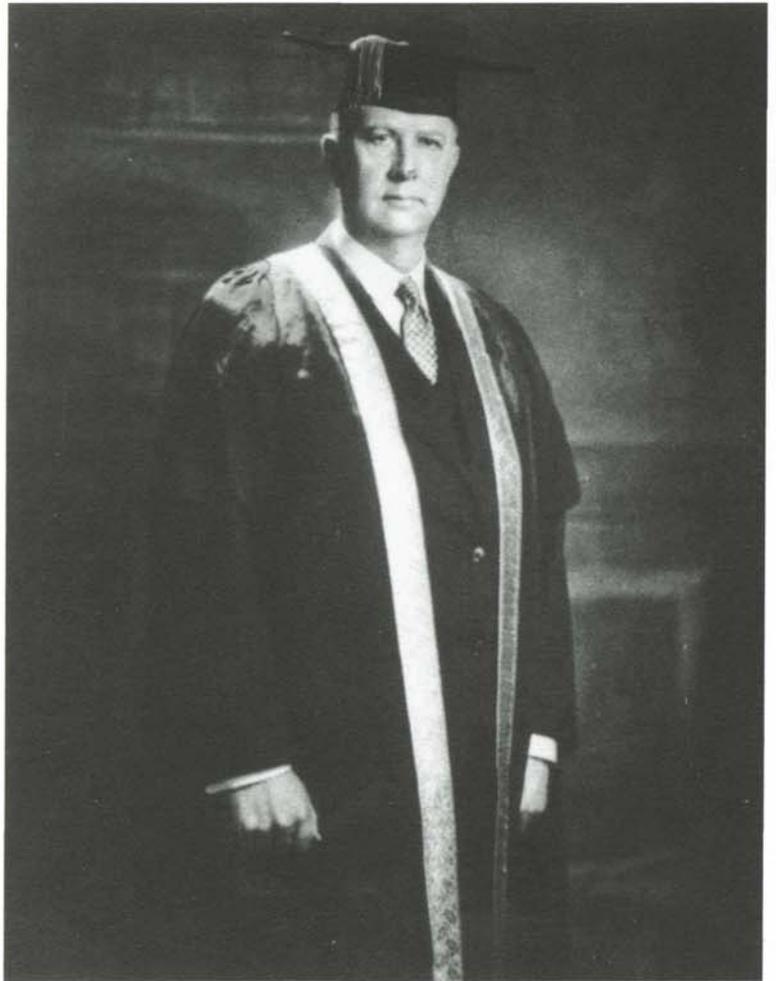
By the 1930s, the Gest Library clearly had become a major center of ancient Chinese texts in North America and enjoyed a high reputation in the field of Sinology around the world. Even scholars from China came to visit the library.

THE DEPARTMENT OF CHINESE STUDIES, 1930-1934

The most important consequence of the Gest Library's being located at McGill was that McGill University established a Department of Chinese Studies, the first Chinese studies program in Canada. However, the ideas of the principal and the chancellor of McGill about this department were somewhat different. Arthur Currie, the principal, intended to use education as a means to promote international peace, while Edward Beatty, the chancellor, hoped this department would promote Canadian trade with China.

Arthur Currie had been a general, commander of the First Canadian Division and the commander of the Canadian Corps in Europe during World War I, and the first Canadian to be promoted to the rank of general. (See figure 10.) When the war was over, Currie was a Canadian hero and received honors nationally and internationally. In 1920, McGill selected him principal, the eighth in the university's history. His war experience led him to state, "War is not a means to establish peace. It is a delusion and a lie."⁴⁹ What was the means to peace? Currie's answer was education. He was convinced that mutual understanding between nations gained through learning was the means to peace.⁵⁰ The post-war international situation also led him to promote Chinese studies at McGill. In a 1931 letter to Gest, he wrote,

I am beginning to think that Europe's day is done; she no longer dominates the world. The hope of England herself lies in the Empire, but she herself does not yet appreciate that



10. Sir Arthur Currie,
Principal, 1920–1933,
McGill University, *ca.*
1930. PU 010537,
Photographic Collection,
McGill University
Archives. Photograph
courtesy of McGill
University Archives.

fact. Before the war she was on top of the world and beheld her ships sailing the seven seas and back again carrying raw products one way and manufactured articles the other. That day is gone and will never return . . . The Pacific Ocean will become the centre of the world's political activity . . . The war proved that no nation can live unto itself alone and that whatever one nation does must influence for good and ill every other nation. That is why I believe the University did a wise and far seeing thing in setting up a Department of Chinese Studies . . .⁵¹

Chancellor Edward Beatty was a businessman, the chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a leading figure in Montreal business circles. (See figure 11.) He was concerned with increasing Canadian



11. Sir Edward Beatty, Chancellor, 1921-1942, McGill University. PR 001861, Photographic Collection, McGill University Archives. Photograph courtesy of McGill University Archives.

trade with China when he saw the United States surge ahead of Canada in this domain. In a 1926 letter to Arthur Currie, he wrote,

I must confess that the principal factor which influences me is the advantage to Canada in future trade relation with China, which I regard as of very great value and for which I should think we would be wise in making preparation. It is not, I think, exaggerating the present situation in China to say that one of the factors which has ensured the American nation more favourable treatment than that accorded Great Britain has been the presence of leaders in the so-called "Student Movement" who received their education in American universities.⁵²

On 20 December 1926, Arthur Currie submitted a proposal to the

McGill Board of Governors to establish a Department of Chinese Studies, arguing that, from a political point of view with respect to the Canadian position in the Pacific, it was very desirable that there should be a better understanding between Canada and China; that from an economic point of view, Canada should develop its trade with the Orient and incidentally obtain favorable trade treaties with China; and that the Gest Library provided the archival resources and foundation for bringing Chinese studies to McGill. The McGill Board of Governors approved this plan and decided to devote \$8,000 annually to the department.⁵³

The department was originally to have been established in 1927. Professors from the departments of history and politics were asked to offer courses on Chinese language, literature, philosophy, history, politics, and economics. However, Currie preferred to have a native Chinese scholar as chairman of the department. This proved difficult because most Chinese scholars who possessed profound Chinese expertise had no mastery of English. Thus, for lack of a chairman, the department was not formally established until 1930.

Currie was personally in charge of the search for a chairman. He asked for recommendations from "almost every known Sinologist" and personally interviewed the candidates. The results, however, disappointed him. "We have had many suggestions made to us with regard to possible heads," wrote Currie, "but on investigation the majority of them have been found wanting. Some of them were little better than newspaper correspondents and journalists who had written much about China without any profound knowledge of the subject."⁵⁴ He even approached Hu Shih about the position in 1928 but was unsuccessful. At that time Hu was the president of the China Public School (*Zhongguo gongxue*) in Shanghai. A suitable person finally appeared in 1929 when Kiang Kang-hu approached McGill for this position.⁵⁵ (See figure 12.)

Kiang Kang-hu, a well known Chinese scholar, was born to a mandarin-scholar family of Jiangxi in 1883. His grandfather Jiang Shuyun (1830-1892) had become a provincial-level degree holder (*ju ren*) in 1864, a metropolitan-level degree holder (*jinshi*) in 1877, and was appointed a member of Hanlin Academy (*Hanlinyuan*). His father Jiang Dexuan (1854-1910) earned a provincial-level degree in 1882, a metropolitan-level degree in 1886, and rose to become a second secretary of the Ministry of Works in Peking. Kiang himself studied at the Peking



12. Dr. Kang-hu Kiang, Department of Chinese Studies, 1934. PU 028536, Photographic Collection, McGill University Archives. Photograph courtesy of McGill University Archives.

Imperial Academy (Jingshi daxuetang) in 1899 and earned a provincial-level degree in 1901; traveled to Japan three times in 1901, 1903, and 1907; and studied politics and law at Waseda University during his 1901 trip. In 1901, he was appointed director of the Beiyang Translation and Compilation Bureau (Beiyang bianyiju) with an official rank of four (*sipin guan*) and remained in that position until 1905. In 1906, he became a second secretary in the Ministry of Education and assistant professor of Japanese at Peking Imperial Academy. Kiang had been politically active since his youth, and from 1910 to 1911 he traveled to Europe to investigate various European political movements. He organized the Chinese Socialist Party (Zhongguo shehuidang) to promote socialism and became the leader of the party. When the government banned this party in 1913, he was prosecuted by the Yuan Shikai government. Kiang fled to the United States as a refugee in 1914. He taught Chinese

language and Chinese culture at the University of California, Berkeley from 1914 to 1920 and received an honorary doctoral degree from that university. Kiang also worked as a consultant to the Oriental Collection of the Library of Congress. In 1920, he returned to China and then traveled to Russia to study Soviet-style socialism in 1922. What he learned there reportedly disillusioned him about socialism.⁵⁶ He then turned to academic work. In 1923 he was invited to be the president of Nanfang daxue in Shanghai in which position he remained until 1927. He also traveled to Burma, Siam, Annam, The Philippines, and other Southeast Asian areas during these years.⁵⁷ In 1927, Kiang accepted an invitation from the Library of Congress to serve as a consultant. While there, he learned that McGill was looking for a Chinese scholar to chair its Department of Chinese Studies.⁵⁸

After receiving Kiang's application, Arthur Currie wrote to Edward T. Williams, professor in the Department of Oriental Languages, University of California at Berkeley, to confirm Kiang's academic background saying, "We need a scholar very much more than an organizer, and we need a man who can as far as possible interpret the spirit of the Oriental philosophy and literature." Williams responded, ". . . Dr. Kiang is one of the foremost living scholars among the Chinese, perhaps the foremost. He is without doubt thoroughly qualified to 'interpret the spirit of the Oriental philosophy and literature.'" ⁵⁹ Currie was concerned also about Kiang's political activities and wrote to the Canadian Legation in Washington, D.C., to investigate "if Kiang was suspected in any way." The agency made informal inquiries to the British Embassy and the United States Department of State, both of which confirmed that there was "absolutely nothing against Dr. Kiang."⁶⁰ Currie interviewed Kiang and was "very impressed." At the end, he appointed Kiang chairman of the Department of Chinese Studies with the rank of full professor. Thus, the Department of Chinese Studies was inaugurated in 1930 after a four-year delay.⁶¹ Currie was very proud of his achievement. In a letter to the League of Nations, he wrote, "This is the only department of an Occidental university concerned with Chinese studies which is headed by a Chinese scholar with the rank of full professor."⁶²

Currie had made an excellent choice. The sole faculty member in the department, Kiang introduced a curriculum of three courses and

taught two of these courses each year. The first, an introduction to Chinese civilization, an annual course consisting of a series of lectures on history, geography, government and social institutions, philosophy, religions, literature, and the arts, was taught in English and was well received by students and local residents. The second was a Chinese-language course in which Kiang taught reading, writing, speaking, and translation. The third was an advanced course in reading both modern documents and ancient texts written in Chinese. The first two courses were offered to second-year students or higher and those who had a good understanding in other subjects. The third course was for graduate students only. Although the enrollment was restricted, the courses generated interest as the registration figures show. Total annual enrollment in the courses Kiang offered grew from twenty to twenty-seven over three academic years, with as many as twenty-three students in the Chinese civilization course. On the average, the number of female students enrolled in the courses was twice the number of male students. In 1932, the department admitted two students to a Master of Arts program.⁶³

Kiang was also actively engaged in the local community. He organized the Hungtao Society (Hongdaohui) in Montreal for the "diffusion of Chinese thought and popularization of Chinese philosophy." He and other members voluntarily gave lectures on Chinese culture and courses on modern Chinese to the local community. Under his leadership, the society grew very quickly, and by 1932 there were 350 members, 200 Canadians and 150 Chinese. With the membership fees, the society set up two scholarships at McGill, one for students in the Department of Chinese Studies and one for Chinese students in other departments. Kiang became the McGill faculty member who gave the most outside lectures.⁶⁴ In addition, he published a total of twenty-five articles and papers in the three years that he was at McGill.⁶⁵

Arthur Currie enthusiastically supported the department, and he approached Oxford University Press about publishing Kiang's manuscript on Chinese civilization, as Kiang planned to use it as a textbook. Currie also traveled to China to recruit students for the department. After three years of hard work and with the department was seemingly firmly established, Kiang decided to take a one-year leave to return to

China. With permission from Currie, he left in the summer of 1933, scheduled to return in the fall of 1934. Unfortunately, this proved to be the wrong time to depart, for during this absence, the university decided to discontinue the department and to cancel his contract, and thus Kiang Kang-hu never returned to McGill.⁶⁶

Two factors contributed to this decision to discontinue the Chinese Department at McGill, the Great Depression and the sudden death of Arthur Currie on 30 November 1933 at the age of fifty-eight. McGill was a private school, and its operations relied heavily on donations and endowment income. During the Great Depression, low interest rates resulted in a drastic decline in endowment income, and many promised donations were rescinded. McGill had been operating in the red since 1926, and the university's deficit soared. From 1926 to 1927, the deficit was \$197,071. For the period 1927 to 1928, it increased to \$208,847 and then to \$263,251 in the next fiscal year. It soared to \$316,552 in the 1929-1930 academic year and jumped to \$338,357 in the following academic year. The deficit dropped slightly to \$337,234 for the fiscal period 1931 to 1932, was further reduced to \$222,845 in 1932-1933, but then rose again to \$269,301 in 1933-1934.⁶⁷ The McGill Board of Governors took deficit control as its first priority and set up a special financial committee to seek suggestions on cutting expenses. In October 1933, the Board of Governors made a decision that McGill should bring its deficit to zero within five years, and if that goal could not be met, the board members would pay the deficit from their own pockets.⁶⁸ Beatty asked the finance committee to suggest ways to reduce the deficit. During these years, McGill sold its securities, increased student fees, froze hiring, cut academic programs, and reduced salaries and wages. The Department of Chinese Studies was a victim of this retrenchment.

Ironically, the Department of Chinese Studies had been set up in 1930 when McGill encountered the largest deficit of this period and was discontinued in 1934 when McGill's financial situation had improved greatly. It is thus arguable that the financial difficulty that McGill experienced was not the true reason for eliminating the Department of Chinese Studies. Currie had been the most enthusiastic supporter of the Chinese studies program, and his death following a stroke withdrew the

last, best protection for the department. Currie did not intend to disband the Chinese studies program even though McGill was in financial difficulty. On 3 November 1933, less than a month before his death, he sent a message to Kiang to urge him to return on time.⁶⁹ But Currie's passing changed everything.⁷⁰

McGill had no official principal for almost two years following Currie's death, during which time Edward W. Beatty, the chancellor of McGill, served as unofficial principal.⁷¹ In the meeting of the Finance Committee on 17 May 1934, Ira MacKay, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science and a member of the finance committee, suggested that the university should not continue to pay the cost of the Department of Chinese Studies from the university's general fund and that the department should find its own funding. On 5 July 1934, the Board of Governors accepted the Finance Committee's recommendation and decided to discontinue the Department of Chinese Studies. It then informed Kiang, who was in China, that his contract with McGill had been terminated.⁷² The Department of Chinese Studies, and with it Arthur Currie's dream of building a strong Asian-studies program at McGill to open a door to Asian civilizations, was gone.⁷³

MOVE TO PRINCETON, 1935-1936

At the same meeting in May 1934, the Board of Governors also decided that McGill would stop supporting the Gest Library and as well discontinue Nancy Swann's service at the university.⁷⁴ McGill chose to close the library, too. However, closing the library did not necessarily imply moving the library out of the university. In fact, McGill tried to keep the Gest Library at the university, but all of these attempts failed. Eventually in 1936, Guion Gest sold his collection to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.

Documents on this part of the history of the Gest Library suggest that the financial difficulty of McGill at that time was what caused the university to give up the Gest Library. But on close examination, several other factors may have that contributed to its sale. First, Currie's death, undeniably, was a crucial factor. At least Guion Gest regarded it as such

in that he wrote Nancy Swann in March, 1935, "It is unfortunate, indeed, that Sir Arthur Currie died and the feeling of cooperation that existed during his life has been broken."⁷⁵ Second, Guion Gest had deposited his collection at McGill, and McGill expected that he would eventually donate it to the university. As evidence, Currie wrote in 1933, "I have always understood that this library was on loan to the University, but Mr. Gest has always said, too, that he hoped this would be its permanent home."⁷⁶ Based on this assumption, McGill invested in the library in many ways and even built an academic program associated with it. Gest, however, never intended to donate it to McGill, as evidenced by a letter he wrote in 1930, "This Library, at least during my life time, will not be given to anyone, . . . You must remember that the creating of a library of this kind has taken considerable time and money, . . ."⁷⁷ The misunderstanding that arose between Gest and McGill over the Gest Library turned a happy initial relationship between McGill and Gest into a sad ending for both. It seems that Gest had never conveyed his intentions clearly enough to McGill; and at the same time, McGill did not ask Gest for clarification until 1935.

Third, although Currie supported the Gest Library in many ways, his view on how that library should be used was quite different from Gest's. Currie saw the library as an open door to knowledge of Chinese civilization to be run primarily for educational purposes, while Gest was more interested in pursuing projects that could demonstrate the practical value of his collection. Currie was thus reluctant to promote Gest's ideas, and Gest complained that his collection was not being fully utilized at McGill. In a letter dated 14 February 1933 to Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Foundation, Currie expressed this difference:

Mr. Gest felt that within his Library, investigators would find something of great practical value, particularly in the realms of Medicine and Engineering. And so he has always pressed me to engage a Chinese pharmacologist, to prosecute research in Chinese Medicine. He also thought that electrical and other engineers would be sure to find among his books something of great practical value at the present day. This, you will understand, would soon develop into a very expensive

project. I have always felt that the best use to make of the Library, in its earlier days, was to develop an interest in and a knowledge of Chinese civilization. I felt that in using the Library in this way, we were opening a door to a knowledge of a civilization of which we know altogether too little. . . . My attitude leaned to the academic side; and Mr. Gest's more to the practical side.⁷⁸

Another conflict arose around a project for translating the twenty-four Chinese dynastic histories into English, a project that Arthur Hummel, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies' Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, and Nancy Lee Swann proposed in January 1932. The committee secretary Mortimer Graves told Guion Gest that the committee would provide \$16,500 over a period of five years, and asked McGill to raise an additional \$30,000 for the project.⁷⁹ Gest asked Currie to support the project. After consulting with several experts, Currie turned it down. Kiang Kang-hu advised Currie that there were no scholars in North America who were qualified to undertake such a project and that because the twenty-four dynastic histories could be found in several places in North America, such a translation project was not necessarily one that McGill needed to initiate.⁸⁰ Currie wrote to Gest,

I have given this matter a great deal of thought. . . . I have taken counsel with several whom I would regard as qualified to judge and it has been impressed upon me that this is a most unreasonable under-estimation of the amount of work involved. You know so much more about these matters than I do that I hesitate to venture an opinion, but I think before beginning we ought to have the proper appreciation of what is involved. The Chinese Dynastic Histories, now twenty-six in number, record the events of the past six thousand years and in their extent amount to over four thousand chuan or volumes. They are, with only a few exceptions, work compiled by groups of official historians and mandarin scholars of their respective epochs. In addition to government documents and other biographies, there are special writings on subjects

relating to all natural and social sciences. I am told that the translation of them into the English language would require at least one hundred Chinese scholars in various fields probably better qualified than any in America in addition to one hundred Western sinologists better qualified than most now in America, besides two to three hundred Chinese and Western clerical assistants of superior qualifications, all of whom would be required to engage in full time work for the five years proposed. The opinion has been expressed that to translate these histories by the staff now suggested would require them to continue their work for the next four or five centuries.

It is said that in this whole world there are not at present enough Chinese scholars to write the English translation or enough Western scholars to read the Chinese texts. Certainly no Chinese or Western scholars now living is able to undertake the work covering so many different branches of knowledge. As you should well know there are many Western sinologists who speak the Chinese language quite fluently but who can scarcely translate a Chinese text. I have also been told that one of the greatest French sinologists living in the last forty years undertook, in his lifetime, to translate but one of the shortest of these volumes and died before the work was half completed. Frankly, Mr. Gest, this is a most tremendous undertaking more than equivalent, far more than equivalent to preparing a new *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

It seems to me that we should begin in a more fundamental way and that is to try to increase as soon as possible and as rapidly as possible the number of Western Sinologists, some who really know the Chinese writing. I believe that what we might call a summer school takes place this year at Harvard. I would use my utmost endeavor to have a similar school take place here in the summer of 1933-34.⁸¹

Fourth, there were the questions of the significance of the collection and its estimated monetary value. Once he realized that Gest might not donate his collection to McGill, Currie wanted to buy it from Gest.

However, when he consulted Sinologists about the relevance, significance, and value of the Gest Library, their opinions confused him.

As mentioned above, the significance of the Gest collection lay in its rarity. Writing in 1954, Hu Shih concluded that 41,195 volumes in the Gest collection were rare books, some of them so rare that they could only be found in this collection, and he argued that this collection had value to a research university.⁸² Some twenty years earlier, this question with respect to Guion Gest's collection had already arisen: Is a collection good enough for a museum also good for a university library? In May of 1934, when Gerhard Lomer, the McGill University librarian, learned that the Board of Governors planned to withdraw its financial support for the Gest Library, he wrote this to the board: "Whatever the Governors' reason may be, my considered professional opinion is that it would be a great mistake to have the Library placed in another institution, and that we are sure, at a later date, to regret any precipitate action."⁸³ About a year earlier, Kiang Kang-hu contrariwise had told Arthur Currie that the Buddhist texts, which made up thirty-five per cent of the value of the collection, were of little use other than as museum exhibits.⁸⁴ Then, in December of 1935 on a visit to Montreal, Ferdinand D. Lessing, newly appointed professor of Chinese in the Department of Oriental Languages at the University of California, expressed an opinion that concurred with Kiang's, "[T]he collection [is] really a bibliophile's collection, of very little use to a university that wanted a good working Chinese library. They [are] museum pieces, but not suitable to turn students loose into."⁸⁵ These issues are part of a classic debate about rare book collections in university libraries. Decisions about collecting such items are usually based on price and the university's financial status, rather than on the immediate utility of the works, and Currie knew that McGill had no money for museum pieces at that time.

How much the Gest collection was worth was what Currie very much wanted to determine. According to a short note prepared by I. V. Gillis, the total expenditure on the library from 1926 to 1931 was \$208,483.64.⁸⁶ However, one should be cautious with this sum, as Gillis did not give any detailed information on what went into determining the total or what the purpose of this note was. Arthur W. Hummel, who in the spring of 1933 had gone to McGill to look over the Gest holdings,

told Kiang Kang-hu that Gest had approached Library of Congress about buying his library. The memorandum of that visit reflects the intensity of the discussion.

Kiang asked him confidentially how much he [Gest] wanted for it. Hummel hesitated to reply but finally did and told him, confidentially, three hundred thousand dollars. Hummel said they [Library of Congress] would never consider anything like this, they are cut etc., etc. and at present could not do it. But they might take parts of it and give him some lesser sum. . . . In Kiang's opinion, the library is worth nothing near that sum. Kiang says he [Gest] got the books very, very cheaply and that was a ridiculous valuation.⁸⁷

As mentioned above, in December 1935, Ferdinand Lessing went to McGill, at Guion Gest's urging, to look over the collection. Professor Charles Edmund Fryer of the Department of History at McGill University, who had arranged the invitation for Lessing's visit, asked him how much the University of California could put up for purchase if they were to consider buying the Gest collection and separating out of it what they wanted. Lessing said that twenty-five thousand dollars was a possible minimum and fifty thousand the maximum.⁸⁸ Such vastly different opinions left Arthur Currie uncertain if McGill should buy the collection and how much McGill should pay for it if the university did decide to acquire it. Most unfortunately, Currie died before resolving this issue. In 1936, the Institute for Advanced Study paid one hundred thirty thousand dollars for this collection, calculated at the rate of one dollar per volume, though at that time the size of the collection had been somewhat overestimated.⁸⁹

Even if Currie had proposed buying the collection, the Board of Governors might not have approved this purchase because McGill simply did not have the money for such an acquisition. From 1930 to 1944, the collections at McGill libraries remained steady at four hundred fifty thousand volumes. That is, McGill essentially bought no books during these fifteen years. Under such circumstances, it would have been very difficult to have persuaded the Board to pay one hundred thirty thousand dollars for the Gest collection without allocating comparable resources to

other faculties and projects. Furthermore, in 1932, Currie had asked each faculty and staff member to accept a salary cut of between three and ten percent. The total saving from this measure had been only eighty-seven thousand dollars, or sixty-seven per cent of the price eventually paid for the Gest collection.⁹⁰

Another factor disturbing Currie had been that the institutions who wanted to buy this collection were all American, from the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. No Canadian institutions joined this competition. He apparently had come to believe that the Americans wanted to have this collection placed in the United States. Currie recalled that in 1927 on a visit to Honolulu, “. . . I was told by a prominent professor of an American university that we could not hope to retain at McGill Mr. Gest’s Library, that the pressure upon him [Gest] to house it in the United States would be too strong for any resistance on our part.”⁹¹ Currie had found this attitude distasteful and had endeavored to fend off any attempt by institutions in the United States to buy Gest’s collection. For instance, when he learned that Guion Gest had informed McGill that he intended to transfer the Buddhist Tripitaka to Columbia University, Currie wrote to the president of Columbia University, saying, “It looks as if the several warnings I have received that the pressure by American universities to obtain possession of the Library stored at McGill would become so great that we could not retain it, are now justified.”⁹² In both McGill University and Princeton University Archives, files indicate that several other American universities, such as Michigan, Chicago, California, and Columbia, as well as Harvard, had also conveyed interest in acquiring the collection.

Perhaps the idea of moving the library to an American university had come from Guion Gest himself. In a letter to Gest on 11 September, 1929, Robert P. Blake, the director of library of Harvard University, wrote,

I was much interested to learn from Professor Lucius Porter and from Dr. Laufer that you had acquired a marvelous collection of Sung, Yuan, and Ming printed books and manuscripts dealing with Buddhistic matters, which you would like

to place in some American university where it would be useful to students and scholars interested in the subject. . . . I understand from Dr. Laufer that you desire to have a special room for the collection, and this we should be able to offer you in Boylston Hall, directly connected with the Chinese collection.⁹³

Finally, not everyone at McGill liked to deal with the Guion Gest or his library. One of these was Carleton W. Stanley, a professor and assistant to the principal of McGill. In preparing for the 1931 tea in the library, Gest asked McGill to arrange a broadcast of the event from the library through the Northern Electric Company and their hook-up with international news to Shanghai and Tokyo. He also asked Edward Beatty, as chancellor of McGill, to give a speech, because Arthur Currie was traveling in India and China at that time. After Gest expressed this idea to Stanley in person, Stanley wrote this in his letter to Beatty, "I have just spent an hour with Mr. Gest, who, you probably know, is the donor of the Gest Chinese Research Library. In his mind, the Library really seems to be something like a sword hanging over our heads, with which he threatens us when he wishes to stir us up to give him more publicity."⁹⁴ In response to this letter, Beatty wrote, that it would be difficult to arrange for the company to do the broadcast. And he added, ". . . I . . . will not be available to speak over the broadcast. . . . Perhaps, Mr. Gest would like to do it himself."⁹⁵ Clearly such an unfavorable atmosphere had already been building up among many others involved.

With these concerns in mind, it seems apparent that potential problems leading to the sad removal of Gest's collection from Canada had slowly accumulated over the years and that McGill's financial difficulty likely served only as the fuse for the final explosion.

The Great Depression had affected Guion Gest's financial well-being, and he needed money to save his business. Gest came to McGill to ask for a loan on the pledge of his library. The Board of Governors did not approve this idea at the beginning because McGill was not a financial institution and had in fact been selling off its own property in order to continue operations. Currie successfully persuaded the board to give Gest two loans for a total of \$25,000. One for \$10,000 was a mortgage on two pieces of Gest's property in Montreal, and the other

\$15,000 was for "purchase" of his library. The agreement stated, "The University has agreed to purchase from Guion M. Gest the Gest Chinese Library for the sum of Fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000). A condition of this sale is that Mr. Gest shall have the right to re-purchase the library at the same figure, plus interest at 6% compounded half yearly, at any time up to the thirtieth of April 1934."⁹⁶ Thus, McGill University records confirmed the principle that Gest could repurchase the library, but only when he had repaid the two loans.⁹⁷ A few months later, Gest asked for an additional loan of \$20,000, and McGill rejected his request on the grounds that "the University had no money to invest at the present time and as we considered it inadvisable to sell securities at the present market in order to provide money . . ."⁹⁸ This conditioned loan agreement actually undermined the relationship between McGill and Guion Gest. Because Gest definitely would not sell his library at the price of the loans, he began actively looking for buyers. This put university officials at McGill into the difficult position of being forced to explain the situation and defend its position whenever a potential buyer approached McGill.

From the beginning of 1933, rumors emerged that Gest was under pressure to move the library to the United States and that McGill was glad to get rid of the library.⁹⁹ Currie wrote a long letter to the president of the Carnegie Foundation, a major benefactor of McGill, to explain McGill's position.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, when Gest asked to transfer the Buddhist sutras to Columbia University, Currie wrote to the president of Columbia to stop this attempt.¹⁰¹ In order to deal with this issue, Currie developed a strategy: one, to raise funds to buy the library, and two, to prevent other institutions from buying this library from McGill.¹⁰² But by the end of 1933, Currie's fund raising had failed, and Gest also failed to find a buyer. McGill extended the deadline for repaying the loans two years to ease the tension between McGill and Gest.¹⁰³

This uneasy balance was broken when McGill decided to withdraw all financial support for both the Department of Chinese Studies and the Gest Library on 17 May 1934.¹⁰⁴ Nancy Lee Swann was informed on 21 May that her and her assistants' services at McGill would be terminated at the end of August,¹⁰⁵ Gest was informed on 10 July that the library would be closed at the end of July,¹⁰⁶ and Kiang was informed on 12 October that his contract would be discontinued.¹⁰⁷ These decisions

were announced so suddenly that none of the parties affected were prepared for the drastic turn of events. Gerhard Lomer warned the Board of Governors in writing that it would be "a great mistake" to remove this library from McGill, but his entreaties went unheard.¹⁰⁸ Lomer knew that McGill authorities had been pained for years in dealing with the uncertain status of this collection and wanted to resolve this matter. When Gest complained about the closing of his library, Lomer told him that McGill had closed it because the benefits of the collection were "too indefinite to be regarded as an asset involving annual expenditure."¹⁰⁹ Gest insisted on the reopening of the library and promised to pay all expenses including Nancy Lee Swann's salary.¹¹⁰ Although his arrangement actually left Nancy Lee Swann without pay for months, the library stayed open until 1935.

At that time, the Gest Library occupied one of the best floors of the Redpath Library building at McGill University, and yet McGill no longer had a Chinese program. The longer the library continued operation, the more frequently its occupancy of that space was questioned. In 1935, the McGill Library Committee suggested moving the Gest Library to some other location. In August of 1935, G. R. Lomer informed Gest that "unless the library is offered to McGill as gift, it will be removed [on] September 16."¹¹¹ On 12 November 1935, nine years and nine months after its opening at McGill, the Gest Library was officially closed. The only matter left unsolved was how to deal with the uncertain status of this collection.

In September of 1935, Arthur Eustace Morgan was appointed as the ninth principal of McGill. (See figure 13.) Morgan was from England and had been the first principal of University College, Hull from 1926 to 1935 before his move to McGill. Dorothy McMurray, who was the principal's secretary at the time and eventually served four principals of McGill from 1920 to 1963, commented that Morgan was somewhat left wing.¹¹² It was said of Morgan that "During his administration there was controversy over the attitude the University authorities should adopt towards the small but vocal group of socialist professors and students."¹¹³ Although he was invited by Edward Beatty, the chancellor of McGill, Morgan did not get along with Beatty. He served at McGill less than two years and resigned in May 1937.¹¹⁴



13. Arthur Eustace Morgan, Principal, McGill University, 1935–1937. PR010532, Photographic Collection, McGill University Archives. Photograph courtesy of McGill University Archives.

In dealing with Guion Gest, Morgan's approach was quite different from Currie's. Currie valued Gest's contribution to McGill and thus always was prepared to compromise with Gest, while Morgan simply argued that McGill owned the library and thus put his efforts toward preventing other institutions from assisting Gest repurchase the collection. For instance, when Gest suggested that McGill and he should join forces to apply for funding from the Carnegie Foundation, Morgan rejected this proposal, saying that the library "is a property of McGill."¹¹⁵ This strategy put McGill's reputation at risk because it created an impression that McGill was using the repayment deadline against Gest rather than seeking a solution to satisfy both sides. When Gest approached Abraham Flexner (1866–1959), director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton from 1930 to 1939, about purchasing his collection, McGill faced a dilemma.

Abraham Flexner was one of the most influential managers in American philanthropic history.¹¹⁶ (See figure 14.) He had served the Rockefeller Foundation for fifteen years (1913–1928) and spent one hundred twenty million dollars of the foundation funds on American medical education.¹¹⁷ He successfully pursued the Fuld and Bamberger families to create a new experimental organization of higher learning, and with their financial backing, he designed and founded the Institute for Advanced Study and served as the first director of the institute from 1930 to 1939.¹¹⁸

Flexner wanted to buy the Gest collections for two reasons. First, the Institute for Advanced Study was new and had a School of Humanistic Studies, which focused primarily on the Western classics. But Flexner hoped that the study of oriental history and cultures would later be added in, as he foresaw the probable importance of the Far East after World War I. Second, he “was certain that if the [Gest] Library were not purchased promptly as a unit, it would be broken up into items and disposed of.” He was deeply concerned lest this happen.¹¹⁹ On February 12, 1936, Flexner wrote to Morgan:

I have been approached in the matter of the Gest Chinese Library and have had a conversation with Mr. Gest on the subject. Before taking any definite steps in the matter I wish to be perfectly clear as to the relationship between McGill University, Mr. Gest, and the Library. I shall under no circumstance compete with McGill for the Library if McGill is in position to purchase and utilize it. On the other hand, if it is, as Mr. Gest leads me to suppose, clear that McGill University does not intend to purchase, I should like very much to know what the situation is from your point of view, for I am most anxious to do nothing that would cause you the slightest embarrassment. It seems to me immaterial where the Library finally reposes so long as it is in the possession of a university which is interested in utilizing it in scholarly fashion.¹²⁰

Flexner also told Morgan: “Mr. Gest has offered the library to the institute for the sum of \$135,000, which will permit him to wipe out his obligations in Montreal and leave him a fair margin of cash. This, he tells me, is the least that he can take for it . . . if McGill University can raise



14. Photograph of Abraham Flexner, first director of the Institute for Advanced Study, taken in 1926 and signed by Flexner on 28 October 1949. Photograph courtesy of the Institute for Advanced Study Archives.

the money to purchase the Gest library, the Institute for Advanced Study will take no steps in competition with it.”¹²¹ McGill was forced to make a decision: buy the library or let it go.

In responding to Flexner, Morgan pointed out that the Gest Library belonged to McGill and that it was not a question of McGill purchasing the library, but rather one of the possibility of Gest repurchasing from McGill. He also made it clear that McGill had spent about sixty thousand dollars on the library and the Chinese studies program. He also is quoted as saying that if Gest redeems the library, “I should personally feel that the University had been treated shabbily.”¹²² In a letter written about two weeks later, Morgan expanded the domain of the potential disappointment with this assertion, “If, however, another learning institution were to use its funds to enable him [Gest] to make a profit and at the same time to remove an asset of learning from this University we should feel hurt.”¹²³

To resolve this tension, Flexner and Morgan met on 7 April 1936. Morgan wrote a memorandum of this meeting:

I discussed with Dr. Flexner the question of the Gest Library. He assured me that he was in no sense committed and had not given any indication to Mr. Gest that he would buy the Library. I explained the situation once again, and Dr. Flexner said that in the circumstances he did not propose taking any action, as he did not feel that it would be right to do what might seem inimical to the interests of another institution.¹²⁴

Prior to this, on March 3, 1936, David H. Stevens of the Rockefeller Foundation had called Morgan to say that Flexner had approached the foundation about acquiring the Gest Library from McGill. He said he was under an impression that McGill was unable to utilize the library and contemplated disposing of it possibly by selling the collection in batches in the book market. Morgan wrote a memorandum of his conversation with Stevens, which states, "The Principal assured him that this had never been contemplated and the Library, although not open to the sight-seeing public, was available to conscientious scholars. Mr. Stevens was clearly of the view that it would be an improper activity on the part of the Foundation to assist one learned body to obtain this from McGill University unless the University was anxious to dispose of it."¹²⁵

While Gest himself was anxiously waiting the result of the meeting, Morgan told Gest that Flexner "had no intention of purchasing the Gest Library from one University in order to give it to another." Gest asked, "What conditions of sale would satisfy the University." Morgan replied, "The re-purchase of the Library by Mr. Gest under any conditions would be very upsetting to the University, [and] while the University would have to surrender the Library under the terms stated in the Deed, it would feel very disappointed if it were compelled to do so." Gest then asked if McGill could consider an extension of time with respect to the repurchasing of the Library, Morgan replied, "The university as trustees of the Library could not consider such a proposal."¹²⁶ That was 16 April 1936, very close to the deadline set for the repurchase. On April 21, Gest wrote to Morgan again.

Owing to the short time remaining and the importance of

this matter as well as the very large sum of money of my own involved, it would be hard to believe that there would be a denial of my request. You, as well as the Board, undoubtedly appreciate the tremendous loss it would be to me if this postponement was not favorably acted upon. You must realize I could not afford to take any such loss.¹²⁷

After consulting Edward Beatty, the chancellor of McGill, Morgan turned down Gest's request.

Surprisingly, on 29 April, Gest brought the sum of money to McGill, repaid his loans, and repurchased the library. McGill gave him three months and necessary assistance in removing the collection from McGill. In another surprise, in July of that year the Institute for Advanced Study announced that it had purchased the Gest Library and that the library would directly remove from McGill to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Nancy Lee Swann, would join the institute and remain curator of the Gest Library. The Rockefeller Foundation assisted Abraham Flexner in purchasing the library with the foundation paying half of the cost, an agreement reached in June 1936 after Guion Gest had regained his library.¹²⁸ On 31 July 1936, the Gest Library was completely removed from McGill, ending the tenure of that collection at McGill.¹²⁹

The loss of the Gest Library had a significant negative impact on McGill. McGill had no Chinese studies for more than thirty years until the department was reestablished in 1968. Its Chinese collection remains very insignificant, numbering only about twenty thousand volumes in 1999. Now, when East Asian studies has a demonstrated importance in the fields of international studies, Chinese studies at McGill seem to have suffered because of a lack of strong library support.

REFLECTIONS

The trials and tribulations of the Gest Library at McGill University from 1926 to 1936 involved many important institutions in Canada and the United States such as McGill, the Institute for Advanced Study, the University of Chicago, the University of California, Columbia University, Harvard University, as well as the Committee on the Promotion of

Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Studies, the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, and many notable figures, including Guion M. Gest, I. V. Gillis, Nancy L. Swann, Arthur Currie, Edward Beatty, Kiang Kang-hu, Arthur E. Morgan, Abraham Flexner, Frederick Keppel, Hu Shih, Arthur Hummel and Wang Zhongmin, making its short history there significant in the early development of East Asian libraries in North America.

Throughout this history of the Gest Library at McGill University, we have observed the close relations between a library and an academic program. When Guion Gest deposited his library at McGill, McGill's Chinese study program came into existence; when the Chinese study program was discontinued, the Gest Chinese Research Library also lost its significance for the academic goals of McGill. Lack of clear title to property in an institution, no matter how attractive the property might be, can later engender problems of a catastrophic nature. Such vagueness as to who owns what can cause frustration regarding continuing investment in the property and related academic programs, as this case has amply demonstrated.

A careful judgment of a particular collection's relevance and usefulness to an institution is very important and necessary, particularly when it may involve a significant investment. Both Arthur Currie and Abraham Flexner were persons with vision. They noticed the changing landscape after World War I and the increasing importance of Asian countries in world affairs. They actively promoted East Asian studies in their respective organizations and encouraged the acquisition of the Gest Library. In its early days at the Institute for Advanced Study, prior to its being moved from storage-like quarters in the basement of a building at 20 Nassau Street to library space at Princeton University, the Gest Library had an experience very similar to its experience at McGill. Nancy L. Swann wrote in 1942 that the Gest Library was "practically unused for the more than four years that it has been housed in Princeton."¹³⁰ As the operation of the library involved an expense of seven thousand dollars a year, some board members of the Institute for Advanced Study in 1942 suggested selling the library. Fortunately, Princeton University insisted on its rights and rejected the plan, as there was an agreement in funding the purchase of the Gest Library that the Gest Library would be

used jointly by both the Institute for Advanced Study and Princeton University. This saved the library from once again being sold.¹³¹ With the great surge of interest and funding devoted to Asian studies in North American universities after World War II, the Gest Library, acquired through the foresight of Abraham Flexner and the Institute for Advanced Study, became the nucleus of the monumental East Asian collection now housed and administered at Princeton University and today known as The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection.

NOTES

We would like to thank Mr. Glenn Brown and Mr. Gordon Burr, the archivists at McGill University Archives for their assistance in using the archives for the research. We greatly appreciate Dr. Martin Heijdra's continuous support for this project since 2000 and also his assistance in using the Princeton University Archives. We also would like to thank Dr. Jerome Cavanaugh for reading and editing the manuscript. We are most grateful to Dr. Nancy Norton Tomasko for her questions, advice, and especially for painstakingly editing this article. The authors alone take full responsibility for any negligence or errors. This study is supported by a McGill Social Science and Humanities Research Grant and a Short-term Visiting Fellowship from the Friends of the Princeton University Library.

1. When Gest Library was purchased from Guion Gest, it was agreed that the collection as the property of the Institute for Advanced Study would be housed at Princeton University and maintained by the university for use by both institutions. Beatrice M. Stern, "A History of The Institute for Advanced Study: 1930-1950," vol. 1 (unpublished manuscript, 1950), p. 298. Based on our confirmation with the Institute for Advanced Study, this arrangement remains unchanged.
2. Hu Shih (1890-1962), "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 15.3 (Spring 1954), pp. 113-141; Diane E. Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 48.3 (Spring 1987), pp. 239-252.
3. This article is based mainly on archival materials found in MUA and in Gest Library Papers now housed in Mudd Library, Princeton University. Before the Gest Library moved to the Institute for Advanced Study, McGill asked Nancy L. Swann to transfer all original files to McGill authority. She made carbon copies for her own files, but as she described in her letter to Gerhard R. Lomer, McGill University librarian, her own set "is not quite as attractive as that turned over to the Bursar's Office [treasurer of McGill University at the time]." See Swann to Lomer, 10 September 1936, Gest Library Papers, box 240, McGill University, Mudd Library, Princeton University. From what we observed in materials in the McGill University Archives and in the Gest

Library Papers at Princeton University, Nancy Swann's statement is basically correct. Most of the archival materials about the period 1926 to 1936 are at McGill, but Princeton does have some original files that do not exist at McGill. The carbon copies in Mudd Library at Princeton are limited in comparison with the originals at McGill.

As to the reference index system, McGill University Archives has an archive file index system. For instance, the notation Gillis to Gest, 4 January 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives indicates that Irvin Van Gorder Gillis' letter to Guion M. Gest dated 4 January 1931 is in file folder C69 in file box RG2 in the McGill University Archives. The Gest Library Papers has similar index system. For instance, the notation Swann to Lomer, 10 September 1936, Gest Library Papers, box 240, McGill University, Mudd Library, Princeton University indicates that a letter by Nancy Swann to Gerhard Lomer dated 10 September 1936 is in a folder titled "McGill University" in box 240 of the Gest Library Papers housed in Seeley Mudd Library, Princeton University.

4. Files before 1941 state that the Gest Library had about one hundred thirty thousand volumes. However, in preparing the library report of 1941, Nancy Swann reported that "a clerical error" occurred "some half-a-dozen years prior to the acquisition," which overstated the number at one hundred thirty thousand volumes. She had no accurate the number at the time, but she said, "It can be stated, however, that the Gest Library contains more than one hundred thousand volumes, . . ." See, Nancy Swann, "Rough Draft of a Paragraph 1941-1942," Gest Library Papers, box 239, Reports, Mudd Library, Princeton University. Accordingly, this article will use this number.
5. In 1936, after the library moved to Princeton, the Gest Chinese Research Library was renamed the Gest Oriental Research Library. There are only a few documents that describe the uniqueness of the Gest Collection. The primary one is the *Geside dongfang cangshuku shumu* (Title Index to the Catalogue of The Gest Oriental Library), 4 vols., compiled by Gillis and Pai Ping-ch'i (Bai Bingqi) in Peking: n. p., 1941. This catalog listed the title of each work in the collection. In 1954, Hu Shih wrote "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," an article about the library, cited in note two above. Hu was the curator of the Gest Library from 1950 to 1952. He was also a well-known Chinese philosopher and historian, professor of Peking University from 1918 to 1932, Chinese ambassador to the United States from 1942 to 1946, president of Peking University from 1946 to 1948, and director of Academia Sinica in Taiwan from 1958 to 1962. In 1929 Berthold Laufer (1874-1934), professor at the University of Chicago and curator of the Field Museum of Natural History, wrote an eight-page pamphlet about the Gest Library, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, (Montreal: McGill University, 1929). A copy of this pamphlet may be found in Gest Library Papers, box 237, Mudd Library, Princeton University. Nancy Lee Swann (1881-1966) served first as acting curator and then as curator of the Gest Library from 1928 to 1948. In 1932, at the request of Arthur Currie, the

president of McGill University, she wrote a report about the library, *The Gest Chinese Research Library*. This report was prepared for The League of Nations. In 1987, Diane Perushek, then curator of the Gest Library wrote an article, cited above in note 2, "The Gest Chinese Research Library." The data used in this section are mainly from these documents.

6. Nanjing (Nanking) was the capital city during the early Ming from 1368 to 1420. In 1420, the Yongle emperor moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing (Peking). Beijing was the capital of China continuously until 1928, when the Nationalist government changed the location of its capital to Nanjing and Beijing was renamed Beiping. After 1949, the communist government moved the seat of its government back to Beiping again and changed its name to Beijing.
7. Note on Ch'en Pao-ch'en (Chen Baochen), Gest Library Papers, box 231, Ch'en Pao-ch'en, Mudd Library, Princeton University. The information in the note was from *China Year Book* (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1931), p. 607. According to the note, Chen had been the "tutor to the ex-Emperor Hsuan T'ong [Xuantong] since July 1911."
8. Gest to Lomer, 20 September 1926, Gest Library Papers, box 238, Lomer, Mudd Library, Princeton University.
9. According to Sören Edgren's article, "I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection," *Gest Library Journal* 6.2 (Winter, 1993), pp. 21-22, the primary sources of the biography of I. V. Gillis are two articles. One is an eight-page typescript, "Captain I. V. Gillis, Founder of the Gest Oriental Library," a chapter from the unpublished memoirs of Mr. Thomas Sze. Sze was a fellow member with Gillis in the International [Masonic] Lodge in Peking. The other is "Gest—McGill—Gillis: Three Notable Forces Create Most Comprehensive Chinese Research Library Outside China — How They Did It," a four-page article from the English-language journal *Peking: News and Views of China* (August 1931). Both articles are in the Gest Collection. The biographical information for Gillis used in this article is mainly from the articles by Hu, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University;" Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library;" and Edgren, "I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection."
10. Hu Songping, *Hu Shizhi xiansheng nianpu changbian chugao* (First Extensive Chronological Biography of Hu Shizhi [a.k.a. Hu Shih]), vol. 6 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1984), pp. 2001-2002, 2135.
11. Hu Shi, "Ji Meiguo Pulinsidun daxue de Geside dongfang shuku cang de Qisha zangjing yuanben" (Notes on the Original Edition of the Qisha Tripitika in the Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University), *Dalu zazhi* 19.10 (30 November 1959), pp. 269-271.
12. Hu Shih's four articles are: "My Early Association with the Gest Oriental Library," *The Green Pyne Leaf* 6.6 (1951), pp. 1-3; "The Gest Oriental Library: the Eye Trouble of an Engineering Contractor Leads to a Rare Collection of 100,000 Volumes," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* (March 7, 1952), pp. 9-10; "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," (see note 2 above); and

- “Notes on the Original Edition of the Qisha Tripitika in the Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” (see note 11 above.)
13. Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” p. 114.
 14. Gillis to Gest, 19 August 1932, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives.
 15. Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” p. 116.
 16. See Edgren, “I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection,” p. 7.
 17. Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” p. 115.
 18. Gillis to Gest, 19 August 1932, RG2 C69, McGill University Archives.
 19. Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 5. Also see note four above.
 20. Arthur Currie, the principal of McGill University, asked Kiang Kang-hu, a McGill professor, to persuade the Chinese government to release these books. Although Kiang personally knew Chen Lifu, the Chinese minister of education when they both studied in Japan, Chen declined Kiang’s request. See Kiang to Currie, 25 August 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 21. In the Qianlong era, a second manuscript set of the *Yongle Encyclopedia* was made. Of the 11,095 volumes in that set, approximately five hundred volumes are extant today. The whereabouts of the original manuscript set of the *Yongle Encyclopedia* is unknown.
 22. In moveable-type printing technology, characters are first cut in wood as individual type and then assembled into blocks in order to print a text. Once this printing is completed, all the type are redistributed and then reassembled to print another text.
 23. Gillis offered a set to the Library of Congress for \$2,000, but the Library of Congress did not buy it. This set was eventually scattered when the Japanese interned Gillis. In addition to the complete set acquired for the Gest Library, Gillis also acquired a second, incomplete set comprising 317 titles, one fewer than in the complete sets. See Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” p. 118.
 24. Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” pp. 116–119.
 25. For details of this story, see Hu Shih, “Notes on the Original Edition of the Qisha Tripitika,” pp. 269–271.
 26. Hu and Gillis reported different tallies for the numbers of volumes of this set. According to Gillis’ report, the set consisted in a total of 5323 volumes, 698 from the Song, 1635 from the Yuan, 876 from the Ming, and 2114 dated after 1600. See Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 8. The number cited in this article is from Hu Shih.
 27. Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 8. Here Laufer is quoting Hu Shih. Note that Gillis’ own notebook records on the condition of each volume of the *Qisha zangjing* has the title “Dabeisi jing” written on its front cover. See this unpublished record book in the Gest Collection in the East Asian Library, Princeton University.
 28. Hu Shih, “The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University,” p. 129.
 29. Gillis to Gest, 4 January 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.

30. Currie to Gest, 14 March 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
31. Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," p. 116.
32. Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," pp. 120-121.
33. I. V. Gillis, Preface to Gillis and Pai, comp., *Title Index to the Catalogue of the Gest Oriental Library*, p. 2.
34. Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," p. 240.
35. The biographical information on Nancy Swann in this paragraph largely draws on William B. Pettus' untitled and undated biographical and evaluative statement about Swann, typed on letterhead of the North China Union Language School. See Gest Library Papers, box 239, Swann, Mudd Library, Princeton University. William B. Pettus was the director of the North China Union Language School, later known as the California College in China. Also see, Susan Mann, preface to *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China* by Nancy Lee Swann (2001), p. xxi.
36. Nancy Lee Swann, *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China, First Century AD* (New York and London: The Century Company, [1932]). Since that first publication, there have been two reprints issued: the first, (New York: Russell and Russell [1968]) and the second, Michigan Classics in Chinese Studies 5 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2001).
37. Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," p. 240.
38. Charles S. Gardner to Currie, 6 May 1931, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives. At the time, the curator of the library was Robert de Résillac-Roese.
39. On 4 January 1926, the McGill Board of Governors approved the proposal and left this record:

Mr. G. M. Gest, a contractor and engineer, recently purchased this library for \$20,000. Mr. Gest through long residence in the East had made some influential friends in China among them being the Tutor to the present Chinese Emperor. It was through this connection that he learned of this very valuable Library. Some difficulty is being experienced in securing its removal from China. The first installment, however, consisting of eighteen cases of books, has now arrived in Montreal. The University is very much indebted to the Canadian Pacific Railway for all the trouble they are taking in connection with the transportation of this Library. Mr. Gest has loaned this Library to the University for ten years and has engaged Dr. Robert de Résillac-Roese, a Sinologist, as Assistant Curator and Cataloguer of this collection. Suitable accommodation has been found in the University Library for this reception.

McGill Governors' Minute Book, 1920-1935, p. 360.

40. Currie to Frederick P. Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives. Keppel (1875-1943) was president of the Carnegie Foundation from 1923 to 1941.
41. Guion M. Gest to Joseph H. Gest, 1 March 1926, Gest Library Papers, box

- 237, Opening of the Chinese Library, Mudd Library, Princeton University. G. M. Gest, in writing to his older brother Joseph Henry Gest, an artist and director of the Cincinnati Museum Association, addresses him as Harry. In turn, Joseph Gest addresses his brother as Guy. At this writing, it is not clear to which institution Gest referred when he wrote "The University at Williamstown, Mass."
42. Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 5.
 43. Gillis and Pai, *Title Index to the Catalogue of The Gest Oriental Library*, p. 5.
 44. Nancy Swann, "Chinese Libraries as Centers for Research," (Undated), attached to Swann, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," 24 April 1934, RG2. C19, McGill University Archives.
 45. Arthur Currie, foreword to Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 3.
 46. Robert de Résillac-Roese, "Report on the Accession and Activities of the Gest Chinese Research Library from 1 May 1928 to 1 May 1929," 20 May 1929, p. 4, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives.
 47. "The Gest Chinese Research Library, Annual Report, 1930-1931," p. 2, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives.
 48. Lomer and Swann, "The Gest Chinese Research Library, [1933-1934]," pp. 3-4, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives.
 49. Robert H. Michel, "The General Portrayed: Sir Arthur Currie and His Painters," *Fontanus*, vol. 7 (1994), p. 73.
 50. Arthur Currie, foreword to Laufer, *The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University*, p. 3.
 51. Currie to Gest, 14 March 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 52. Beatty to Currie, 22 November 1926, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 53. Memorandum for the Principal: Establishment of a Department of Chinese Studies at the McGill Board of Governors' Meeting on 20 December 1926, *McGill Minute Book, 1920-1935*, pp. 397-398.
 54. Currie to Gest, 23 September 1927, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 55. In documents cited in this article and in print, Kiang Kang-hu's name appears in various spellings. These include Kiang Kang-Hu, Kang-hu Kiang, and Kanghu Kiang, which in quotations will retain the spelling used in the original. The biographical information on Kiang Kang-hu in this article is primarily from the monograph by Wang Peiwei, *Jiang Kanghu yanjiu* (Research on Jiang Kanghu) (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1998), and a folder in the McGill University Archives which contains the following items, "Biographical Sketch of Kiang Kang-hu," "Memorandum Regarding Dr. Kiang Kang-Hu," and *Who's Who in China: Biographies of Chinese Leaders*, fifth ed. (Shanghai: The China Weekly Review, 1936), RG2. C59, McGill University Archives.
 56. Edward Thomas Williams to Currie, 14 January 1930, RG2. C59, McGill University Archives. In his letter to Currie, Williams, a professor of Department of Oriental Languages at the University of California, wrote of Kiang, "He was formerly active politically and had a price on his head, but I am

- informed by those have seen him recently that his visit to Russia disillusioned him and he has lost sympathy with Communism." Also see Wang Peiwei, *Research on Jiang Kanghu*, chap. 6.
57. "Biographical sketch of Kiang Kang-hu," RG2. C59, McGill University Archives;" also see *Who's Who in China: Biographies of Chinese Leaders*, fifth ed., p. 45, and Wang Peiwei, *Research on Jiang Kanghu*, pp. 1-3, 221-224.
 58. Kiang Kang-hu to Gest, 21 September 1929, RG2. C59, McGill University Archives.
 59. Respectively, Currie to Williams, 3 January 1930, and Williams to Currie, 14 January 1930, RG2. C59, McGill University Archives.
 60. Currie to Vincent Massey, 8 January 1930, and Massey to Currie, 16 January 1930, RG2. C59, McGill University Archives. At this time Vincent Massey was Canada's diplomatic representative in the United States.
 61. McGill University Annual Report, 1928-1933, p. 14.
 62. Currie to the Secretary General, League of Nations, 7 October 1933, RG4. C69, McGill University Archives.
 63. The Secretary of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science to the Secretary of McGill University on September 16, 1935, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives.
 64. "The Department of Chinese Studies," attachment to Currie to the Secretary General, League of Nations, 27 October 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 65. This number for Kiang Kang-hu's publication is from McGill University annual reports in 1930-1931, 1931-1932, and 1932-1933 in the section on faculty publications.
 66. After being dismissed by McGill, Kiang remained secluded for a few years in the south of China. In 1937, when the Japanese invaded Peking and supported the Wang Jingwei government (1940-1945), Wang invited Kiang to join his government as vice-director (1940-1942) and director (1942-1944) of the Bureau of Examination (Kaoshiyuan), an institute for the examinations and promotions of civil officers. In 1910, Wang had plotted an assassination of Zai Feng, Pu Yi's father, but the plot was discovered and Wang was imprisoned by the Qing authorities. For some reason, however, his case was linked to Kiang (Wang Peiwei, *Research on Jiang Kanghu*, p. 27), and Kiang was subsequently investigated. After this event, Wang Jingwei and Kiang Kang-hu got to know each other. In 1945, Kiang was charged as a war criminal for his activities from 1940 to 1944 and jailed thereafter. He died in jail in 1954. Wang Peiwei, *Research on Jiang Kanghu*, chap. 9 and 10. The authors did not find any official documents at McGill that might suggest a connection between Kiang's arrest in 1934 and the cancellation of his contract with McGill.
 67. McGill University Annual Report (1933-1938), pp. 11-12.
 68. McMurray, *Four Principals of McGill*, p. 35.
 69. Wilfred Bovey to Kiang, 3 November 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives. In the letter, Bovey wrote, "The Principal wishes me to tell you

- that he is expecting you back at the beginning of next session." Bovey was then the director of the Department of Extra-Mural Relationships at McGill.
70. Bovey to Kiang, 10 January 1934, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives. Bovey wrote, "His [Arthur Currie's] departure has made a great change in the University and we scarcely know what alternations may now take place."
 71. Dorothy McMurray, *Four Principals of McGill: a Memoir 1929-1963* (Montreal: The Graduates' Society of McGill University, 1974), pp. 31-32. From 1919 to 1963, McMurray was principal's secretary of McGill University and worked for four principals.
 72. Extracts from Minutes of the Finance Committee re Gest Chinese Library and Extracts from the Governors' Minutes re Department of Chinese Studies, RG4. C19, McGill University Archives. In his letter to McGill regarding his dismissal, Kiang wrote, "I do not complain for the discontinuance of the Chinese Department nor do I beg for any special favor, but I can not understand how a professor can be so slighted and ignored by an institute of McGill's standing. I am doubly sorry for this treatment since the University has shown me great consideration and I have repeatedly pledged undivided service." Kiang Kang-hu to Bovey, 1 November 1934, RG4, C19, McGill University Archives.
 73. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives. In his letter to Keppel, Currie wrote, "I always dreamed that here at McGill we might set up a Department of Far Eastern Studies—to include a study of Purdon [Bhutan], Indian, Chinese and Japanese civilization. We have spent many years and much fortune in learning all there is to learn about Grecian, Roman and Egyptian civilizations, but in the Asiatic, which will be found as interesting as any of others, we have up to the present done comparatively little."
 74. Extracts from Governors' Minutes re Gest Chinese Library, RG4. C75, McGill University Archives.
 75. Gest to Swann, 30 March 1935, Gest Library Papers, box 239, Sir Currie, Mudd Library, Princeton University.
 76. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 77. Gest to S. L. Joshi, 19 May 1930, Gest Library Papers, box 233, Joshi, Mudd Library, Princeton University. S. L. Joshi had been professor of religion and Hindu studies and chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion at Dartmouth College since 1926. He first came to the United States as a scholar and lecturer in 1907. Joshi and Gest first met in Baroda, India, in Gest's words "years ago."
 78. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 79. Mortimer Graves to Gest, 8 January 1932 with a copy of *Suggestion for Translation in English of the Dynastic Histories of China*, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 80. Currie, memorandum, 12 April 1932, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
 81. Currie to Gest, 16 March 1932, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.

82. Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," pp. 115-116.
83. Lomer to Archibald Glassco, 22 May 1934, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives.
84. Currie, memorandum after discussion with Kiang about the value of the sutras, 1 May 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
85. Memorandum from Professor [Charles Edmund] Fryer to the Principal [Arthur E. Morgan], as dictated by Fryer and recorded by Dorothy McMurray, 3 December 1935, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives. Professor Charles Edmund Fryer (b. 1876), a professor of history at McGill from 1908 to 1942), was the elder son of the famous Sinologist John Fryer (1839-1928) who taught for many years at the University of California, Berkeley.
86. Value of the books, expenditures for books, Gest Library Papers, box 250, Mudd Library, Princeton University.
87. Dorothy McMurray, Memorandum to the Principal [Currie], 27 May 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
88. Memorandum from Charles Fryer to the Principal [Currie], 3 December 1935, as dictated by Fryer and recorded by Dorothy McMurray, Principal's Secretary, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives.
89. Flexner to Morgan, 19 February 1936, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives. Also see the note 4.
90. *McGill University Annual Report*, 1931-1932, p. 11.
91. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
92. Currie to Nicholas Murray Butler, 3 May 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
93. Robert Blake to Gest, 11 September 1929, Gest Library Papers, box 231, Robert P. Blake, Mudd Library, Princeton University.
94. Carleton W. Stanley to Beatty, 26 January 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
95. Beatty to Stanley on 28 January 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
96. "Purchase of Gest Chinese Library on April 25, 1932," RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
97. Extracts from Minutes of the Financial Committee re Gest Chinese Library, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
98. "Mr. Gest's Request for Increased Loan," 10 September 1931, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
99. Keppel to Lomer, 2 February 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
100. Currie to Keppel, 14 February 1932, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
101. See note 92 above.
102. Currie's memorandum for his interview with Gest, 31 May 1933, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
103. Extracts from Minutes of the Financial Committee re Gest Chinese Library, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Lomer to Gest, 10 July 1934, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.

107. Bovey to Kiang, 12 October 1934, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
108. Lomer to Glassco, 22 May 1934, RG2. C75, McGill University Archives.
109. Lomer to Gest, 10 July 1934, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
110. Gest to Lomer, 21 August 1934, RG2. C69, McGill University Archives.
111. Lomer to Gest, 9 August 1935, RG2. C20, McGill University Archives.
112. McMurray, *Four Principals of McGill*, pp. 35–36.
113. <http://www.mcgill.ca/principal/past/>.
114. McMurray, *Four Principals of McGill*, p. 38.
115. Morgan to Gest, 18 January 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
116. Steven C. Wheatley, "Abraham Flexner and the Politics of Education Reform," *History of Higher Education Annual*, 8 (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester, 1988), p. 45.
117. Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations, Their Policies, Past and Present* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952), pp. 58–60.
118. Wheatley, "Abraham Flexner and the Politics of Education Reform," p. 45.
119. Beatrice M. Stern, "A History of the Institute for Advanced Study: 1930–1950," vol. 1 (unpublished manuscript, 1950), p. 298.
120. Flexner to Morgan, 12 February 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
121. Flexner to Morgan, 19 February 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
122. Morgan to Flexner, 14 February 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
123. Morgan to Flexner, 2 March 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
124. "Principal's Memorandum of His Interview with Dr. A[braham] Flexner at President [Harold W.] Dodds' House, Princeton," 9 April 1936, RG2. C191. McGill University Archives. Harold W. Dodds was president of Princeton from 1933–1957.
125. "The Principal's Memorandum for the File," 3 March 1936, RG2. C191. McGill University Archives.
126. "Memorandum on Interview Held by the Principal and Bursar with Mr. Gest, Thursday," 16 April 1936, RG4. C191, McGill University Archives.
127. Gest to Morgan, 21 April 1936, RG2. C191, McGill University Archives.
128. Stern, "A History of the Institute for Advanced Study: 1930–1950," vol. 1. pp. 298–304.
129. Swann to Lomer, 31 July 1936, RG2. C193, McGill University Archives.
130. Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," p. 250, quoting a letter from Swann to Lawrence Seymour, dated 14 November 1942.
131. Stern, "A History of the Institute for Advanced Study: 1930–1950," pp. 299–300.

GLOSSARY

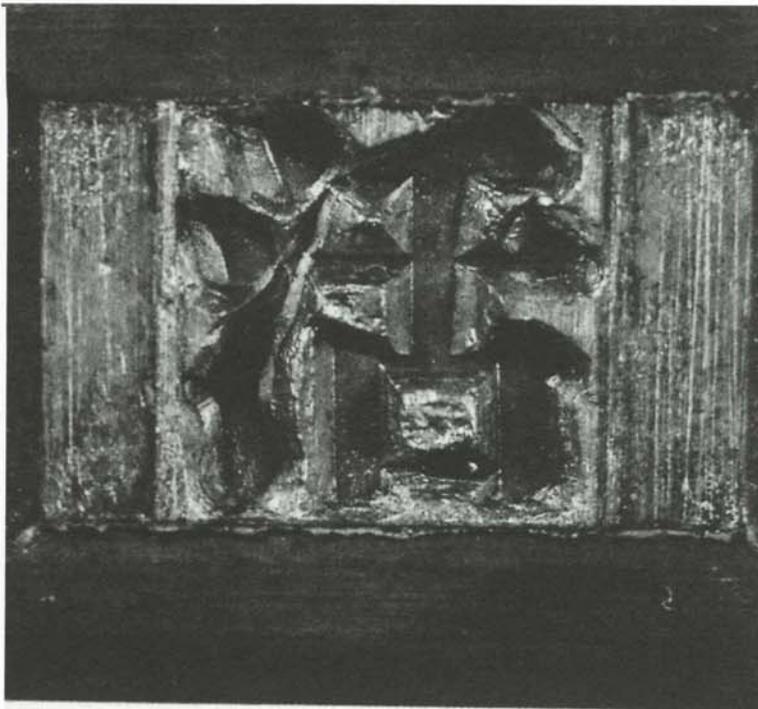
- Bai Bingqi (Pai Ping-ch'i) 白炳騏
 Ban Zhao (Pan Chao) 班超
 Beiyang bianyiju 北洋編譯局
 ce 冊
 Chen Baochen (Ch'en Pao-ch'en) 陳寶琛
 Chen Lifu 陳立夫
 Dabeisi 大悲寺
Dabeisi jing 大悲寺經
 difangben 地方本
Geside dongfang cangshuku shumu 葛思德
 東方藏書庫書目
Geside huawen cangshuku 葛思德華文
 藏書庫
Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成
 Hanlinyuan 翰林院
 Hongdaohui 弘道會
 Hu Shi (Hu Shih) 胡適
 Hu Shizhi 胡適之
 Jiang Dexuan 江德宣
 Jiang Kanghu (Kiang Kang-hu) 江亢虎
 Jiang Shuyun 江澍昀
 Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂
 jinshi 進士
 juren 舉人
 Kaoshiyuan 考試院
 Lin Yutang 林語堂
 Nanfang daxue 南方大學
 Pu Yi 溥儀
Qisha zangjing 磧砂藏經
 sipin guan 四品官
 Takamatsu 高松
 Tokugawa Iyesato 德川家達
 Tokugawa Iyemasa (Iyemasa) 德川家正
 Tong Shigang (T'ung Shih-kang) 童世綱
Tushu jicheng (Tu shu tsi ch'eng) 圖書集成
 Wang Jingwei 汪精衛
 Wang Zhongmin 王重民
 Wuyingdian juzhenben congshu 武英殿
 聚珍本叢書
Yongle dadian 永樂大典
 Yuan Shikai 袁世凱
 Zai Feng 載灃
 Zhongguo gongxue 中國公學
 Zhongguo shehuidang 中國社會黨

The Development of Modern Typography in East Asia, 1850–2000

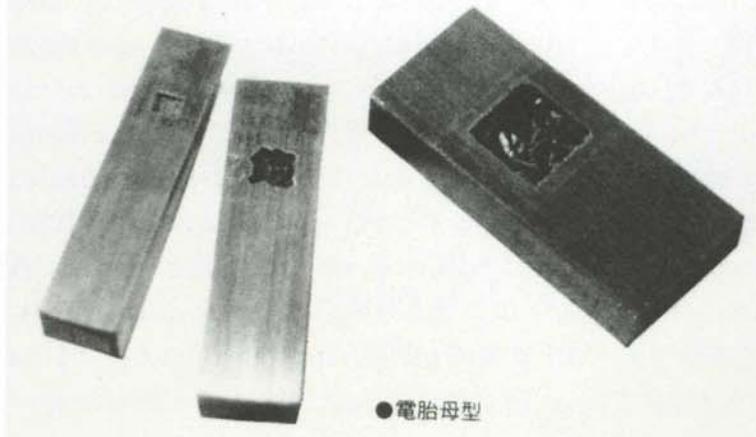
MARTIN J. HEIJDRÁ

In my work as Chinese bibliographer in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection at Princeton, I have often been consulted for guidance on how to use Chinese, Japanese, and Korean fonts on a computer. Being an historian at heart, I have long wanted to investigate the history of East Asian typefaces in the manner countless books have done for the history of type in the West. The accomplishments of creating the huge East Asian fonts are enormous, and it is important to recognize some of the major names, dates, and stages in the history of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean typography. However, this task has proved to be far from simple. There are hardly any books on the history of typefaces in East Asia, and whatever has been written usually exists only in ephemeral trade or graphic-design publications seldom collected by libraries. Only now, after some five years of research, do I have the basic material to begin such a history. This stage of my research allows me to give a simple outline of one of the threads of typographic history in East Asia, namely that of type and typefaces and their technological foundation. I will defer to another occasion such topics as page layout or the process of designing Asian fonts.¹

The “modern” in my title is used as a technological term and



銅活字のガラハ(種字を抜いた仕上げ前)



●電胎母型

1. Matrix made using the electrotype method. Top: first stage copper shell, before adjustments; bottom: brass matrix with inserted second-stage copper shell. Photograph from Kozuka Masahiko, "Tōzai katsuji kōza: taipufeisu dezain no shūhen, 1: Taneji to bokei o megutte" (Lectures on Type East and West: Aspects of Type-face Design, 1: On Seed Type and Matrices), *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 20 (Spring 1988), p. T4. Publication in the collection of the author.

refers to easily produced, reproducible, and sturdy metal type to be used on mechanized, post-eighteenth-century, Western-style printing presses. Of course, there was movable type in East Asia before the 1860s, but neither Western nor Asian technology could satisfy simultaneously the demands for ease of cutting and for durability when faced with the thousands and thousands of Chinese characters needed for one set of type until the application to Chinese type of the electrotype process, which did away with the need for the laborious cutting of punches in steel and which produced matrices chemically from wax imprints. (See figure 1 for

an electrotype matrix.) Until then, printing with type simply was not cheaper, better, or easier than printing with woodblocks. On the one hand, the character sets needed were very large, and each character with its numerous horizontal strokes was more difficult to cut in steel than were its Western counterparts. On the other hand, solutions such as the use of counterpunches, which simplified and regularized the production of Western punches, were inapplicable to Chinese type. Similar problems made type composition and redistribution much more cumbersome. The cutting of type was only one part of the issue. Presses—not used with traditional Asian movable-type printing—also were modernized in the late-nineteenth century, while other relative advantages of woodblock printing regarding illustrations and ease of reprint were surpassed by Western technologies, such as lithography and stereotype, in the same general period. Only after *all* of these technological advances had evolved did Western printing have something to offer East Asia.²

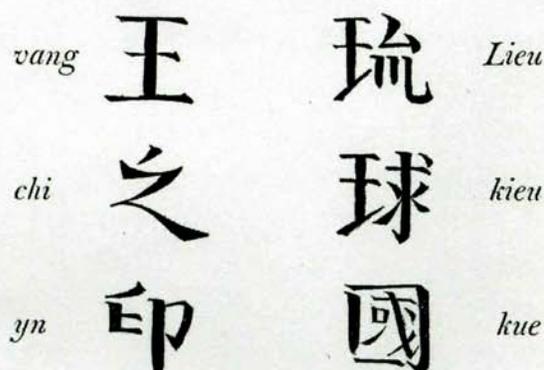
Not all of these factors were present when, early in the nineteenth century, the impetus for modern type arose among missionaries and Sinologists, who long remained the main circles within which methods for making useable type were sought for publication of religious tracts and scholarly treatises. (For the latter, see figure 2.) Some of these efforts might be ascribed to the then unwarranted conviction of missionaries and Sinologists that Western technology was always superior and perhaps also to their lack of easy access to the woodblock-cutting labor force. A similar assumption was also present among the first Japanese publishers, who for a long time were attracted to printing with type because of its association with modernity rather than for any demonstrated advantage.³

I use the term “typography” here as an aesthetic which prefers regularized and stylized letter forms, as opposed to individualistic and highly differentiated calligraphic forms. Because of this regularization and stylization, letters are transparently readable, and they can be adjusted to the meaning conveyed by the text for which they are used. This term does not necessarily imply the physical use of type as is indicated by the continued use of the term typography in the present-day digital context. Such a “typographic aesthetic” can be said to have developed in the West later than the actual usage of type. In the mid-fifteenth century, Gutenberg’s Bibles mimicked calligraphic manuscripts before the typo-

The characters on the left side are 清大 *ta-cing*, or *Man-tshoo*, which is the language spoken at 京北 *Pe-king*; but those on the right bear a perfect resemblance to some of those already given, particularly



These are explained in the Japanese work which exhibits this seal thus,



or the royal seal of the kingdom of *Lieu-kieu*. In which, if we consider particularly the three perpendicular characters on the right, it will appear that there is no small likeness between the modern characters of the Chinese and those ancient ones, which is also the case

2. Early-nineteenth-century scholarly treatise printed in movable metal type. Image from Giuseppe Hager (a.k.a. Joseph Hager, 1757–1819), *An Explanation of the Elementary Characters of the Chinese* in *English Linguistics, 1500–1800, A Collection of Facsimile Reprints*, no. 345 (1801; Menston, England: The Scolar Press, 1972), p. xxxi. Photocopy of the exemplar in the Georgetown University Library, qP25 .E5 no. 345.

graphic aesthetic liberated type making from its calligraphic origins. In East Asia, however, the divorce from mere mimicking of the calligraphic hand in printed books occurred much earlier than the wide-spread use of movable type, and the typographic aesthetic divorced itself from the calligraphic imperative in a pre-movable-type context. The so-called artisan style (*jiangtizi*) became especially common from the mid-Ming period (1368–1644) onwards, and because of its superior readability and typographic sense, has remained the text typeface *par excellence* ever since. (See figure 3.) This typographic style is not a degenerate calligraphy produced by clumsy cutters working under time restraints, as frequently is alleged.⁴ For example, there is a small right triangle (*uroko* in Japanese) on the top of each horizontal stroke, which, for optical reasons, is never completely a straight line of equal thickness. This triangle is seen by modern designers as one of the most important elements in establishing correct stroke proportions and the visual balance of the character—it guides the eye movement and establishes the individuality of each typeface. (See figure 4.) It is therefore often compared to the serif of Western fonts. The thin horizontal lines juxtaposed with thicker vertical ones of the artisan style, its redesigned counters (internal spaces), its superior balance, and especially its even grayness on the page as a whole, sometimes achieved by redefining a character's elements, are characteristics that optical readability studies have shown to be better than its closest calligraphic counterpart, the regular (*kaishu*) style. (See figures 5 and 6.)

However, the disdain by the dominant rhetoric on calligraphy for anything practical, readable, or useable, as indicated by the low regard given the artisan style, is precisely one of the major reasons that no scholar, especially in China, has written a history of typography. Only in the 1920s, under influence from various European and Russian aesthetic movements, such as Art Deco, Bauhaus, and Proletarian Art, did interest in character design liberate itself somewhat from the restraints of the rhetoric of calligraphy. This interest expressed itself, however, mainly in title, logo, and trademark design or book and periodical covers, in short in what was called “lettering” rather than in the more complicated and disciplined design of text typefaces. Because of insurmountable technological difficulties, the difference between such lettering and text typefaces for languages of East Asia was much larger than for Western



4. *Uroko*, the triangle on the top of the right-hand end of horizontal strokes. Various forms as found in Japanese woodblocks, of which the upper form is closest to the form found in type. Photocopy from Takemura Shin'ichi, *Minchōtai no rekishi* (History of the Minchōtai Typeface) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1986) p. 178.

法書要錄序

唐河東張彥遠

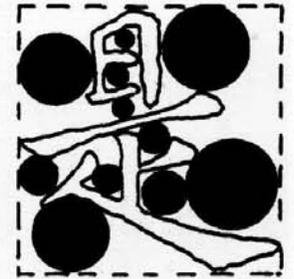
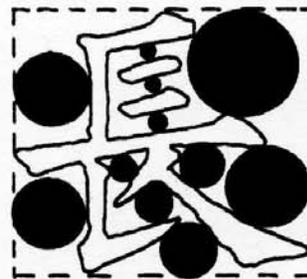
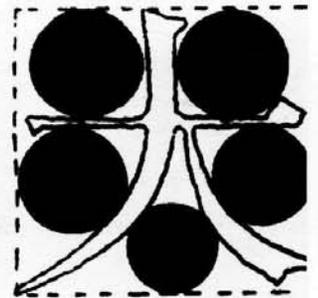
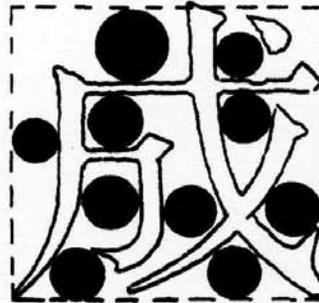
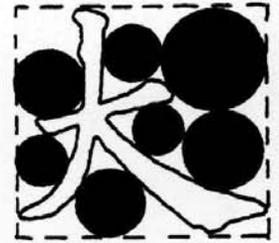
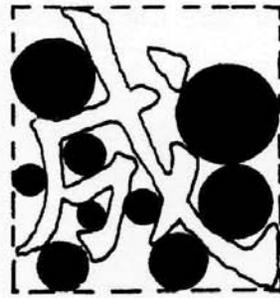
彥遠家傳法書名畫自高祖河東公收藏珍祕河
 東公書迹俊異尤能大書本傳云不因師法而天
 姿雄勁定州北嶽碑為好事所傳曾祖魏國公少稟師訓妙合
 鍾張尺牘尤為合作大父高平公幼學元常自鎮
 蒲陝迹類子敬及處台司乃同逸少書體三變為
 時所稱金帛散施之外悉購圖書古來名迹存於

法書要錄

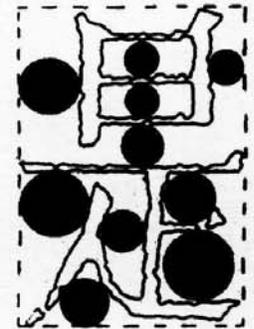
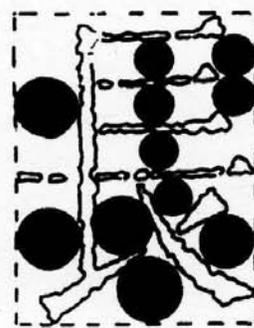
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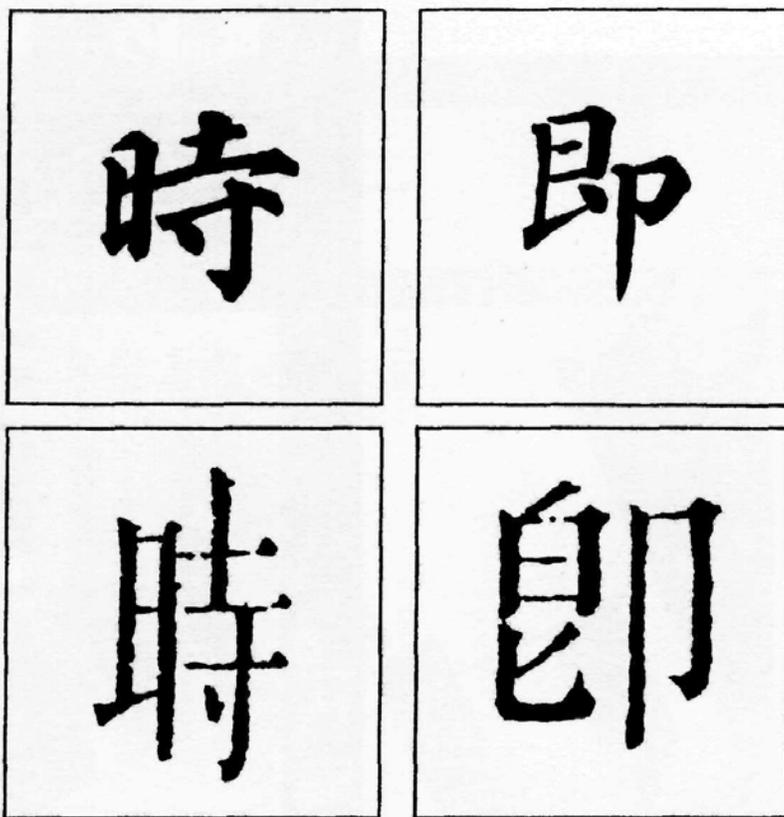
及古

3. Artisan-style (*jiangtizi*) type, late-Ming period. Zhang Yanyuan, *Fashu yaolu* (Abridged Passages from Works on Calligraphy), 8 *juan* (Changshu: Jiguge, between 1630 and 1642), "Fashu yaolu xu," p. 1a. Photograph of the exemplar in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, TC223/258.



5. Diminishing differences in counters in the artisan style, here called Songti (second and fourth rows) compared with the regular (*kai*) style (first and third rows). Photocopy from Li Mingjun, *Zhongguo meishuzi shi tushuo* (Historical Atlas of Chinese Artistic Lettering) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), p. 195. Publication in the collection of the author.





6. Multiple corrections to the regular style needed to derive at better balanced, more evenly colored, and typographically usable characters that use the space on the body square better. Photocopy from Li Mingjun, *Zhongguo meishuzi shi tushuo* (Historical Atlas of Chinese Artistic Lettering) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), p. 212. Publication in the collection of the author.

languages. Further, the new status of lettering as art was not necessarily transferred to the design of text typefaces.⁵ (See figures 7 and 8.) Therefore, until the 1970s when the wider concept of “typography”—including both individual type design as well as page layout involving words and texts for advertising, posters, and book pages—replaced that of “lettering” first in Japan, the emerging graphic-design field had long remained quite separate from typeface and page-layout design, the latter being the domain of specialized printers.⁶

“East Asia,” the last, and perhaps the easiest to define, term in my title refers to China, Japan, the Koreas, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, which

5月12日^{ヨリ}

5月23日^{マデ}

会場 上野府美術館

第三回商業美術展

真なる意味のプロレタリア藝術
遊戯にあらざる實際的なる藝術
吾人は人生のための藝術大衆のための藝術
實際効果の藝術に對する精進を以り

創 立 一九二五・四月

第一回展 一九二五・七月・丸菱會館

第二回展 一九二六・五月・府美術館

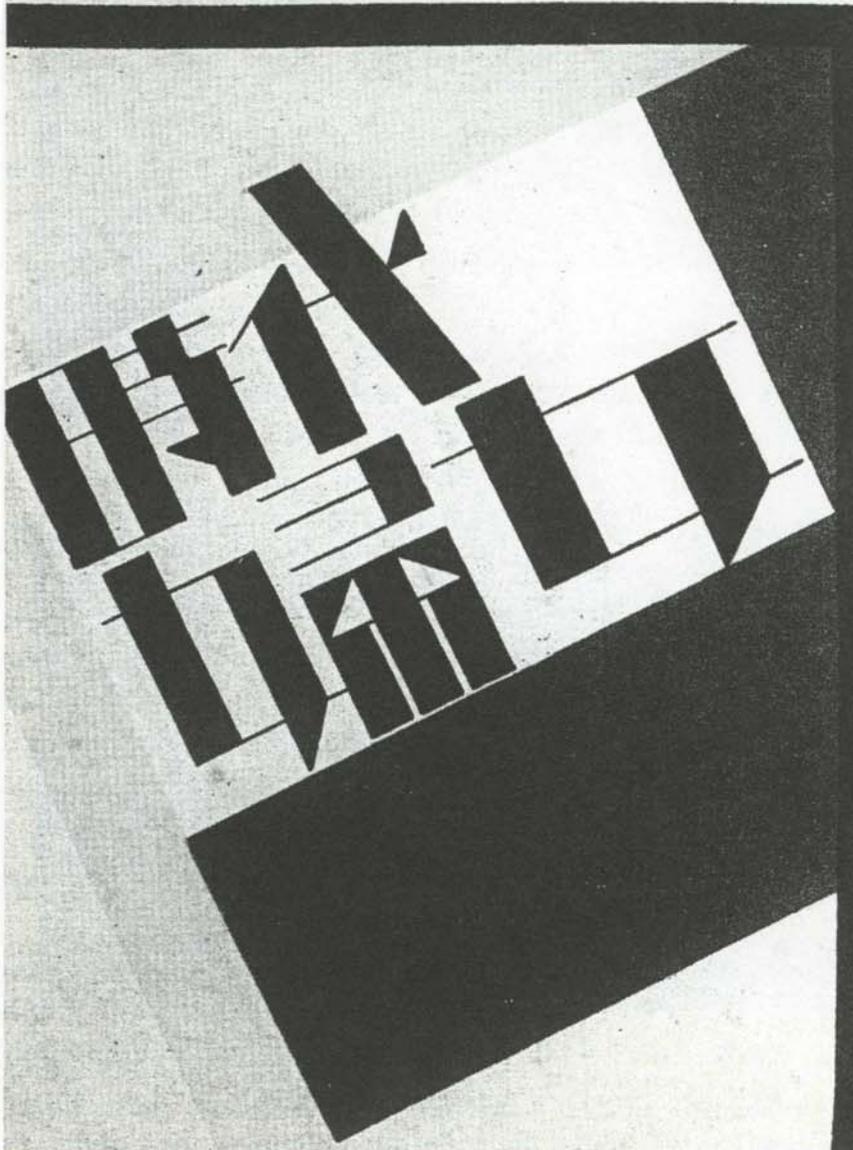
出品概目

- A 宣傳媒体に關する立体と平面とに關するの創作品
- B 実用品藝術たりあらず生産工藝の製作會館及其原型
- C 民衆保樂に從立つての美術的構想

現代商業美術全集發行元：アルス 寄贈

7. Poster for the *Dai-3-kai Shōgyō Bijutsu Ten* (Third Commercial Art Exhibition), Japan, 1928. Designer unknown. Photocopy from Matsuoka Seigō, Tanaka Ikkō, and Asaba Katsumi, eds., *Nihon no taipogurafikku dezain: moji wa damatte inai* (*Transition of Modern Typography in Japan, 1925-1995*) [Typographic Design in Japan: Letters Do Not Keep Silent] (Tokyo: Toransuāto, 1999), p. 61. Publication in the collection of the author.

論文集之一

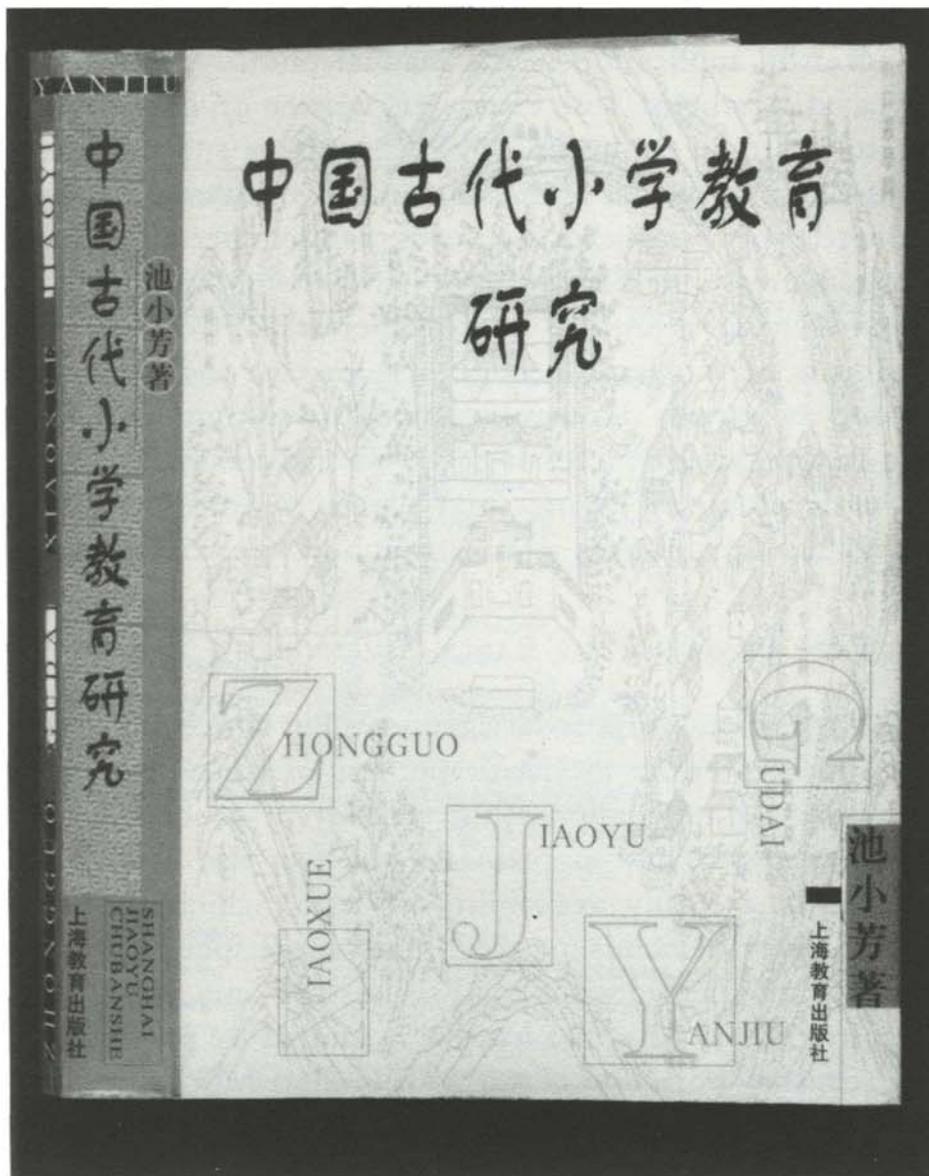


陳學昭著

8. Front cover of Chen Xuezhao, *Shidai funü* (Modern Woman) (Shanghai: Guanghua shuju, 1934), designed by Qian Juntao. Photocopy from Scott Minick and Jiao Ping, *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), p. 61. Publication in the collection of the author.

form a unit both in terms of written language and history. Despite the differences in scripts—the use of the two *kanas* in Japanese and the arrangement of *han'gŭl* letters into syllables in Korean have quite different influences typographically—these countries all share the same technological challenges in the development of typography, foremost because of the need for the large sets of Chinese characters in each of their written languages. Moreover, lessons learned through shared traditions with respect to book forms used by all of these parts of East Asia have resulted in a common approach to modern typography. Traditional design elements and layout characteristics that they inherited include such features as the use of white-on-black characters for headings, half-sized characters for notes, specialized punctuation, and a vertical layout with line separations. As a result, also during the modernization of their printing industries, beginning around 1850, there remained close commercial, aesthetic, and industrial relationships among these countries, even when they were, and are, often at odds with each other politically. And indeed, even in their modern typographies, these countries share new common design elements, such as the multi-textured background of headlines and titles, a particular regularized set of modifications of condensations, expansions, and italicizations, as well as the presence of a second type of comma. Such modern commonalities themselves result from similar technological solutions to similar technological problems—a shared history of shared solutions to shared problems. On occasion there are subtly startling outcomes. For example, a typeface designed in the early 1990s and named ShuTongti is quite commonly used in Taipei. I doubt many people there realize it was written by a calligrapher from the Red Army named Shu Tong (See figure 9.)

The history of modern typography in East Asia can be divided into four stages. The introductory period of modern typography saw many efforts to create modern type, few of which were successful until the application of the electrotpe process in China in 1859. Slowly, and especially after its export to Japan, a full-blown type industry emerged, with a regular supply and demand for type, mainly on behalf of newspapers. During a second period, which stretches from the 1910s through the end of the Second World War, the type industry matured with the first developments of display types and a somewhat greater variety of



9. 1980s ShuTongti typeface designed by Shu Tong. Book jacket for Chi Xiaofang, *Zhongguo gudai xiaoxue jiaoyu yanjiu* (Studies on Ancient Elementary Education in China) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998). Cover design by Guo Weixing. Photograph of the book jacket in the collection of the author.

body-text typefaces in Japan and China. Two major characteristics define the third stage that follows the Second World War: the deployment of Asian Benton matrix-cutting machines to the making of matrices, alongside the successful application of the manual-phototypesetting machine, which replaced metal type with characters written on glass or film. These changes resulted in an explosion of new typefaces and the first genuine type “families,” in Japan in phototype and in the People’s Republic of China in metal type. Finally, in the 1980s, a fourth period emerged when Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan began to develop computerized typefaces and typesetting systems to liberate themselves from the dominance of the products of the Japanese phototypesetting industry, which also computerized its systems. However, unfortunately, just at the time public interest in typefaces is increasing, widespread piracy has made investment in the development of new text-typefaces—often requiring up to a million dollars per typeface—unrealistic and very risky financially.

TYPE PRIOR TO THE EARLY-TWENTIETH CENTURY

The introductory period of modern typography, which lasted until 1859, saw many efforts to create modern type, few of which were successful.⁷ It was only after the application of the electrotype process that the newly established newspapers and magazines—and later also book producers—could rely upon a steady availability of type, which they needed to respond to the new demands for greater and more speedy printing. Until rather recently, the period prior to 1859 was the only part of the history of typography in East Asia that had been studied by printing historians. Its widely repeated story line began with Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the London missionary, who, for his *Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1815–1823), had Chinese type cut directly onto type blanks. That is, the type was not cast from matrices and, therefore, was not reproducible. (See figure 10.) This landmark effort, along with some other less important experiments, was followed by those of Samuel Dyer (1804–1843), who in 1840 moved from England to Hong Kong. Dyer cut a small set of steel matrices in one large size for the Ying-Hua shuyuan (London Missionary Society) and had begun to cut a second size when he died in 1843. (See figure 11.) This font was said to have been “finished” (more

The 三國 Three Kingdoms, viz. 魏蜀吳 Wei, Shüh, Woo,

東漢 TUNG-HAN.

MEAOU-HAOU.	KWÜ-HAOU.	Reign ed year	Reign closed A. D.	First year of cycle.
獻帝 Hëen-te, or 孝獻 帝 Heaou-hëen-te,	初平 Ch'hoo-p'hing, 興平 Hing- p'hing, 建安 Këen-gan, 延 康 Yen-kang, - - - -	31	226	XLVIII 204
靈帝 Ling-te, - - -	建寧 Këen-ning, 熹平 He-p'hing 中平 Chung-p'hing, - - -	22	195	
桓帝 Hwan-te, - - -	建和 Këen-ho, 和平 Ho-p'hing 元嘉 Yuen-kea, 永興 Yung-hing, 永壽 Yung-show 延禧 Yen-he, 永康 Yung- kang, - - - -	21	173	
質帝 Ch'ih-te, - - -	本初 Pun-ch'hoo, - - - -	1	152	
冲帝 Chung-te, - - -	永寧 Yung-këa, - - - -	1	151	
順帝 Shun-te, - - -	永康 Yung-kang, 陽嘉 Yang- kea, 永和 Yung-ho, 漢安 Han-gan, 建康 Këen-kang,	19	150	LXVII. 144
安帝 Gan-te, - - -	永初 Yung-ch'hoo, 元初 Yuen ch'hoo, 永寧 Yung-ning, 建 光 Këen-kwang, 延光 Yen kwang, - - - -	19	131	
殤帝 Shang-te, - - -	建平 Yen-p'hing, - - - -	1	112	
和帝 Ho-te, - - -	永元 Yung-yuen, 元興 Yuen-hin	17	111	
章帝 Chang-te, - - -	建初 Këeu-ch'hoo, 元和 Yuen- ho, 章和 Chang, ho, -	13	94	
明帝 Ming-te, - - -	永平 Yung-p'hing, - - - -	18	81	XLVI. 84
世祖 She-tsoo, or 光武	建武 Këen-woo, 中元 Chung-yuei	33	63	

10. Early type cut by P. P. Thoms for Robert Morrison. Robert Morrison, *A View of China for Philological Purposes: Containing a Sketch of Chinese Chronology, Geography, Government, Religion & Customs, Designed for the Use of Persons Who Study the Chinese Language* (Macao: Black, Parbury, and Allen, printed at the Honorable the East India Company's Press by P. P. Thoms, 1817), p. 44. Photocopy of the exemplar in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, PL1071 .M7.

日、祭司諸長法利賽人集見彼拉多曰、主我儕憶彼僞者生時嘗
曰、三日後復生、是以請命固守其塋、三日、恐其徒夜盜之、而以由
死復生告民、如是則後謬較甚於先矣、彼拉多曰、予爾守兵、往盡
乃心、固守之、遂往固守其塋、封石設兵焉。

安息日後七日之首日、黎明時、抹大拉之馬利亞及他馬
利亞至、欲觀其塋、倏見地大震、主之使者、由天而下、前移墓門之
石、而坐其上、容光如電、衣白如雪、守者恐懼、戰慄若死、使者謂婦
曰、勿懼、我知爾尋釘十字架之耶穌、彼不在此、已復生、如其言、爾
來觀主葬處、速往告其徒、言彼由死復生、先爾往加利利、在彼得
見之、我曾告爾矣、婦急離墓、懼且大喜、趨報門徒、報時、耶穌遇之

11. Typeface of
“Hong Kong type”
(Xianggangti) produced
by Samuel Dyer/
Richard Cole, as found
in *Matai chuan fuyin shu*
(The Gospel According
to St. Matthew) (Shang-
hai: Mohai shuguan,
1850). Photocopy from
Komiyama Hiroshi,
“Mosaku-ki Minchōtai
katsuji kō” (Investiga-
tion of Minchōtai Type
During its Formative
Period), *Taipogurafikkusu*
Ti 118 (March 1990), p.
8. Publication in the
collection of the author.

accurately, almost created *in toto*) by Richard Cole (dates unknown) in the early 1850s, but, in fact, punches and matrices continued to be added; in 1857 there were said to be 5,584 characters for the major font. Type cast from these Dyer-Cole matrices was known as Xianggangti (Hong Kong type) and was available for sale to printers outside the London Missionary Society. From these time frames and numbers, we can glimpse the enormous time needed to produce even a minimal-sized font. At this pace, one would need decades to produce larger sets of type in several sizes.

The most important step in the development of fonts for the printing needs of the missionaries was William Gamble's (1830–1886) application of the electrotype method to printing by the Mei-Hua shuguan (American Presbyterian Mission Press), first in Ningbo and later in Shanghai. By this method, first invented in the West in 1837 for whole pages, letters were cut in wood in the traditional way, a wax impression was made, and then through several steps of electrolysis, a copper-in-brass matrix was created from which new type could be cast at will.⁸ (See figure 12.)

How Gamble's type found its way to Japan is a tale recounted in many variations. It is sometimes reported that Motoki Shōzō (1824–1875), a Japanese employee from a family of Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki, met with Gamble for about two weeks in 1869 when the latter was on his way home to the United States from China. This interaction is then said to have been the impetus for Motoki to develop his own type in a rationally ordered sequence of sizes. (See figure 13.) However, recent research by Yahagi Katsumi and Komiyama Hiroshi has rewritten this story in substantial ways, which reduce somewhat the independent creativity and achievements of Motoki Shōzō.⁹ In fact, most of the type attributed to Motoki turns out to have originally been produced based upon the Gamble matrices, and the circumstances under which Motoki met his mentor were far from accidental or incidental. At Motoki's invitation, Gamble took with him all supplies and machinery possible and went to Nagasaki for over half a year specifically to teach his new method. Even the models for Japanese *kana* used by Motoki had been made in Shanghai, especially those in the famous *A Japanese-English and*

倘我云我倘有望。或我今夜有夫。亦得生子。爾可俟其長成乎。爾可俟之而不嫁與他人乎。我媳歟。非然也。我為爾苦甚。蓋耶和華之手出而攻我矣。二媳復舉聲而哭。阿巴吻接其姑。惟路得戀之。婦曰。視哉。爾妯娌已歸其民。及其諸神矣。爾宜從妯娌而歸。路

為我之民。爾之神必為我之神。爾死之所我亦死焉。且在彼而葬於死之外。有何事。我爾我相離。願耶和華如是。而尤重行之於我。婦見其定意欲偕之往。則不復言。二人遂行。至伯利恆。既至伯利恆。舉邑為之震動。云此為拿阿米耶婦。謂之曰。毋稱我拿阿米。乃稱我馬喇。蓋全能者待我苦甚。我盈盈而出。耶和華使我空空而歸。耶和華既攻我為證。全能者已苦我。曷稱我拿阿米耶。如是拿阿米歸其媳。摩押女路得。由摩押地而歸者。偕之至伯利恆。時值釐麥始登。爾拿阿米有夫之戚。即以利米力之戚屬。乃巨富者。其名波士。摩押女路得。謂拿阿米曰。容我適田。我若獲恩於何人之目前。可在其後而拾遺穗。答曰。媳歟。往哉。媳往焉。既至則隨刈禾者。於田拾遺穗。其所至之田。適屬波士者。波士為以利米力戚屬也。波士由伯利恆來。謂刈禾者曰。願耶和華偕爾。衆對曰。願耶和華祝爾。波士謂其所設以督刈禾之僕曰。此女屬誰。督刈禾之僕對曰。此摩押女。偕拿阿米。由摩押地而歸者。彼云。請爾容我隨刈禾者之後。於東中拾遺穗。如是乃至。自朝至今。逗遛在此。暫止於屋耳。波士謂路得曰。我女歟。爾豈不聞乎。毋往拾遺穗於他田。毋離此。乃在此。洽比我婢。注目於衆所刈之田。而隨其後。我非命少者。勿摸爾手。爾渴則往及其器。而飲少者所汲焉。女俯伏而拜於地。對曰。我乃異邦人。何以

舊約全書

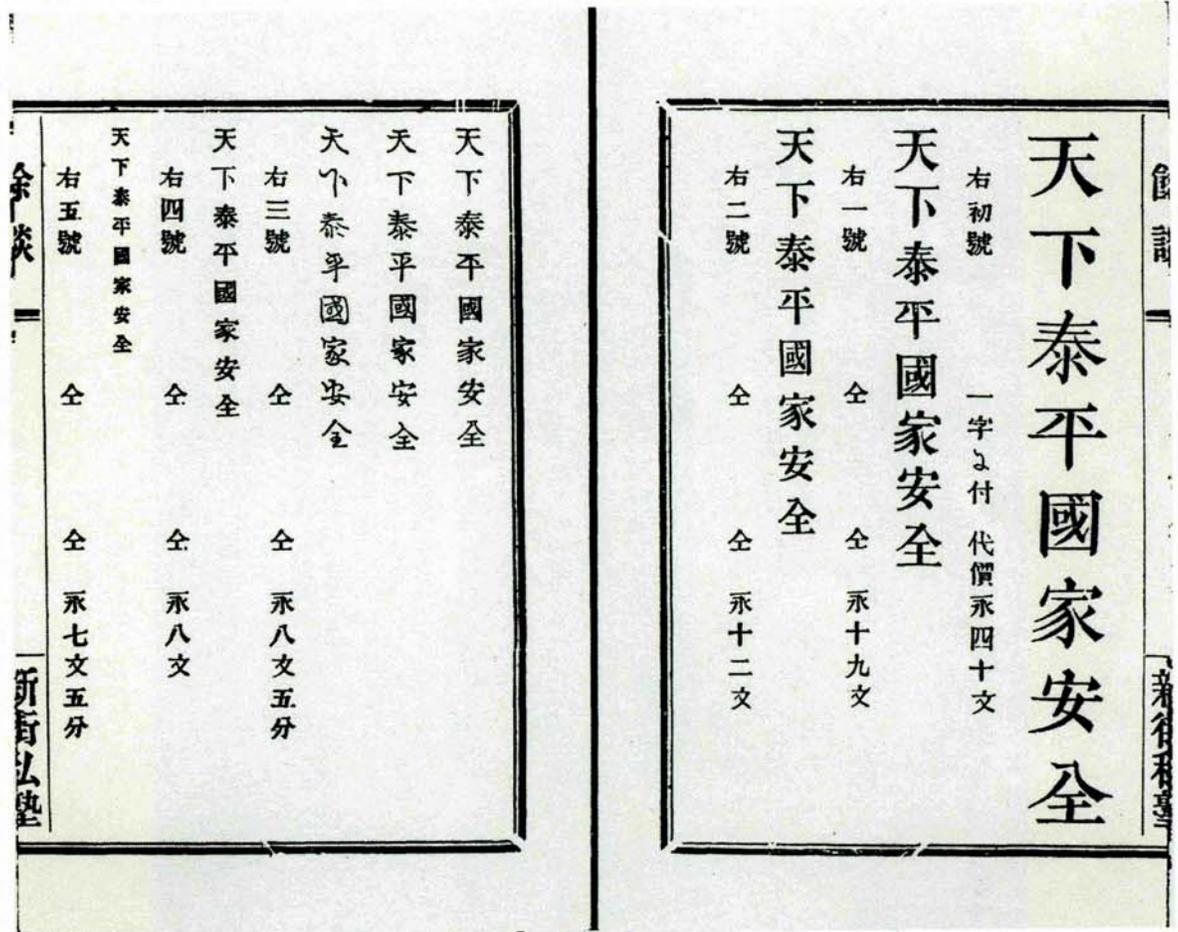
第八卷

路得氏記

第二章

三百九十三

12. Mei-Hua typeface (MeiHuati) 1860-1864, produced by William Gamble for the American Presbyterian Mission Press, here in size 5-hao (Small Pica). Type produced using Gamble's electrotype



13. Minchōtai and other typefaces, 1872, produced by Motoki Shōzō, from the specimen insert in *Shinmachi shijuku yodai* (Musings from the Shinmachi Private School) (Nagasaki: Kiyō shinjuku katsuji seizōjo, 1872), insert bound between pages 20 and 21. The Shinmachi shijuku was a private school established by Motoki, and his first type foundry was allegedly founded to support his education efforts. Photocopy from Komiyama Hiroshi, "Dōnyūki Minchōtai katsuji kō: gōsūsei wa kujirajaku de tsukurareta no ka" (Investigation of Minchōtai Type During its Importation Period: Was the Gō Size-System Based Upon the Japanese Cloth-Measurement Scale?), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 138 (March 1992), p. 1. Publication in the collection of the author.

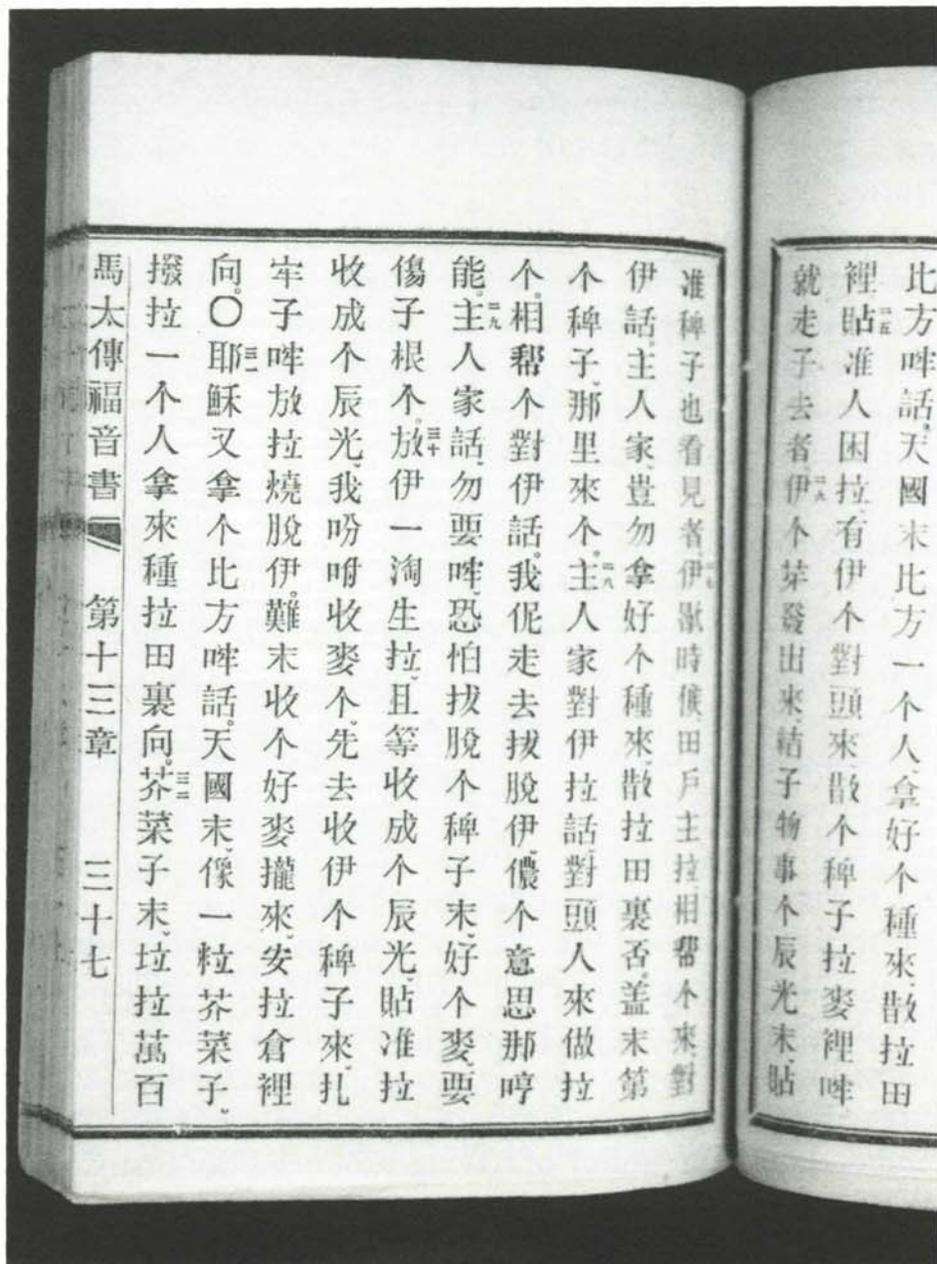
English-Japanese Dictionary compiled by James Curtis Hepburn (1815–1911) and printed by Gamble in Shanghai in 1867.¹⁰

When I say "Gamble's type," I use the term loosely. A further revision of the traditional story has verified that not all developments in modern typography for Asian languages originated in missionary-centered activities. The production of Asian type in East Asia also had some links with the work of several European type designers who produced

type specifically for Sinological purposes in Europe, and these are, in a few cases, more than a mere footnote to the typographic history of the East. Some such fonts were imported to Hong Kong and Shanghai by the missionary presses, where they were actually used. Especially important were the steel punches cut for the *Imprimerie Nationale* by Paris punch cutter Marcellin Legrand (dates unknown) around 1834. These punches were of the "divisible" kind, that is, in addition to a basic number of complete characters, other characters were decomposed into their radical and phonetic parts, which were then cut separately.¹¹ (See figure 14.) Such type, including a font from Berlin made by Beyerhaus (dates unknown) beginning in 1847, even found its way via Gamble into Motoki's specimen book. By that time, electrotype made them much easier to reproduce.

Considering the lengthy production necessary to complete the punches and/or matrices of a font of even a modest size, we should not be surprised that the purportedly "rational" type-size sequence, of either Gamble or Motoki origin, were more or less an accidental result of the work of many cutters, European as well as Chinese.¹² Each of these cutters apparently had made sure to produce only sizes previously unavailable, but each had based his work upon an already existing Western-type size. Only later did the electrotype method make reproducing (and updating) earlier sizes a convenient possibility.¹³

An accurate account of all the early stages of the history of modern Asian typography may require even further revision. For example, it may have been the Baptist missionary Joshua Marshman (1768–1837) working at the Mission Press in Serampore, India who actually made the first missionary effort to produce Chinese type; but there are quite a few other candidates for the honor of having produced the first Chinese type meant to be set in a Western-style press.¹⁴ (For a page from Marshman's grammar, see figure 15.) Above all, what is most clear in this initial period is the enormity of the task of cutting even a small font, one barely sufficient to set a large variety of works, and the expertise for this work was shared by only a very small number of specialists. The application of the electrotype method to type production, which reduced the production of one size of type to a "mere" few years time and which, moreover, could employ the expertise of the more numerous traditional woodblock



比方哱話，天國末比方一個人拿好个種來，散拉田
裡貼^三准人困拉，有伊个對頭來，散个稗子拉麥裡哱
就^三走子去者，伊个芽發出來，結子物事个辰光末，貼

准稗子也看見者，伊歌時候，田戶主拉相帶个來，對
伊話，主人家豈勿拿好个種來，散拉田裏否？蓋末第
个稗子，那里來个？主人家對伊拉話，對頭人來做拉
个，相幫个對伊話，我促走去拔脫伊，儂个意思，那哱
能^三主人家話，勿要哱，恐怕拔脫个稗子末，好个麥要
傷子根个，放伊一淘生拉，且等收成个辰光，貼准拉
收成个辰光，我吩咐收麥个，先去收伊个稗子來，扎
牢子哱，放拉燒脫伊，難末收个，好麥攏來，安拉倉裡
向。○耶穌又拿个比方哱話，天國末，像一粒芥菜子，
撥拉一個人拿來，種拉田裏向，芥菜子末，拉拉萬百

14. Early-modern divisible type, ca. 1834, cut by Marcellin Legrand, size 3-hao (Two-Line Brevier). Note, for example, the first and second character from the top and the third and fourth characters from the bottom of the first line from the left. *Matai [chuan] fuyin shu*, Shanghai *tuhua* (The Gospel According to Matthew, Shanghai-Dialect Version), (Shanghai: [Mei-Hua Shuguan], 1850), *zhang* 13, p. 37a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of Nancy Norton Tomasko.

回^{Hooi}_{Hooi?} 望^{wàng}_{look} 敢^{kán}_{dares} 何^{hó}_{how} 也^{yeá} 賜^{Tsè}_{Tsè}

“Tsè, how dares he look up toward Hooi?”

Lun-yu, vol. i.

In this sentence the speaker uses his proper name instead of the personal pronoun. Numerous other examples of the same kind might be adduced both from Confucius and Mung.

There are not wanting instances indeed wherein Confucius himself substitutes his proper name for the personal pronoun. In the first volume of *Lun-yu*, *Hoo-ma-khee*, telling Confucius that a person had been accusing him of partiality to the great, since he had not rebuked his prince for improper conduct; the sage far from expressing anger, says,

知^{chē}_{know} 人^{yīn}_{men} 有^{yéu}_{he have} 幸^{shing,}_{happy,} 丘^{Myeu}_{Myeu}
 之^{tché}_{it.} 必^{pīh}_{will surely} 過^{kyéu}_{a fault,} 苟^{kao}_{if} 也^{yeu,}

“Myeu is a happy man! If he make a slip, men will certainly notice it.”

Lun-yu, vol. i.

In this sentence, the sage introduces his proper name instead of the pronoun I.

15. Early type produced in Serampore, India, 1814, from Joshua Marshman, *Elements of Chinese Grammar* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1814), p. 381.

Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of
 Yale University Library, Fvh29 +M352.

cutters, was therefore a crucial advance which allowed type to become useful in the East Asian publishing world. The styles of all these fonts from the early period were based upon the then-current woodblock text styles, and all went back to the already mentioned sixteenth-century artisan style. This is the reason this style is called Minchōtai or Myōngjoch'e (Ming-dynasty style) in Japanese and Korean, respectively, while in China, alongside the term Mingti (Ming style), a term Songti (Song style) also occurs.¹⁵

After these beginnings, the impetus for change moved to Japan. In 1873, Hirano Tomiji, an assistant of Motoki, moved to the Tsukiji ward in Tokyo and established there the Tsukiji kappan seizōjo (Tsukiji Font Foundry) which became the major source of the Minchō body-text type, first in Japan and shortly thereafter in China itself, until the demise of the foundry in 1938.¹⁶ This foundry is often mentioned in the same breath with the Shūeisha company, whose operations continue today under the name Dai Nippon. Shūeisha, founded in 1875 by Sakuma Teiichi as a printing and publishing establishment, was one of the firms that printed the early *Mainichi shinbun*. In 1894, this long-lived company developed its own Minchō font.¹⁷ These two foundries did not remain the only type foundries in East Asia, however, and competition was fierce, especially when, slowly but surely, newly established newspapers all began to use type, in some cases imported directly from Shanghai. Faced with this competition, Tsukiji embarked upon several revisions of its basic Minchō fonts, which originally meant sending employees to Shanghai where the American Presbyterian Mission Press itself was improving its own line of fonts. The first person Tsukiji sent proved to be a bad choice in that he was behind the leaking of matrix-making secrets to Shūeisha. From 1879 onwards the revision took place under calligrapher Takeguchi Yoshigorō (dates unknown), who oversaw the work of twenty-three Chinese woodblock cutters in Japan whose training proved all the more expensive because they refused to touch Japanese food and insisted on eating Chinese cuisine. Revisions to a font normally entailed a more standardized treatment of the elemental strokes and a greater balance of thin/thick ratios and/or inner counters for all characters on a page. Also, consistent changes were made toward a more "correct" form of each individual character when several variants were in common use. Such efforts to

establish a correct orthography continue, even today at the beginning of the twenty-first century, to be an easy excuse for one country to deny fonts made in another country the right of entry into its market, whether Japanese fonts into Taiwan, Taiwanese fonts into Japan, or Chinese Fonts from Korea into the People's Republic of China, and so on. Tsukiji's revisions were largely completed by 1903, and Shūseisha's by 1909.¹⁸ (For examples of the Minchō type produced by Tsukiji and Shūseisha, see figures 16 and 17 respectively.)

Since 1883, even before the revisions by these two large type foundries, Japanese-produced type had been sold in China. Tsukiji originally had a branch in Shanghai which it closed in 1900 because of financial difficulties; the machinery and all its type was sold to the newly founded Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press).¹⁹ For text typefaces used in newspapers, books, and magazines, China remained dependent upon Japan until the 1950s, with Tsukijitai Minchōtai typefaces, fundamentally originating in Gamble's type, being dominant. One new typeface developed in Japan first for advertising lettering, and which quickly gained popularity in China also, was the Gothic style, a misnomer based on an incorrect American use of the term "gothic" for a *sans serif* font. (See figure 18.) When this style was first introduced in 1886, its seal-script characteristics were clearly evident, but these elements had disappeared by 1891 when Tsukiji began to market the typeface. Another new typeface, called Seichōtai (Qing-dynasty-style font) at the time but which we would now call FangSongti (Neo-Song style), was used for a while in one Japanese newspaper. However, its use gradually became restricted to name cards, thus initiating the practice of certain typefaces being associated with specific uses and content.

As for Korea, the first modern type for *han'gŭl* was created under French guidance in the 1880s in Yokohama and later in Nagasaki, for printing dictionaries, prayer books, and Bibles for Korean Catholics. Based upon a design of Ch'oe Chi-hyŏk (1809–1878), which introduced brush-style letters with improved proportions, the font was a great advance beyond the traditional movable type still in use and was exported to Seoul soon after the Korean-French treaty of 1886. (See figure 19.) At approximately this same time, the Presbyterian Press in Manchuria used type to print sections of the Bible for distribution in Korea. The

壹號明朝假名交リ書體見本

(TWO LINE ENGLISH BODY)

鐵道延長して陸運茲に開け船舶
 増加して海運茲に熾んなり海
 陸運輸交通の途完全して富國強
 兵亦望むべし
 然リト雖モ鐵道ノ延長汽船ノ増
 加モ我産業ノ發達ト並行セザレ
 バ夫レ何ニ由テカ其効果ヲ収ム
 ルヲ得ンヤ

16. Specimen sheet of the Tsukiji Minchōtai (Tsukijitai) typeface, 1903, size 1-gō. Photocopy from "Shōkatsu: Tsukijitai to Shūeitai" (Summary: The Tsukijitai and Shūeitai Typefaces), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 150 (May 1993), p. 4. Publication in the collection of the author.

朝 明 號 五

春江の潮水海に連りて平かなり海上の明月潮と共に生ず澗々波に隨
 ふ千萬里何れの處か春江月明なからん江流宛轉として芳甸を遷り月
 は花林を照して皆霰に似たり空裏の流霜飛ぶを覺えず汀上の白沙看
 ゆれども見ええず江天一色縑塵なく皎々たり空中の孤月輪江畔何人か
 初めて月を見る江月何の年か初めて人を照らす人生代々窮已なし江
 月年々望相似たり知らず江月何人を照らす但見る長江の流水を送る
 を白雲一片去つて悠々青楓浦上愁に勝へず誰が家か今夜扁舟子何の
 處にか相思ふ明月樓憐れむべし樓上月徘徊するを應に照すべし離人
 の粧鏡臺玉戸籠中巻けども去らず擣衣砧上拂へども還來る此時相望
 めども相聞えず願くは月華を逐ふて流れて君を照さん鴻雁長く飛て
 光度らず魚龍潛躍水文を成す昨夜間潭落花を夢む憐れむべし春半ば
 にして家に還らず江水春を流して去つて盡さんと欲す江潭の落月復
 西に斜めなり斜月沈々海霧を藏め碣石瀟湘無限の路知らず月に乘じ
 て幾人か歸る落月情を搖かして江樹に滿つ

イロハニホヘトチリヌルヲワカヨタレソツネナラムウキノオクヤマ
 一二三四五六七八九十廿卅百千万〇●◎○△▲■

17. Specimen sheet of the Shūeisha Minchōtai (Shūeitai) typeface, 1914, size: 5-gō. Photocopy from "Shōkatsu: Tsukijitai to Shūeitai" (Summary: The Tsukijitai and Shūeitai Typefaces), p. 13.

二號ゴチック書體見本

世京信元況別博原
 取嘗地天始孝寫小
 年慶式所拜引文方
 時期森次歷澤災版
 特生界皇發神第米

三號ゴチック書體見本

不之專交俳兌入况公別
 北博叙問圖壇外大學官
 小山平廣式引彙形感所
 播教文方日月權歌正氣
 法營片物產番發白知

四號ゴチック書體見本

上下世中之久事况交京今位
 佐令任何作例信便候價價兒
 入兩公其再出刊判別割刺前
 剛加動化北南印卷厘原參及
 取合名右吉告命品和吸商國
 園土坂塊場壹大奇完寄對小

五號ゴチック書體見本

丁上下世丙丸主之久乘乙乳事亞交京
 人仁他付代以仲任但伊位來例作保佛
 倉使信倍候價價元光入內兵其具出分
 切刊列別利刷刺刺前割刺加効北區
 午南博印卷原厘參取叢古可司各合吉
 名同后吏君品告和商員器唐噲因圖圖
 土地坂型垂塗堂堅報場境外子定官富

18. Specimen sheet of the Tsukiji Gothic (*Gochikku*) typeface, 1903, sizes: 2-gō to 5-gō. Photocopy from "Shōkatsu: Tsukijitai to Shūeitai" (Summary: The Tsukijitai and Shūeitai Typefaces) p. 8.

런성인의 날은바몬져본살은상

흙이반드시경하다흙이이라

유시에예수 십이종도르드리고닐너

글으샤디이께예루사름에올나감이로

다

예루사름은본국
서울일흙이라

여러천지자 인츠를

신당

을르치

심이라

들어쓴바스청이다마즈리나이

코자의게붓치여옥을밧으며치를마즈

며흙을밧치이고치질은후에며르죽이

19. Han'gŭl typeface, ca. 1880, designed by Ch'oe Chi-hyŏk, in Gustave Charles Marie Mutel, *Sŏnggyŏng chikhae* (Commentary on The Bible) (Hansŏng: n.p., 1892-1895). Photocopy from Kim Chin-p'yŏng et al., *Han'gŭl kŭlcha kkol kich'o yŏn'gu* (ch'ulp'an yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ 7) (Basic Studies on the Forms of Han'gŭl Letters: Publishing Studies Series 7) (Seoul: Han'guk ch'ulp'an yŏn'guso, 1990), p. 136. Publication in the collection of the author.

Korean government supported the introduction of the new printing technology, and Western printing was adopted at court in 1883. With type and technology imported from Japan, the *Hansǒng sunbo*, an official gazette written in Chinese characters only, was published by reformist bureaucrats. Later printing did include *han'gŭl*. In addition, many private Korean publishers were founded starting late in the nineteenth century. Some of these private publishers bought electrotype machinery from Japan and made their own type; however, most purchased type from Japan or from Japanese companies in Korea.

FROM 1911 TO THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO:
PERIOD OF MATURATION

During a second stage of the development of East Asian type, which stretches from the 1910s through the end of the Second World War, the type industry matured with the first developments of display types, while improved varieties of body-text typefaces became available in Japan and China. Most remnants of woodblock printing had disappeared by the time of the political changes in 1911 in China, the beginning of the Taishō era (1912–1926) in Japan, and the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945).

In Korea, where for nearly half a century, the best type available had been based upon Ch'oe Chi-hyŏk's design of the 1880s mentioned immediately above, which was rather calligraphic despite its being mixed with Chinese characters in the straight artisan style, the revisions by Pak Kyŏng-sŏ introduced around 1930 were important. Such *han'gŭl* type is called Myŏngjoch'e (Ming-dynasty style), despite the fact that its calligraphic strokes contrast sharply with the artisan style of its matching Chinese characters. The name "Ming-dynasty style" is used simply because the type was intended, not unlike the calligraphic Japanese *hiragana*, to be used in combination with Chinese characters in the artisan style, which had already long been known as "Myŏngjoch'e." Indeed, this need with respect to Japanese and Korean, but not for Chinese, to develop complementary *kana* or *han'gŭl* fonts that work harmoniously with the style of the font used for Chinese characters always constitutes a challenge for type designers. This is seen by some as an almost insurmountable problem, while for others it is considered a great strength for

讚美하자

健康을



健康은人生最大의幸福이오最高의至寶이다人間은一時나健康이缺어서는充分한活動을할수없고그것이다그러나健康을讚美하게되는데는萬人이다出產하미시부리아는것이아니더러이하나血氣가充盈한青春時代에健康은享樂하미시도健康에對하여서는全然無關心하여自覺하지를못한다健康에對한것은이것을失한다음에바로소아는것이다病床에臥하여서는健康하든病中을追慕하고病後이霜白하여서바로青春의뜻다음은時代를回顧하며戀戀해하는것이이다

凡頭腦을從는時間이長게된만치戶外에서自然과親하는時間이長게되였다 特別都會地는人家稠密하여空氣이穢오며汚染된空氣를呼吸치안으로피아니되며 塵埃는漲天하여 粟外線의效果는減殺되며 享受하는時間이尠少하다 이와같이各種으로생각하여健康者는健康을保持助長하여야하거니病者는速히恢復하여強健한肉體와健全한精神으로日日的強健한社會戰線勝利者가되야永遠의健康을讚美하기는부구나所望하는바이다그러나 此의目的을達하기爲해서 恒常우리가身體鍛鍊과運動과 同時에理想的의補血強壯劑가必要케된다 이것은世評인네오루부도一劑錠으로世目的을達할수있으니左記簡單한文字에依하여알아주었다

一、骨質成分(호로성)에依하여 血液의濃縮을招來하여強大한造血作用을發爲함

一、骨質成分에依하여骨格의發育助長하고造血機能을強健케하며新陳代謝를旺盛히하여老衰를防止함

一、細胞及腦神經組織의必需成分인含磷蛋白質에依하여血液의新生과生體蛋白質의消耗을補給함

一、其全身의榮養을佳良케함

如斯히네오루부도一劑錠一劑錠시구나少劑으로臟器製劑解世劑省시공及磷製劑아미노酸及蛋白質劑鐵劑等の眞髓를集積하여以綜合的의効力을發揮하여食慾增進榮養向上發育助長等の飛歎할效果와純正學理에立脚한點에劑時代的의造血促進劑로서의眞價가있고信用이있고醫學大家로서絶對的醫用을받는다

20. Myōngjo-ch'e han'gŭl typeface. ca. 1930, designed by Yi Wŏn-mo, in Chosŏn ilbo (Chosŏn Daily), 6 February 1935. Photocopy from Kim Chin-p'yŏng et al., Han'gŭl kŭlcha kkol kich'o yŏn'gu (ch'ulp'an yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ 7) (Basic Studies on the Forms of Han'gŭl Letters: Publishing Studies Series 7), p. 165.

Korean or Japanese typographical layout. Only in 1933 did an effort by Yi Wŏn-mo, as part of a design contest for the Dong-a ilbo (East Asia Daily), result in the development of a han'gŭl type that conformed more rigorously than previous styles to the artisan style of the characters.²⁰ (See figure 20.)

In the decades after 1912, development of typography in Japan continued smoothly with continuing improvements made to already existing typefaces. New typefaces were limited to a few calligraphic or display styles; these, however, were not widely used, nor usable, for body text. The primary energy was directed toward increasing the number of characters in a given size font and increasing the number of sizes of a given typeface. One new development was the casting of type with *rubi* attached, “*rubi*” being the printing term for *furigana*, which is script written alongside a Chinese character to denote its pronunciation in Japanese. *Rubi*, the Japanese name for type in that small size, derives its name from the English word “ruby,” a name for very small Western type (5.5 point). Some newspapers and printers began to develop type for proprietary use, so that the same (usually Minchō) style could vary somewhat from printer to printer, without the type variations being available for purchase. The gradual increase in the variety of Japanese fonts was cut short, however, when, in 1942, printing types were restricted officially to Ming and Gothic styles. Government mandate prohibited the use of other display styles and ordered their type smelted down for the war effort.²¹

In China, despite its disdain for the artisan style and the widespread partiality to calligraphy proclaimed by literati, Minchōtai type, being the most readable and best developed, remained the most used body-text typeface. In that period, Minchōtai imported from Japan was used in China, but undoubtedly it was also reproduced there illegally. New developments in the Japanese type, such as the introduction of slightly different sizes, were immediately seen in this type when used in China. New Chinese typeface design was directed, therefore, at other styles, with the Commercial Press in Shanghai becoming one of the most important developers of such newer typefaces.²² There, in 1909, Xu Xixiang tried to cut a large *zhengkai* (regular-style) font, inaugurating China’s attempts to develop new typefaces. Some companies, such as Huafeng founded in 1915, were specially established to produce such new type. Known calligraphers provided the basic designs for new fonts, the first successful one being the Juzhen FangSong (Neo-Song Movable Type) font, designed beginning in 1916 by brothers Ding Shanzhi and Ding Fuzhi, both of whom were well-known epigraphers and calligraphers,

論語序說

史記世家曰孔子名丘字仲尼其先宋人父叔梁

紇母顏氏以魯襄公二十二年庚戌之歲十一

月庚子生孔子於魯昌平鄉陬邑為兒嬉戲常

陳俎豆設禮容及長為委吏料量平季氏史本作

隱云一本作委吏為司職吏畜蕃息職見周禮

與孟子合今從之適周問禮於老子所此官即孟子所謂乘田

既反而弟子益進昭公二十五年甲申孔子年

三十五而昭公奔齊魯亂於是適齊為高昭子

家臣以通乎景公政有聞紹問公欲封以尼谿之

論

語序說

中華書局聚

21. Juzhen FangSongti typeface, 1921, designed by Ding Shanzhi and Ding Fuzhi, seed type cut by Xu Xixiang and Zhu Yibao. Mainly used for the republication of old books, especially the series Sibubeiyao (Selections from All Subjects Ready for Use). Confucius, Lunyu (Analects), annot. He Yan (d. 249), 20 juan, Sibubeiyao (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934), "Lunyu xushuo," p. 1a. Photograph of the exemplar in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, number C338/1429, vol. 1.

中国是发明造纸和印
一世紀，已有紙張出
了造纸方法。此后，

22. Huafeng ZhenSongti typeface, 1927–1934, designed and directly cut on type blanks by Zhu Yibao. This typeface is now classified as a FangSongti style. Photocopy from He Buyun, “Zhongguo huozi xiaoshi” (A Short History of Chinese Movable Type), in Zhongguo yinshua jishu xiehui, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua nianjian 1981* (China Graphic Arts Annual, 1981), (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1982), p. 311.

曜楠噬拮焰潤昌活
杯夷尉密彫擎完棕
姪吳撲矇教器巒夜
遇者賜紫芙蓉箱誰
忒徽宝躩已察繩通

23. Hanwen Zhengkaiti typeface, 1930, designed by Gao Yuncheng and cut by Zhu Yunshou, Xu Tangsheng, Lu Pinsheng, and Zheng Huasheng. Photocopy from He Buyun, “Zhongguo huozi xiaoshi” (A Short History of Chinese Movable Type), p. 312.

and re-cut by Xu Xixiang and Zhu Yibao beginning in 1921. (See figure 21.) This font gave its name in an eponymous fashion to the printing office Juzhen FangSong yinshuju, which merged into the Zhonghua shuju in 1921. Such new font development took considerable time and money. For example, before it was finally completed in 1927, the cutting of Huafeng’s ZhenSong font, a style we currently would call FangSong (Neo-Song), in all its sizes and variants took seven years. (See figure 22.) Font design captured the interest of some leading artists. Among them, Zheng Wuchang, who painted in traditional Chinese styles, in 1930

founded a publishing house in Wuchang, calling it the Hanwen zhengkai yinshuju, a name that designated the style of the font of choice, *zhengkai*, for the house. For this foundry, Gao Yuncheng prepared the designs for an Ouyang-style *zhengkai* typeface, which, when completed five years later, the Ministry of Education designated the official educational font.²³ (See figure 23.) It was soon exported to Japan.

FROM 1945 TO 1980:

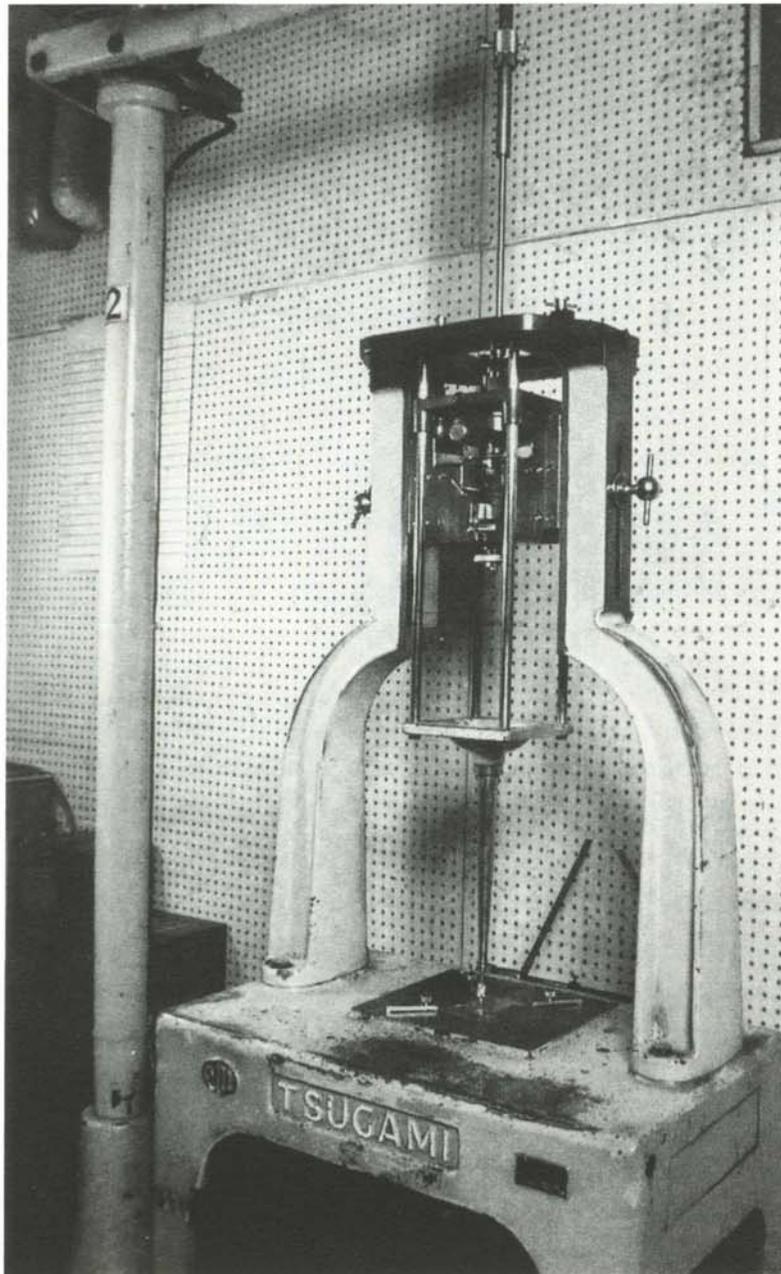
THE BENTON MACHINE AND PHOTOTYPESETTING

Two major characteristics defined the stage that followed the Second World War. The first was the development of an Asian Benton matrix-cutting machine, and the second was the spread of phototypesetting, a technology first experimented with in the West, but successfully applied first in East Asia. It replaced metal type with characters written on glass or film. Both of these changes resulted in a large increase of new Asian-language typefaces as well as the first type families, in Japan mainly in phototype and in the People's Republic of China in metal type.

The Benton machine is a kind of pantograph that can be used to cut punches (its original purpose) or matrices by tracing a large non-mirrored metal pattern of a character, which itself could be first created in wax by similar machines.²⁴ Such patterns were much easier to create than the "seed characters" (in Japanese *taneji*; in Chinese *zhongzi*) for the electrotype process. Different features could be implemented to adjust optically for size or manipulation of characters so that one pattern could be the base of various sizes and varieties of matrices. Directly cutting punches in steel was no longer an important factor in type making in the West, nor did wood characters used in East Asia as the basis for matrices need to be cut for each size of type desired. The original machine was patented in 1894, and three were imported into Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. However, because the American inventors feared copycat production, strict conditions had been attached to the use of these machines. After the war, however, Sanseidō, the owner of one of the Benton machines in Japan, gave permission to the Tsugami factory (Tsugami seisakujo) to make a sketch from its machine and to produce a prototype. Very soon Tsugami produced and sold several hundred

machines in Japan. (See figure 24.) The development of this improved Benton machine was of even greater importance for the Asian type market than for the Western type market, since the effort required to produce matrices for the large fonts of Chinese characters, with many strokes per character, was so much greater than to make punches for the relatively small number of elements in Western fonts. With the ease of developing matrices in different sizes from one original pattern, the machine laid the basis for whole families of fonts. It also led to an increase in the numbers of type designers, whose designs on paper could be used almost directly, thus eliminating the laborious step of cutting punches or producing wooden type for electrotyping. Indeed, some companies even used the Benton machine to cut punches from patterns directly in steel, hitherto too complicated for Asian fonts, rather than simply changing the method of producing matrices. By introducing the step of punch cutting, sharper type could sometimes be produced. Normally, however, the Benton machine greatly facilitated the production of matrices, although some deplored the fact that, because of the technology used, the corners of strokes became rounded rather than being angular.

The advantages were not restricted to Japan, of course, and Korea and mainland China also quickly imported Benton machines from Japan. In Korea, the fifties saw many government-led efforts to improve *han'gŭl* type based upon Benton technology, the first in 1954 on the basis of designs by Yi Im-p'ung and Ch'oe Chŏng-sun, while other private companies soon thereafter made fonts based on designs by Ch'oe Chŏng-ho (1916-1988). (See figure 25.) For Chinese characters, type patterns based upon type cast from the then well known Iwata matrices were used. The proliferation of new type foundries in Japan, such as Iwata and Motoya, itself was a result of the Benton revolution. Lowered requirements for specialized knowledge and the accompanying increased productivity, right at a time when general economic growth increased the demands for printing of all kinds, meant that more type foundries could enter the market. In China, the newly established Beijing Xinhua zimo zhizaosuo (Beijing New-China Type Factory), later renamed Beijing Xinhua zimochang (Beijing New-China Type Foundry), acquired the first thirty Benton machines imported into China. Training was provided



24. Benton machine produced by the Tsugami Seisakujo (Tsugami Factory) in 1953. Photograph from Kozuka Masahiko, "Tōzai katsuji kōza: taipufeisu dezain no shūhen, 2: Benton jidai: kikai chōkaku no makuake" (Lectures on Type East and West: Aspects of Typeface Design; 2: The Benton Period, the Beginning of Type-Cutting by Machine) *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 21 (Summer 1988), p. T9. Photograph of the publication in the collection of the author.

7. 내가 기른 호랑나비

6월 17일 개임.

아침 아홉 시 쯤해서 호랑나비 알을 찾으러 정거장 근처에 갔다. 탱자나무는 많이 있었으나, 아무리 찾아도 호랑나비 알은 눈에 띄지 않았다. 30분 가량 찾아보았으나, 역시 찾지를 못했다. 할 수 없이 애벌레를 채집하기로 했다.

25. Myōngjo-ch'e *han'gŭl* typeface, 1954, designed by Yi Imp'ung and Ch'oe Chōng-sun, produced using a Benton machine used to print a 1958 elementary school textbook. Photocopy from Kim Chin-p'yong et al., *Han'gŭl kŭlcha kkol kich'o yŏn'gu* (*ch'ulp'an yŏn'gu ch'ongso* 7) (Basic Studies on the Forms of *Han'gŭl* Letters: Publishing Studies Series 7), p. 180.

by Japanese technicians—even in this period so soon after the Second World War. Beginning in 1964, similar machines were produced in Shanghai, thanks to large government investments designed to qualitatively and quantitatively improve type production. As part of this general process, older pre-war Chinese foundries were consolidated and renamed. Huafeng merged with Hanwen and was finally renamed Shanghai zimo yichang (Number One Shanghai Font Foundry). Huawen was first renamed Shanghai zimo erchang (Number Two Shanghai Font Foundry) and then, after a move in 1968 to Danjiang in Hubei, took the new name Wenzhi 605-chang (Wenzi 605 Foundry).

In this third stage, there was much research done on how typefaces functioned and were to be designed. In 1960, about the time that Satō Keinosuke (1912–1979) undertook his seminal studies of typography in Japan, the Shanghai yinshua jishu yanjiusuo (Printing Technology Research Institute) was founded in Shanghai, and the latter institute undoubtedly used studies made by the former.²⁵ There calligraphers,

designers, and type cutters laid the foundations for many of the typefaces in current use, beginning with several Song styles used for the dictionary *Cihai* (Ocean of Phrases) and the horizontally-set *Mao Zedong xuanji* (Selected Writings of Mao Zedong). (See figure 26.) Other new typefaces were those based on the Wei-dynasty stela inscriptions including the *Xin Weiti* designed by Han Feiqing. This typeface originated in calligraphy competitions and aroused great controversy since it was “designed” rather than “written with a brush.”²⁶ (See figure 27.) And Mou Zidong—he himself of the *Gansu ribao* (Gansu Daily)—designed new typefaces for the *Renmin ribao* (People’s Daily) based on lettering in vogue for use on posters, banners, and announcements in the pre-war liberated areas. (See figure 28.)

An even larger change was the application of phototypesetting, which further simplified the laborious process of producing type from original designs. Through the use of lenses, various sizes and variants of one and the same pattern that had been first drawn or written on film could be printed on photographic paper. And in fact, while the concept for manual phototypesetting originated in the West, the phototypesetting machine—in its manual form—was put to practical use in Japan and East Asia much earlier than elsewhere in the world, where phototypesetting gradually came to be used in the 1960s after it had been combined with some degree of automation. This technology is a clear-cut example of how the particular demands of writing in East Asia explain differences in the timing, adaptation rates, and the general influence of particular kinds of technology, just as we have seen in the cases of the electrotype process and the Benton matrix-cutting machine.²⁷

Experimentation with phototypesetting had begun in Asia well before World War II. In 1924, when engineer Morisawa Nobuo saw a brief introductory article on developments in experimental phototypesetting in the West, he and his mentor Ishii Mokichi immediately began to study the basics of printing and photography. The following year, the first Japanese prototype of a phototypesetting machine was ready. For the type, the *Tsukiji*-font design was used. The first machines, sold in 1929, were used for applications in specialized areas: by the Japanese army to produce maps and by other companies to create subtitles for movies.²⁸ (See figure 29.)

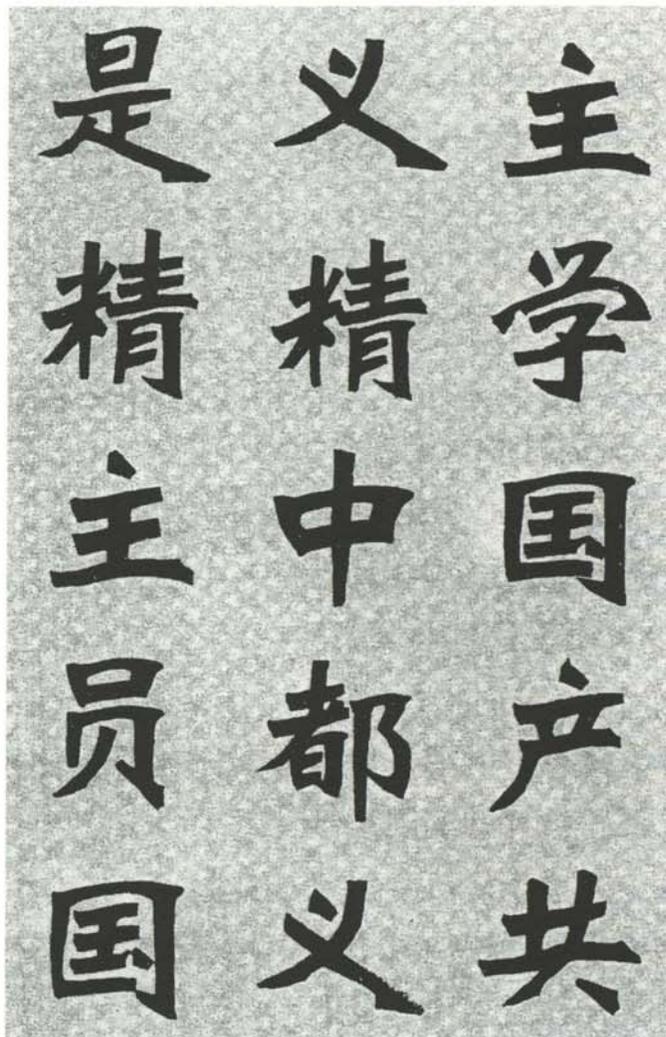
宋一体 (辞海正文)

群帐道特包勿姓恐爱多城旋确便增新男争即质摘报农备弟前国带胜

宋二粗体 (毛泽东选集横排本)

粼靛歇辈闯献谍荔测珍街霉厦棣窞雅稳勋麸剖束螟馄哨罐蛭鲋侵泓

26. Song-1-ti typeface, 1962, used for the main text in the dictionary *Cihai* (Ocean of Phrases) and Song-2-ti typeface, 1964, used for the text of the horizontal version of *Mao Zedong xuanji* (Selected writings of Mao Zedong), designed by Shanghai Printing Technology Research Institute. Photocopy from the table “Jiefang yilai de xin ziti (er)” [New Typefaces Since Liberation (2)] in *Zhongguo yinshua nianjian 1981* (China Graphic Arts Annual 1981), between pp. 232–233.

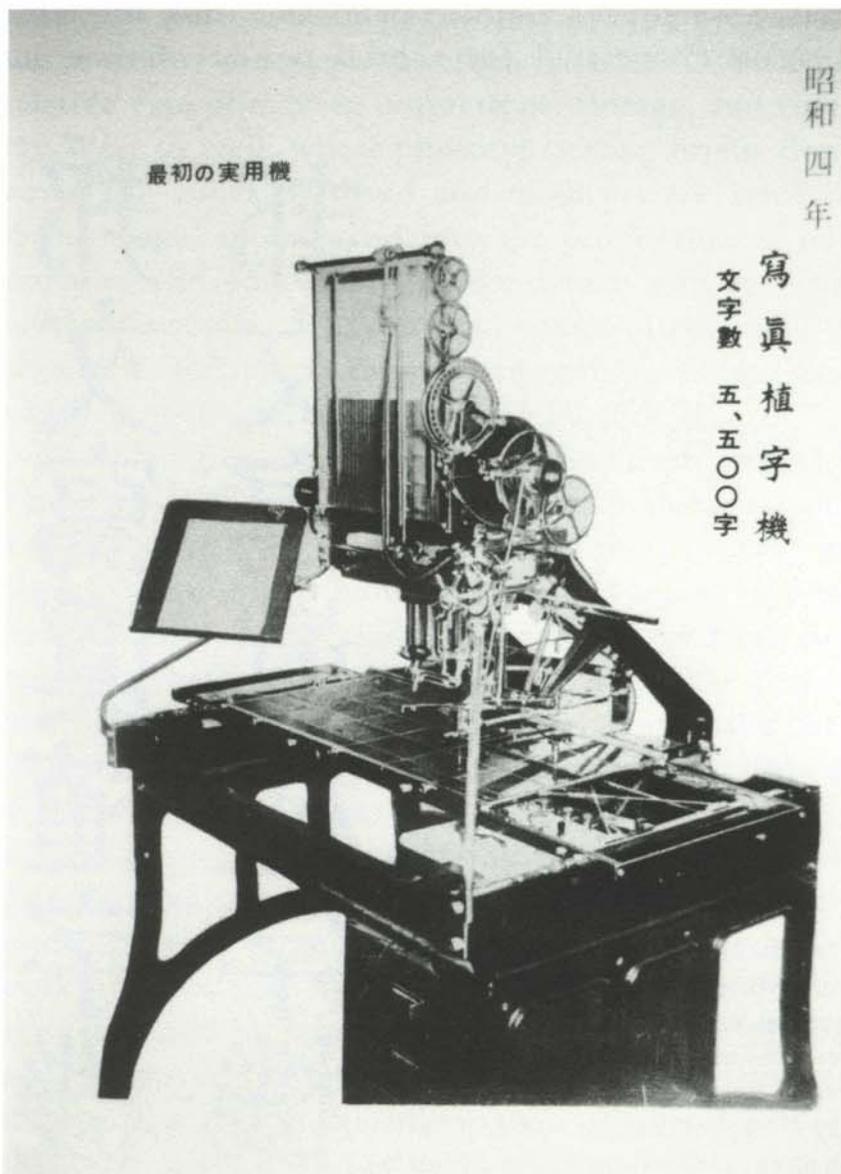


27. Xin Weiti typeface, 1969–1974, based upon stela inscriptions from the Wei period (220–265), calligraphy designed by Han Feiqing and typography designed by Zhou Jincai. Photocopy from Li Mingjun, *Zhongguo meishuzi shi tushuo* (Historical Atlas of Chinese Artistic Lettering) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), p. 220. Publication in the collection of the author.

长牟体

候席姓政夜报送查准怒展固

28. ChangMouti typeface, 1961, designed by Mou Zidong used in the newspaper *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily). Photocopy from the table "Jiefang yilai de xin ziti (yi)" [New typefaces since the Liberation (1)], in *Zhongguo yinshua nianjian 1981* (China Graphic Arts Annual 1981), between pp. 232-233.



29. First phototypesetting machine in production, designed by Morisawa Nobuo and Ishii Mokichi, 1929. The machine had 5,500 characters on its character plates. Photograph from Morisawa Nobuo, *Shashin shokujiki to tomo ni sanjūhachinen* (Thirty-eight Years Together With the Phototypesetting Machine) (Osaka: Morisawa, 1960), p. 53. Publication in the collection of the author.

After Morisawa and Ishii parted company in 1933, Ishii continued working by himself and concentrated on the production of new typeface designs that could withstand the optical distortions introduced by the use of lenses, also a problem in the West. A highly praised typeface designed that same year was the Ishii Minchōtai. (See figure 30.) In 1938, one obvious promise of the use of phototype was fulfilled when, for the first time in East Asia, font families, not only in the sense of characters of the same basic design in different sizes, but also in the sense of characters with strokes of different weights in the same size, came into being with Ishii's design of a second weight for Gothic (*Goshikku*). After the war, Morisawa and Ishii again cooperated for a brief period of time in



30. Ishii Minchōtai typeface, 1933, designed by Ishii Mokichi. Right, the Minchōtai included with the original phototypesetting machine; left, Ishii's 1933 improved typeface. Photocopy from *Moji ni ikiru* (*Shaken gojūnen no ayumi*) (*Living in Letters: The Fifty-Year Course of Shaken*) (Tokyo: Shaken, 1975), p. 25.

Publication in the collection of the author.

improving the machines, before severing their relations for good. This was the beginning of the present-day antagonistic relationship between the two major typeface providers in East Asia, Morisawa and Shaken (the latter the name of the company founded by Ishii).

It was not that pages set by manual phototype machines were yet equal to typeset pages; the technology was still in its infancy. The typesetting itself did not save much, if any, time. However, in contrast with the West, where aesthetic and economic considerations would never make manual phototypesetting a valid option, the advantages in East Asia were so clear in the ease of type production, that the relative lower quality of a page was taken in stride. Other advantages, such as the relative ease of making corrections, storage, and reprinting, held true in the West, as well, where phototypesetting briefly dominated in the 1960s when the issues of speed and quality were resolved. Phototype soon made several inroads also into the production of books, especially dictionaries and encyclopedias, for which entries were written by many different people and layout was complicated. Early on, Heibonsha used phototype to publish several large multi-volume sets, such as the *Sekai rekishi jiten* (Dictionary of World History).²⁹

The greatest achievement, however, was the well-known *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Great Chinese-Japanese Dictionary) compiled by Morohashi Tetsuji.³⁰ The plans for it had started in 1925. One estimate foresaw the need for some three hundred thousand pieces of type in different styles and sizes, all to be specially designed, cut, and cast since many characters had never before existed in type. In 1943, the first volume was already completely set with type. However, during the setting of the second volume, a fire destroyed all of the type. After that catastrophe, phototypesetting became the only valid solution with respect to time and money. Over the course of the next eight years, Ishii, hampered by illness and advancing age, single-handedly designed a total of fifty thousand different, original characters for this dictionary, completing the work in 1960. (See figure 31.) The story of how this landmark publication, still used by scholars of China and Japan all over the world, came into being is too little known and certainly deserves a fuller telling. This fuller telling reveals the importance of type development in the course of the intellectual history of East Asia.

大澤和辞典

清搗鞞次著

一部

【一】
イッ (漢語) 壹の切 壹

一 小 一 ひと。①数の一。
一 文 單簡。吳繁辭。上。天
一 地 一 (論語) 公伯長。回也聞一以知
十。(孟子) 梁惠王上。天下定於一。(淮南
子) 本經訓。由近知遠。而萬殊爲一。
[春秋繁露] 天道無二。一者一也。②多
くの中の或もの。(呂覽) 舉難。擇務而
貴取一也。(史記) 平準書。白金三品。其
一曰。重八兩。之。何承天。答。顏嘉書。
願吾子含。樂而進一也。(韻法) 一語。文
選書務一。不向煩瑣。③ひとつとつと
つ。(新書) 脩政語上。諸侯萬人。而禹一皆
知其體。④ひとたび。⑤いちど。中唐
人。一能之。已百之。(史記) 周紀。方一
食。三吐其哺。⑥もし。左氏。成。二蔡。
許。各。一失。其位。不得列。於諸侯。(漢
書) 文帝紀。一不登。民有顏色。(歐陽
脩) 憎。憎。善。一。有。善。四。人。皆。不。食。

●ひとり。他(つれのな)いこと。(方言) 十二(一) 蜀也。南楚謂之蜀。(注) 蜀。蜀也。●数のはじめ。(廣韻) 一。數之始也。(孝經) 開宗明義章第一。一。一。數之始也。●物のはじめ。物の權。(説文) 一。惟初大極。道立於一。造分天地。化。成萬物。(老子) 三十九。昔之得一者。王。(注) 一。數之始。而物之極也。老子。四十二。道生一。(列子) 天瑞。一。者。形變之始也。(莊子) 天地。一。之。名。起。(注) 一。者。有之初。至妙者也。●道。真。善。遠。周。書。命。調。解。其。極。一。也。(注) 一。者。善。之。謂。也。老。子。十。一。數。營。風。地。一。能。無。離。乎。(注) 一。人之真也。(呂覽) 論人。知。神。之。謂。得。一。(注) 一。道。也。(淮南子) 原道訓。無。形。者。一。之。謂。也。●まじりない。まじり。●(易) 繫辭下。天下之動。貞。夫。一。者。也。●(書) 大禹謨。惟。精。惟。一。●すくぬる。並。ひ。ない。たぐひない。(淮南子) 註。言。訓。一。也。者。萬。物。之。本。也。無。敵。之。道。也。●一人。天。子。の。世。子。又。天子。(禮記) 文王世子。諸。曰。樂。生。可。業。父。師。可。成。一。有。元。元。萬。國。以。真。一。子。家。語。曲。禮。子。夏。問。語。曰。樂。正。可。業。父。師。可。成。一。有。元。元。萬。國。以。真。(注) 一。謂。天。子。也。●もつばら。ひとへに。專。

一。(禮) 禮運。欲。一。以。窮。之。禮。非。子。子。純。使。實。利。一。從。上。出。(淮南子) 說山訓。用。心。一。也。(注) 一。情。專。也。(史記) 曹相國世家。一。道。無。何。約。束。(史記) 范雎傳。范。雎。一。寒。如。此。哉。(後漢書) 馮異傳。將軍。一。之。(注) 一。廣。專。也。すし。わづか。ち。ま。つと。(廣韻) 一。少。也。(左氏) 僖。三。十三。不。以。一。誓。掩。大。德。(莊子) 知。北。遊。一。不。化。者。也。(韓非子) 安危。國。不。得。一。安。(後漢書) 國。衛。傳。目。所。一。見。輒。誦。手。口。一。お。な。じ。(同) 同。か。は。ら。ぬ。廣。韻。一。同。也。(禮) 樂記。禮。樂。刑。政。其。極。一。也。(中庸) 所。以。行。之。者。一。也。至。下。離。婁。子。先。聖。後。聖。其。揆。一。也。(荀子) 禮。論。一。古。今。所。一。也。(注) 一。謂。不。變。(淮南子) 說山訓。所。歸。則。一。也。(淮南子) 說。林。訓。尾。生。之。信。不。如。隨。牛。之。羸。而。又。況。一。不。信。者。乎。(注) 一。猶。常。(史記) 儒。林。傳。其。歸。一。也。⑥ひとつにする。ひとしく。する。(國語) 晉語四。戮。力。一。心。(注) 一。同。也。●結。非。子。功。名。入。主。者。一。力。以。共。戴。之。(淮南子) 原道訓。一。度。廣。軌。●(注) 一。齊。也。(淮南子) 本經訓。同。精。于。陰。陽。一。和。于。四。時。(注) 一。同。也。(史記) 韓。非。子。一。海。內。(唐書) 薛。平。傳。後。歐。均。●すべて。みな。(經傳釋詞) 三。一。

●皆也。詩北門曰。政事一俾。我。百。政。事。皆。得。我。也。(大戴禮) 衛將軍文子。一。諸。侯。之。相。也。(注) 一。皆。也。(荀子) 勸。學。一。可。以。爲。法。則。三。注。一。皆。也。(呂。覽) 貴。直。士。志。氣。一。若。此。乎。(注) 一。猶。皆。也。(史記) 淮陰侯傳。一。軍。皆。驚。或。是。時。一。是。(經傳釋詞) 三。一。猶。或。也。莊。年。穀。梁。傳。曰。其。一。曰。君。在。而。重。之。也。文。十。八。年。曰。一。曰。就。賢。也。一。曰。或。曰。也。●(爾雅) 釋。水。一。有。木。一。無。水。●すなは。ち。(呂覽) 知。士。解。郭。君。之。於。華。人。一。至。此。乎。(注) 一。猶。乃。也。●發。語。の。詞。句。詞。を。調。へ。る。語。(經傳釋詞) 三。一。一。語。助。也。昭。十。年。左。傳。曰。君。一。過。多。矣。何。信。於。謙。管。子。論。形。篇。曰。今。楚。王。之。善。華。人。一。甚。矣。云。云。以。一。語。一。字。皆。是。語。助。字。●身。か。ら。た。(莊子) 徐。無。鬼。上。之。質。若。亡。其。一。(釋。文) 一。身。也。●樂。譜。記。號。の。一。史。樂。志。夾。鐘。姑。洗。用。一。字。●壹。の。一。史。一。壹。の。一。通。于。正。字。通。一。按。一。壹。貳。幾。通。一。古。は。式。一。壹。の。一。作。る。説。文。式。古。文。一。姓。(萬。姓。統。譜) 一。見。姓。源。一。姓。宗。延。川。人。正。統。中。任。雲。南。縣。丞。●國。云。云。す。は。一。列。一。經。案。出。●注。音。符。號。の。韻。符。の。一。單。母。韻。舌。前。部。

一部

31. Ishii Sai-Minchōtai typeface, 1952-1960, adjusted and enlarged for the *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Great Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), designed by Ishii Mokichi. Morohashi Tetsuji comp., *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1955-1960), vol. 1, first text page. Photocopy of the exemplar in the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.

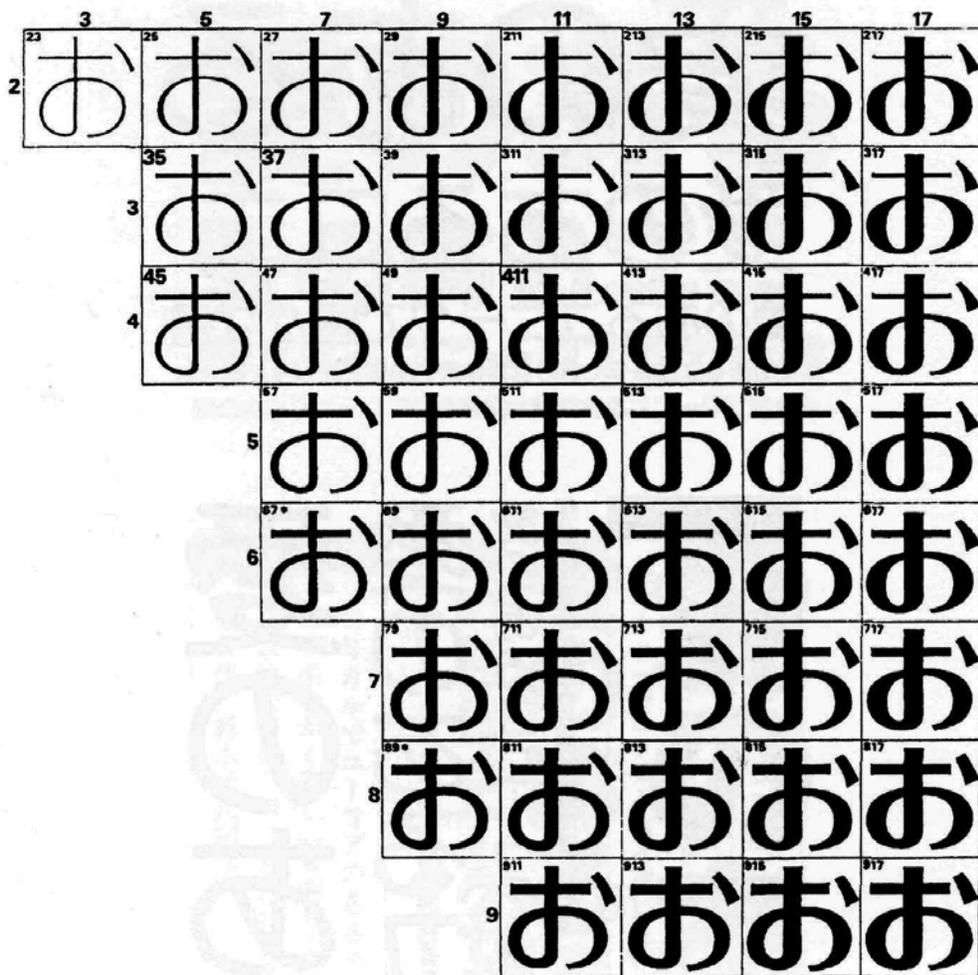
Phototypesetting expanded very rapidly during Japan's explosive economic growth from late in the 1950s through the 1960s, when advertising designers demanded increasing numbers of display types and greater freedom in typesetting. Yamashiro Ryūichi's poster of a forest, set with the characters for tree (*ki*), grove (*hayashi*), and forest (*mori*), was a famous first example of using the design possibilities of the new medium. Phototypesetting makes possible, as shown there, overlapping characters, tight kerning, and other effects not previously possible. (See figure 32.) Since the 1960s, phototypesetting has become the printing medium of choice in Japan and, as in the West, has been greatly automated and gradually computerized with the important difference that in East Asia, it had already found a certain niche in publishing before automation took place.

In typeface design, the publication in 1969 by Shaken of the different Taiposu typefaces—a set of families based upon an intricate system of different thicknesses of horizontal and vertical strokes *à la* the well-known typeface Univers—was epoch making. (See figure 33.) These typefaces, first designed in 1962 by a group of four designers working cooperatively to great effect, were abstractly designed *kana*, that is *kana* designed without regard for brush strokes. Their innovations showed that the look of a page could change radically depending on the *kana* used, even when the Chinese characters used remained the same. “Lettering” now became “typography.”

Typeface contests were an outward sign of the importance of the new phototypesetting developments and grew out of the need for new typefaces for advertising in the rapidly developing economy.³¹ In 1970 the first Ishii Typeface Contest, which was organized by Shaken, selected as its winner a new design for round-Gothic designed by Nakamura Katsuhiko, which was issued in 1972 as *Nāru*, “*Na*” being the first two letters of the designer's surname and “*ru*” the last two letters of the Japanese word “*maru*,” meaning “round,” used to indicate the general style of the font. (See figure 34.) The winner in the 1971 contest was the typeface *Sūbo*, a name composed of the first two letters of the surname of the designer Suzuki Tsutomu and the first two letters of the English word “bold.” (See figure 35.) An example of subtle connections in East Asia is the name of this typeface in China, *Hupo*, meaning “amber,”



32. Yamashiro Ryūichi, poster for a planting campaign, 1955. Photocopy from Matsuoka Seigō, Tanaka Ikkō, and Asaba Katsumi, eds., *Nihon no taipogurafikku dezain: moji wa damatte inai* (Transition of Modern Typography in Japan, 1925–1995) [Typographic Design in Japan: Letters Do Not Keep Silent] (Tokyo: Toransuāto, 1999), p. 81. Publication in the collection of the author.



33. Taiposu typeface, 1962–1969, designed by the Gurūpu “Taipo” (Kuwayama Yasaburō, Hayashi Takao, Itō Katsuichi, and Nagata Katsumi). Shown here is Family 1, 1968. Photocopy from “Typokeyword: Hayashi Takao 1937–1994, (1)”, *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 193 (July–August 1997), p. 9. Publication in the collection of the author.

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ポイント

「ナール」は古くからある丸ゴシックとは全く違ったしゃれたデザインで、ファッショ誌を始め、広告やテレビのテロップ、道路標識などにも使われている。

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34. Nāru typeface, 1970–1972, designed by Nakamura Katsuhiro. Photocopy from Kabushiki kaisha Shaken, ed., *Ji no mihonchō: bunshō o utsukushiku miseru shotai no sutairubukku* (Character Specimen Book: Style Book of Typefaces to Make Your Writing Look Beautiful) (Tokyo: Goma shobō, 1993), p. 29. Publication in the collection of the author.

아름답고 기능적인 한글
 아름답고 기능적인 한글
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 아름답고 기능적인 한글

36. Shaken Myǒngjo-ch'e *han'gŭl* typeface, 1960-, designed by Ch'oe Chǒng-ho; used in Shaken photo-typesetting machines. Photocopy from *Han'gŭl kulcha kkol kich'o yǒn'gu* (*ch'ulp'an yǒn'gu ch'ongsǒ* 7) (Basic Studies on the Forms of *Han'gŭl* Letters: Publishing Studies Series 7), p. 184.

which is both an indication of the general character of the font—round and smooth—and, as well, a calque of its original name. However, undoubtedly few people realize that behind Hupo lies Suzuki Bold.³²

Another of the many, often invisible relations among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean typographical terms, arising from their common use of the same typographical technology, is the character pronounced in Chinese “*ji*,” meaning “class or degree.” This term is used as a measure of size in phototypesetting, similar to the “point” unit of measurement or the Asian-specific unit of measurement called “*gō/hao/ho*” used for metal type. Despite the apparent appropriateness of the meaning of the character, this unit of measurement name had a very different kind of origin. In fact, the term is a loan word from Japanese, for which the pronunciation is *kyū*; the term is also used in Korea where it is pronounced *kŭp*. Originally, however, the term did not have any character whatsoever associated with it: *kyū* is simply the Japanese pronunciation of the English letter *q*. The measure of size was named “Q” as an abbreviation for the word “quarter,” meaning “one-fourth,” where one quarter of a millimeter was used as a unit of type advancement on the

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●縦組の字送りは $\frac{26}{32}$ em送りです。

ポイント

古くから伝えられる隸書体の書風にモダンな味を付け加えたもの。印章用として開発されたが、ブックカバーの表紙や雑誌の見出しなどでも、しゃれたいい感じが出せる。

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37. Shaken Sōranreishotai typeface, 1972, designed by Zeng Qingren. Photocopy from *Ji no mihonchō: bunshō o utsukushiku miseru shotai no sutairubukku* (Character Specimen Book: Style Book of Typefaces to Make Your Writing Look Beautiful), p. 82.

phototypesetting machine. Both of the terms, “Q” and the character for *kyū*, are in use in Japan when specifying size.

Phototypesetting moved quickly to Korea as well. The first Korean font in this medium was made by a Korean designer in Japan for the production of textbooks for teaching Korean language to Japanese students.³³ However, changes to this font made by Ishii were not accepted in Korea, where in 1960 Ch’oe Chǒng-ho developed a new font for the Japanese phototypesetting machine of Shaken. (See figure 36.) By 1979, Korean-manufactured phototypesetting machines became available, but Japanese machines remained dominant until the digital-computerized solutions became widespread. Japanese phototype machines, with modified characters and additional Chinese calligraphic styles, such as the *li* (clerical)-style font—known in Japanese as *Sōranreisho*—designed by the Taiwanese Zeng Qingren also became the mainstay of publishing in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and later, briefly in mainland China. (See figure 37.)

FROM 1980 TO THE PRESENT: NEW OPENINGS THROUGH COMPUTERIZATION

Finally, in the 1980s, circumstances began to change in Asia when the hitherto “outsiders”—Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan—began to use non-proprietary computerized typefaces to liberate themselves from the dominance in printing by the Japanese phototypesetting companies. More Asian typefaces than ever before have become available, just at the time when public interest in typefaces is increasing. Yet, widespread piracy and the spread of low-quality fonts have made investment in the development of quality, new text-typefaces, which often require up to a million dollars per typeface, unrealistic and very risky. Several lawsuits have plagued the industry. There are great investments in the development of shortcuts to typeface production, and it has become rarer and rarer that the same character element in different characters is designed to look slightly different, in order to be in balance with the shape of all the other elements in a given character. This aesthetic finessing of the components of a character had been evident, in the earlier, better-developed metal and phototype typefaces. To foil piracy, companies have instituted technical measures that restrict the use of computer fonts

to particular resolutions, so that the same computer font is incomparably more expensive to output on a high-resolution image setter than on a personal printer. And at least one company, Shaken, has not yet made its fonts available for desktop computers, even though these fonts are widely imitated; Shaken and, to a lesser extent, Morisawa have rather become machine companies and are no longer truly font developers.³⁴

The dominance in the industry of the two Japanese phototypesetting companies Shaken and Morisawa was not necessarily welcomed everywhere in East Asia, or even in Japan. A third company, Ryōbi, tried to make typefaces for use on the machines produced by these first two companies but met with defeat in court. The first successful efforts to produce computer fonts free of a particular equipment maker began in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and the attempts carried strong nationalistic overtones. In Hong Kong, where lettered advertising fonts, some of which were designed by artist Choi Kai Yan (Cai Qiren), had made a great impact and had also been purchased by Shaken, several groups of people began to work in small-scale computer-design firms.³⁵ (See figure 38.) One of them was Ke Chijian, usually known as Sammy Orr, who had been involved with the first efforts of the Western-font giant Monotype to establish a place in the Chinese market.³⁶ Sammy Orr was responsible for the Li-series of fonts such as LiSong, currently the standard for traditional Chinese on the Macintosh. His company TTL (Type Technologies Limited) was later bought out by Taiwan's success story Huakang (in English originally known as Dynalab but after 2001 renamed Weifeng shuwei with the English name DynaComware) when this company, which had initially made great inroads in the Japanese market by offering cheaper but inferior copies of computer fonts, began to upgrade its line. Huakang later combined forces in Japan with Ryōbi, originally a Western-font type foundry which had become Japan's third player in the realm of phototypesetting and whose efforts to make character plates interchangeable with those of Shaken's had resulted in a lawsuit won by the latter, as mentioned immediately above.³⁷ Another Hong Kong designer, Ross Evans, started a company there that became Fontworks, which now is also a major player in the Japanese desktop-publishing world. In Taiwan, the founders of Huakang experienced a falling out, slightly reminiscent of the rivalry in Japan between Morisawa

開朗康果部

C30 超宋體 DYNASTY

國映線神創

C31 線映體 BEAMS

獎樂票份的

C32 禮樂體 ROCKAWAY

蘭加時連請

C33 扁創學 P.HERO

靚限領話錶

C34 扁中方 P.SQUARE

聖請東表進

C35 廣告體 PROMOTION

開朗康果部

C36 斜超宋 I.DYNASTY

青儀浪詩意

C37 斜柔美 I.BEAUTY

速勁車源眉

C38 中斜體 M.ITALIC

原快速星飛

C39 速勁體 SPEEDIE

尋庄声宝阳

C69 超宋簡體

導畫框宝則

C70 線映簡體

賞請閱浩導

C71 禮樂簡體

証阳虽应时

C72 扁創學簡體

現号尔庆万

C73 扁中方簡體

頂伤洎寻聖

C74 廣告簡體

亲临郑旧万

C75 斜超宋簡體

适优开历阳

C76 斜柔美簡體

監語郵报问

C77 中斜簡體

聰跃风沪历

C78 速勁簡體

38. Hong Kong advertising fonts from the 1980s, designed by the Ziti chuanguzuo zhongxin (Creative Calligraphy Centre). Photocopy from Zhong Jinrong, ed., *Pingmian sheji shouce (The Graphicat) [Manual of Graphic Design]* (Shenzhen: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1992), p. 293.

and Shaken. The result, despite accusations of infringement of technology copyright, was the creation of a separate company named Wending, which won the lawsuit against it brought by Huakang.³⁸

Early in the 1990s, in order to ensure that international printing advances could quickly be incorporated into its printing industries, the Chinese government became an active participant in the development of printing technology, insisting that Chinese companies follow the international Postscript-font technology rather than their own proprietary formats, as they had done earlier. This was the case especially for the company Fangzheng (Founder), which had quickly become extremely successful within and without the People's Republic of China with its computerized typesetting systems (CTS) for newspapers.³⁹ The earlier Beijing-Shanghai font-foundry rivalry continues today in the competition between two new computer-font manufacturers, Beijing Hanyi keyin xinxi jishu (Hanyi) and Changzhou Huawen yinshua xin jishu (SinoType), often staffed with the personnel of the earlier Beijing and Shanghai font foundries.⁴⁰ In Korea, the development of computer fonts has exploded. *Han'gŭl* is an alphabet, for which a font is therefore relatively easy to design in comparison with the design challenges presented by the large number of Chinese characters which are now rarely used in Korea. Such companies as Yun tijain yŏn'guso (Yun Design Institute), Sandol kŭlch'a ūnhaeng (Sandoll Typebank) or Sŏul sisŭt'em (Seoul Systems), each have issued hundreds of fonts in many up-to-date styles.⁴¹ (See figure 39.) One famous typographer An Sang-su (also spelled Ahn Sang-soo) has designed very geometric-looking fonts with which he tries to establish typefaces liberated from—in his view—the “tyranny of the Chinese square,” but his attempt can be considered only partly successful. While his typefaces have become trendsetters for countless other geometric fonts, which are perceived as “modern,” hardly any of them try, as An Sang-su did in some fonts, to arrange the different letters of a syllable linearly rather than as a group.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the computer age is the so-called *kana*-family series of Ajioka Shintarō in Japan, developed from 1984 to 1990. In these fonts, which may be seen in countless books and periodicals, the concept of “family” is widened to include five different *hiragana* styles in various weights, each based upon traditional calligraphy

타이포그래피 전문지, 정글

39. Various new “grunge” fonts from the Yun tijain yŏn’guso (Yun Design Institute), 1997. Photocopy from “Sin soch’e ribyu” (New Fonts Review), *Chŏnggŭl* (Jungle) 5 (Summer 1997), p. 53. Publication in the collection of the author.

and old-style fonts but still clearly “designed” rather than “written.” They can be set with various weights and varieties of Minchō and Gothic, bringing all these originally different typefaces together as one harmonious Japanese super-family.⁴² (See figure 40.)

With this short overview, I have given a brief outline of the larger history of East Asian typography, in anticipation of further and deeper treatments of its various aspects. Modern typography in East Asia has been treated as a whole since the printing and design industries of the various countries have been and still are interrelated, often in surprising ways: such as when national antagonism failed to prevent the marketing of Japanese Benton machines in China and Korea; or when contemporary Taiwanese and Hong Kong companies compete successfully with their Japanese counterparts; or when the People’s Republic of China Fangzheng CTS for newspapers was adopted in Taiwan and Hong Kong by such newspapers as the *Zhongyang ribao* (Central Daily News), *Minshengbao* (Min Sheng Daily), or *Lianhebao* (United Daily News). Also, we have seen that in East Asia, some technologies, such as the striking of matrices using hand-cut punches, were not as prevalent as they had been in the West, while other technologies, such as the electrotype process or the Benton matrix-cutting machine, were relatively more important and, as in the case of phototypesetting, embraced at an earlier stage of the development of modern printing than was the case in the West. Thus, in the context of East Asia, technology, politics, economics, and culture come together uniquely in the seemingly mundane act of typesetting a book or an advertisement. Everywhere in the world, old print-related technologies are under siege in the fast-paced, and sometimes unscrupulous, developments in technology, and piracy is rampant. The record of how evolving expertise in printing accumulated over the past two centuries is in danger of disappearing before being written down. This introductory narrative of events in the East Asian sector of the history of modern printing is a plea for more contributions toward preserving the record of its past.

NOTES

1. Some of the most important general works are the following: for Chinese—Fan Muhan, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi* (Modern History of Printing in

China) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1995); for Japanese—Yahagi Katsumi, *Minchō katsuji: sono rekishi to genjō* (Minchō Type: Its History and Current Status) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1976); Insatsushi kenkyūkai, ed., *Hon to katsuji no rekishi jiten* (Historical Dictionary of Books and Type) (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 2000); Komiyama Hiroshi, Fukawa Mitsuo, and Koike Kazuo, *Shinsei katsuji chūdokusha tokuhon: Hanmen kōshō, katsuji shotaishi yūran* (Reader for Genuine Type-Fanatics: Research on Page Layout and an Overview of the History of Typefaces) (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 2001); and for Korean—Kim Chin-p'yōng et al., *Han'gŭl kŭlcha kkol kich'o yŏn'gu* (*ch'ulp'an yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* 7) [Basic Studies on the Form of Han'gŭl Letters (Publishing Studies, Series 7)] (Seoul: Han'guk ch'ulp'an yŏn'guso, 1990); and *Sŏul Inswae Chohap sa, 1: 1962–1992* (History of the Seoul Printing Association, 1962–1992) (Seoul: Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi inswae kŏngop hyŏptong chohap, 1992). I thank Kim Hye-suk of Hyumŏn K'ŏmp'yut'ŏ (Human Computer, current Hyumŏn-K'ŏm, HumanCom) for the Kim Chin-p'yong reference. For a short introduction to works introducing typography in a wider sense, see Mori Kei, “Taipogurafi no rekishiteki tenbō” (An Historical View of Typography), pts. 1, 2, and 3, *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* (Typographics TEE) 153 (September 1993), pp. 2–15; 154 (October 1993), pp. 1–15; and 158 (March 1994), pp. 1–15. More specialized works will be cited at the appropriate places.

2. For a treatment of the diverse technologies of making Western and Asian type and their comparison with woodblock printing, see my paper “Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia,” presented at the First International Scientific Conference on Publishing Culture in East Asia, Tokyo, 8–10 December 2001 and the works cited therein, in Isobe Akira, ed., *Higashi Ajia Shuppan Bunka Kenkyū: Niwatazumi* (Studies of Publishing Culture in East Asia: Puddles of Inspiration) (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2004, pp. 223–240). Another short overview is David Helliwell, “Two Collections of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Publications in Chinese in the Bodleian Library,” *Chinese Culture* 31:4 (December 1990), pp. 21–38.
3. This equation of the association of modernity and modern Western science and technology was not always present however. The works printed by the Kiangnan Arsenal, which formed a major part of the introduction of Western thinking into China, were produced by woodblock printing. See Tsuen-hsueh Tsien, “Western Impact on China Through Translation,” *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14 (1954), pp. 305–327.
4. In China, the wide gap between the two aesthetics, visible in practice, is often ignored in writing which, out of ignorance, pays incommensurate and inapplicable lip-service to calligraphy only. This is different from the awareness, common in recent Western and Japanese typographic studies, that there is always commonality between the two approaches, both because of shared historical origin and visual rules. Some of the very few Chinese articles that do realize there is a difference are Zhang Daoyi, “Songtizi zhi mei” (The Beauty of the Songti Typeface), *Hansheng zashi* 88 [Mei zai Hanzi 2: Yijiang juan (Chinese Characters, How Beautiful They Are: Volume on Technology)]

(Taipei: Hansheng zazhishe, 1996), pp. 60–67; Li Mingjun, *Zhongguo meishuzi shi tushuo* (Historical Atlas of Chinese Artistic Lettering) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996); and the only detailed publicly available specialized work, Cao Zhenying and Qiu Cong, *Shiyong yinshua ziti shouce* (Practical Handbook of Printing Typefaces) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1994).

Printing in Japanese during the Edo period had not yet undergone a move toward the typographic aesthetic. Even books printed with pre-modern type show highly calligraphic styles of *kana* and of Chinese characters, including many ligatures of elements of unequal size, freely combined with illustrations. By this time, Sinological and Buddhist literature had begun to follow the Chinese artisan style. Therefore, it is not surprising that immediately upon the importation of modern-type production, efforts were made to add to the Minchōtai-repertoire reproductions of the current calligraphic styles, even earlier than in China. However, the development of modern literature, which required clearly set pages using a rationalized system of many type sizes, by the 1880s resulted in the rapid dominance of the Minchōtai typeface, which alone could fulfill the new demands.

5. For some additional reasons why the artisan style under the names of Minchōtai or Songti became the basis of the only real text typeface in East Asia, see the work of Yahagi Katsumi mentioned in note one. In addition, see his *Katsuji: hyōgen, kiroku, dentatsu suru* (Type: To Express, Record, and Transmit) (Tokyo: Shuppan nyūsusha, 1986), esp. pp. 25–32. Unlike other styles, the Minchōtai typeface was adaptable in its horizontal-versus-vertical ratio to different sizes, particularly including smaller sizes, which were needed to set pages more economically.
6. In Japan and Korea, loanwords were used for both the concept of “typography” and the concept of “lettering” (i.e. drawn, not printed letters). Now, however, loanwords for “lettering” have largely disappeared in usage except when explicitly referring to the hand writing of characters in pre-existing typefaces. In China, the word “*meishuzi*” referring to “lettering” (and its related concepts of logo and title design) is still very common, and in Chinese there is really still no one word for the various shades of the word “typography.” Words such as *ziti sheji* (typeface design) and *pingmian sheji* (graphic design) are used alongside *meishuzi sheji* (lettering design).
7. See, in addition to my article mentioned in note two above, the masterful thesis of Su Ching (i.e., Su Jing), “The Printing Presses of the London Missionary Society Among the Chinese” (Ph. D. Thesis, School of Library, Archive and Information Studies, University College London, 1996); Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism 1876–1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004); Zhang Xiumin and Han Qi, *Zhongguo huozhi yinshua shi* (History of Chinese Movable Type Printing) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1998).

Much important material can also be found in Komiyama Hiroshi’s articles on the background of Japanese type. See, for example, his “19-seiki Yōroppa, Chūgoku de no Minchōtai kinzoku katsuji no tenkai, soshite Nihon e no

- denpa" (The Development of the Minchōtai Metal Type in Nineteenth-Century Europe and China and Its Subsequent Propagation to Japan), *Musashino bijutsu daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (Bulletin of the Musashino Art University) 23 (1992), pp. 37–48; or his "Tokushū: Reimeiki Minchōtai katsuji kō" (Special Issue: Investigation of the Minchōtai Type in Its Infancy), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 104 (1989), pp. 1–14. For the visual overviews, see also "19-seiki Yōroppa, Chūgoku, Nihon no katsuji Minchōtai no shosō" (The Various Phases of the Minchōtai Type in Nineteenth-Century Europe, China, and Japan), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 162 (July–August, 1994), pp. 1–13. See also the large technical compilation of the Bunkachō bunkabu kokugoka, *Minchōtai katsuji jikei ichiran (1820nen–1946nen): Katsuji jitai kankei sankō shiryōshū* (Tables of the Forms of Minchōtai Type (1820–1946): Compilation of Historical Sources for the Investigation of the Structural Forms of Chinese Characters), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Ōkurashō insatsukyoku, 1999).
8. The method itself was not new, and in Japan, also, Kimura Kahei III (1823–1886) applied this method, learned from a Dutch interpreter, to making his type from 1854 to 1864. His type, still extant, remained outside the mainstream development, however, and currently no books printed from it are known. See *Hon to katsuji no rekishi jiten* (Historical Dictionary of Books and Type), pp. 293–295. I am very grateful to Kozuka Masahiko who shared with me several interim reports of a Japanese project to recreate the nineteenth-century electrotype process for producing type. A final report is included in *Katsuji bunmei kaika: Motoki Shōzō ga kizuita kindai (Insatsu Hakubutsukan kaikan sanshūnen kinen kikakuten)* [The Dawn of Type Civilization: The Modern World Built by Motoki Shōzō (The Third-Anniversary Exhibition of the Printing Museum)] (Tokyo: Insatsu hakubutsukan, 2003). I thank Nakanishi Yasuhito of the Printing Museum for supplying me with a copy of this book.
 9. See first the introduction of Yahagi Katsumi, "Wagakuni kappan insatsushi no shin shiryō: Wiriamu Ganburu no rainichi ni tsuite" (A New Source for the History of Movable-Type Printing in Our Country: On the Visit of William Gamble to Japan), *Toshō* 7 (1985) pp. 40–45; and his "Meikaku ni natta kappan insatsu no genryū: Wiriamu Ganburu no rainichi ni tsuite" (The Origin of Type Printing Now Has Become Clear: On the Visit of William Gamble to Japan), *Shuppan kenkyū* (Publishing Studies) 16 (March 1986), pp. 10–28, reprinted in his *Katsuji: hyōgen, kiroku, dentatsu suru* (Type: To Express, Record, and Transmit), pp. 258–287.

Then see the magisterial studies of Komiyama Hiroshi, in outline in his contributions to the *Hon to katsuji no rekishi jiten* (Historical Dictionary of Books and Type) and in detail in a series of his articles, as follows: "Mosakuki Minchōtai katsuji kō" (Investigation on the Minchōtai Type During its Formative Period), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 11 (March 1990), pp. 1–10; "Na shi yiyangde zi': So-Shō-Shanghai Bika Shokan Small Pica 1865–1872: Shōrai-zen Minchōtai katsuji kō" ("That's the Same Typeface!": The Small Pica of the Suzhou-Songjiang-Shanghai American Presbyterian Mission Press: An Investigation of the Minchōtai Type Before Its Eventual Success), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti*

- 128 (March 1991), pp. 1-7; "Dōnyūki Minchōtai katsuji kō: gōsūsei wa kujirajaku de tsukurareta no ka" (An Investigation on the Minchōtai Type in the Importation Period: Was the Gō Size-System Based Upon the Japanese Cloth Measure Scale?), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 138 (March 1992), pp. 1-17; "19-seiki Yōroppa, Chūgoku de no Minchōtai kinzoku katsuji no tenkai, soshite Nihon e no denpa" (The Development of the Minchōtai Metal Type in Nineteenth-Century Europe and China and Its Subsequent Propagation to Japan), pp. 37-48; "Bika Shokan 16 pointo Minchōtai hoi, oyobi 11 pointo Minchōtai no henken to Hirano Kappanjo 5-gō Minchōtai to no hikaku" (Comment on the American Presbyterian Mission Press Sixteen-Point Minchōtai Type, As Well As Changes to the Eleven-Point Minchōtai Type and its Comparison with the Hirano Type Foundry Five-Gō Minchōtai Type), *Musashino Bijutsu Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 24 (1993), pp. 59-73; "Rondon dendōkai ni yoru 13.5 pointo Minchōtai no hakken to Oranda, Nihon e no denpa, oyobi shotai hikaku" (The Development of the 13.5-Point Minchōtai Type by the London Missionary Society, Its Dissemination to Holland and Japan, and a Comparison of Their Typefaces), *Musashino bijutsu daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 26 (1995), pp. 19-27.
10. Recently, the organizers of an exhibition that clarifies much of the early type environment in Japan decided to read the surname Motoki as Motogi, but not without the dissent of some contributing authors. See *Katsuji bunmei kaika* (The Dawn of Type Civilization), cited in note eight. In my article, I have used the Motoki spelling.
11. For more on this font, see, in addition to his collaboration with Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo huozhi yinshua shi* (History of Chinese Movable Type Printing) already mentioned in note seven above, the subsequent articles by Han Qi: "19-seiki ni okeru Kanji bungō katsuji no kaihatsu shi" (The History of the Development of Chinese Divisible Type in the Nineteenth Century), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 165 (November 1994), pp. 1-17; and "Shijiu shiji Zhongwen pinhe huozhi yanzhi shi xukao" (Additional Studies in the History of the Development of Chinese Divisible Type in the Nineteenth Century) in Dierjie Zhongguo yinshuashi xueshu yantaohui chouweihui, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua shi xueshu yantaohui lunji* (Proceedings from the Scholarly Conference on the History of Chinese Printing) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1996), pp. 444-455.
12. The term "rational" is used in the sense that some sizes were an even multiple of other sizes and therefore could easily be set together. In fact, sizes were cut according to the Fournier point system, and they were usually given such names as Double Pica, Double Small Pica, Three-line Diamond, etc. They were referred to in advertising with shorthand terms, such as "No. 1" (*yihao*), "No. 2" (*erhao*), and so on. In Japan, the shorthand designations were seen as directly referring to size, and *gō* became a size system. One size developed by Motoki himself was larger than size "No. 1." But in giving this size a name, since there was no number preceding "one," another solution had to be found. The name selected was "*shogō*" (Initial Size). For Motoki's *shogō* font,

- see Itakura Masanobu, "Motoki shogō katsujihan Tangohen jō no shōkai" [Introduction of the First Volume of *Tangohen* (Word Dictionary), Which Was Printed with the Motoki Shogō-Size Type], *Insatsushi kenkyū* (Studies in Printing History) 8 (2000), pp. 66–71.
13. For details, see Komiyama Hiroshi, "Bika shokan to sono shotai" (The American Presbyterian Mission Press and Its Typefaces), *Insatsushi kenkyū* 8 (2000), pp. 18–63 and his contributions to Nishino Yoshiaki, ed., *Rekishi no moji: kisai-katsuji-kappan* (Letters of History: Records, Type, and Movable-Type Printing) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996).
 14. See the work of Han Qi in *Zhongguo huozhi yinshua shi* (History of Chinese Movable Type Printing). Some such type is discussed in Johann Dill, "Die Typographia Sinica in der Asien-Afrika-Abteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek," *Marginalien* 100 (1985), pp. 85–96. Other candidates include Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745) and Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794). In addition to French and German punch cutters, there is also type produced in Britain. I received Georg Lehner's marvelous work *Der Druck chinesischer Zeichen in Europa: Entwicklungen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004) too late to include his work in this article.
 15. The correctness of the ascription of this style to the Song dynasty is sometimes hotly debated among Chinese writers. For an outsider, it seems that more than the historical correctness of the term, the usage of the term "Songti" implies a deliberate attempt to minimize the overwhelming influence of Japan on modern Chinese typography. In some contexts, Songti is limited to the Mei-Hua (American Presbyterian Mission Press) fonts, in contrast to the Xianggangti (Hong Kong type) made by the London Missionary Society.
 16. For the following historical discussion of type in Japan, the work of Yahagi Katsumi, mentioned in note one, is fundamental.
 17. Successful newspapers in subsequent decades would sometimes invest in the development of their own fonts in order to decrease the reliance on outside sources. This trend finally resulted in the development in Japan, based on extensive readability studies, of a special newspaper-Minchō font, the characters of which were no longer square, but wider than high.
 18. For their early specimens, see "Shōkatsu: Tsukijitai to Shūeitai" (Summary: The Tsukijitai and Shūeitai Typefaces), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 150 (May 1993), pp. 1–17.
 19. See Wang Yi, "Chū-Nichi shuppan insatsu bunka no kōryū to Shōmu Inshokan" (The Commercial Press and Cultural Exchange in Publishing and Printing Between China and Japan), trans., Ōkawa Hiromi and Zhao Jingshi, *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 156 (December 1993), pp. 1–14; Komiyama Hiroshi, "Bika Shokan to sono shotai" (The American Presbyterian Mission Press and Its Typefaces), pp. 18–65; and also Wang Jiarong, "Shangwu yinshuguan dui jindai yinshua shu de gongxian" (The Contribution of the Commercial Press to Modern Publishing Technology), in *Zhongguo yinshua shi xueshu yantaohui lunji* (Proceedings from the Scholarly Conference on the History of Chinese

Printing), pp. 498–514. Tarumoto Teruo investigates the Japanese connection in detail in his *Shoki Shōmu Inshokan Kenkyū* (A Study of the Early Days of the Commercial Press) (Ōtsu: Shinmatsu shōsetsu kenkyūkai, 2000). It should be pointed out that there were also Chinese printing establishments in Japan. When Japan opened up, Western newspapers had to import Chinese typesetters to Japan, and throughout the Meiji period, Chinese printers were dominant in the foreign concession areas, working sometimes under assumed English names. See Itō Izumi, “Yokohama kyoryūji ni okeru Chūgokujin no insatsugyō” (The Printing Industry by Chinese in the Yokohama Foreign Concession Area), *Insatsushi kenkyū* 8 (2000), pp. 1–17.

20. Indeed, in North Korea, it is the artisan-style type that continues to be called Myōngjo. Neither of the styles refers to styles actually in use in Korea during the years of the Ming dynasty in China.
21. For the impetus this restriction gave to the use of phototypesetting machines, see in my text following note 27.
22. In addition to the general works mentioned in note one above, see He Buyun, “Zhongguo huozi xiaoshi” (A Short History of Chinese Movable Type) in *Zhongguo yinshua nianjian 1981* (China Graphic Arts Annual, 1981) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1982), pp. 300–312. Christopher Reed in his *Gutenberg in Shanghai* (cited in note 7) somewhat misinterprets the type scene in pre-war China, mistaking a largely unsuccessful succession of efforts to develop some display calligraphic faces for an indigenization of the whole type industry.

In 1884, under the British Ernest Major (1841–1908), was begun the production of a broader-than-usual font for his new printing establishment, the Jicheng tushuju. The font, named in Chinese Meichazi (Major’s characters), was finished in 1887. It was used for a while, but its later history remains unknown. See Ye Zaisheng, *Zhongguo jindai xiandai chuban tongshi* (Comprehensive History of Modern Publishing in China), 4 vols. (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2002), vol. 1, p. 223.

23. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) was one of the leading calligraphers of the regular style, although in printing, the regular style perfected by the later Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) was at least as important. It is Zhao Mengfu’s style that was most often contrasted with the artisan style.
24. For Japan, see especially Kozuka Masahiko, “Tōzai katsuji kōza: taipufeisu dezain no shūhen, 1: Taneji to bokei o megutte” (Lectures on Type East and West: Aspects of Typeface Design, Part One, On Seed Type and Matrices), *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 20 (Spring 1988), pp. T2–T5; “2: Benton jidai: kikai chōkaku no makuake” (Part Two, The Benton Period: The Beginnings of Type-Cutting by Machine) *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 21 (Summer 1988), pp. T8–T11; “3: Dentō no isan o tsutaeru” (Part Three, Transmitting the Legacy of Tradition) *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 22 (Autumn 1988), pp. T4–T7; “4: Atarashii jidai: konpyūta media e no tenkai” (Part Four, A New Period: The Development Towards Computerized Media) *Tategumi-Yokogumi* 23 (Winter 1989), pp. T18–T21.

The Benton machines were invented by Linn Boyd Benton, an important figure for type production in the West; for that background, see Patricia A. Cost, "Linn Boyd Benton, Morris Fuller Benton, and Type Making at ATF," *Printing History* 16.1-2 (1994), pp. 27-44.

25. See Satō Keinosuke, *Moji no dezain shirīzu* (The Design of Letters Series), vol. 2, *Hiragana 1*; vol. 3, *Hiragana 2*; vol. 4, *Katakana*; vol. 5, *Kanji 1*; vol. 6, *Kanji 2* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1964-1976). Volume one has not been published. See also his *Nihon no taipogurafi: katsuji, shashoku no gijutsu to riron* (Typography in Japan: The Practice and Theory of Type and Phototypesetting) (Tokyo: Kinokuniya shoten, 1972). For an appraisal of Satō's immense influence, see the memorial issue *Satō Keinosuke kinenshi* (Memorial Volume for Satō Keinosuke) (Tokyo: n.p., 1982).
26. The controversy over this engraved rather than written style is not exactly a new one. For some background, see Hua Rende, "The History and Revival of the Northern Wei Stele-Style Calligraphy," trans. Daniel M. Youd; and Lu Huiwen, "Calligraphy of Stone Engravings in Northern Wei Loyang," in ed. Cary Y. Liu, Dora C. Y. Ching, and Judith G. Smith, *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 1999), pp. 104-131 and 78-103, respectively. See also Li Mingjun, *Zhongguo meishuzi shi tushuo* (Historical Atlas of Chinese Artistic Lettering), cited above in note 4.
27. The fierce competition between the two phototypesetting companies Shaken and Morisawa and the fact that most printers or graphic designers are aligned with either one or the other of these two companies has resulted also in competing histories of the period, whether the writings are on technology, general printing history, or graphic design. This rivalry extends to the separate typeface competitions over which they preside and the collectible calendars each produces. All of these histories are very informative but should not be read without taking this corporate rivalry in mind.

From the Shaken side, indispensable are the two company histories, *Moji ni ikiru* (*Shaken gojūnen no ayumi*) (Living in Letters: The Fifty-Year Course of Shaken) (Tokyo: Shaken, 1975); and *Moji ni ikiru (51-60)* [Living in Letters (1976-1985)] (Tokyo: Shaken, 1985). From the Morisawa side, there are Morisawa Nobuo, *Shashin shokujiki to tomo ni sanjūhachinen* (Thirty-eight Years Together with the Phototypesetting Machine) (Osaka: Morisawa, 1960); and Watanabe Tsutomu, *Shashin shokujiki gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Phototypesetting Machines) (Osaka: Morisawa, 1974). A collaborative, extremely valuable overview—but which somewhat glosses over the rivalry and attendant problems—of typography in the larger sense, much of which was influenced by phototypesetting, is Matsuoka Seigō, Tanaka Ikkō, and Asaba Katsumi, eds., *Nihon no taipogurafikku dezain: moji wa damatte inai* (*Transition of Modern Typography in Japan, 1925-1995*) [Typographic Design in Japan: Letters Are Not Silent!] (Tokyo: Toransuāto, 1999). For the Western history, see the chapters on phototypesetting in Lawrence W. Wallis, *Typomania: Selected Essays on Typesetting and Related Subjects* (Upton-upon-Severn: Severnside Printers, 1993).

- 28 Part of the success of phototypesetting in Asia was indeed due to the war. For example, in Manchuria, because type was not readily available and its metal needed for war purposes, whole periodicals began to be set with phototype, and newspapers elsewhere in Asia were sometimes set in phototype following the advance of the Japanese army.
29. *Sekai rekishi jiten* (Dictionary of World History), 25 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1951–1955).
30. Morohashi Tetsuji, comp., *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Great Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), 13 vols. (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1955–1960).
31. Again, in this context the Shaken and Morisawa typeface contests are the most important, the latter having become very famous in the West, as well, since it incorporates a contest for Western typefaces. Since then, both Morisawa and Shaken have continued to produce an ever larger array of typefaces, often in direct response to each other. For a brief period, the two typeface companies were challenged by a typeface contest sponsored by Ryōbi in Japan. In the current digital period, the newly developed typeface industries in Taiwan, Korea, and China also have begun their own typeface contests. First there was a joint Taiwan-People's Republic of China contest organized by Huakang (Dynamalab), and now there are contests sponsored by Wending (Arphic) in Taiwan, Fangzheng (Founder) in China, and Yun Tijain Yōn'guso (Yoon Design) in Korea.
32. Similarly, behind the common Korean-font name Tinaru lies "D-Nāru," that is, the Japanese font NāruD, where "D" stands for "demibold," and the "Nāru" comes from "Nakamura" and "maru," mentioned in the text immediately above.
33. This designer was Chang Pong-sōn, also publisher of a Korean-language Christian newspaper in Japan, who worked on the first pattern board together with Pak Kyōng-sō, mentioned above in my discussion of the development in the 1930s of *han'gūl* compatible with Ming-style characters.
34. Information on the modern period comes from too many sources to mention: trade publications, computer and design magazines, desktop-publishing handbooks, web pages, etc. I also have interviewed typeface designers and typeface company representatives, and I thank them for their time and gracious reception. In chronological order of my interviews, they are: Huang Kejian (SinoType, People's Republic of China) 11 January 1995, Washington, D. C.; Jim Liu (Liu Jiezheng; Wending) 30 May 1998, Taipei; Sammy Orr (Ke Chijian; Huakang) 1 June 1998, Taipei; Kozuka Masahiko (Adobe Systems, Japan) and Ikeda Nobu (Morisawa), 7 December 2001, Tokyo; and Hiraga Ryūji (Shaken), 10 December 2001, Tokyo. Needless to say, they are not responsible for any misinterpretations I may have made of their comments.
35. See for example, the typeface designs developed by the Ziti chuanguo zongxin (Creative Calligraphy Centre) printed in Zhong Jinrong, ed., *Pingmian sheji shouce* (*The Graphicat*) [Manual of Graphic Design] (Shenzhen: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 290–293.
36. In print, see Xiao Huajing, "Fangwen Huakang keji ziti fazhan sheji zongzai

- Ke Chijian: Tie hua yin gou de zaixian" (Visiting Ke Chijian, the Art Director for Typeface Development at Dynalab: The Reappearance of Energetic Typefaces), *Zhuoshang shidai* (Desktop Times) 10 (1994), pp. 76-79.
37. Beginning in 1975 Sugimoto Kōji, originally from Sanseidō, went to work for Ryōbi and designed the HonMinchō font, which was once available as part of Apple's Japanese Language Kit.
38. See, for example, Xie Mingyang, "You Huakang yu Wending an tan zhuanliquan zhi lanyong" (Talking About the Inappropriate Use of Copyright From the Perspective of the Huakang Versus Wending Case), *Yuedan faxue zazhi* (Taiwan Law Review) 1 (May 1995), pp. 80-82. Typeface copyright is a major issue in both East Asia and the West.
39. See, for example, the rather hagiographic work Yi Ding, *Zhongguo de Fangzheng* (China's Fangzheng Company) (Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 2001).
40. Note that the name of the latter company gives an historic nod to the name Huawen, used by a type foundry that operated before the Second World War, but whose name was later changed.
41. In North Korea also, the government has invested in computer publishing programs with an eye on export. Programs and fonts are the responsibility of the P'yōngyang chōngbo ssentō (Pyōngyang Informatics Centre). Some *han'gŭl* letters are designed slightly differently from those in South Korea.
42. For an introduction, see Ajioka Shintarō, "Kana ni yoru famirī gainen" (The Kana-Based Concept of a [Typeface] Family), *Taipogurafikkusu Ti* 126 (December 1990), pp. 1-9.

GLOSSARY

Ajioka Shintarō 味岡伸太郎
 An Sang-su (Ahn Sang-soo) 안상수 (安尚秀)
 Beijing Hanyi keyin xinxi jishu 北京汉仪科印信息技术
 Beijing xinhua zimochang 北京新华字模厂
 Beijing xinhua zimo zhizaosuo 北京新华字模制造所
 ChangMouti 长牟体
 Chang Pong-sŏn 장봉선 (張鳳仙)
 Changzhou Huawen yinshua xin jishu 常州华文印刷新技术

Ch'oe Chi-hyŏk 최지혁 (崔智爐)
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 Choi Kai Yan (Cai Qiren) 蔡啓仁
 Chosŏn ilbo 조선일보 (朝鮮日報)
 Cihai 辞海
 Dai Kan-Wa jiten 大漢和辞典
 Dai Nippon 大日本
 Danjiang 丹江
 Ding Fuzhi 丁輔之
 Ding Shanzhi 丁善之
 D-Nāru D-ナール
 Dong-a ilbo 동아일보 (東亞日報)

- erhao 二號
 FangSongti 仿宋體
 Fangzheng 方正
 Fashu yaolu 法書要錄
 Fashu yaolu xu 法書要錄序
 furigana 振り仮名
 Gansu ribao 甘肅日報
 Gao Yuncheng 高雲滕
 Gochikku ゴチック
 gō/hao/ho 号/號/号
 Goshikku ゴシック
 Guo Weixing 郭伟星
 Gurūpu "Taipo" グループ〈タイポ〉
 Han Feiqing 韩非青
 han'gŭl 한글
 Han Qi 韩琦
 Hansōng sunbo 한성순보 (漢城旬報)
 Hanwen 漢文
 Hanwen zhengkai yinshuju 漢文正楷印
 書局
 hayashi 林
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 Ishii Sai-Minchōtai 石井細明朝体
 Itō Katsuichi 伊藤勝一
 Iwata 岩田
 jiangtizi 匠體字
 Jicheng tushuju 集成圖書局
 Jiguge 汲古閣
 ji/kyū/kūp 級/級/音
 Juzhen FangSong 聚珍仿宋
 Juzhen FangSongti 聚珍仿宋體
 Juzhen FangSong yinshuju 聚珍仿宋印
 書局
 kai 楷
 kaishu 楷書
 kana 仮名
 Ke Chijian 柯熾堅
 ki 木
 Kimura Kahei III 三代目木村嘉平
 Kōdōken 弘道軒
 Komachi 小町
 Komiyama Hiroshi 小宮山博史
 Kozuka Masahiko 小塚昌彦
 Kuwayama Yasaburō 桑山弥三郎
 li 隸
 Li 儷
 Lianhebao 聯合報
 LiSong 儷宋
 Liu Jiezheng 劉介正
 Lunyu 論語
 Lunyu xu shuo 論語序說
 Lu Pinsheng 陸品生
 Mainichi shinbun 毎日新聞
 Mao Zedong xuanji 毛泽东选集

- maru 丸
Matai chuan fuyin shu 馬太傳福音書
Matai [chuan] fuyin shu Shanghai tuhua 馬
 太[傳]福音書上海土話
 Meichazi 美查字
 Mei-Hua 美華
 Mei-Hua shuguan 美華書館
 MeiHuati 美華體
 meishuzi 美術字
 meishuzi sheji 美術字設計
 Minchō 明朝
 Minchōtai 明朝體
 Mingti 明體
Minshengbao 民生報
 Mohai shuguan 墨海書館
 mori 森
 Morisawa Mori Saw
 Morisawa Nobuo 森沢信夫
 Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次
 Motoki Shōzō 本木昌造
 Motoya 摩托ヤ
 Mou Zidong 牟紫东
 Myōngjo 명조 (明朝)
 Myōngjoch'e 명조체 (明朝體)
 Na ナ
 Nagata Katsumi 長田克己
 Nakamura Katsuhiko 中村征宏
 Nakanishi Yasuhito 中西保仁
 Nāru ナール
 NāruD ナールD
 Ouyang 歐陽
 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
 Pak Kyōng-sō 박경서 (朴慶緒)
 pingmian sheji 平面設計
 P'yōngyang chōngbo ssentō 평양정보
 쎄터
 Qian Juntao 錢君匋
Renmin ribao 人民日報
 ru ル
 rubi ルビ
 Ryōbi リョウビ
 Ryōkan 良寬
 Sakuma Teichi 佐久間貞一
 Sandol külch'a ūnhaeng 산돌글차은행
 Sanseidō 三省堂
 Satō Keinosuke 佐藤敬之輔
 Seichōtai 清朝體
Sekai rekishi jiten 世界歷史事典
 Shaken 写研
 Shanghai yinshua jishu yanjiusuo 上海印
 刷技術研究所
 Shanghai zimo erchang 上海字模二廠
 Shanghai zimo yichang 上海字模一廠
 Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館
 Shinmachi shijuku 新街私塾
Shinmachi shijuku yodai 新街私塾余談
 shogō 初号
 Shūeisha 秀英社
 Shūeitai 秀英體
 Shu Tong 舒同
 ShuTongti 舒同體
Sōnggyōng chikhae 성경직해 (聖經直解)
 Songti 宋體
 Sōranreisho 曾蘭隸書
 Sōul sisūt'em 서울시스템
 Sūbo スーボ
 Sugimoto Kōji 杉本幸治
 Suzuki Tsutomu 鈴木勉

- Taiposu タイポス
 Takeguchi Yoshigorō 竹口芳五郎
 taneji 種子
 Tinaru 디나루
 Tsugami 津上
 Tsugami Seisakujo 津上製作所
 Tsukiji 築地
 Tsukiji Kappan Seizōjo 築地活版製
 造所
 Tsukijitai 築地体
 uroko うろこ
 Weifeng shuwei 威鋒數位
 Wending 文鼎
 Wenzi 605-chang 文字六〇五厂
 Xianggangti 香港體
 Xin Wei(bei)ti 新魏(碑)体
 Xu Tangsheng 許唐生
 Xu Xixiang 徐錫祥
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 Yamashiro Ryūichi 山城隆一
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 Yukinari 行成
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 Zeng Qingren 曾慶仁
 zhang 章
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 Zheng Huasheng 鄭化生
 zhengkai 正楷
 Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌
 ZhenSong 真宋
 Zhonghua shuju 中華書局
 Zhongyang ribao 中央日報
 zhongzi 種子
 Zhou Jincan 周今才
 Zhu Yibao 朱義葆
 Zhu Yunshou 朱雲壽
 Ziti chuangzuo zhongxin 字体創作中心
 ziti sheji 字體設計

About Our Contributors

SU CHEN, Head of East Asian Library at University of Minnesota, previously served as East Asian Studies Librarian at McGill University Libraries. She received her Master's Degree in Library Science and Information Studies from McGill University in 1998. Her e-mail address is suchen@umn.edu.

MARTIN J. HEIJDRRA, after studying Sinology and Japanology at the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, came to Princeton University to write a dissertation on the socio-economic history of China during the Ming dynasty. Currently he is the chairperson of the Society for Ming Studies of the Association for Asian Studies. Since becoming the Chinese bibliographer at Princeton University's East Asian Library in 1988, his research has widened to include the history of the book in East Asia, especially the under-researched topic of modern typography. The present article is an introduction to his recent research and personal-collecting activities and is dedicated with gratitude to Professor F. W. Mote, one of his thesis advisors, for guidance in his studies.

HEATHER LARKIN is an undergraduate at Princeton University, where she is majoring in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology with a certificate in Japanese language. Her interests include drawing and animation. A portfolio of her work can be found online at <http://www.larkinheather.com>.

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MARTIN-WATERMAN ASSOCIATES**

CHINESE CHARACTERS BY BIRDTRACK PRESS

PRINTED ON MOHAWK ACID-FREE PAPER

DESIGNED BY JUDITH MARTIN WATERMAN